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AN ETHNOLOGICAL STUDY
OF TORTUGAS, NEW MEXICO

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of Anthropology
University of New Mexico

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Alan James Oppenheimer
June 1957

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

A Thesis

Submitted to

the Faculty of the Department of Chemistry
University of Chicago

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

of

Chicago, Illinois

1925

This thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of the University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

E. Castetter
DEAN

May 28, 1957
DATE

AN ETHNOLOGICAL STUDY
OF TORTUGAS, NEW MEXICO

by

Alan James Oppenheimer

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PREFACE

The village of Tortugas, New Mexico consists of an amalgam of Tiwa-Piro, Spanish-American, Anglo-American, and Mexican Indian cultural elements. These varied influences have been reformulated and unified into a meaningful and peculiarly individual pattern. For this reason the village presents an interesting laboratory for the study of cultural dynamics.

Tortugas was originally settled primarily by Tiwas. At present, however, Tortugas culture is very different from that of the other pueblos. Some cultural factors in history must be responsible for this divergence. An attempt has been made throughout to compare Tortugas culture with other Indian groups, especially Isleta and, where data is available, Isleta del Sur. In many cases it is difficult to determine whether elements are of Indian provenience or derive from Spanish-American or Mexican sources.

Except for one brief article¹ published after the completion of the field work for the present report, Tortugas has not been studied from the anthropological point of view in any intensive fashion. The data upon which this report is based was collected mainly during the summer of

¹Hurt, Tortugas
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37878
5000
1947
C. J.

The village of Tortuga, a few miles east of an
amalgam of Tlaxcala, Spanish-American, and
Mexican Indian culture. It has been
have been reformed and called for a new kind of
peculiarly individual character. It has been an
presents an interesting contrast in the study of
dynamics.

Tortuga was originally settled by Spaniards.
At present, however, Tortuga is a very different
that of the other people. Some of the people
must be responsible for the situation. It
been made through the efforts of the people
Indian groups, especially the people of the
ble, Isleta del Sur. It may be that the
determine whether the people of the village
derive from Spanish-American or Indian roots.

Except for one small village, the people
completion of the first work for the village
gas has not been used from the village
view in any inventive manner. The people
report is based on the village of the people

J. Hart, Tortuga
1947

1951, under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology of the University of New Mexico. The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the following individuals: Miss Erna Fergusson, through whom he first heard of Tortugas, and who furnished him with valuable introductions; the late Dr. Paul Reiter, Dr. W. W. Hill, and Dr. Stanley S. Newman for encouragement and direction; Dr. Florence Hawley Ellis, who made available her unpublished field notes on Isleta; Mr. G. Adlai Feather, of Mesilla Park, New Mexico, for aid in the field; Mrs. Henry Stoes, of Las Cruces, New Mexico, for sharing her rich experience in the region; the late Mr. Herbert W. Yeo, of Las Cruces, whose contact with Tortugas extended from the turn of the century; and to Mr. and Mrs. Homer Gruver, of the Las Cruces Citizen, for access to their files. My gratitude to my informants, who must remain anonymous, cannot be adequately expressed.

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- FIGURE
1. Torturee held in detention of the government
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INTRODUCTION

The village of Tortugas is located in the Mesilla valley of Doña Ana county, New Mexico, near the Texas and Chihuahua, Mexico boundaries. Three and a half miles north is Las Cruces, the Doña Ana county seat, a city of about thirteen thousand five hundred people. Tortugas is bounded on the north by Mesilla Park and by State College, where the New Mexico College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts is located. El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua lie forty miles to the south. U. S. Highway 85 passes one-quarter mile west of the village. Although originally built on the Rio Grande River, which last flooded and changed its course in this area in 1906, Tortugas is now three and one-half miles from the river. The village is on the Doña Ana Bend Colony Grant (El Ancon de Doña Ana), a Mexican grant of 1839 to Don José María Costales, who founded the village Doña Ana, twelve miles to the north. The altitude is three thousand eight hundred and sixty-three feet. East of the village lie the Organ Mountains, with an altitude of over nine thousand feet.

The climate is generally temperate and dry. The low of record is 8° , with the average minimum 44° . The high of record is 106° , with the average maximum 76.8° . The growing season averages two hundred days a year, with the average

date of the last spring frost April ninth, and of the first fall frost October twenty-sixth. The average annual precipitation is 8.58 inches, with the mean annual relative humidity 48%. Average annual sunshine is 85%, with two hundred and twenty-eight days clear, ninety-four days partly cloudy, and forty-three days cloudy. The average number of days with at least 0.01 inches of precipitation is forty-two. Wind velocity averages 7.1 miles per hour. The mean snowfall is 2.4 inches per year.

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 two. Wind velocity averages 7.1 miles per hour. The mean
 snowfall is 2.4 inches per year.

HISTORY

The village of Tortugas can trace its ancestry through Isleta del Sur and ultimately to the pueblo of Isleta. The material in the following section is based primarily upon Hackett's definitive study of the Pueblo Rebellion¹, which brings into sharp relief the complex series of events which culminated in the Isletan retreat to El Paso.

In August of 1680 there was a general revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico against the Spaniards. Involved in this rebellion was the pueblo of Isleta, on the Rio Grande, about ten miles south of the present city of Albuquerque. The Isletans did not participate in the rebellion. However, they suffered at the hands of both protagonists with the result that they became "displaced persons".

The onset of the uprising found Governor Otermín immobilized in Santa Fe. After the initial carnage, Lieutenant General Alonso Garcia, Lieutenant Governor for the Rio Abajo district, was separated from the main body of the Spanish forces with a small group of refugees. His province included the pueblos of Puaray, Alameda, and Sandia. These had rebelled and killed one hundred and twenty inhabitants

¹Hackett, *Revolt*, Introduction, et passim.

of the valley. They pillaged the estancias of horses, cattle, and other property, all of which was collected at Sandia pueblo. Garcia and his followers took refuge in Isleta, which they reached late in the day of August tenth. Garcia, in command of some fifteen hundred people, including seven missionaries, had only one hundred and twenty men capable of bearing arms.

Taking over one thousand refugees, Otermín abandoned Santa Fe for Isleta on the twenty-first of August. He hoped to escape before the Pueblo Indians could recover from their losses, ally themselves with the Apaches, and make another attack. He was unaware that a week before, Garcia and his followers, whom he assumed were in Isleta, had fled south.

Garcia's decision to move south from Isleta had been conditioned by several circumstances. He and his group had every reason to believe the reports that Governor Otermín and his division had been massacred. Moreover, supplies were low as a result of the haste with which their homes had been abandoned. Furthermore, his position in Isleta was becoming untenable. The natives of Isleta outnumbered the Spaniards and were better stocked with munitions and provisions. They "were becoming restless and warlike, due to the threats that had come to them from the other pueblos, and especially those of their own (Tiwa) nation for not

having taken part in the revolt."²

Accordingly, Garcia held a meeting on the fourteenth of August, and it was decided to retreat to Mexico. As Lieutenant Governor and Captain-General, he quite reasonably thought that there was now no superior authority above him in the whole province and gave the order to abandon Isleta.

When Otermín reached the pueblo he found it deserted. He overtook Garcia's group at Fray Cristobal and put Garcia under arrest for exceeding his authority. Garcia attempted to vindicate his action on the following grounds. First, he told how reports of the northern Spanish inhabitants had caused his company to become impatient to leave for their own safety. He also related his desperate attempts to communicate with the northern refugees. On August eleventh, before his retreat from the devastated country to the north, he had made a stand at his house, three and a half leagues below Sandia, "in order to learn something definite and reliable of the fate of the Governor and the inhabitants of the other jurisdictions."³ Garcia and six sons fortified themselves and held out for two days. Indians in mounted

²Hackett, *Revolt*, p. lxix.

³Hackett, *Revolt*, p. lvii.

having taken part in the...
Accordingly, the...
of August, and it was...
Lieutenant Governor and...
ably thought that there...
him in the whole province...
Island.
When General...
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to vindicate his...
he told how reports of...
caused his company to...
own safety. He also...
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before his return...
he had made a...
below Garcia, "in order...
reliable of the...
the other...
themselves and held...

² Mackay, Nevada, ...
³ Mackay, Nevada, ...

squads cut them off completely from all outside aid. Three messages were dispatched to Santa Fe, thirty leagues away, none arriving at their destination. At the same time Otermín in Santa Fe was trying to establish communication with the Rio Abajo people. He, too, was unsuccessful.

After Otermín had examined the autos presented for the defense, Garcia was freed and absolved of all blame. Hackett⁴ considers that the whole arrest and trial of Garcia was largely a matter of form. The combined forces then continued their retreat, in order to insure the safety of the women and children. They made temporary camp at La Salineta, a place within the present limits of Texas. On October fifth the Sargento Mayor, Luis de Granillo, "appeared before him (Otermín) and, in behalf of all the people in the camp, presented a petition asking that, because of the many dangers and inconveniences which beset them at La Salineta, the whole camp be allowed to move to a place on the opposite side of the river near the monastery of Guadalupe".⁵ Such was the nature of the founding of El Paso. As Espinosa points out,⁶ however, old El Paso

⁴Hackett, *Revolt*, p. c.

⁵Hackett, *Revolt*, p. cxv.

⁶Espinosa, *Crusaders*, p. 20.

aguarda and then off to the kitchen to get the
messengers were also at the door. The messengers
none arriving at the door. The messengers
Oscarin is dead. The messengers
with the the messengers. The messengers
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the defense, Oscarin was killed. The messengers
Hackett considers that the messengers
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a place on the opposite side of the messengers. The messengers
very of Oscarin. The messengers
of El Paso. The messengers

Hackett, Oscarin, Garcia
Hackett, Oscarin, Garcia
Hackett, Oscarin, Garcia

was located on the south or Mexican side of the river, where the town of Juarez now stands. It did not occupy its present site in Texas.

The refugees were in no position to attempt a reconquest, but by November, 1681, practically all arrangements had been completed at El Paso for an expedition against the rebels. A party departed on November fifth. According to Hackett,⁷ Otermín made this move with much trepidation, feeling that the possibility of success was slight. He felt, however, that it was his duty to attempt an entrada. His force consisted of one hundred and forty-six soldiers, of whom sixteen were raw recruits, one hundred and twelve Indian allies of the Mansos, Piros, Tigua [Tiwa], and Jemez nations, and twenty-eight servants, nine of whom were armed. Otermín himself took eight armed servants. There were seven religious. The total force amounted to some two hundred and ninety persons.

When the party approached the pueblo of Isleta, many of his soldiers lost confidence, and Otermín decided to march against the pueblo with seventy picked men upon whom he could depend. On the night of December fifth, this group arrived within a short distance of Isleta. Before dawn he

⁷Hackett, *Revolt*, p. cxxxiii ff.

was located on the north side of the river
where the town of ...
present site in ...
The refugees ...
conquest, but by ...
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When the army ...
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major against the ...
he could depend. ...
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... ..

divided his men into four groups, in order to approach the pueblo from all sides. Prior to this he had sent a scouting party to the hills north of the pueblo to discover if it was still inhabited. They approached to within five leagues of the village and reported that it was, for they had seen smoke rising.

As the soldiers advanced to attack, "they extolled in loud voices the most holy sacrament."⁸ The Indians were taken by surprise, but the warning was given, the entire pueblo garrisoned in a very short time, and some arrows were discharged at the attacking force. However, the capture of the village was effected by the Spaniards without firing a single shot. Otermín gained the plaza and called upon the Indians to surrender peaceably. This was done, and the Isletans laid down their arms. Contritely they explained to the Spaniards that the soldiers had been fired upon because they had been mistaken for Apaches. Otermín ordered all of the inhabitants to assemble in the plaza. Hackett explains⁹ that these included outsiders from the Piro pueblos of Socorro, Alamillo, and Sevilleta, and from other pueblos, a total of over five hundred persons. Bandelier¹⁰

⁸Hackett, *Revolt*, p. cxxxi.

⁹Hackett, *Revolt*, p. cxxxi.

¹⁰Bandelier, *Final Report*, part II, p. 234.

divided his men into four groups, the first group was
pushed from all sides. From the first group he sent
the party to the hillsides of the village and returned
was still inhabited. They were the first to see
of the village and returned to the village and
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loud voices the most holy and sacred. The soldiers were
taken by surprise, but the soldiers and the first group
pushed towards the hillsides of the village and returned
discharged as the soldiers returned. The soldiers were
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ed all of the Indians were surprised. The soldiers and the first group
explained that these Indians were the first group
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question, a total of over the first group.

⁸ Blackett, David, p. 100.

⁹ Blackett, David, p. 100.

¹⁰ Sandel, John, p. 100.

notes that, "Previous to the uprising Isleta had received accessions from the Tigua settlements near the Manzano, when these pueblos were abandoned in consequence of the Apaches. This explains why the southern Tiguas of Isleta in Texas claim to have descended from Cuaray at the Salines. The fugitives from the latter village fled to Isleta, and were subsequently transported thence to the south...."

When the Isletans gathered in the plaza, they were reprimanded by Oterín for their sacrilegious acts. They had destroyed the crosses in the village and burned the monastery and the church. The shell of the church had been converted into a cattle corral. The Isletans denied responsibility for these acts, attributing the blame to the Indians of Taos and Picuris and of the Tewa nation, who had ordered them to return to their pre-Hispanic paganism. Oterín demanded that everything Spanish, both religious and secular, be reinstated. To this effect the pueblo was searched. The Governor then ordered crosses to be made, not only large ones for the houses and plaza, but smaller ones which the Indians were to wear around their necks. Finally, at the Governor's decree, a general thanksgiving was held.

Before dawn, however, two natives of Puaray escaped. Oterín feared that they would carry the news of the coming of the Spaniards to the other pueblos, who would then

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abandon their homes and retreat to mountain strongholds. Accordingly, he sent two Sandia men to the Tiwa pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia ordering them to surrender without resistance, "as Christians", or he would attack. At Isleta, meanwhile, all the inhabitants were being assembled for all church services. In all, five hundred and eleven were absolved and baptized. A description of the ceremony¹¹ is of some interest:

Early the next morning, December 7, Otermín ordered the Indian Governor and the Captains whom he had appointed to have all the Indians in the pueblo assemble in the plaza. Father Ayeta had already sent for the portable altar, which was being brought from El Paso, mounted on a small four-wheeled cart, and in which mass was said and the rosary recited daily.... Then Father Ayeta put on the alb and the stole and addressed the assembled Indians. He did so through an interpreter because of the presence of so many representatives from other nations. He explained to them the grave character of their offenses which in so many ways they had committed, and exhorted them to return to the faith. After the sermon Father Ayeta absolved the apostates, observing all the ceremonials generally practiced by the church on such an occasion. After this, many who had never been baptized received this sacrament....

Father Ayeta then ordered the married Indians to take back their lawful wives and families, and all alike--married men, widowers, and bachelors--were exhorted not to offend God any more. Otermín reprimanding them for their immorality, exhorted them in the same manner. The Indians were then ordered to take out of their houses and from any other places whatsoever, the idols, feathers, powders, masks, and every other thing pertaining to their idolatry and superstition. This was done, and when all such things had been collected they were

¹¹Hackett, Revolt, p. cxxxiii ff.

piled in a heap and burned.... After a short devotion-
al service in honor of the eve of the Immaculate Con-
ception, all the Indians returned to their homes,
apparently very greatly pleased.

From December 7, 1681 until January 2, 1682, Otermín
was engaged with the people to the north. Suffice it to say
that these operations were unsuccessful.

About four o'clock in the morning of December 24, Juan
de la Cruz, Otermín's Lieutenant at Isleta, arrived at
Otermín's camp at Plaza de Armas de las Hacienda de Luis de
Carbajal. He had come¹²

....to crave protection again for the natives of that
pueblo, stating that about midnight of that same night
a troop of mounted Indians, apparently fifty in number,
under the leadership of Don Luis Tupatu, the superior
chief of the apostates, had called to the Isleta Indians
from a bluff or knoll on the opposite side of the river
and asked them what they had done with the Spaniards;
was it because the Spaniards had tied them that they did
not leave their pueblo and join the apostates? They in-
formed the Isleta Indians that the Piros who had fled
from that pueblo, after having given their obedience to
the Spaniards, had joined the apostates and were very
well pleased; that if they did not likewise join the
apostates the latter would kill them and their women and
children wherever they might catch them. The Isleta
Indians, on thus being threatened, armed themselves and
at once sent Juan to solicit aid of Otermín in the name
of the governor, captains, and people of that pueblo.
As soon as Otermín heard Juan's story, he ordered twenty
men to make ready to go at once....to the assistance and
protection of the Isleta Indians and upon arrival....to
send him word of conditions there.

By December 30 Otermín's division had returned to a

¹²Hackett, *Revolt*, p. clxxxix ff.

location near Isleta. The following day Otermín summoned a Junta de Guerra to discuss the future policy of the Spaniards. In view of the miserable condition of the army and its precarious position, it was decided to withdraw. The Junta felt obligated to protect the natives of Isleta, and since it did not seem safe to leave a Spanish force there, the Junta decided that the soldiers should accompany the Indians to El Paso.¹³ Accordingly, on the next day, Otermín issued an auto setting this in effect, and instructing that a "scorched earth" policy be followed. When Otermín reached Isleta with fifty of his soldiers, he found that of the five hundred and eleven people who had been captured, only three hundred and eighty-five remained, the others having joined the rebels. McGovern¹⁴ notes that some Isletans are said to have scattered to other pueblos at the time of the revolt in 1680, with others going to the Hopi country.

The Spaniards burned all of the grain and property

¹³"On the eastern side (of the Rio Grande) there is a settlement of about six houses, the people of whom are referred to as nabatörtöt'ainin, White Village people, who are said to be 'mean people', also to speak a little differently, dialectically, from the townspeople proper. In folk tales these names refer to two different groups, the yellow Earth people being localized in the ruins in the bluff above the White Village. I have heard also that from this district went the immigrants to Isleta El Paso, Isleta del Sur." Parsons, Isleta, p. 208.

¹⁴McGovern, General Survey, p. 20.

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that could not be carried, as well as the entire pueblo. On January 2, 1682 the retreat down river was begun. On January 6, Epiphany, six Indian prisoners, captured after escaping from Isleta and joining the rebels, were absolved. Four were Piro from Acoma, and two were Keresans who had been captured about two leagues from Isleta. Of the four Piro pueblos south of Isleta, all were found to be deserted. When Otermín took muster after arrival near the site of the present El Paso, Texas, he was in command of one thousand nine hundred and forty-six persons.¹⁵ This total included soldiers, servants, women and children, and Indians.

Otermín's series of autos terminates at Estero Largo,¹⁶ about twenty-eight leagues from El Paso on February 11, 1682. From this point on, the record is fragmentary and confusing. He must have arrived at El Paso shortly after the above date. Three new mission pueblos were founded.¹⁷ These were popu-

¹⁵Espinosa, Crusaders, p. 20.

¹⁶Trumbo (New Mexico Place Name Dictionary, 1950) identifies "Estro Largo" as located in the vicinity of Las Cruces. The Spanish, meaning, "long estuary or pond", comes from the shape of the waterhole.

¹⁷According to Fray Juan Agustín de Morfi, eleven settlements were erected at this time: Nra. Señora de Guadalupe of El Paso, La Socorro of Piro, S. Francisco of Zumas, Sacramento of Tequas, San Antonio of Zenecú, Piro and Tompiros, S. Gertrudis of Sumas, Soledad of Kanos, San Lorenzo-Real and villa jurada of Spaniards to which some Zumas were

that could not be carried, as well as the entire pueblo. On January 2, 1882 the retreat down river was begun. On January 6, Biquinny, six Indian prisoners, captured after escaping from Jales and joining the rebels, were received. Four were from Jales, and two were from the rebels who had been captured about two leagues from Jales. Of the four who had been south of Jales, all were found to be deserted. When O'Connell took muster after arrival near the site of the present El Paso, Texas, he was in command of one thousand nine hundred and forty-six persons.¹⁵ This total included soldiers, servants, women and children, and Indians. O'Connell's series of major settlements at Jales, Jales, about twenty-eight leagues from El Paso on February 11, 1882. From this point on, the record is fragmentary and confusing. He must have arrived at El Paso shortly after the above date. Three new mission pueblos were founded.¹⁷ These were popu-

¹⁵Capitulos, Grupos, p. 20.

¹⁶Trumbo (New Mexico Place Dictionary, 1920) identifies "Jales" as located in the vicinity of Las Cruces. The Spanish, meaning, "long security or pond", comes from the shape of the waterhole.

¹⁷According to Fray Juan Agustín de Norz, eleven settlements were erected at this time: San Benito de Guadalupe of El Paso, La Socorro of El Paso, San Francisco of El Paso, Sacramento of El Paso, San Antonio of El Paso, and San Gerónimo of El Paso. Several of these, San Gerónimo, San Antonio, and San Benito, were founded by Spaniards in which some Spaniards were

lated by three hundred and eighty-five Indians who had accompanied Otermín from Isleta, a few who had joined him in his original retreat in 1680, and some who came later.¹⁸ The three pueblos were:¹⁹ (1) San Antonio de Senecu, composed of Piroso and Tompiros, two leagues below El Paso (or Guadalupe); (2) Corpus Christi de Isleta (Bonilla, Apuntes, MS, 2, calls it S. Lorenzo del Realito), composed of Tiwas, one and one half leagues east of Senecu; and (3) Nuestra Señora del Socorro on the Rio del Norte, which included Piroso, Tanos, and Jemez, seven leagues from Isleta and twelve leagues from El Paso. The exact location of these sites is uncertain. According to Coan,²⁰ they were "established in a pueblo known as Isleta del Sur ten miles south of El Paso on the Texas side of the Rio Grande" (italics mine). Espinosa²¹ writes; "The various settlements in the El Paso district were at this time on the south bank of the Rio Grande, that is, in the present Mexican state of Chihuahua" (italics mine).

late added, and S. Pedro Alcantara, S. Jose, and El Pueblo Viejo de la Isleta, these last three being settled by Spaniards. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, pp. 108 ff.

¹⁸Bancroft, *History*, p. 191.

¹⁹Bancroft, *History*, p. 191.

²⁰Coan, *History*, p. 100.

²¹Espinosa, op. cit., p. 20.

laced by three hundred and eighty-five Indians who had accompanied certain from Ialata, a few who had joined him in his original retreat in 1680, and some who came later. The three parties were: ¹⁸ (1) San Antonio de San Juan, composed of Piro and Tschirra, two leagues below El Paso (or Chabaja); (2) Corpus Christi de Ialata (Ialata, Aguarico, 1680); (3) San Lorenzo del Huelmo, composed of Tschirra, one and one half leagues east of San Juan; and (4) Nuestra Señora del Socorro on the Rio del Norte, which included Piro, Tschirra, and Tschirra, seven leagues from Ialata and twelve leagues from El Paso. The exact location of these sites is uncertain. According to Guam, ²⁰ they were established in a pueblo known as Ialata del Sur ten miles south of El Paso on the lower side of the Rio Grande (Ialata mine). ²¹ The various settlements in the El Paso district were at this time on the south bank of the Rio Grande, that is, in the present Mexican state of Chihuahua (Ialata mine).

face added, and S. Pedro Alcantara, S. Juan, and El Huelmo. Vialto de la Ialata, these three being added by Guam. Ialata, Thomas, *Topogical Frontiers*, pp. 108 ff.

¹⁸ Bancroft, *History*, p. 191.

¹⁹ Bancroft, *History*, p. 191.

²⁰ Guam, *History*, p. 109.

²¹ Ialata, Thomas, *Topogical Frontiers*, pp. 108 ff.

Bandelier and Hewett²² believe that Isleta del Sur was situated on the north bank. In a passage which somehow manages to ignore Otermín's retreat completely, they state:

....North of the Pinos, between a line drawn south of Isleta and Mesa del Canjilon, the Tiguas occupied a number of villages, mostly on the western bank of the river, and a few Tigua settlements existed also on the margin of the eastern plains beyond the Sierra del Manzano. These outlying Tigua settlements also were abandoned in the seventeenth century, their inhabitants fleeing from the Apaches and retiring to form the pueblo of Isleta del Sur on the left bank of the Rio Grande in Texas (italics mine).

Bloom²³ places Socorro and Senecu on the Mexican side. Be this as it may, Isleta del Sur is presently on the Texas side of the Rio Grande.

In 1692, de Vargas was making final preparations for his entrada. In that year the mission of San Diego was founded²⁴ at Guadalupe, two leagues from Socorro and seven leagues from El Paso.²⁵ This mission was settled by three hundred Suma Indians. By the end of May de Vargas officially

²²Bandelier and Hewett, *Indians*, p. 141.

²³Bloom, *Bourke on the Southwest*, p. 206, f.n.

²⁴Fray Juan Agustín de Morfi does not mention this village, although he does mention two other villages founded after the original 1680 settlement of the area: S. Maria Magdalena, 1707, by Yumas; and Caldas, sometime after 1707. Caldas was subsequently depopulated after 1744. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, pps. 108 ff.

²⁵Bailey, *Diego de Vargas*, p. 19.

Handel and Hewett²² believe that La Jolla del Sur was situated on the north bank. In a passage which somewhat supports so ignore Oserlin's report completely, they stated:

...North of the river, between a line drawn south of La Jolla and Mesa del Castillo, the Indians occupied a number of villages, mostly on the western bank of the river, and a few larger settlements situated also on the margin of the eastern plain beyond the Rio Grande. These including the settlements also were abandoned in the seventeenth century. Their inhabitants fleeing from the Apaches and retiring to form the pueblo of La Jolla del Sur on the left bank of the Rio Grande in Texas (italics mine).

Bloom²³ places Socorro and Seneca on the Mexican side. He this as it may, La Jolla del Sur is presently on the Texas side of the Rio Grande.

In 1692, de Vargas was making final preparations for his entrada. In that year the mission of San Ysidro was founded²⁴ at Guadalupe, two leagues from Socorro and seven leagues from El Paso.²⁵ This mission was settled by three hundred Spaniards. By the end of May de Vargas officially

²²Handel and Hewett, Indians, p. 141.
²³Bloom, Bouke on the Southwest, p. 200, C.N.
²⁴Vray Juan Augustin de Norli does not mention this village, although he does mention two other villages founded after the original 1680 settlement of the area: San Ysidro, 1707, by Yuma; and Galbas, sometime after 1707. Galbas was subsequently depopulated after 1766. Yuma, Forgotten Frontiers, pp. 108 ff.
²⁵Bailey, Diego de Vargas, p. 12.

transferred the missions, including the churches, convents, and lands of Isleta del Sur, Senecu, and Socorro, to the Franciscan Fathers. Espinosa writes that the Indians of the latter three pueblos were constantly at work in El Paso repairing irrigation ditches during that year. He adds,²⁶ "Periodic Apache raids from the surrounding mountains continued, but otherwise the Indian problem was fairly well in hand. During Vargas' absence in the north the settlements were almost entirely entrusted to the good faith of Indian allies, and as it turned out they did not fail in their trust."

From December 28, 1691 to January 2, 1692, de Vargas personally took a careful census of the entire El Paso district.²⁷ His results were as follows: Senecu, sixty-three inhabitants in two households; Isleta, one hundred and eighteen inhabitants in sixteen households; Socorro, one hundred and thirty inhabitants in fifteen households. Just what is meant by "households" is not clear.

A census made in 1749 or 1750 by Padre Rosas y Figueroa

²⁶Espinosa, op. cit., p. 50.

²⁷Espinosa, op. cit., p. 50.

discloses a large rise in population:²⁸

	Whites	Indians
El Paso	1090	200
San Lorenzo	150	150
Senecu	102	384
Isleta	54	500
Socorro	250	250

There are a few scattered references to the pueblo of Isleta del Sur after 1750. Lieutenant Bourke, of the United States Cavalry, visited the pueblo in November of 1881²⁹ and reported that it was largely Mexicanized. There were still, however, many pueblo traits, including clans. He reported that, "The old man (the Lieutenant Governor) complained that the Americans and Mexicans were crowding into their beautiful valley and taking up, without any recompence, land belonging to the people of the Pueblo.

In brief recapitulation, then, the founding of Isleta del Sur was a result of the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680. Isleta, being neutral, was a haven for the retreating Spaniards, and a base for Otermín's abortive entrada of 1681-2. All the remaining inhabitants accompanied Otermín on his second retreat for their own protection, and the pueblo was burned. They were settled in the El Paso-Juarez region and were progressively Mexicanized.

²⁸Kelley, Franciscan Missions, p. 363.

²⁹Bloom, Bourke on the Southwest, Pp. 204-209.

disclosed a large rise in population.

Indians	Whites	
200	1000	El Paso
150	150	San Antonio
324	102	San Juan
200	25	Salinas
250	250	San Antonio

There are a few scattered references to the people of Salinas del Sur after 1750. Lieutenant Bourke, of the United States Cavalry, visited the people in November of 1881²⁹ and reported that it was largely Mexicanized. There were still, however, many pueblo tribes, including Comanche. He reported that "The old man (the Lieutenant Governor) complained that the Americans and Mexicans were crowding into their beautiful valley and taking up, without any recompense, land belonging to the people of the pueblo."

In brief recapitulation, then, the founding of Salinas del Sur was a result of the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680. Salinas, being neutral, was a haven for the retreating Spaniards, and a base for O'Connell's abortive expedition of 1681-2. All the remaining inhabitants accompanied O'Connell on his second retreat for their own protection, and the pueblo was burned. They were settled in the El Paso-Texas region and were progressively Mexicanized.

²⁸ Kelley, *Frontier Missions*, p. 363.

²⁹ Bloom, *Bourke on the Southwest*, pp. 204-205.

The written sources on the settlement of Tortugas and the testimony of informants, both Indian and Anglo, agree that most of the original inhabitants of Tortugas came from the pueblo of Isleta del Sur, with some Piros from Senecú, and a few Mansos.³⁰

However, Hurt³¹ denies the Isleta del Sur origin of Tortugas on the following grounds:

Fewkes makes no mention....of Tortugas village. While there is the theoretical possibility that this migration of Tiwas north from Isleta del Sur may account for the settlement at Tortugas village, there are several reasons which suggest otherwise. The Patron Saint of Isleta del Sur is San Antonio de Padua, the same Saint as Isleta in central New Mexico; while the Patron Saint of the Tiwas of Tortugas is the Virgin of Guadalupe. It would seem improbable that the name of the Patron Saint would be changed. Isleta del Sur was founded in 1681 by some 385 Indian captives from Isleta, New Mexico....The name of the Patron Saint was preserved in this migration.

Hurt then points out that the name of the Patron Saint, the Virgin of Guadalupe, who was the Patron Saint of the Mansos, "may give a clue to the origin of the Tortugas TiwasWhether the Tortugas Tiwas have always lived in the area....., or whether they represent a backwash from the resettled Manso band at Juarez or the Isleta del Sur Tiwas cannot be determined without further historic investigations".

³⁰See for instance, Bloom, op. cit., p. 10.

³¹Hurt, Tortugas, pp. 106 ff.

The writer's account of the... the reaction of... that most of the... the people of... and a few...

However, many... Tortugas on the... For the... there is the... of the... settlement of... which... But is... in... Town of... was... be changed... of the...

But that... the Virgin of... Manos, "say... .. of... .. of... .. cannot be...

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The objection to the Isleta del Sur origin of Tortugas on the basis of the Patron Saint is, in the opinion of this writer, not valid. It is true that San Antonio was the Patron Saint of Isleta del Sur, but only for the period from 1681 to 1692. When the church was placed under the jurisdiction of the Franciscans in 1692, it was named Corpus Christi de Ysleta and has retained that name from 1692 to the present. Moreover, while a correspondence of Patron Saints might be admissible evidence for provenience, the lack of it can hardly negate this proposition.

The reason or reasons impelling the first colonists to leave Isleta del Sur are unknown. It is possible that economic necessity was the ultimate cause. In 1881 Lieutenant Bourke reported that Americans and Mexicans were appropriating the lands of Isleta del Sur. This process may well have been taking place thirty years earlier, when Tortugas was founded.³² Mrs. Henry Stoes, who has lived in Las Cruces since 1876, places the first settlement in 1851.³³ According to C. L. Loomis:³⁴ "Probably the history of the village began

³²Bloom, Bourke on the Southwest, vol. 13, no. 2, p. 206, gives the early 1850's as the date of the settlement of Tortugas.

³³Personal communication.

³⁴Loomis and Leonard, Standards of Living, p. 4.

The objection to the title of the book is, on the basis of the Patron Saint is, in the opinion of the writer, not valid. It is true that San Antonio was the Patron Saint of Laredo del Sur, but only for the period from 1881 to 1893. When the church was placed under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop in 1893, it was named Corpus Christi de Laredo and has retained that name from 1893 to the present. Moreover, while a correspondence of Laredo del Sur might be admissible evidence for the purpose, the fact of its having been this objection.

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³² Ibid., p. 100, where on the basis of the evidence of the early 1890's as the date of the establishment of Laredo del Sur.

³³ Patron Saint of Laredo del Sur.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 100, where on the basis of the evidence of the early 1890's as the date of the establishment of Laredo del Sur.

shortly after the settlement of Old Mesilla, which was once quite famous as a military outpost and frontier town on the Mexican border before the Gadsden Purchase in 1853."

The earliest reference to Tortugas is by Brevet Captain John Pope, who was in the area in 1854:³⁵

Doña Ana, opposite the northern extremity of the Mesilla (valley), is the oldest town in this part of the country, having been first settled in 1842. Las Cruces, Las Tortugas, and the military post of Fort Fillmore,³⁶ are the only settlements between Doña Ana and El Paso, and the population of the valley opposite the Mesilla does not exceed fifteen hundred.

And again:

At the northern extremity is the town of Doña Ana, on the river and about seven miles below the Jornada [del Muerto]. Extending from this village a distance of fifteen miles along the east or left bank of the river are the towns of the Las Cruces and Las Tortugas, and the military post of Fort Fillmore. Opposite we find the valley and town of Mesilla.

Apparently the Mesilla Valley was settled in a decade, for Dona Ana was founded in 1842, Las Cruces in 1849, and La Mesilla in 1850.

It is generally agreed that the present village of Tortugas is actually composed of two villages, Guadalupe and San Juan. However, the reality of two towns seems now to be nonexistent. Reliable informants placed each village to the north, east, south, or west of the other one. Some asserted

³⁵Pope, Report of Exploration, p. 6.

³⁶Fort Fillmore was in the military establishment from 1851 to 1862.

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35 Pope, Report of Expedition, p. 6.

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that the church is in San Juan while others located it in Guadalupe. Some said that Guadalupe was the older Indian village, while others claimed this distinction for San Juan. About all that can be determined with any degree of certitude is that the original town settled by the Indians was the one known as Guadalupe.

There are varying explanations of the origin of the name "Tortugas", the Spanish work for "turtles". Trumbo states:³⁷

....According to their tribal legends they settled on the banks of the Rio Grande (the river has changed since) at their present place in 1680 or 1682, from one of the expeditions lead by Governor Otermin. By the time the expedition had reached this place, there were old or ill people who had gotten this far, but were unable to go on. Because they were slowing up the retreat, they were called "tortugas" or "turtles", and when their settlement was made, it was referred to as the village of the turtles. There are no historical references to uphold these legends. Some authorities contend that the people of Tortugas moved to the valley during the 19th Century, coming up from the settlements around El Paso.

As we have seen the latter statement is correct, and the unlikelihood of this explanation of the derivation of the name is further attested by the lack of potsherds and extensive garbage dumps, which would be expected had the site been occupied by the "old and ill people" since the 1680's. For these reasons we must reject this hypothesis as untenable.

³⁷Trumbo, MS, History of Las Cruces, Section 4, p. 15.

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Doctor Florence Hawley Ellis has very kindly given me the following data from her field notes, collected in 1948. An Isleta informant of hers gives an account of the migration of Piro to Isleta and to Isleta del Sur (Isleta, Texas):

Long ago, when my people--long before I was living--came from the south they went all over the mountains and plains. The last they made was a village at Gran Quivera; that's an old ruin in Estancia Valley. When they were destroyed by the Apaches they walked toward northwest and part of them came around the Manzano Mountains, and the others separated and hit the valley and went south. Today they are living at the place which they call "Turtle Town", pueblo Tortuga, and we call it Paquarate--this is Isleta, Texas. They talk the same language today but it is all mixed with Mexican now....

The name, then, of Tortugas was already familiar to the colonists and had, indeed, been one of the names of their former home.

One plausible explanation of the name is given by the natives of the village. To the east of the village is Tortugas Mountain, one of the foothills of the Organ Mountains. It is very reminiscent of the shape of the turtle and is usually referred to simply as El Cerro, "the hill". It figures prominently in the religious ceremonies connected with Guadalupe Day.

Another explanation of the origin of the name was given by a woman from the Mesilla Valley who has married an Isleta Indian and moved north. According to her account, the

Doctor Florence Hawley Ellis has very kindly given me the following data from her field notes, collected in 1948. An Iñupiat informant of hers gives an account of the migration of Iñupiat to Iñupiat and to Iñupiat (Iñupiat, Texas):

Long ago, when my people--long before I was living--came from the south they went all over the mountains and plains. The last they made was a village at Chiniquy; that's an old ruin in Chiniquy Valley. When they were destroyed by the Apaches they walked toward northwest and part of them came around the Chiniquy Mountains, and the others separated and hit the valley and went south. Today they are living at the place which they call "Turtle Town", goodly Tortugas, and we call it Iñupiat--this is Iñupiat, Texas. They call the same language today but it is all mixed with Iñupiat now....

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Another explanation of the origin of the name was given by a woman from the Matilla Valley who has married an Iñupiat Indian and moved north. According to her account, the

village was named Tortugas after a lake or marsh to the southwest which abounded in water turtles, for which the Indians fished. The lake has since dried up.

Village was named Fort Dodge after a lake or marsh to the south-
west which abounded in water turtles. For which the Indians
fished. The lake has since dried up.

ECONOMICS, SUBSISTENCE, AND MATERIAL CULTURE

The most significant factor in the economy of Tortugas has been a shift in recent years from a relative self-sufficiency, with some degree of subsistence farming, to an increasing dependence upon outside economic forces, with wage work forming the major source of support. This change has been due to certain historical influences. The economic expansion of the Mesilla Valley was brought about in large measure by improved transportation facilities, integrating it with the national economy. And, as Tortugas lost what little land she must have had when the village was founded, she became more dependent on economic events in the Mesilla Valley as a whole, and ultimately on economic events in the national scene. The ownership of the land passed from the hands of carriers of Spanish-American culture to those of northwest European ancestry. Increasingly efficient land use and the introduction of new crops in the valley made large-scale agriculture profitable. The consequences of these changes in terms of the village of Tortugas were far-reaching, touching upon many aspects of culture.

The economy of Tortugas can be most effectively described in terms of three periods, identified with major historical events. These have been designated Early, Transitional, and Recent Tortugas. The period of Early Tortugas

included the thirty years from the establishment of the village, probably in 1851, to the coming of the railroad in 1881. This latter event ushered in the Transitional Period, which drew to a close with the construction of the Elephant Butte Dam in 1916. The Recent Period extends from this date to the present.

Generally speaking, the Early Period, (1851-1881) saw an economic system not unlike that of the Pueblo peoples of northern New Mexico to whom the Tortuguños were related, although their land holdings were not nearly so extensive or well-protected by treaty. Besides subsistence agriculture, the pursuits of hunting, fishing, and economically significant crafts and manufactures played a major role.

Tortugas never held agricultural land as a community. There were, however, small individual holdings and garden plots. C. L. Loomis¹ states, "....it is known that at one time the natives owned and farmed as their own some of the lands on which they now work for wages...." It is very doubtful that this land was legally owned in today's sense, but was probably "squatted".

Even at the time Tortugas was founded, Americans were making serious economic inroads in the Mesilla Valley.

¹Loomis and Leonard, Standards of Living,

included the thirty years from the settlement of the village, probably in 1851, to the present. This latter event marked in the history of the village which drew to a close with the construction of the Buena Vista Dam in 1916. The present period extends from 1916 to the present.

Generally speaking, the period 1851-1916 is an economic system not unlike that of the United States in northern New Mexico to which the Indians and Mexicans, although their land holdings were not nearly so extensive, well-protected by fences. Land was subdivided into the purposes of hunting, fishing, and agriculture. Land could be used and transferred by the owner. Foreigners never held agricultural land in this area. There were, however, small individual holdings and plots. C. L. Loomis states that in 1851, at the time the land was owned and divided into plots, some of the lands on which now new towns were built were very doubtful that this land was really owned by the Indians but was probably "squatted".

Even at the time the Indians were still in the area making serious economic progress in the valley.

Loomis and Leonard, *Geographical History*

Bartlett² describes the process:

Immediately preceeding, and after the war with Mexico, the Mexican population occupying the east bank of the Rio Grande in Texas and New Mexico were greatly annoyed by the encroachment of the Americans, and by their determined efforts to despoil them of their landed property. This was done by the latter either settling among them, or in some instances forcibly occupying their dwellings and cultivated spots. In most cases, however, it was done by putting "Texas head-rights" on their property. These head-rights were grants issued by the state of Texas generally embracing 640 acres, or a mile square, though they sometimes covered very large tracts. They were issued to persons who had served in her wars, like our military land warrants, and also to original settlers. Such certificates are still (1851) bought and sold in Texas. The owner of them may locate his land where he pleases, unless previously occupied, or in lawful possession of another.

With these land certificates, or "head-rights", many Americans flocked to the valley of the Rio Grande, and in repeated instances located them on property which for a century had been in the quiet possession of the descendents of the old Spanish colonists. The latter, to avoid litigation, and sometimes in fear of their lives, abandoned their homes and sought a refuge on the Mexican side of the river.

This may also help to explain why the founders of Tortugas emigrated from Isleta del Sur.

There was a limit to the amount of land that could be worked, for in the Mesilla Valley only the irrigated land near the river was and is suitable for agricultural purposes. Even in the early period there appears to have been some sharecropping, with the Tortugas farmer keeping one-half to two-thirds of the produce. The lack of land has had far-

²Bartlett, Personal Narrative, pp. 212-13.

reaching social and economic consequences in Tortugas history. It has served as a major factor setting Tortugas apart from other Pueblo groups.

The base of Tortugas economy rested not only on subsistence agriculture but upon wage work as well, with its concomitant money economy. The role of wage work in the community economy must not be over-emphasized, although money-getting activities assumed a much greater importance at Tortugas as opposed to other pueblo groups. It is impossible to set forth in a quantitative way the balance between wage work and other subsistence activities for this period, but it is obvious that even in the early history of Tortugas the balance was tipped in the direction of wage work.

The people of Tortugas had an excellent reputation as wage workers. As one old resident of the Valley said, "They were considered fine and honest and were trusted by all. Their word was their bond and they never cheated."

The bulk of wage work was in agricultural activity. Most of the land was owned by the Mexican colonists who had preceded the people of Tortugas in the Mesilla Valley. The Tortugas men were primarily field hands hired by the day, but they engaged in sharecropping to a lesser extent.

The manufacture of adobes was another important source of income. Tortugas men were considered to be good judges of adobe soils and were hired as day laborers to make the adobe

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bricks, the major building material of the area. Crafts, which were another source of cash income, will be described in another section.

In this early period of Tortugas occupation there was a highly diversified list of crops, including Indian corn, beans, wheat, chile, apples, pears, apricots, grapes, and alfalfa and other forage crops. The variety of crops made for a good measure of self-sufficiency in the valley.

Wheat was placed on cleared ground and horses driven back and forth upon it in order to separate the grain from the chaff. As described by one informant, "They used to have a big stack, and they put ropes around them and made a regular fence, and they run around there. And they wait for the good Lord to send them wind then to thrash (winnow) it out. And whenever the wind comes, it didn't make any difference if it were night or morning, they were busy right there to thrash it out." Wheat was sold by the fanega, approximately 1.6 bushels.

Apparently the most important domesticated animal was the goat. Goat milk was used both for drinking and in the manufacture of cheese. The meat was consumed either fresh or dried, the latter product being known as carne seco. Goat dung was used for fires.

Cattle were used for hides and dung. Whether or not the people of Tortugas owned their cattle is not known, and

bricks, the major building material of the country, which were another source of cash income, will be mentioned in another section.

In this early period of foreign domination there was a highly diversified list of crops, including such items as beans, wheat, chili, apples, pears, apricots, peaches, and alfalfa and other forage crops. The variety of crops was for a good measure of self-sufficiency in the valley. There was placed on cleared ground the same amount back and forth again in order to improve the quality of the soil. As described by one informant, they used to have a big stack, and they cut right around them and made a very nice fence, and they run around there, and they wait for the good land to come back and then they cut it again (wheat) in one. And whenever the wind comes, it blows the soil back and if it were right or wrong, they were also right and wrong. There is cut. What was sold by the farmer, approximately 1.5 bushels.

Apparently the most important domesticated animal was the goat. Goat milk was used both for drinking and in the manufacture of cheese. The meat was consumed. In addition, or rather, the latter product being known as goat cheese. Goat dung was used for fuel. Goats were used for hides and wool. Whether or not the people of foreign origin owned their cattle is not known.

no mention was made of utilizing the flesh or milk.

Wild horses were caught on the mesas and, with burros, were used both for transportation and agricultural work. Chickens were also raised. There were many dogs in the village. These were kept as pets and also used for hunting. Both dogs and cats were commonly given to toddlers as personal pets.

Gathering was a minor activity, for wild plants were not abundant. As one man said, "There was nothing to gather unless you went out to some orchard."

Herbs of various kinds were collected and used by herb doctors. Likewise, all of the old women had their favorite remedies.

Native dyes were produced from wild plants. For yellow, Sumac root, or Algerita (*Mahonia haematocarpia*) was utilized. Cañaigre (*Rumex Hymenosepalus* Torr), a large leaf, was used for dyeing baskets.³ An unidentified "weed" was used for dyeing moccasins a reddish brown. Underhill⁴ writes, "If possible this was a dye made with Mountain Mahogany" in other

³Curtin, *Healing Herbs*, pp. 188-89. The tubers resemble sweet potatoes and contain tannin. Among some Rio Grande peoples these tubers were used for tanning hides. The plant was also used medicinally.

⁴Underhill, *Pueblo Crafts*, p. 116. Ellis (personal communication) says that this plant may have been the aforementioned cañaigre, which has been used by the Navaho for dyeing mocassins.

no mention was made of this fact in the report.
Wild horses were found on the range and, it was
stated, were used for the purpose of the investigation.
Chickens were also found. There were also some
alligators. These were not used for the purpose.
Both dogs and cats were found. The cats were
small cats.

Occasionally a small cat was found. It was
not abundant. In the case of the cats, it was
stated that they were not used for the purpose.
Horses of various breeds were found and used for the
purpose. The horses were found in the following
numbers:

Native and introduced (from the United States)
Great Horned Owl (Haliaeetus pelagicus) was found.
California (Haliaeetus pelagicus) was found.
for the purpose of the investigation.
Owls were found in the following numbers:
possible this was a very small number. It was

Native and introduced (from the United States)
Great Horned Owl (Haliaeetus pelagicus) was found.
California (Haliaeetus pelagicus) was found.
for the purpose of the investigation.
Owls were found in the following numbers:
possible this was a very small number. It was

pueblos. Colored clays used for painted pottery were found on Picacho Mountain.

Mesquite roots commonly were dug for firewood. Trompillo (*solanum elaeagnifolium* cai) was also gathered. This plant resembles a potato plant and bears a small yellow berry which was used as a substitute for rennet in the manufacture of cheese, curdling the milk and producing clabber.

During this early period hunting was a significant, but not a major economic activity. Both large and small animals were hunted, especially deer and rabbit. Rabbits were considered a "hard times" food and were hunted extensively in times of famine. They were pursued on foot and killed with sticks and stones or were shot with bow and arrow from horseback. The latter type of hunting obviously demanded a high degree of skill in both riding and marksmanship. There was an annual ceremonial rabbit hunt, but as this was not primarily an economic activity, discussion of it will be deferred until a later chapter.

Deer were hunted with the bow and arrow, and dogs usually accompanied the hunters. On a hunting party, if the men sighted an especially good animal, the first shot was taken by a man chosen by lot. The final kill was made with a knife.

Although fishing was engaged in, it was never an economically significant occupation, even considering the prox-

questions. Colored elays used for painted pottery were found on Piscoche Mountain.

Mesquite roots commonly were dug for firewood. *Lycium* (*Solanum elaeagnifolium* var.) was also gathered. This plant resembles a potato plant and bears a small yellow berry which was used as a substitute for rennet in the manufacture of cheese, curdling the milk and producing clabber.

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Deer were hunted with the bow and arrow, and dogs usually accompanied the hunters. On a hunting party, if the men sighted an especially good animal, the first shot was taken by a man chosen by lot. The final kill was made with a knife.

Although fishing was engaged in, it was never an economically significant occupation, even considering the prox-

imity of the Rio Grande. May men did not fish at all. The bow and arrow were used for fishing, both implements being of the standard hunting types.

Birds, especially doves, quail, and snowbirds, were trapped by boys. Small mammals were not trapped.

The traps used were of three types. In one type of trap a wire mesh box with a hole in the center was placed upon the ground. The trap was camouflaged with foilage and baited inside with wheat or some other grain. A line of grain was sprinkled leading to the entrance. The birds, usually quail, would follow the leader into the box. There was no need to close the entrance, for once the birds entered they did not leave. The trap was about two by three or four feet long and one or two feet high. The longest traps were considered the best.

The second type of trap was the "figure four", and was used for snowbirds. This trap consisted of a box supported upon sticks, resembling the arabic numeral 4. It was tripped in two ways. Either the horizontal bar was baited or a string was attached which could be pulled by a concealed operator at the opportune moment. This trap was considered to be inferior to the first type. It is a variation of the deadfall found generally throughout the Southwest.

The third type was used when the threshing ground was still covered with wheat and attracted many birds. The trap

consisted of white horsehair nooses, which were all but invisible. Two horsehairs were twisted together to form a loop. These loops were attached to a rectangular or circular piece of wire. The wire was then buried in the ground and the horsehair loops allowed to stand upright. When the birds scratched around the traps they became entangled in the nooses, often as many as five being caught at one time. Some were snared by the leg, but the majority were caught around the neck.⁵

Most food preparation was done by women, although butchering and the preparation of goat jerky was done by the men. Corn was ground on a single metate with a mano. Sometimes the young men of the village would take advantage of the occasion of corn grinding to visit and court the girls. These visits were called "parties" and the boys sang corn-grinding songs. Only Indian or dent corn was used for grinding.

As was mentioned before, goat cheese was prepared, using trompillo as a rennet substitute, and goat meat was preserved by drying.

Slipped pottery was preferred for cooking, being less

⁵This type of trap is mentioned by Hill, Navaho Agriculture, p. 175, for catching snowbirds. Parsons, Isleta, p. 211, notes a horsehair snare or trap used for bluebirds and snowbirds.

porous than the unslipped variety. Stews of chile and meat were a favored dish, as were empeñadas, or meat pies. Baking of bread was done in estufas, or beehive-shaped outdoor adobe ovens. Tortilla cakes were fried in a pan.

Pottery was made by women, at least during the early period. Hurt,⁶ reporting on the recent period, asserts that the Cacique was engaged in the manufacture of pottery for sale to tourists. This, however, was the only reference encountered of pottery being made by a man.

Clay of a superior quality, so-called puro barro, was gathered at the river. Informants state that this clay was formerly plentiful throughout the Valley. The most common vessels made at Tortugas were ollas, dippers, small dishes, and bowls, all of which were built by coiling. Some vessels were slipped and some were painted. Unslipped vessels were red with firing clouds. The painted vessels were finished in white, black, and dark red. Painting was done on both slipped and unslipped pieces. Because few examples of Tortugas pottery are extant, little is known of the design motifs of the painted vessels. A photograph of a bowl belonging to the Cacique is to be found in figure 1, facing p.35. Informants state that Tortugas pottery was indistinguishable from that of Isleta del Sur. One example from the latter village,

⁶Hurt, Tortugas, p. 117.

in the collection of the writer, is said to represent the most prevalent type of bowl decoration at Tortugas. It is an unslipped, deep red bowl, with the design applied on the inside only. The design is quite simple, consisting of a scalloped band below the rim, applied in a darker red. It is said that, in general, design at Tortugas was not as fine or as intricate as that to be found in the pueblos of the north. Vessels were fired in an oxidizing atmosphere, with dung used for fuel.

Except for a few ollas traded from El Paso del Norte (now Juarez), the Tortugas potters supplied ollas to the whole of the Mesilla Valley, where they were in universal use. Ollas were clouded red and unslipped, their porosity helping to cool the water by evaporation. They had lugs, by which they were hung from trees after being filled with settled river water. Gourd dippers usually were used with them.

An Anglo-American who had long lived in the Valley stated that basket making was women's work, but an old Tortugas man informed me that basketry was exclusively a male occupation. However this may be, the men sold the baskets, which were strung together and carried from the forehead by means of a tumpline.

Baskets usually were made of young willows which were gathered near the river and dyed with cañaigre leaf. The only example of a basket seen at Tortugas was a shallow

in the collection of the material, it was found that the
most primitive type of the material is the one which is
an unaltered, dark red soil, with a few small pebbles of
inside only. The sand is of the same color and is
scattered over the surface of the soil. It is said that the
or as the material is found in the same way as the
north. The material is found in the same way as the
drug used for the purpose.

It is said that the material is found in the same way as the
(the material) and the material is found in the same way as the
whole of the material is found in the same way as the
use. The material is found in the same way as the
helping to cool the material and the material is found in the same way as the
which are found in the same way as the material is found in the same way as the
river water. The material is found in the same way as the material is found in the same way as the
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however, it is found in the same way as the material is found in the same way as the
strongly together and the material is found in the same way as the
cups.

The material is found in the same way as the material is found in the same way as the
gathered from the river and the material is found in the same way as the
only sample of the material is found in the same way as the material is found in the same way as the



FIGURE 1

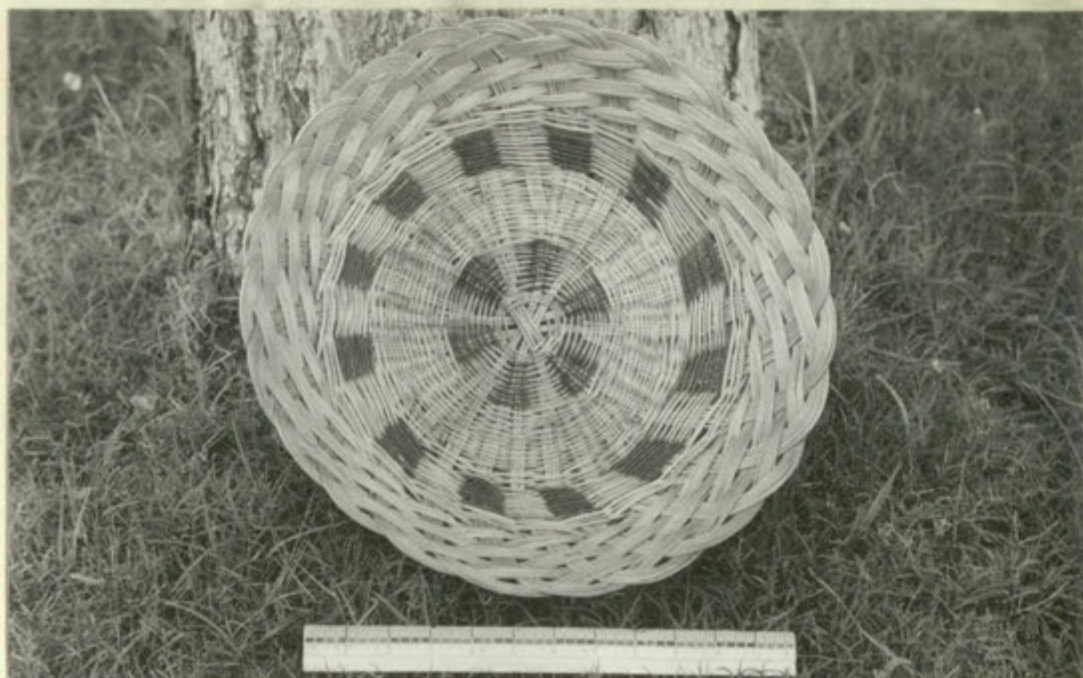


FIGURE 2

Handwritten text on a rectangular piece of paper, likely a letter or document, showing faint, illegible script.



Handwritten text on a rectangular piece of paper, likely a letter or document, showing faint, illegible script.



wickerwork bowl about fourteen inches in diameter (see figure 2, facing p. 35). Trays, bowls, and carrying baskets were formerly common. Some baskets were made with lids. If a basket were to be rendered waterproof, it was caulked with resin on the outside.

Some skin dressing was done by the men. The principal hides prepared were deer, antelope, and cowhides. Lye, "big yellow government soap", and any available animal brains were used in the preparation of the hides.

Low two-piece moccasins were worn by men, women, and children. The uppers were of buckskin with the de-haired side out, while the soles were made of cowhide. They were undecorated except for an overall reddish-brown dye, which was procured from "a weed".⁷

Some women made clothing. There was no mention of weaving.

Simple bows about four feet long were made of tornillo, a cane, and were strung with sinew. They were made by old men and some of the young boys. Bows were unstrung when not in use.

Arrows about two and one-half feet long were made from "bamboo" or poño. The latter wood, which grows four or five feet high, was found near the mountains and was considered

⁷See footnote 4, p. 6.

the best material for the purpose. Points were fashioned with a chisel from barrel hoops; there was no flint chipping. The arrows were fletched with the feathers of the eagle or the western red-tailed hawk. Boys worked for the old men in order to procure the arrows. The boys often gambled for arrows among themselves.

Adobe houses characterized Tortugas. The soil in the vicinity was suitable for the production of excellent adobe bricks. As mentioned earlier adobe-making was a major source of income. House walls were constructed of these sun-dried bricks, to which twigs and straw had been added to give tensile strength.⁸ Vigas, or main beams, were laid across the top of the walls and boughs laid on these. Loose dirt to a depth of several inches completed the roof. The floor was of mud, covered with straw during the winter. This was the usual type of Spanish colonial construction in New Mexico.

In general, division of labor by sex followed this pattern: The men made adobes, constructed buildings, prepared hides, made moccasins, constructed bows and arrows, and peddled craftwork from door to door. In addition they farmed, hunted, fished caught and "broke" wild horses, and butchered animals.

The women prepared and cooked the food, kept house, and

⁸Loomis and Leonard, *Standards of Living*, p. 10.

made and maintained clothing (other than moccasins). The bulk of child raising and discipline was women's work. They also made the pottery. There is no conclusive evidence that women did wage work as domestic servants in local homes during this period, though it is probable.

Although there is no quantitative data on the standard of living for early Tortugas as there is for the more recent period,⁹ it appears that the group has always been more or less poverty-stricken. All older informants, whether Anglo-American, Spanish-American, or Tortugas Indian, agree that Tortugas has always been poor. This, however, tells us little about whether there was actual subsistence distress or merely a comparative shortage of prestige goods such as fashionable clothing and foodstuffs, status-marked home furnishings, and the like.

The Transitional Period, (1881-1916),¹⁰ at Tortugas commenced with the coming of the Southern Pacific Railroad in 1881 and terminated with the construction of the Elephant Butte Dam in 1916. The Railroad revolutionized the economy of the Mesilla Valley and started the processes which have markedly changed the economic structure of Tortugas. In this

⁹Loomis and Leonard, *Standards of Living*, p. 10

¹⁰In this section, as in other sections dealing with the economics of the Mesilla Valley as a whole, I have relied primarily upon Feather, G. A., *Desert Harvest*, 1951.

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⁹ Bloomis and Leonard, *Standards of Living*, p. 10.

¹⁰ In this section, as in other sections dealing with the economic of the Mesilla Valley as a whole, I have relied primarily upon Fetter, G. A., *Desert Harvest*, 1931.

sense, then, the period was transitional between the Old Way and the New at Tortugas.

Land speculation in the Mesilla Valley increased enormously during this period, and with it came heavy influx of Anglo-American farmers, mainly from the East. The farms became larger and were operated on a more commercial basis. The early attempts at commercial farming, however, encountered difficulties. Eastern farming methods proved inadequate to the semi-arid conditions of the Southwest. Irrigation techniques, requisite to successful agriculture in the area, were little understood. Moreover, expensive and potentially productive land was utilized for unremunerative crops, a wasteful practice. This combination of factors threatened seriously the economy of the Mesilla Valley. However, experience in dealing with the Southwest's special agricultural problems and developmental capital bolstered the sagging economy.

As we have seen, the early period was characterized by subsistence agriculture on the part of Tortugas and its Mexican neighbors. During the Transitional Period subsistence agriculture in the Mesilla Valley gave way to commercial agriculture characterized by an exported surplus. The holdings of the original Mexican colonists were becoming smaller because of the Mexican practice of subdivision among heirs. Many of these smaller holdings were sold to Anglos, and increasingly the Mexicans who had owned the land became day

sense, then, the period was transitional between the old and the new as townships.
Land speculation in the Middle Valley was widespread and easy during this period, and with it came a new class of Anglo-American farmers, mainly from the West. The farms became larger and were operated on a more commercial basis. The early attempts at commercial farming, however, encountered difficulties. Eastern farming methods proved inadequate in the semi-arid conditions of the Southwest. Irrigation techniques, regarded as essential for success in this area, were little understood. Moreover, expensive and potentially destructive land was utilized for more extensive crops, such as fruit production. This combination of factors retarded progress in the economy of the Middle Valley. However, experience in dealing with the Southwest's special agricultural problems and developmental capital bolstered the agrarian economy. As we have seen, the early period was characterized by subsistence agriculture on the part of the townships. Mexican neighbors. During the transitional period, the subsistence agriculture in the Middle Valley gave way to commercial agriculture characterized by an export market. The holdings of the original Mexican colonists were sold or leased because of the Mexican practice of absentee ownership. Many of these smaller holders were either illiterate and increasingly the Mexicans who had owned the land before the

laborers upon their former holdings. Also, "squatter's rights" disappeared, and it is very probable that people of Tortugas were removed from land which they had used as their own.

Generally speaking, then, the period saw a quickening of the economy of the Valley as a whole. To the Mexicans, however, it meant the loss of land, security, and prestige. To the Tortugas Indian it meant that his former Mexican neighbor and employer was now like himself landless, and that the newcomer Anglo was his new employer. These forces and tensions were destined to be carried over and accentuated in the modern era.

The completion of the Elephant Butte Dam in 1916 instituted the Recent Period. It produced marked changes in the Mesilla Valley, changes which were reflected in the economic life of Tortugas. Within five years cotton was introduced into the Mesilla Valley, and this event also had far-reaching economic consequences.

The Elephant Butte Dam was constructed on the Rio Grande about eighty-five miles north of Tortugas. One result of the building of the Dam was that water could be rationed more evenly throughout the year instead of just during the months of peak runoff. Also, and as important, water could be stored from year to year, thus ameliorating the effects of drought. With human planning brought to bear, the, upon the vagaries of weather and climate, the Valley entered into a period of

laborers upon their former holdings. The land was
disappeared, and it is very probable that many of the
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of weather and climate, the Valley began to show a marked

generally increased prosperity and development, with its rapid integration into the national economy. This prosperity was not, however, reflected in impoverished, landless Tortugas, at least at first. It meant merely new methods of gaining a livelihood and new employers.

In the early 1930's, according to several informants, Colonel Eugene van Patton, friend and patron of the village, obtained land for the Indians living there. Whether this land was purchased by him and given privately to the residents or was obtained in the form of a government grant is not known. According to one informant a plot of land was given to any Indian who was already, or was willing to become a member of the pueblo. If this is true, most, if not all of the village is now privately owned.

Another important innovation of the Recent Period was the introduction of cotton into the Mesilla Valley. This reduced the diversity of crops that were previously planted. This development had important consequences at Tortugas, where it upset the pattern of the division of labor.

The Recent Period brought a marked change to the type of wage work in which the Tortugeños engaged. While formerly they had gained their livelihood from agricultural wage work, crafts, and manufactures, they now engaged almost completely in agricultural wage work, but of a different sort. Mining and other industrial activities also occupied them in the

generally increased productivity and efficiency, and the
rapid increase in the national economy. This progress
ity was not, however, reflected in the national economy.
Tortoise, as a result of the war, the national economy
gaining a level of productivity and efficiency.
In the early 1970's, according to several informants,
Colonel Rogers was a major figure in the history of the village,
obtained land for the first time in the village. (Whether this
land was purchased or given to him is not known.) The land
he obtained was used for a number of years as a government
not known. According to the informants, a plot of land was
given to any Indian who was willing to work on it. It was
one of the best of the plots. It was a plot of land, and it was
all of the village is now private property.
Another informant, a member of the village, stated that
the introduction of cotton into the village was a major
reduced the diversity of crops and was a major factor in
This development had a major impact on the village, and
it was the history of the village of Tortoise.
The village of Tortoise was a major center for the village
of wage work in which the village was a major factor.
They had a major impact on the village, and they had a major
staff, and a major impact on the village, and they had a major
in agriculture, and they had a major impact on the village,
and other factors, and they had a major impact on the village.

more recent times.

The type of cotton which was introduced was Egyptian long staple. This type of cotton is considered by many to be the finest grown in the United States, and it brings a very good price. The first gin in the Valley was built by a man named Oliver in 1921. Cotton picking soon provided one of the primary sources of revenue for the people of Tortugas. Indeed the introduction of cotton into the Mesilla Valley can be considered to have revolutionized the economies of both the valley and Tortugas.

The cotton-picking season starts in October and lasts until the first of the year. In 1951 the prevailing wage was \$2.50 per hundred pounds, with some rare individuals picking as much as five hundred pounds a day.

In the division of labor there has been a change of major importance. With the introduction of cotton, the long-standing pattern of agriculture as man's work was shattered. Now all members of a family pick cotton--men, women, and children.

Another result of the influence of the introduction of cotton into the Valley is that now there is far less self-sufficiency than formerly. In earlier periods most of the necessities of living were produced locally. This shift has had a tendency to emphasize the role of money economy. As one man put it:

They used to raise beans, too. They used to raise everything you could eat. But since the cotton came in, they don't plant anything but cotton. This valley used to be great for fruit, grapes, and everything, all kinds of fruit.

Many of the older people of Tortugas mentioned crops that were no longer grown in the valley, regretting that these items must now be bought in stores.

The land outside the village is now firmly in the hands of Anglo commercial farmers. Even the mesa land near the mountains, unsuitable for agriculture, is owned by Anglo ranchers. According to Feather:¹¹

The rough, unirrigated rangeland on the heights to either side of the valley has now been designated as "grazing land" and apportioned to individuals for that purpose....

Small domestic animals are now raised in Tortugas, but with comparatively few families owning them. Chickens, pigs, and an occasional goat are to be seen, although there are no range animals. Dogs and cats continue to be kept as pets.

Gathering has disappeared. Hunting is still engaged in, but does not assume nearly the importance which it did formerly. The bow and arrow has yielded entirely to the rifle, which is used mainly for deer hunting during the season. Trapping has disappeared completely, either as a significant economic activity or a sport.

¹¹Feather, Desert Harvest, p. 14.

They must be raised, and the land must be
everywhere, and the land must be raised
they have a very high level. The land must
be raised to the level of the sea, and the land
of the sea.

Many of the other parts of the land must be raised
no longer grow in the sea. The land must be raised
must now be raised to the level of the sea.

The land outside the village is now being raised
of the land outside the village. The land must be raised
mountains, and the land must be raised to the level of the sea.
The land must be raised to the level of the sea.

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The land must be raised to the level of the sea.
The land must be raised to the level of the sea.

Fishing is not a major economic activity. What little fishing the Tortugenos do is usually carried on at the Mesilla Dam. They fish with hook and line, alongside their Mexican and Anglo neighbors.

Economically significant craftwork noted in early Tortugas has become obsolescent. Items of ceremonial importance, however, are still manufactured.

This period also marked a change in the wage market. With the influx of Anglos, as described above, the descendants of the original Mexican settlers of the Valley were becoming landless. This process has continued until practically all of them have been thrown upon the wage market to compete with the Tortugeños.

An additional source of competition to the Tortugas wage-worker has been Mexican labor, imported by the large cotton operators during the picking season. At the end of the picking season these Mexican nationals are rounded up and shipped back over the border. The people of Tortugas refer to these migratory workers as "wetbacks", whether or not they came to this country legally.

Mexican nationals have provided a very cheap labor source for Anglo-American agricultural employers. The following is quoted from an interview with an elderly male Tortugas Indian. This interview took place during cotton-picking time in December. When asked whether these Mexican nationals

work more cheaply, he answered;

Yes. They get about thirty-five cents an hour.

They don't get paid by weight?

No. I think it's thirty-five or forty cents an hour-- somewhere around there.

Are there fights with the wetbacks?

These Mexicans don't know. They think they're getting rich. they are. 8.80 for a dollar (referring to the then current rate of exchange between the Mexican peso and the dollar). They're making lots of money when they get home.

Do the people here resent it?

Yes, but they can't help themselves. These farmers pay so much money to get them down here.

Those Mexicans come up here. Five or six get one loaf of bread. Sardines and onions, crackers. They think they're eating rich. They have a square meal, by God.

Each one gets one tin of sardines?

Yeah, and a couple of onions. Most of their money they spend, they get drunk. Some of them buy clothing. They claim that whenever you go to Mexico, if they found out they were here, they rob them. If they're dressed up, they know they got money, and raise hell with them. That's what they say. They say if you just wear overalls and jacket, they won't bother you. When they go away, you see them put on their huaraches (sandals) and old clothes and when they have anything, they put it in a little bundle. And that's the reason those fellows work so cheap.

Apparently some of the Mexican national laborers remained in the Valley. Several of the permanent residents of Tortugas were pointed out as former "wetbacks". These included men of high ceremonial or governmental position. Indeed, when the writer was at Tortugas, one of the first rumors

concerning his presence there was that he was a border patrolman.

Although the climate, the geographical position, and the basically cotton-oriented economy of the Mesilla Valley suggest the South, negroes did not enter the Valley in large numbers. The people of Tortugas have been quite sympathetic to them. Although the term "nigger" has been commonly used in Tortugas in referring to them, it is not used as a term of opprobrium. Two informants said that they "trust" negroes, whereas they do not trust Anglos.

Anglos other than farmers came into the Valley from other sections of the country, and were employed in skilled jobs and service and commercial occupations. Hence they represented not so much a competitive wage force to Tortugas as they did a hiring force. Very few of the people of Tortugas have gone into trade or into skilled occupations other than mining.

Many of the women of Tortugas work as domestic servants in Las Cruces and Mesilla Park, providing a necessary supplement to the family income.

The coming of the automobile produced another important change in wage work. Formerly the people travelled to and from their work either on foot or by horse or burro. Now one of the foremost labor sources is one hundred and eighty-five

concerning the position of the Chinese in the United States.
man.

Although the Chinese, as a whole, are not
necessarily considered as a part of the Chinese
the South, however, and are not included in the
The people of the Chinese have been in the United States
Although the Chinese have been in the United States
in reference to them, it is not used as a basis of comparison.
The information and data they furnish are not
do not exist in the United States.

Anglo-American relations in the United States
other sections of the country, and the results of the
jobs and activities and domestic relations. These
represented not so much a connection with the United States
as they did a living force. They are of the people of the
Chinese have been in the United States for many years
than mining.

Many of the Chinese in the United States are
in the Chinese and Chinese, and the Chinese are
want to the United States.
The coming of the Chinese to the United States
change in wage work. The Chinese are not
from their work in the United States and the
of the Chinese in the United States is the fact that the Chinese

miles from Tortugas, in Morenci, Arizona, where the largest open-pit copper mine in the world is operated. Morenci is located near the southeast boundary of the San Carlos Apache Reservation. The men live at Morenci during the week and drive back to Tortugas on Saturday morning. In Morenci they come into contact with labor unions. One informant stated that he was beaten up for union activity, although he did not state where he was working at the time.

In common with their Mexican neighbors, the people of Tortugas seem to be quite mobile in their jobs. Work is not steady, and many change jobs frequently.

In 1945 a new source of income was introduced for the Mesilla Valley with the establishment of the White Sands Proving Ground for rocket research east of the Organ Mountains. I did not learn of any Tortugas people working for this establishment directly, but the growth and economy of Las Cruces especially was quickened. Las Cruces is the main "big town" for Tortugas. Many Tortugeños work in Las Cruces, and not a few have established their permanent residence there. The establishment of White Sands Proving Ground brought about a need for goods and services for those employed at the base, and the population of Las Cruces increased accordingly. It is very difficult to appraise the effect of this development in terms of Tortugas economics, but it is certain that it has had and will have a positive effect in creating job opportunities.

... miles from ...
open-air ...
located near the ...
Reservation. The ...
drive back to ...
come into contact with ...
that he was ...
not alone when he ...
in common with ...
Tortugas ...
seeds, and many ...
In 1965 a ...
Medilla Valley ...
Proving Ground ...
I did not ...
Hansen ...
especially ...
for Tortugas ...
for ...
establishment ...
need for ...
and the ...
is very ...
in terms of ...
had and will ...
... ..

The Depression, which lasted for approximately a decade of this period, was particularly rigorous for a community that had been more dependent upon wage work than subsistence farming for its economic existence. Even during a monetary depression the land can usually be coaxed to yield enough to support the physical needs of a family. However, when employment becomes scarce or impossible to obtain, the most serious economic consequences can ensue. This was the situation at Tortugas during the 1930's and early 1940's.

The early years of the Recent Period saw Prohibition put into effect, and it lasted until 1932. During the Prohibition era many of the young men of Tortugas became bootleggers, and of these a number were apprehended by the Federal authorities and imprisoned. The women and children left behind by these men were in extreme poverty, and many of them were supported by welfare agencies.

In 1935 a standard of living study was conducted among thirty-seven Tortugas families.¹² In this study "the average total value of family living" was three hundred and forty-seven dollars for an average household of 5.3 full-time residents. Most of the value of living was purchased, such purchases comprising ninety-six percent of the living of the laborer's families. Food valued at one hundred ninety-three

¹²Loomis and Leonard, Standards of Living.

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dollars was consumed by the farm-laborer families. Indeed, fifty-five percent of the entire value of living went for food, one-half of this being expended for purchases of flour, chili, and beans. Clothing, comprising fourteen percent of the expenditure, averaged fifty dollars for the entire family. Health, births, and deaths took six percent of the family income.

Loomis and Leonard note that, "Many a family lives on the dollar a day provided by its work in the cotton fields and truck gardens and on the irrigated farms."¹³ But this work was highly seasonal. They continue:

During the cotton-picking time in the fall a whole family may be busy; but for months after Christmas perhaps not a single member will be employed. An income of a dollar a day for a family of five wouldn't be so bad if the back door opened on a garden filled with beans and chili. But among these people, who are separated from their employers by the rim of the desert, gardens of their own are exceptions.

The Leonard and Loomis study was conducted during the Depression. In 1951 the situation had changed, but not markedly. The wage standard had risen, but so had the price of living. No comparable data was gathered in 1951, but the impression was gained that rather more meat was to be found on the table than previously, and that, in general, the standard of living had improved. Where the earlier study

¹³Loomis and Leonard, Standards of Living, p.3.

dollars was consumed by the farm-household. The average
fifty-five percent of the entire value of the farm household
food, one-half of this being expended for maintenance of the
chill, and beans. Clothing, comprising 15 percent of the
the expenditure, averaged fifty dollars for the entire family.
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During the cotton-picking time in the fall, a family
may be busy; but for months after the harvest, the
family may be idle. The family may be employed, but the
of a dollar a day for a family of five persons is not
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living. No comparable data was gathered in 1931, but the
impression was gained that rather more well-to-do families
on the table than previously, and that, in general, the
standard of living had improved. Leonard and Booms note:

had noted nine automobiles in the entire village, in 1951 almost every family had at least one automobile, albeit a vintage specimen. Wages, however, were still below those prevailing elsewhere. As one informant said:

In this part of New Mexico they don't get much for labor. Lucky if he gets seventy-five cents an hour for hard labor. For instance, _____'s husband gets a dollar and a quarter an hour, but he's a union man. Fifty cents an hour and they're getting big wages over here. After you get away from this part of the country you get big wages on the outside.

had noted nine automobiles in the village in 1931.

almost every family had at least one automobile.

vintage specimens. wages, however, were still low.

prevailing elsewhere. As one informant said:

In this part of New Mexico that don't get with

labor. Lucky if he gets seven dollars an hour for

hard labor. For instance, a man can't get more

and a quarter an hour, but he's getting it. They

an hour and they're getting it. They're getting it

you get away from this part of the country and get

wages on the outside.

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL LIFE

The government of Tortugas is, in general, bifurcate (see figure 3, facing p.51). One branch is the civil and secular Corporation, manifestly of White American origin. The other section of government, probably religious in sanction in its origins, parallels that of Isleta Pueblo¹ in broad outline.

The two branches meet and merge in the person of the Cacique, or Chief (Jefe), who stands at the top of both. In theory at least, "he owns everything and has the power of everything." In practice, however, his power, though great, is sharply delimited, and he and his office are falling into disrepute.

In line with his role as spiritual leader, the Cacique is the person to whom is entrusted the care of ritual objects. As will be described later, however, he has been deprived of many of these, and their custodianship has passed to the secular branch of the government. It is also the Cacique's duty to appoint officers. In practice, as in many of the northern pueblos, such "nomination" is tantamount to election, and the overlay of democratic process is thin indeed. In his capacity as nominal leader of the secular branch as well, he

¹Parsons, Isleta, pp. 250 ff.

GOVERNMENT AND THE CHURCH

The Government of the United States is a secular government.

(See Article I, Section 6, Clause 3, of the Constitution.)

Secular government, however, does not mean that the

The other section of the Constitution, which is con-

tion in its origin, and which is the basis of the

broad outline.

The two branches of the Government are the Executive and

Legislative, or Chief, which is the basis of the

theory at least, "the same everywhere and the same

everything." In practice, however, it is not the same

is sharply defined, and the two branches are clearly

distinct.

In line with this is the principle of the separation

of the person to whom is entrusted the power of the

As will be described later, however, it has been

many of these, and their distribution is not

secular branch of the Government. It is the

duty to appoint officers. In practice, it is

northern people, and "the Government" is

and the variety of character and the

capacity as mental leaders of the secular branch as well.

Persons, later, to be

SECULAR BRANCH

POLITICO-RELIGIOUS BRANCH

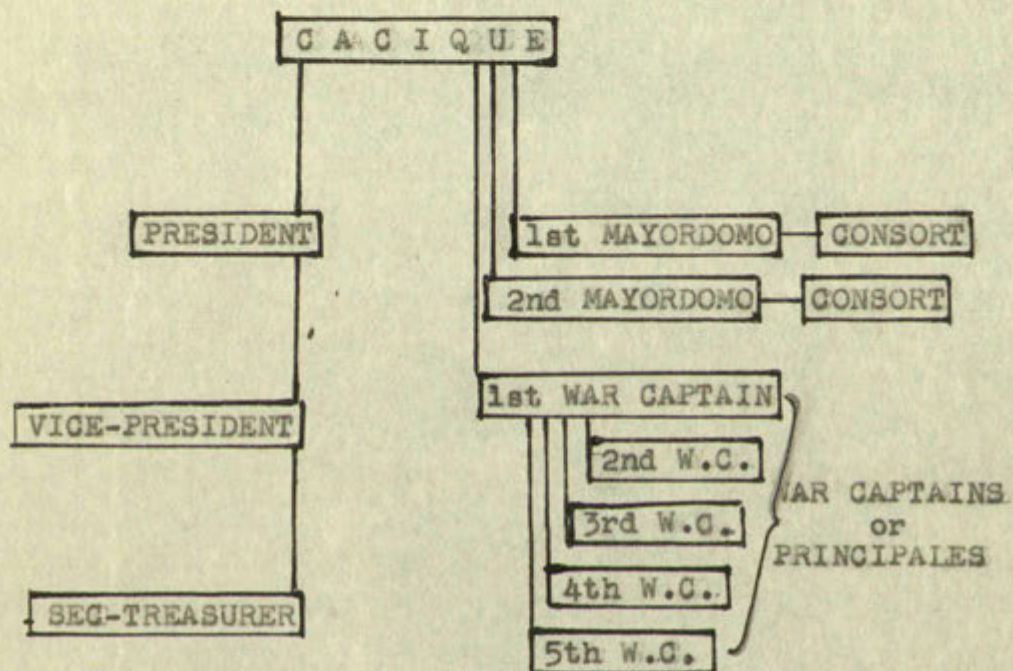
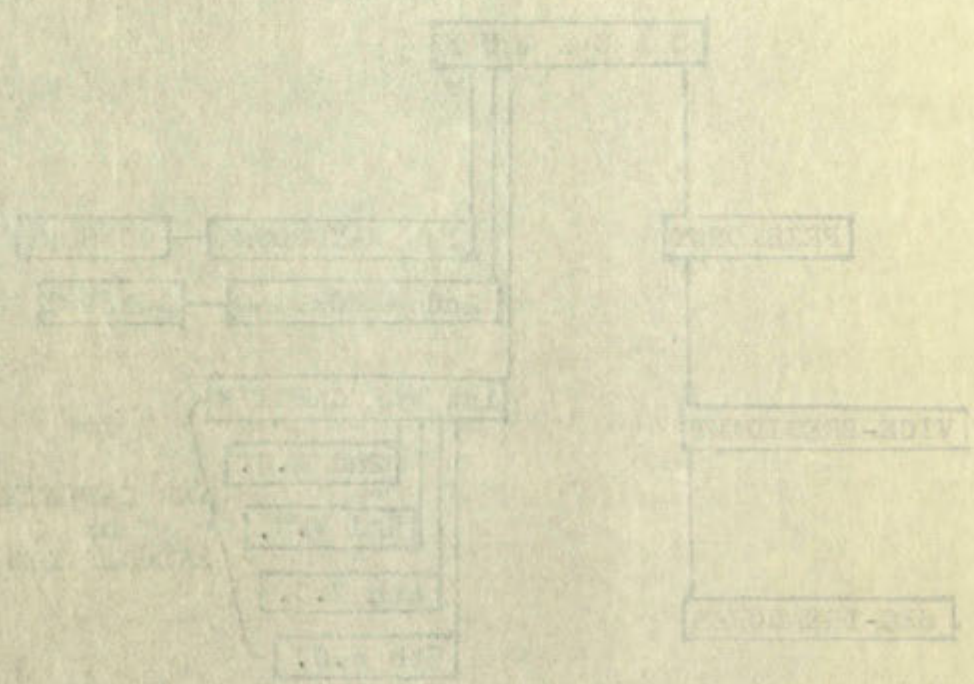


FIGURE 3



has certain legal duties, inasmuch as his signature is required on all documents relevant to the village. These legal duties never are a part of the Cacique's duties in the Rio Grande pueblos. The Cacique at Tortugas also acts in an advisory capacity and functions as an arbiter in disputes. He is in charge of the Guadalupe fiesta and all other ceremonial activities.

The office of Cacique is strictly hereditary.² As the Cacique's niece states, "It goes just like kings and queens." I could not obtain the names of Caciques beyond the present incumbent's father, Felipe Roybal, who was killed in Las Cruces in 1908 under mysterious circumstances. The crime remains unsolved to this day.

Upon the death of Felipe Roybal, a problem was faced by Tortugas. The office of Cacique is hereditary in the male line. Felipe, who had no brothers, had sons who were very small children. Accordingly, Francisca Avalos Roybal, the Cacique's wife, was made Caciqua, the only instance of this office being held by a woman in the entire pueblo Southwest, to this writer's knowledge.

When Francisca Avalos Roybal died in the early 1930's,

²It is not known to what extent offices are hereditary in the Rio Grande pueblos. Doctor Florence Hawley Ellis says (personal communication) that "among the Towa (Jemez) if possible they try to pass headship of societies to relatives of former heads."

the office did not descend to her son, Vincente Roybal, but to her brother, Zenovio Avalos. Although Vincente was a young man at that time, he was considered "not old enough." Judging from his repute at the present time, it is quite likely that what was meant was that he was not mature or strong enough. Zenovio Avalos functioned much as a Regent, although he acted not in the name of the young Vicente but was invested with the full power of Cacique himself. It is perhaps significant that Vicente did not claim his hereditary office until the death of his uncle. He has been a weak Cacique, and the office has undergone a definite diminution of prestige during his incumbency. The next Cacique will be his eldest son, Felipe Roybal, now in his thirties, or, that failing, the office will descend to a younger son or to a son of Victor Roybal, his brother.

The secular branch of the government consists of a Corporation, complete with seal depicting a bow and arrow. It is in this branch that factionalism is centered, especially in connection with the office of President. In 1951 two men claimed to be President, but since then one of them has died, and the situation as of this writing is unknown. The claimant who survives was residing in San Diego, California, at the time of my visit. This man was Victor Roybal, the Cacique's brother, who, the Cacique's faction claimed, was entitled to the office for life. There was some sentiment

the office did not descend to her son, Vincente Ruybal, but to her brother, Genovio Avila. Although Vincente was a young man at that time, he was considered "not old enough" judging from his reputation at the present time, it is quite likely that what was meant was that he was not mature or strong enough. Genovio Avila functioned much as a Regent, although he acted not in the name of the young Vincente but was invested with the full power of Casique himself. It is perhaps significant that Vincente did not claim his hereditary office until the death of his mother. He has been a weak Casique, and the office has undergone a definite diminution of prestige during his incumbency. The next Casique will be his eldest son, Felipe Ruybal, now in his thirties, or, that failing, the office will descend to a younger son or to a son of Victor Ruybal, his brother.

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for changing the title of President to that of Governor and clearly indicating it as a lifetime position.

Other Corporation officers include a Vice-President and a Secretary-Treasurer. Apparently a Board of Directors of unknown composition functions in an advisory capacity. At the time of the field work three of the four secular offices were held by the Roybal family.³ Besides Vicente as Cacique and Victor as President, the office of Secretary-Treasurer was held by Luis Roybal, Victor's son. The Vice-President was Jacinto Jemente.

The Cacique heads the politico-religious branch of the government as well as the secular. Next to him the most important officer is the War Captain (Capitan de Guerra). There are five ranked Captains in all, including the War Captain, the others being known as "Second Captain", "Third Captain", and so on. The Captains as a group are also known as the Principales, and the War Captain is also known as the "Chief of the Principales". The main duties of these officers are to keep the peace, especially at fiestas and other ceremonies. They hold civil commissions from the city of Las Cruces, and have full legal right to fine and incarcerate. They do not carry firearms. Their insignia of office consists

³Of eight officers mentioned for Isleta del Sur, seven had the surname Granillo. Parrish, El Paso Times, June 14, 1951, p. 15.

for changing the title of President to that of Governor and
clearly indicating it as a legislative function.
Other Corporation officers include a Vice-President
a Secretary-Treasurer, a Secretary, a Board of Directors,
unknown composition functions in an advisory capacity,
the time of the field with three of the four officers
were held by the Royal family. The other three officers
and Victor as President, the office of Secretary-Treasurer
was held by Luis Ruybal, Victor's son, the Vice-President
was Jacinto Jaramero.

The Gasinos handle the gambling business in the
Government as well as the military. Next to the
important officer in the Gasinos is the Comandante en Jefe.
There are five ranked Capitanes in all, including the Comandante
Capitan, the others being known as "Comandante Mayor", "Comandante
Capitan", and so on. The Capitanes are a group of five men
as the Principales, and the Comandante is the most important
"Chief of the Principales". The main duties of these officers
are to keep the peace, especially at night and other
moments. They hold civil positions from the rank of
Colonel, and have full legal rights and responsibilities.
They do not carry firearms. Their main duty is to maintain

Of eight officers mentioned for the first time, four
had the surname "Principales". The other four were
1951, p. 15.

of a bow and arrow or a vara,⁴ a stick about six feet long used by Spaniards of the early period for measuring land. They are nominated by the Cacique and elected yearly on New Year's Eve. As with other offices, however, "nomination" by the Cacique is tantamount to election. They can be re-elected, and many men hold the office for a long period.

Other religious officers are two Majordomos, likewise ranked, and their consorts. If a man is unmarried, he will be assigned a woman, often his mother, to function in this office with him. The Majordomos, known as "Godfathers to the Virgin," perform ceremonial functions and their office brings them prestige. The office entails considerable expense, for much of the financial burden of the Guadalupe fiesta is borne by them. They are partly reimbursed from some of the funds collected by the Cacique. The Majordomos are nominated by the Cacique, who consults with the outgoing Majordomos, and are "elected" at the New Year's Eve Pueblo Meeting.⁵

A group at Tortugas about which little is known is the

⁴In Mexico a Vara is a shaman's staff. Madsen, Shamanism in Mexico, p. 50.

⁵The changing of officers with the New Year is also found at Isleta and Isleta del Sur. See French, Factionalism, pp. 6-10, and Fewkes, Pueblo Settlements, p. 62. However, Parrish, El Paso Times, June 14, 1951, p. 15, notes that the officials were changed at Isleta del Sur on June 13, the day of their patron, Saint Anthony. If so, this date has been altered since Fewkes' report of 1902.

of a bow and arrow on a wall.

used by Spaniards of the 16th century.

They are nominated by the King and the King is

Year's Eve. As with other offices, the King is

the King is King in Spain and the King is King in Spain.

and many men hold the office for a long period.

Other religious offices are the King and the King.

ranked, and their positions. It is also a King, as with

be assigned a woman, often his mother, to King in Spain.

office with him. The King is King in Spain and the King is King in Spain.

Virgin," perform ceremonial in Spain and the King is King in Spain.

then preside. The office is King in Spain and the King is King in Spain.

much of the financial burden of the King is King in Spain and the King is King in Spain.

by them. They are partly King in Spain and the King is King in Spain.

collected by the King. The King is King in Spain and the King is King in Spain.

the King, who commands the King in Spain and the King is King in Spain.

are elected" at the King in Spain and the King is King in Spain.

A group of King in Spain and the King is King in Spain.

King in Spain and the King is King in Spain.

in Spain and the King is King in Spain.

The changing of King in Spain and the King is King in Spain.

at King and the King is King in Spain.

6-10, and King in Spain and the King is King in Spain.

El Paso Times, June 14, 1933, p. 10, "The King in Spain and the King is King in Spain.

were changed at King in Spain and the King is King in Spain.

patron, Saint Anthony. It is King in Spain and the King is King in Spain.

Pewkes, report of 1933.

Abuelos⁶ (grandfathers). These were clowns, selected yearly, and were not necessarily old men. They were not less than six⁷ in number. They held secret meetings, and women were supposed to know little about them. Children were threatened with them, and if a child was especially naughty, the Abuelos would make an appearance.⁸ They were apparently masked, but beyond this little is known of their costumes. They are said to have worn black, white, blue, and yellow. As will be noted in the section on ceremonialism, this group formerly had important functions in the Matechine dance and the Tortugas mountain pilgrimage.

A pueblo meeting is held monthly in order to discuss community business in the Pueblo House, or Casa de Pueblo. As has been noted, the New Year's Eve meeting is the occasion for the election of the next year's officers.

Notwithstanding the intimacy of the Mexican culture contact, much of the government structure of Tortugas has retained the old Isleta pattern. At Isleta, as at Tortugas, the government is divided into religious and secular branches.⁹

⁶For a thorough discussion of the Abuelo complex, see Parsons and Beals, Sacred Clowns.

⁷Parsons, Isleta, p. 255 mentions six clown masks for the Te'en (Grandfathers). On pp. 263-4 she states that theoretically there are four from each moiety.

⁸This function of the grandfather clowns was very important at Zuni, (Parsons, Zuni A'doshle, pp. 338-47.)

⁹Parsons, Isleta, p. 255 ff.

6 Abel (Grandfather). The... and were not...
...in number. They... supposed to know...
...with them, and it... would make an appearance...
...beyond this life... to have worn black, white, and...
...noted in the section on... had important...
...these mountain... A public meeting...
...community business in the Public House...
...As has been noted, the... for the election of the...
...Representing the... fact, much of the government...
...ed the old... government is divided...

7 For a... Parsons and...
...the...
...the...
...theoretically...

8 This... important...
...Parsons,...

The fact that many of the offices at Isleta have been dropped at Tortugas may be explained in some cases by a lack of need for these offices. For instance, the Isleta Mayordomo is a ditch boss, whereas Tortugas owns no ditches. At Tortugas, the Mayordomos, while having the same name, have different functions. In this case, the Mayordomo appears to be of the Spanish-American and Mexican Indian type. The description of the office in a Oaxaca, Mexico Indian village could as well be applied to Tortugas: "Local rituals are somewhat independent of the church. Church festivals are financed by individual mayordomos, whose position forms part of the scale of offices."¹⁰

At Isleta and Tortugas the basic function of protection of the village and supervision of the public at ceremonials is assumed by the War Captains. At Tortugas their primary duty is to keep the peace, especially at fiestas. At Isleta they also exclude outsiders from secret ceremonials, exorcise witches, and act as custodians of the cane fetish used in curing.¹¹ There are five of these officers at both villages.¹² Two sheriffs are now to be found at Isleta. These function

¹⁰Carrasco, *Las Culturas*, p. 99. See also White, *Los Hispanos*, pp. 25-6, for the duties of this office in Spanish-American villages.

¹¹Parsons, *Isleta*, pp. 259-260.

¹²Dr. Florence Hawley Ellis, personal communication. Parsons, *Isleta*, p. 250, gives the number as six.

as peace officers.¹³

The Tortugas Cacique appears to have duties similar to the Isleta Town Chief, or Cacique. In addition, he also takes over the duties which, in Isleta, are performed by the Hunt Chief. The method of selection of the Cacique in the two villages is different. At Tortugas it is a strictly hereditary position in the paternal line. At Isleta the Cacique is selected by all of the clan chiefs. Ellis believes that there is a tendency at Isleta for the Cacique to be chosen from the White Corn group, one of the matrilineal, non-exogamous clans having ceremonial duties.¹⁴ If so, then it can be said that there is a hereditary tendency at Isleta.

Principales is another term which Tortugas shares with Isleta. Here, however, there is a functional difference. At Isleta this is a group of men with no fixed number who act as an advisory town council to the governor.¹⁵ At Tortugas, Principales is merely an alternative term for "War Captains", the group of five peace officers.

The offices of the Tortugas "Corporation" are of White American origin and are probably recent. They represent an

¹³Parsons, Isleta, p. 250.

¹⁴Personal communication.

¹⁵French, Factionalism, pp. 10-11, for a discussion of this group at Isleta.

attempt on the part of the Indians to have a legal, business-like status in the American world. The conflicts within this branch are an indication of Pueblo factionalism.

The present section on social life will first deal with the life cycle of the individual as this relates to the community, including evidence for social groups larger than the family. Tortugas practices in sickness and curing, games, amusement, and gambling, status, prestige, outside relations, and warfare will also be examined. Finally, factionalism as a disruptive force will be discussed.

Most women bear their children at home, assisted by a midwife and two or three other friends, daughters, or sisters. Childbirth is considered to be a "bad experience", and the woman is "allowed to scream and holler". The husband is not allowed in the place of lying-in. No medication is given to the mother to alleviate the pain, nor is there any praying or ceremonial.

The mother stays in bed for ten days and is considered ready to work again after forty days. All babies are breast-fed. As one woman put it:

Bottles are no good. If you go somewhere with the baby, it is much trouble. Breast milk is warm and pure all the time. They use bottles at Isleta, Texas (Isleta del Sur). The younger generation likes to go out and have a good time. They leave the baby at home with a bottle and someone to feed it. But not at Tortugas. When we were at Isleta (del Sur) day before yesterday, my daughter gave her six month old baby her breast and an old Indian woman said, "Why do you do that?"

Infants are nursed any time they cry.

Some informants indicated a definite sex preference for boys because they are "not such a big responsibility" or "not so hard to raise as a girl is".

A name is selected by the parents and told to the priest before the baptism. Most of these first, or baptismal names are those which have been in the family or names of Saints. In either case, the name is Spanish. Formerly the Indians received native names which referred to animals, such as the deer, antelope, or beaver, or to such natural phenomena as the rainbow. In contrast to the present Spanish practice, two individuals never had the same name. To my knowledge, there is no living person at Tortugas who has an Indian name.

Baptism is the occasion for a feast to which everyone is invited. This feast is given by the godparents of the child. The godparents, chosen from among the friends of the parents, may or may not be residents of Tortugas. Some babies are baptized at one week, others at two weeks, and some at one month of age. Illegitimate children are likewise baptized. One woman said, "Nothing is held against them. It's never referred to."

Babies are weaned at one year. At the present time, at least, no cradleboard is used. The baby sleeps, not with parents or siblings, but in its own small bed. Some children

Infants are named by their parents.
Some information is given by the parents.
For boys, however, they are named by their parents.
or "not as have to be named."
A name is assigned by the parents and is used by the
priest before the baptism. The name is usually of Indian
names are those of the Indian and are usually of the
Indian. In other cases, the name is of the Indian.
Indian received names are usually of the Indian.
such as the name, "John," or the name, "Mary."
phenomena as the Indian. It is usually of the Indian.
practice, the individual's name and the name of the
knowledge, there is no law, as in the Indian.
Indian name.
Baptism is the occasion for a name to which
is invited. This name is given by the parents of the
child. The parents, chosen from among the Indian, and
parents, say on way and be baptized of the Indian.
babies are baptized at one week, others at two weeks, and
some at one month of age. The baptism is usually of the
wise baptism. The name is usually of the Indian.
them. It is usually referred to as the Indian.
Babies are named by the parents. The name is usually of the Indian.
at least, as the name is usually of the Indian.
parents of the Indian, but in the Indian, the name is usually of the Indian.

have toys bought in a store, but often they are given "just anything to play with". During teething a smooth stick of wood about three inches long is tied to the infant's right wrist with a rawhide thong. Toddlers are allowed to run around and play with other children. They are often given a dog or cat or some other domesticated animal as their own pet.

Corporal punishment is often practiced. When asked, "How should Indian children (be made to) behave," one woman replied, "With a strap, a whip, or a stick." One of the strongest negative sanctions employed, however, is the threat of the Abuelos, or sacred clowns. If the children are especially naughty, the Abuelos will actually come to the home in order to frighten the children.

All children attend school after they are six years of age. Some like school and some do not, but they go nevertheless, for attendance is required. To what extent the law is enforced by truant officers is not known. The school was formerly in Tortugas, but at the time of my visit, the children went by bus to a school in Mesilla Park. Almost all of the children today finish elementary school, and most attend high school, at least until they are seventeen. The older people think that the children receive a very good education.

Although the language of the home is Spanish, classes are taught in English, and it is in school that the child

have toys bought in a store, but often they are given "just anything to play with". During passing a rough stick of wood about three inches long is tied to the infant's right wrist with a rawhide thong. Toddlers are allowed to run around and play with other children. They are often given a dog or cat or some other domesticated animal as their own pet.

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usually has his first contact with the language. The learning of English in school, far from being resented by the elders, is considered a valuable asset. Relatively few of the older people can speak English. Formerly Tiwa was spoken. Today it survives only in the chants accompanying the "Indian Dances", but here it is not understood by either the chanters or the listeners.

There are no puberty rites for either boys or girls, nor any community cognizance of this state. A girl's first menses is a mere fact of physiology, and no more.

The community store is an important social center for adolescent boys, many of whom are to be seen lounging about on a fine evening.

Boys and girls start "going together" when they are as young as twelve years of age, although it is said that long ago this was not allowed until they were nineteen. Pre-marital sex relationships are frowned upon by the community but are, apparently, quite common. A girl who finds herself pregnant as the result of such an affair is usually punished by her parents, often quite severely. Sometimes she is beaten, and usually her freedom is sharply restricted. It is said that this does not damage the girl's chances for marriage.

Marriages never are arranged by parents. The young people have comparatively free choice, there being no marriage-regulating groups. Incest regulations include both cross and

usually an Englishman, and the Englishman, the Englishman.

ing of English is good, but from being a good Englishman.

alder, is considered a good Englishman, and the Englishman.

the older people can speak English, and the Englishman.

Today is Sunday, and the Englishman, the Englishman.

Dances, but there is no dancing, and the Englishman.

on the Englishman.

There are no Englishmen, and the Englishman.

nor any Englishmen, and the Englishman.

English is a good Englishman, and the Englishman.

The Englishman, and the Englishman.

adolescent boy, and the Englishman.

on a fine evening.

Boys and girls, and the Englishman.

Young as twelve years of age, and the Englishman.

and this was not allowed, and the Englishman.

marital sex relationships are known, and the Englishman.

but are, apparently, and the Englishman.

pregnant as the result of an affair, and the Englishman.

by her parents, and the Englishman.

and, and usually her friends, and the Englishman.

said that this was not a good Englishman, and the Englishman.

Marriage, however, and the Englishman.

people have experienced, and the Englishman.

regarding English, and the Englishman.

parallel cousins, "even the fifth".

As soon as the engagement is announced, the girl's parents stop supporting her. From this time forward it is the boy's responsibility not only to give money for her support but to provide her wedding outfit.¹⁶ Needless to say, this arrangement is not conducive to long engagements. Most couples are engaged for a period ranging from two weeks to three months, the latter being considered a fairly long engagement. One woman informant told me: "There was one case where the girl's parents wanted them to wait two whole years. Can you imagine supporting her for two whole years before they were married? She ran away."

Men normally marry at about the age of twenty-one, women at twenty. There are strong social pressures to take this step. To quote one informant: "Just about everybody gets married. If not, they're laughed at. They say something is wrong with them. They say they couldn't find nobody to like them." The qualifications for a good husband are not necessarily that he be handsome and wealthy, but that he "treats you right" and is a good provider. A good wife should stay home and take care of her children.

Parsons' data. The informant also mentioned that

¹⁶This may be a parallel to the Isleta practice of large gifts being showered upon the bride by the parents of the prospective bridegroom. See Parsons, Isleta, pp. 233-4.

Parsons, Isleta, pp. 261-263.

parallel course, even as the
As soon as the engagement is announced, the girl's
parents also suggest the idea. When this is a fact, it is
the boy's father who usually suggests it. The money for the
support of the girl is usually provided by the father.
say, this arrangement is not a good one for the girl.
Most couples are married in a hurry, and the girl is
to share much of the burden. The girl is usually
engaged. The woman is usually the one who is
where the girl's father is. The girl is usually
Can you imagine supporting her? The girl is usually
they were married. The girl is usually
Non normally, the girl is usually
women as early. The girl is usually
this step. To make the engagement, the girl is usually
gets married. If not, the girl is usually
thing is wrong with them. They are usually
to like them. The girl is usually
necessarily that he is not a good man, but he is
"I want you right" and he is a good man. The girl is usually
every home and every day of her life.

16
This may be a mistake on the girl's part. It
large after being known. The girl is usually
of the prospective husband. The girl is usually
235-4.

A Spanish practice, formerly adhered to but since lost, is that of the bride retaining her maiden name in conjunction with that of her husband's. Thus if Maria Sanchez had married Santiago Apodaca, she would have had the name of Maria Sanchez y Apodaca. Today her name would simply be Maria Apodaca.

Currently there are no formal social structures other than the family. Formerly, however, the village was divided into moieties. These had ceased to function even before the childhood of the present day elders of Tortugas. One old woman said, "They used to have Red Eyes and Black Eyes at Tortugas. There were never any smaller 'clans', just these two." A man of sixty-five, told me, "My daddy tells me there were two 'clans', Ojo Negro (Black Eyes) and Ojo Colorado (Red Eyes). I think we belong to the Ojo Colorado." This individual added that they were connected with the seasons, although he did not remember which moiety was winter and which was summer. He said the "clans" were mentioned in songs, and that they had Indian names which he did not remember. Upon being prompted from Parson's Isleta, New Mexico¹⁷ as to whether the names were not shefuni'de and shuré, he said, "Yes, shi was Black Eyes and shuré was Red Eyes." His statement parallels Parsons' data. The informant also mentioned that "each 'clan' had a chief with a staff." It is not known

¹⁷Parsons, Isleta, pp. 261-263.

A Spanish physician, formerly known to me as a doctor,
is that of the first residence and worked as a physician
with that of the second. This is the first residence
Sancti Spiritus, the name of the first residence
is Agostino. Today the name is still the same.
Generally there are no formal social relations other
than the family. However, the village was divided
into colonies. There had been a division even before the
children of the present day. The children of the
women said, "they used to have two and three children."
There is never any social relation between the
two. A man is usually, said he, the son of a man and
were two children. The name (Black) was said to be
(Red) said. I think he meant to say the children.
Individuals that they were connected with one another,
although he did not know what they were with one another.
was common. He said the "children" were mentioned in the
that they had Indian names which he did not remember. These
being produced from the Indian's name, the Indian's name
on the name were not changed in the family he said, "yes."
and was Black and the name was Black. The children
parallel the Indian's name. The children and the children
"each" said, "and a child with a name." It is the same.

whether these are moiety chiefs as represented at Isleta or dual seasonal Caciques as in the Tewa villages. At present there is but one Cacique. Whether membership in the moiety was matrilineal or patrilineal is not known, but if it paralleled the situation at Isleta, New Mexico, it would have tended to patrilineality.

Civil divorce is not recognized, but separation is common. As one woman said, "No one takes their religion seriously. If you're a Catholic, you don't get divorced but just live with another man." A man answered my question about divorce in the following way: "No, we're Catholic, tied up for life. But you can leave your wife. In time of death they get together. Then they can marry again." Asked if it was always this way with the Indians, he replied, "Yes, they were always Catholics."

People in Tortugas are aware of and assume responsibility for the aged segment of the population. Old people are well treated and, if unable to work, are not considered a burden. Nowadays they are often cared for by "The Welfare", but formerly they were looked after by their family, neighbors, and friends, the responsibility being considered a privilege.

Many times it was pointed out that an individual was quite old, that he or she did not show the signs of age, or that this or that Indian of the vicinity lived to be over a

hundred years of age. Indeed, many elderly Tortugas people of my acquaintance are still hale and robust and lead vigorous lives. Many of these people are highly respected for the wisdom of long experience.

The attitude toward death is generally one of awe and fear. It was a subject which people were reluctant to discuss. One young woman said, "I don't like to hear about death. I guess nobody does." One evening stereo pictures were shown to a group of people. The viewer was passed from hand to hand and the new experience was obviously enjoyable. However, a reel portraying the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, Egypt, discomfited them. One older woman expressed disgust and asked, "Why don't they bury them?" A man said, "They belong to the earth." Telling children about death is postponed as long as possible. When asked if the children raised questions about death, one woman answered, "No, they don't unless you start teaching them when they first open their eyes, like some people do. You shouldn't teach them what they don't have to know."

When a Tortugueño lies upon his death-bed, he receives not only extreme unction from the priest, but a blessing from the Cacique. The Cacique is the only person who knows this blessing, which is given in Spanish and is accompanied by the sign of the cross. The same blessing is given to all men, women, and children.

... However, the...
Formerly, it...
funds. Today...
else. The family...
by a...
need to...
as one...
was prepared...
by his...

Formerly...
mounting, but...
Now...
pattern. The...
travel of...
said, "They...
other...
events of...

Behavior at the...
appropriate...
women are...
quietly.

Mounting...
is expected...
on, this...
wear black...

ment generally during the period of mourning.

Today many people seek medical services in Las Cruces, but the herb doctor is still resorted to in some instances. Formerly there were two herbalists in Tortugas: one was an old woman; the other was a young girl of about fifteen. The current herb doctor is a Mexican, living in Las Cruces, who uses an Argentine herb book. Herbs are bought from a nursery in Mesilla Park. Sycamore leaves and rosemary are gathered and used medicinally, although their specific uses are unknown. A plant from Cloudcroft, New Mexico, known as bee balm or bee plant is also utilized. Attempts are made to buy delphinium and peony from the nursery, but the proprietor will not sell these, for they yield a powerful heart stimulant and are considered too dangerous for non-medical administration. In many cases the medical profession is consulted only after the herb doctor has failed to provide a cure. In addition, all of the older women in Tortugas have their own favorite remedies.

Loomis and Leonard, in their 1935 visit, note the following:¹⁸

Despite the salubrious climate, doctors made frequent visits to Tortugas in the year covered by this study. Many of their calls had to be charged to philanthropy, but even so their fees claimed 60 percent of all expenditures for health, births, and deaths. Eleven percent

¹⁸Loomis and Leonard, Standards of Living, p. 11.

went generally during the winter of 1900-1901.
Today many people are still coming and staying,
but the number is not so large as it was in 1900.
Formerly there were two hotels in the village and an
old woman; the other was a good deal of a new one.
The present hotel is a new one, built in 1900, and
has an excellent bar. It is a good place to stay
in the winter. The house is very comfortable and
and used for the winter. The house is very comfortable
known. A place like this is very rare in the
hills of the state. It is also a good place to
buy delphinium and many other things. The
will not sell them, but they will sell them at a
and are considered to be the best in the state.
tion. In many cases the delphinium is a native
after the first frost has fallen in the hills. In 1900
tion, all of the other women in the hills have
favorite resorts.

Locals and visitors, in the hills, were the same
ing: 18
Because the delphinium is a native of the hills,
visits to the hills are very common in the winter.
Many of the delphinium are very rare and are
but even so they are very common in the hills.
houses for the winter.

18
Locals and visitors, in the hills, were the same

of the disbursements in this category went for patent medicines. Altogether the average family spent \$20 or 6 percent of its entire income in its effort to protect its health and to bring its offspring into the world and bury its dead.

Tortugas people play cards a good deal. Card parties are held for the ladies in the afternoon, and for couples at night. A popular game is "con quien" ("with whom"). Another well-liked game is burro, a type of four-handed solitaire. The game of checkers also is played at Tortugas.

When the bow and arrow were still in use, boys used to gamble at shooting matches. A mark of some sort, such as a stick, was set up and used as a target.

A gambling game much like the Navaho moccasin game or Tewa cañutes is reported:¹⁹ "They used to have a game at Tortugas played with bamboo. I don't exactly remember. You put a stick in the shell of the bamboo. Each bamboo has a name to it--each shell, but I don't remember the names. They have certain parties, one in each room. You bet so much. The game would last two, three days. Men and women played all the same. You bet pretty heavily. It's a guessing game. Some were pretty good at it--just like cards. It's luck more than anything. There's singing while the game is going on in Tiwa. Joshing songs to get the other fellow. You guess where the

¹⁹This game is well-loved in all of the pueblos. See Underhill, *Workaday Life*, p. 134. [See also Culin, *Games*, pp. 335, 268, 369 for further information on Southwestern Indian variations.] The game is also popular in Spanish-American villages.

sticks are. A certain number of points. The Navahos play it with mocassins and a marble. They change the mocassins around. They have the mocassins named."

Because of its location next to State College, there are no bars in Tortugas. Drinking is, nevertheless, an important recreation for Tortugas men. With some men this has serious economic consequences, the expenditure consuming a major proportion of their income.

Loomis and Leonard state:²⁰

Rural sociologists maintain that expenditures for formal education, reading, social participation, theaters, movies, and the like constitute "advancement" expenditures. Before the Tortugas families or their forebears gave up their old Indian and Mexican culture in favor of the new, they spent very little for these items. Even today disbursements for "advancement" are almost negligible, averaging only \$6, or 2 percent of all expenditures, per family.

Status in Tortugas will be examined from two points of view. The first, internal status, is the view which the people of Tortugas take toward themselves and each other. The view which outsiders hold of Tortugas is designated as external status. Finally, the Tortugas view of the outside world will be described.

There are many avenues by which a Tortugas person may acquire prestige among his fellows. His status, to use

²⁰ Loc. cit.

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There are many avenues by which a Torreyes person may acquire prestige among his fellows. His status, so far

Linton's definition,²¹ is "the sum total of all the statuses which he occupies."

One way to achieve status is through wealth, as manifested in dress, automobile, and food. Indian background and knowledge are likewise conducive to high prestige. Indeed, those of acknowledged Indian ancestry rank higher in the eyes not only of the Indians but of the non-Indian members of the community. There are extremely few individuals, however, whose status as Indians is beyond dispute in the community. Lists of the "real Indians" are highly variable. It would appear that those individuals whose status as Indians is least in doubt produce the smallest lists, while those who are mentioned on the fewest lists tend to be freer in ascribing Indian status to others. The following roster would be objected to by some individuals, but appears to represent the opinion of most villagers. A systematic gathering of family histories would be useful for clarifying the problem of Indian status. The following list, however, gathered from hearsay, may serve as a point of departure for such a study in the future. These appear to be the names least contested:

(1) Vicente and Victor Roybal. Vicente born in 1899. Father, Felipe Roybal. Mother, Francisca Avalos.

(2) Jose Santiago (Jim) Duran. Born at Isleta del Sur in 1886. Related at Isleta, New Mexico. Pedro Pedrasa

²¹Linton, Study of Man, p. 113.

Linton's definition, ²¹ is "the sum total of all the things which he occupies."

One way to achieve status is through wealth, as manifested in dress, automobiles, and food. Indian status and knowledge are likewise connected to such material things, these of acknowledged Indian ancestry and status in the eyes not only of the Indians but of the non-Indian community. There are extensive lists of individuals, however, whose status as Indians is beyond dispute in the community. Lists of the "real Indians" are highly variable. It would appear that those individuals whose status as Indians is least in doubt produce the smallest lists, while those who are mentioned on the longest lists tend to be those in question. The following notes would be objected to by some individuals, but appear to represent the opinion of most villagers. A systematic analysis of these histories would be useful for clarifying the process of status. The following list, however, represents the status of individuals as a point of departure for such a study in the future. These appear to be the most basic categories:

- (1) Vicente and Victor Boyal. (Status not known.)
Fischer, Felipe Boyal. (Status not known.)
- (2) Jose Santiago (aka) Garza. (Status not known.)
in 1888. (Status not known.)

is his stepbrother. Duran's daughter is married to an Indian from Santo Domingo pueblo.

(3) Pedro Pedrasa. His father was a Piro from Senecu.

(4) Mrs. Rafaela Dominquez. Born October 27, 1883. Father, Jose Montoya. Mother, Isabel Roybal.

Others frequently mentioned were Julian Cordero, Jacinto Jemento, the Olguin family, Mariana Alvarez, Angelita Carabajal, Frank Ramirez (Santa Clara father, Hano great-grandfather), Andres Ochova, Frank Brito (half Yaqui), Gabriel Hernandez, Ezekia Avalos, and Jose, Santonino, and Rosario Gonzales.

One of the most frequent terms of vituperation was "fake Indian". One of the men with the most claim to Indian ancestry admitted, however, that "There isn't a Mexican that hasn't got rich Indian blood. All Mexicans are Indians."

Knowledge of Indian ways is an important source of prestige.²² Especially valued is the ability to sing in the Indian chorus. An individual known as a "good singer" rises in the estimation of his fellows. One man claims to have a knowledge of Indian symbolism which sets him apart from less knowing men. Another man is very proud of a Plains-type tambourine drum which he has made, and which many men have attempted to purchase. Another individual makes kachina dolls

²²This appears to be the case in the community of Pascua, which, being peripheral to Yaqui culture, is somewhat similar to Tortugas in relation to pueblo culture. See Spicer, Pascua, p. 54 and p. 58.

is his stepbrother. Juan's daughter is married to an Indian from Santo Domingo pueblo.

(3) Pedro Pedraza. His father was a fine horse breeder.

(4) Mrs. Rafaela Dominguez. Born October 27, 1883. Father, Jose Montoya. Mother, Isabel Nolasco.

Others frequently mentioned were Julian Gomez, Jacinto

Jarama, the Garcia family, Mariana Alvarez, Angelita Garcia,

Jal, Frank Ramirez (Santa Clara father, Hans great-grandfather),

Andres Ochoa, Frank Brito (half Indian), Gabriel Hernandez,

Isabel Ayala, and Jose, Juanito, and Roberto Gonzalez.

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doctrine from which he has made, and which many men have

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²²This appears to be the case in the community of Indians which, being peripheral to Indian culture, is somewhat similar to the situation in relation to Pueblo culture. See Spicer, *Indian*, p. 54 and p. 58.

as a hobby. This knowledge and these arts and skills are a source of great pride to their owners and a means by which they rise in the estimation of their fellows. Wesley Hurt correctly maintains,²³ "The village presents the rare phenomenon of non-Indians endeavoring to become identified as Indians, rather than the reverse condition usually found in highly acculturated communities."

Prestige is also gained through the holding of religious and political office. The Cacique, standing at the top of the hierarchy, has the highest status in this regard. However, all of the other offices bring their share of honor.

Personal magnetism and qualities of leadership also improve a man's community standing. Many men with excellent qualifications for high status in every other particular fail here. It must be remembered, however, that factional considerations are attributed to members of the opposite group.

Many factors enter into the community's appraisal of an individual's character and personality. People who manifest conceit or vainglory are especially disliked. Such persons are classed as "stuck up". A dignified bearing is desirable, but if this is carried beyond a point, the charge of "stuck up" is likely to be heard. A good sense of humor is highly regarded in a person, and Tortugueros laugh easily. The ability

²³Hurt, Tortugas, p. 104.

to hold a representative body to the community's needs

effectively to conduct all its

And its members have been able to do this in a very

social sector. The old organization is now a

benefit of their experience in the community. They are also

likely to have experienced the same kind of situation in the

outside of the community. It is also possible that the

in the community. In fact, when I was in the community...

Albuquerque, or perhaps in the community. It is also

may have traveled. He is a member of the community, and he is

interested in.

Any contribution to the community is a whole thing

language spoken in the community. It is also possible that the

to our help to the community. It is also possible that the

that. It is possible that the community is also

help him. I am also interested in the community.

He is very interested in the community. It is also possible that the

George van Patten, who is a member of the community. It is also

parties for the community. It is also possible that the

his house."

The way in which the community is also

provided a clear picture of the community. It is also possible that the

the usual Mexican-style of the community. It is also possible that the

the usual Mexican-style of the community. It is also possible that the

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the usual Mexican-style of the community. It is also possible that the

the usual Mexican-style of the community. It is also possible that the

Americans of the locality the presence of a group of Indians in the near vicinity has a romantic appeal. The annual Guadalupe fiesta in December, aside from being a real cultural focus and a strong cohesive factor in Tortugas, serves to enhance the prestige of Tortugas in the extended community. A woman of one of the wealthiest and most prominent Spanish-American families in Las Cruces summarized this attitude: "Of course, the only time we think of Tortugas as anything but a dirty little village is on the twelfth of December." (The Mexican (and in this area the term embraces those born both in Mexico and the United States), on the other hand, has low prestige in the Mesilla Valley. He is scorned by both the Anglo-American and certain of the wealthy Spanish-speaking families of the area, who are extremely family-proud. The aura of being true Indians, consequently, sets the Tortugeño apart from the crowd.) The Guadalupe fiesta is a yearly reminder of their unique position. Many of the neighbors of Tortugas would refer to an individual and say, "He's a real Indian," not without a certain fondness coming into their voices. Quite often when speaking of Vicente Roybal, a person would add, "He is the chief of the Indians, you know." It must be a very unsettling experience indeed for a Mexican immigrant, who may have spent a lifetime in trying to pass from the Indian class into the mestizo class, to come to Tortugas and find it desirable to exert himself to move socially

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It must be a very unobtrusive expression, used for a long
time, who may have spent a lifetime in Toruques to have
from the Indian class into the middle class, to come out of
Toruques and find it desirable to start himself to move socially.

in the opposite direction.²⁵

Regarding the manner in which Tortugas views some groups in the world outside their village, the Anglo-American group represents a hiring force. Its standards of material culture in such matters as household appliances, dress, and automobiles are status symbols which the Tortuguños envy. On the other hand many say that the Anglos are not to be trusted.

According to several Tortugas informants there seems to be a strange fascination between the sexes of the two different groups. It is further believed in Tortugas that "Americans" from "the East" are an especially susceptible variety. Be this as it may, it is considered a bad thing.

The Spanish-American, or Mexican group is the one with which Tortugas most strongly identifies itself. This is wholly to be expected, inasmuch as the two groups share many of the cultural traits in religion, social organization, economics, and language. And it is the Spanish-Americans with whom most social contact and marriage takes place.

The group of lowest prestige, not only in the eyes of Tortugas but in the Mesilla area are the "wetbacks", or illegal Mexican immigrants. Closely allied to them in popular fancy are people from Juarez. Juarez is looked upon as a sink of

²⁵ The status of "Indians" in a Mexican town is set forth in Humphrey, Social Stratification, pp. 140-1.

in the opposite direction.

Regarding the matter of a social group, it is clear that in the world outside each nation, the social-organizational group represents a social group. For example, the social group in such matters as language, religion, dress, and customs are social groups which are very well known. On the other hand many say that the social group is not a social group.

According to several foreign scholars, there seems to be a certain relationship between the terms of the social group and group. It is further stated that the social group is from "the group" are an especially important concept. This as it may, it is considered a social group.

The social group, or social group, is the one which which foreign and foreign scholars study. This is why it is so be expected, inasmuch as the two groups are a part of the cultural values in religion, social organization, customs, and language. And as to the social-organizational matter with social social concept and social concept.

The group of social groups, not only in the social group but in the social group and the social group, or social group. It is clear that the social group is a social group. The people from foreign countries are a social group.

iniquity, and it exerts the same rather agreeable allure that such places usually do. Tortugas people go to Juarez, shop, have a good time, and come home feeling pleasantly superior and seemingly none the worse for their brush with sin. One Tortugas woman told me that two Juarez girls, now living in Tortugas, wear shorts, a style of dress which is frowned upon. These girls were referred to as "wetbacks". She added that, in her opinion, people from Juarez were "not good people". This view was echoed by many Tortugueños. However, as was indicated in the discussion of economics, although wetback and Mexican national laborers are a serious competitive force, there is a feeling of sympathy for them.

There is also a rather positive feeling toward Negroes. As one man put it, "If you treat the nigger people right, they'll treat you right." Another illustration may serve to point this up. An eight year old boy was singing the doggerel:

Nigger, nigger, jump a line,
Get your penny for the day.

His grandfather, standing nearby, was very displeased and said, "He sings bad songs."

Tortugas people, especially those of Indian ancestry, are very much aware of other Indian groups and, in many cases, have strong sentiments concerning them. They have close feelings of affinity with Isleta del Sur and participate in some of their ceremonials. Many people in Tortugas have relatives

intensity, and it is not the same as the intensity of the
such places usually do. Tortugas people are so friendly
have a good time, and some have the same intensity of
and seemingly more the more they know about the place. The
Tortugas women told me that if you go to a girl's house
Tortugas, were there, a girl's house would be a pleasant
These girls were referred to as "Tortugas". The other girls
in her opinion, people like them were "Tortugas".
This view was shared by many Tortugas. However, as was
indicated in the discussion of the Tortugas, although it was
and Mexican national laborers and a national representative
there is a feeling of superiority on the part of the Tortugas.

There is also a feeling of superiority on the part of the
As one man put it, "If you go to a girl's house, you
they'll treat you right." Another man said that he never
before this. In eight years of his work in the Tortugas
Tortugas, never, never, never.
Get your money for your work.

His grandfather, according to legend, was a very rich man.
He since has been poor.

Tortugas people, especially those of the Tortugas, are
are very much alike. They are all very much alike. They
have strong bonds with each other. They are all very much
ings of all things with each other. They are all very much
of their commonality. They are all very much alike.

there, and at least two were born there. One woman told me, "If you go to Isleta (Texas) and tell them you're from Guadalupe they accept you. You give them a cigarette to take to the Capitan de Guerra and they know you belong there." There is likewise a warm positive feeling for the pueblo peoples in general, and for Isleta in particular. Many have relatives in Isleta, New Mexico and know that their roots are there. Sometimes Isleta people visit Tortugas. The attitudes toward Isleta, however, are somewhat mixed, being coupled with a certain amount of fear. This stems from the belief that the medicine men at Isleta know every happening at Tortugas as it occurs through clairvoyance.²⁶

The people of Tortugas know little about Mexican Indians, although some of their parents came from these groups. They assert that their Azteca dance "is named for some tribe down there". Toward the Athabascan tribes there is an attitude of hostility. One man said, "I don't like the Navahos. They're the same as Apaches. They're some kin." A woman referred to "those dirty Navahos". Attitudes toward Apaches, their old antagonists in war, are especially venomous. One man related

²⁶Parsons, Isleta, pp. 264-5, says of the members of the medicine societies, "In general they have the powers of clairvoyance and of prediction, powers which are attributed to them so insistently and in such high degree in comparison with any like references in other pueblos that their exercise should perhaps also be considered a major function."

how his great-grandfather was tortured and killed by the Apaches. Another man said, "I have friends at Mescalero, but I don't like Apaches. They don't treat you right." Another, "Apaches are scared of Tiwas. Tiwas beat the ____ out of them." A social event in Las Cruces, which I witnessed, will show the depth of feeling on this matter. A local Spanish-American man jokingly called a Tortugas Indian an Apache. The Tortugas man immediately struck him to the floor and had to be constrained from attacking him further.

Warfare is now a thing of the past. To the early White settlers of the Mesilla Valley Tortugas appeared to be a very peaceful village. An old woman said, "The arrow was a symbol of food to them, not war." Indeed there appears to have been no armed friction between Tortugas and the White community at any time. However, there was warfare, in the form of raids, between Tortugas and Apache groups. And there is still a feeling of hostility on the part of the older people of Tortugas toward the Athabascan-speaking groups of the Southwest.

Statements that the Mesilla Valley was included in Apache raiding territory are borne out by Pope, writing in 1854:²⁷

Fort Fillmore, which once occupied an important position opposite the valley and town of Mesilla, has, since the late treaty Guadalupe Hidalgo, entirely lost its consequence, and since the establishment of Fort Bliss, forty

²⁷Pope, Report of Exploration, p. 24.

how his great-grandfather had been killed by the
 Apaches. Another man said, "I have friends in the
 but I don't like Apaches. They have killed my
 other," Apaches at least of them. "I have friends
 of them." A social circle of men, women, and
 will show the signs of feeling in this respect. A local
 far-American man to be called a "foreigner" is a
 The Portuguese man is the only one who is not
 to be considered from among the "foreigners".
 Western is now a thing of the past. The family
 section of the people living together is now a
 peaceful village. In all cases, the women are
 of food to them, but they are not allowed to
 no armed relation between them and the Apaches.
 any time. However, they are not allowed to
 between Portuguese and Apaches. There is still a
 ing of hostility on the part of the Apaches
 toward the Apaches. The Apaches are still
 Apaches and the Apaches are still
 Apaches and the Apaches are still

1854: 27

Fort William, with only a few men, was
 opposite the village and was
 late evening. The Apaches were
 Apaches, a large number of them

27 Pope, Report of the Apaches, p. 10

miles below, has become absolutely unnecessary. I therefore suggest that it be at once moved to the head of the Delaware creek, east of the Guadalupe mountains, and that its garrison be changed to two companies of dragoons and one of infantry. The establishment of this post would effectually cut off from the settlements below El Paso, and from the route to that place, the Indians of the White and Sacramento mountains, who have been constantly in the habit of carrying their forays into that part of the country; and with these troops in their rear, and near their places of retreat in the mountains, they would be extremely cautious about extending their depredations to the valley of the Rio Grande above.

Fort Fillmore, about six miles south of Las Cruces, was occupied from 1851 to 1862. In 1865 Pope's suggestion was acted upon and Fort Selden was activated. This fort lies fifteen miles north of Las Cruces, at the northern part of the Mesilla Valley. Fort Selden was in existence from 1865 to 1890.

Pope describes the nature and manner of these Apache raids.²⁸ He points out that in the Apache country game was scarce, and agriculture was neither desired nor remunerative. The Apaches lived mainly by plundering the settlements of New Mexico, driving off herds of stock, and carrying off children to be either taken into the tribe or used as slaves. They would often kill a lonely isolated shepherd. The raiders then would retreat into their mountain strongholds before effective countermeasures could be organized. If pursued they would break up their parties and scatter to all points of the compass, making pursuit virtually impossible. Pope

²⁸Pope, Report of Exploration, p. 13.

... miles below, has become absolutely unproductive. The
fore suggest that it is not only the soil but the
Delaware creek, and the Delaware valley, and the
its position be changed to the present position of
one of industry. The establishment of a new
effectively cut off from the western world, and
and from the world in general. The land is now
and Government ownership, and the Government
habit of carrying their horses and cattle
country; and with these crops in their field, and
their places of refuge in the mountains, they would
extremely careful about extending their western
the valley of the Rio Grande River.

Fort Villavieja, about six miles south of the bridge, was
built from 1851 to 1852. In 1853-1854, the
upon and Fort Salado was destroyed. This Fort Villavieja
miles north of Las Cruces, at the northern end of the
Valley. Fort Salado was in existence from 1855 to 1856.
The description of the bridge and valley of the Rio
Salado. The police are there in the valley, and the
scarcely, and the bridge is a bridge built for
The Apaches lived mainly by hunting the deer and
New Mexico, and the bridge is a bridge built for
children to be taken across the river and to
They would often kill a horse and take it
and then would return into their mountain homes
effective countermeasures could be taken. It
they would break up their families and scatter
of the country, and the bridge is a bridge built for

identifies these Apache bands as the Mescalero and Gila groups.

It is made clear by Pope, however, that not all of the depredations were committed by the Apaches. He describes how villages up and down the Rio Grande Valley kept Indian slaves, who were bought and traded like livestock. "It is difficult to say upon which side plundering predominates, although all depredations committed by the Indians, tenfold exaggerated, are duly laid before the authorities."²⁹

One Tortugas man said, "The Apaches and Navahos (sic!) attacked Tortugas. They were all around here." The family of Frank Ramirez seems to have suffered much at the hands of the Apaches. According to him, his father, who was from Santa Clara, was a captive of the Apache. His great-grandfather, a Hano Indian, was killed by the Apaches, who burned him in "seven fires" in retaliation for his killing of Raton, an Apache captive.

It is in connection with the killing of Raton that we have information that Tortugas had a scalp dance,³⁰ called the Caballero Dance,³¹ performed after the death of Raton. No

²⁹Pope, Report of Exploration, p. 13.

³⁰A scalp cult appears to be general throughout the Pueblo Southwest. See Ellis, Patterns of Agression, p. 192, et passim.

³¹This dance, whose name suggests the Caballero Dance of the Yaqui, appears to have no other similarity. See

identities these people have in the past, and all

to be given by the Government, and the

Department of the Interior, and the

Village of the same name, and the

who were present and the same name

to say that the same name, and the

Department of the Interior, and the

and only said that the same name

The Department of the Interior, and the

associated together, and the same name

of Frank Hamilton, and the same name

the same name, and the same name

Clara, was a relative of the same name

Hans, and the same name, and the same name

"Seven times" and the same name, and the same name

Apache native, and the same name

It is a connection with the same name

have information about the same name, and the same name

the Department of the Interior, and the same name

29. Report of the Department of the Interior, and the same name

30. A copy of the same name, and the same name

Public Lands, and the same name, and the same name

et passim, and the same name, and the same name

31. This name, and the same name, and the same name

of the same name, and the same name, and the same name

further details were forthcoming, and I was told, "This is supposed to be a secret."

Many aggressions and latent hostilities at Tortugas are canalized into factionalism. Factionalism at Tortugas does not resolve itself into clear-cut groups or sharp lines of demarcation. Moreover, it is impossible to predict which faction a given individual will adhere to. Apparently factionalism cross-cuts lines of age, sex, economic circumstance, education, and even family ties. On a relative basis, however, there are tendencies which can be noted, and which have a certain validity if not pressed too far.

There are hints that factionalism at Tortugas is no new thing, but that it goes back to the founding of the community. According to legend, Tortugas was founded by a dissident group at Isleta del Sur.³² The reasons for this budding off appear to be completely lost in Tortugas. It is reasonable to suppose that the mysterious assassination of the Cacique in 1908 was a result of factionalism, but here again the reasons are

Spicer, Pascua, p. 126; Spicer, Potam, pp. 92-3, and Holden, et al, Studies of the Yaqui, pp. 38-45. Although the name of this dance was given by the informant as Caballero (gentleman, knight, or horseman), he no doubt had reference to the word Cabellera, which is defined in Castillo and Bond, Univ. of Chicago Spanish Dictionary, p. 32, "head of hair, long hair; wig....", {hence, scalp}.

³²Factionalism is also rampant at Isleta, New Mexico. It shows many of the features found at Tortugas. At both pueblos factionalism is centered in the secular branch of

further details are forthcoming, as I am told, which are
supposed to be a secret.

Many a good and useful pastime is
commenced into the national.

not resolve itself, as it is the case of many lines of
democratic.

tion a given individual - it is the case of many lines of
democratic.

democratic, and even family lines. It is the case of many lines of
democratic.

There are many other lines of democratic, and even family lines. It is the case of many lines of
democratic.

According to legend, there are many other lines of democratic, and even family lines. It is the case of many lines of
democratic.

as the case of many lines of democratic, and even family lines. It is the case of many lines of
democratic.

was a result of the democratic, and even family lines. It is the case of many lines of
democratic.

Spencer, Kansas, p. 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

It shows many other lines of democratic, and even family lines. It is the case of many lines of
democratic.

hidden. Factionalism appears to be deeply ingrained at Tortugas. As one person put it, "We always have a fight over this or that."

For convenience in nomenclature the factions will be designated as "Conservative" and "Progressive". It should be realized, however, that these designations represent tendencies only, and that in many cases the Conservatives act in what must be called a progressive way and vice versa. In all fairness it must also be pointed out that most of my dealings were with members of the Conservative faction. Because I could not become as well acquainted with the point of view of the Progressives, an unconscious bias may be in evidence, although I tried conscientiously to appreciate their position on various issues.

The religious leaders of the community are Conservatives, as might be expected. Both the Cacique and the Priest are involved in factionalism, but, especially in the case of the latter, rather against their wills. Having the two religious leaders allied on their side, the Conservatives tend to have an attitude of righteousness. This party has definite feelings of persecution, and its members assert that factionalism

government. In both there have been two Governors (Tortugas President) put forward by the two factions. In both the disposal of village funds is an issue. See French, Factionalism, for a thorough discussion of the disruptive forces at Isleta.

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was forced on them. Indicative of this feeling are such statements as, "They've got it in for us", and, "The other side wants to fight."

The Progressive side is the aggressor group. In general the aims of this group are primarily to reform what appear to them as abuses and secondarily to improve the physical plant of the community. At the time of my visit, this group was led by Miguel Fiero, who later died, it is rumored, as the result of a beating.

Much of the strife centers on the office of President of the Pueblo. It is claimed by the Conservatives that Victor Roybal, the brother of the Cacique, was elected to this office for life, and that his position was illegally usurped by Miguel Fiero. The Progressive faction feels that the position should be held by one of their group in order to correct abuses. Apparently Fiero's position had no legal sanction, for he could not sign documents as President. These papers are still sent to Victor Roybal in San Diego to be signed. Some people aligned with the Roybal faction feel that he should not sign them. The lack of a legal position for Fiero forced his faction to claim that Fiero was elected President of the Board of Directors and not President of the Pueblo. Fiero was a wealthy man by Tortugas standards, and it is claimed by the Conservative faction that he "bought" the Presidency. Fiero was known as "Don Miguel" even to those allied against him. He was Mexican-

born and was called a "wetback" by some of his opponents.

When he died, some individuals hinted that he had much on his conscience and might find eternal glory somewhat difficult of attainment.

There appears to have been a great deal of political plotting behind Fiero's claim to the Presidency, which he assumed in 1948. A meeting was called of the Progressive faction, at which time Fiero was elected or appointed to office. Vicente Roybal, the Cacique, was invited to this meeting but did not attend, for, he said, he did not know for what purpose it had been called. It is another instance of the shirking of his duties by the Cacique, and a lack of sensitivity to public opinion which has lowered him in the opinion of the members of both factions. The Progressive group had another meeting at a later date, and during this interval there appears to have been a good deal of shifting of allegiances among the people.

Feeling ran especially high during this period. The following account was given of a meeting between Victor Roybal and Mrs. Rafaela Dominguez, his sister, by Mrs. Carlos Sanchez, his daughter. Mrs. Dominguez is a leader in the Progressive faction. However, at a fiesta she approached Victor Roybal and weepingly offered to recant, also offering him the custodianship of the Capilla (chapel) all year round. This offer was refused.

born and was called a "son of a bitch" by some of his associates.
When he died, some of his associates said that he had been a
conscientious and dignified man, and that he was a very
amiable person.
There is a story that he was a very good person, and that he
planning to go to the United States, which he
assumed in 1944. He was a very good person, and he was
from, and that he was a very good person, and he was
violence toward the United States, and that he was a very
did not attend, but he was a very good person, and he was
gone to his own country, and that he was a very good person,
ing of his duties by the United States, and that he was a very
to public opinion which was based on the opinion of some
members of the United States. The United States was a very
meeting at a later date, and that he was a very good person,
parts to have been a good deal of violence in the United States
among the people.
Feeling that it was a very good person, and that he was a very
following account was given of a meeting that was held in the
and Mrs. Robert L. Johnson, and that he was a very good person,
his daughter. Mrs. Johnson is a sister of the United States,
Fiction. However, it is a very good person, and that he was a very
and, especially of the United States, and that he was a very
socialism of the United States, and that he was a very good person,
was refused.

My Aunt comes and greets my Daddy. Then they exchanged how they all were. Then my Aunt tells my Daddy that she is sorry that they appointed Don Miguel. Then she starts crying. Then she tells my Daddy to go ahead and have everything back. Then my Daddy gets mad and tells her to have them, that he doesn't want any part of it and to go with them if she wanted, he didn't care. What I mean is with the other party. Then one that she calls a member, a woman, one of the other party, comes and greets my Daddy while they're having that argument. She tells my Daddy that she's not with that other side because she doesn't know what kind of a man Don Miguel was. Then my Daddy tells her that he doesn't care but to go ahead with that party. He cussed my Aunt out. He told them that they weren't anything but fake Indians, and I guess that ended the argument because one of my cousins took my Daddy away because he was really angry. He also told her that if ever she was sick not to call on him or recognize him as a brother. Then he said, "Till this day we are brother and sister. I don't want to speak to you or you to speak to me." As long as she lived that if ever she would need him for anything not to call upon him because he didn't have anything to do with her anymore. Even the day that she would be dying not to call him or talk to him.

Vicente Roybal, the Cacique, supported his brother throughout this conflict, and, as a result, was burdened with his share of trouble. In 1948, Fiero, acting as President, sent deputy sheriffs to the house of Vicente Roybal to gather certain objects which, it was claimed, were the property of the pueblo, and which evolved to Fiero as custodian. These included all written records in Vicente's possession, the official seal of the pueblo, the varas, the tombe, maps, and possibly the Cacique's staff. The Conservatives claim that Vicente did wrong in allowing the deputy to search the house for these objects.

The Conservatives feel that the other party is trying

My Aunt Emma and Uncle John, who were the only ones who
 how they all were. I was very happy to see them. I was
 is better than any other. I was very happy to see them.
 crying. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 everything. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 have seen. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 with them. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 with the other. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 a woman, one of the best. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 Daddy. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 Daddy. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 doesn't know. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 my Daddy. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 with them. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 that they were. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 that they were. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 my Daddy. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 her face. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 respect. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 day we are. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 you or you. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 if ever. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 him because. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 more. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 him. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.

Thomas Howell, the English, reported the brother
 throughout the country. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 his share of the. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 sent delay. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 certain objects. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 the public, and which. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 included all. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 official seal of the. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 generally the. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 Vienna. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.
 for them. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.

The Commission. I was very happy to see them. I was very happy to see them.

to usurp the Cacique's rights. The Progressives say, "He is against us." Both factions appear to be united in the opinion that the Cacique shirks his duties, and this is borne out in fact. It is claimed that he does not know enough of ritual and ceremonialism and that he is gullible. The Conservatives further feel that he is lacking in leadership and is not firm enough in defending the right. At the time of my visit the pueblo meetings and the New Year's elections were held by Fiero without the Cacique. The Cacique attends the annual Guadalupe fiesta but does not sing. It is claimed that he sings alone in his own home. Indeed many men in the Cacique's faction refuse to join the chorus of Tiwa chanters, being satisfied to observe the performance and to criticize it. As one man put it, "We just stand around and laugh like coyotes." After one such performance I heard a War Captain announce, "Some of the members are not being regular."

The parish priest, a shy man, is drawn into controversy on the explosive subject of the carnival. It is on this problem that the Conservatives have a liberal view and the Progressives take the more conservative attitude. The point in question is whether a carnival should be allowed on church property during the fiesta. The Conservatives state that the fiesta is for rejoicing and merrymaking, and that the carnival is perfectly in place, having also the not inconsiderable virtue of adding to the coffers of the community. The Fiero

faction argues that the fiesta is a solemn religious performance and that a carnival is out of keeping with the religious aims of the celebration. Crucial to their argument, however, is the question of the distribution of funds both from this source and from contribution boxes at the fiesta. The priest was backed by his bishop in demanding that the funds were to be in his hands. A series of suits in law were filed by the Fiero faction against the Cacique and the priest, although this step was taken very reluctantly.

The Roybal faction claims that the church property is Vicente's and that he allowed the priest, whom he thought underpaid, to rent the church grounds for the carnival. Before that, Vicente was taking twenty-two dollars for the mass and the remainder of the money for himself to pay for the fiesta. Apparently, also, there were two contribution boxes, one for the priest, and one for fiesta expenses. The contribution box for the priest was in the Pueblo House. The location of the other one is unknown. The Fiero faction insisted on an accounting of these funds. The last lawsuit was held on March 28, 1951. The judge ruled against a carnival on church property and stipulated further that the proceeds of the cash box were to be disposed of by the priest, and not by the Cacique.

The Conservatives also wish for more forceful leadership from the priest, who, they claim, was afraid of Fiero.

The Conservatives assert that Fiero would stand in front of the church after Sunday mass and "cuss the priest out" (the priest not being present).³³ It is said by some that Fiero "stole the Virgin", but that he was prevented from completing this act by a female member of the Roybal faction. I was unable to verify this incident.

It is significant that each faction claims that members of the other are outsiders or "fake Indians". Such statements indicate the lack of an in-group feeling and the high prestige value attached to being considered a genuine Indian.

³³"The custom of the Pueblo governor haranguing the people after mass has existed in Rio Grande pueblos. (I believe this still goes on at Jemez at times and probably elsewhere.) Also among Tarahumara. The harangues supposedly deal with village precepts and problems of various kinds." (Doctor Florence Hawley Ellis, personal communication.)

RELIGION AND CEREMONIALISM

This chapter will describe certain of the major ceremonies and some of the religious beliefs of present day Tortugas. Also included will be descriptive material concerning these ceremonies as they were performed during the historic past. This data, obtained from older informants, will indicate that even in the recent past the trend has been one of dropping Indian practices and of conforming increasingly to Roman Catholic observance.

No attempt will be made to present the total religious complex of Tortugas, for its religion at the present time is prevaillingly Catholic in orientation. In this respect Tortugas resembles the neighboring Spanish-American villages and even the acculturated Indian communities of Mexico. The religious organization, which is an integral part of Tortugas governmental structure, has been described in the preceding chapter.

Tortugas, being composed of two villages, Guadalupe and San Juan, and having these two saints as patrons, celebrates both saint's days. They are not of equal importance, however. The Day of San Juan is relatively minor. Guadalupe Day, on the other hand, is the major ceremonial occasion of the year and assumes the character of a major cultural focus.

The feast day of San Juan (Saint John the Baptist) occurs

This chapter will describe the...

monies and covered... Also... these currencies... past... case that even in the... dropped Indian... Roman Catholic...

He always... complex of... prevailing... these... even the... religious... government... chapter.

For... San Juan... both... The... the other... and... The...

on June twenty-fourth, and Tortugas celebrated this event in 1951 after a lapse of two or three years.

Most of the San Juan Day ceremony, and of others as well, takes place in the Pueblo House. Apparently this house is of no great age. It was built some time after the church, which was completed in 1910 or 1911. Aside from ceremonial use, it functions as a community hall. It is here that the monthly pueblo meetings and the social dances are held.

The Pueblo House is a long, rectangular adobe structure, with a small room at the rear shaped much like the apse of a church. It is oriented from east to west, with the entrance to the east. Inside are two wooden benches running the full length of the side walls. An American flag is in the center of the wall opposite the entrance. On its right is a picture of Miguel Hidalgo y Castillo, the Mexican revolutionary hero, and on its left is a picture of Colonel Eugene van Patten in military uniform. A wooden table in the rear of the room is removed for dancing. The door to the rear room is on the right-hand or north side of the wall. There is a fireplace inside the room. While the main room is open to all, this smaller back room is considered a "secret room", used for conferences of the Captains. I did not find that it had any special name, but two informants stated that it had some "Indian name" which they had forgotten.¹

¹In many Rio Grande pueblos today a rectangular "commun-

on June twenty-first, 1951, the following information was given in
1951 after a lapse of two years.
Most of the time the day was spent in the
taken place in the morning. The majority of the time is spent
no great deal. It was with the idea of the day, which
was completed in 1950 or 1951. The new construction of
functions was to be completed by the end of the year. The
public meetings and the meeting between the public
The public house is a large, two-story building with a
with a small room at the rear of the house like the rest of
church. It is situated on the corner of the street, with the entrance
to the east. Inside the house there is a large room with a
length of the street. The house is situated in the center
of the wall opposite the entrance. The house is a small
of Miguel Hidalgo, the famous revolutionary hero,
and on the left is a statue of Colonel Antonio M. Garcia.
Military uniforms, a wooden table in the rear of the house is
removed for display. The door to the rear room is on the
right-hand or north side of the house. There is a small room
inside the house. Inside the room is a small table, and
another back room is connected to the main room. The
conference of the house. The house is situated in the
special case, for the information of the public in the area.
"Indian name" and the name of the house.

In the house, the house is a small building with a

The fiesta of San Juan starts at mid-afternoon on June twenty-fourth and lasts until sun-up the next morning. Before the dance starts, the Captains and male Mayordomos retire into the small room of the Pueblo House. When they re-emerge the Captains proceed to annoint the faces of all "members of the pueblo" with paint. The women receive three circular patches of bright red paint, one on each cheek and one on the chin. Men's face-painting, done in dark purple paint, consists of one diagonal stripe running down each cheek from a point under the eye nearest the nose. During the fiesta which I observed one small girl received the men's markings. This was considered a good joke.

After this, each Captain receives a ritual whipping from the Captain of War. He is struck once on each leg, every blow being accompanied by beating of the drum.² He is then handed

ity hall" of adobe has been built as a place in which to hold many meetings. It is not sacred and hence permits activities and even types of speech and dress not permitted in the kiva.

The Pueblo House of Tortugas also functions somewhat as does the big kiva, or round house of Isleta, inasmuch as it is used for dances involving the entire village. See Hawley, *Big Kivas*, p. 297.

It also takes over a function of the Isleta moiety houses in that it is used for storage of fiesta materials.

The small secret room in the back further complicates the picture. It may well represent the old kiva.

²Ritual whipping is also found at Isleta. Here it is used for the initiation of "grandfathers" by the Cacique. The grandfathers carry a yucca blade whip. See Parsons, *Isleta*, pp. 263-4. The grandfathers may use the whip for curing. Whipping is also found in conjunction with penance and punish-

The fiesta of San Juan starts at mid-afternoon on June

twenty-fourth and lasts until early the next morning. Be-

fore the dance starts, the Capatains and their Kewyachans retire

into the small room of the Pueblo House. When they re-emerge

the Capatains proceed to arrange the faces of all "members of

the pueblo" with paint. The women receive three circular

patches of bright red paint, one on each cheek and one on the

chin. Men's face-painting, done in dark purple paint, con-

sists of one diagonal stripe running down each cheek from a

point under the eye toward the nose. During the fiesta which

I observed one small girl received the men's markings. This

was considered a good joke.

After this, each Capatain receives a ritual whipping from

the Capatain of War. He is struck once on each leg, every blow

being accompanied by beating of the drum. He is then handed

to "half" of whose has been built as a place in which to hold
many meetings. It is not sacred and hence permits activities
and even types of speech and dress not permitted in the kiva.

The Pueblo House of Torreyes also functions somewhat as
does the big kiva, or round house of Iteate, inasmuch as it
is used for dances involving the entire village. See Huxley,
Big Kiva, p. 297.

It also takes over a function of the Iteate society
houses in that it is used for storage of flint and
The small secret room in the back further complements
the picture. It may well represent the old kiva.

²Ritual whipping is also found at Iteate. Here it is
used for the initiation of "granitizers" by the Iteate. The
granitizers carry a yucca plant whip. See Parsons, Iteate,
pp. 263-4. The granitizers may use the whip for curing.
Whipping is also found in conjunction with penance and punish-

the vara, or switch, with which he was beaten. He carries this for the rest of the dance. When asked why the ritual whipping was administered, one informant stated, "This is to make him understand that he must respect that stick he gets and get after the other ones."

The varas are constructed of one long branch. The twigs with the leaves still on them are bound upwards upon the main shaft. These switches must not be cut off the tree, but broken off. They are the Captains' insignia of office.³

One of the Captains then makes announcements. Each announcement is followed by rapid beating on the drums.

The dances of the afternoon are the type known in Tortugas as "Indian dances". Most of the dancers are boys and young women. Some of the boys are not as big as the bows they carry. All of the dancers are seated towards the front of the

ment. Parsons, Isleta, p. 287. Parrish, El Paso Times, June 14, 1951, p. 15, states for Isleta del Sur, "The tribal governor, Tomas Granillo, and his two captains administered the traditional two lashes with a willow switch to each member, adults and children alike.... They are administered as penance for favors received during the year from Saint Anthony."

³"Vara", an old Spanish term for a rod which was used for measurement, has taken on the meaning of a rod, switch, or whip which is carried by officers to signify their authority and to enforce discipline. Fewkes, Pueblo Settlements, p. 65, notes a baton or staff of office present at Isleta del Sur for all officers. In this case there is a cross affixed to the head, reminding one of the quiote carried on the Tortugas Mountain pilgrimage. The feature of a cross atop the vara, on which oaths are administered, is noted in Velasquez, Spanish Dictionary, 1948.

the very, or rather, with which he was looking at the
this for the rest of the drama. When he was looking at the
whipping was administered, and he was looking at the
make his understanding of the scene as a whole. It was
and was after the other.

The scene was composed of two parts. The first
with the lesson which he was learning from the scene.
shall. These scenes were the first, but they
off. They were the first, but they
One of the scenes was the first, but they

announcement is followed by a scene in which
The scene of the first, but they
scene in which the first, but they
young women. Some of the first, but they
carry. All of the scenes are the first, but they

ment. The scene is the first, but they
in 1951. The scene is the first, but they
error. The scene is the first, but they
trivial and the first, but they
advice and the first, but they
and for the first, but they

There, as old friends, for a long time
for a moment, and then for a moment
or which is the first, but they
for and the first, but they
of, and the first, but they
for all of the first, but they
to the first, but they
the first, but they
and the first, but they

room, opposite the entrance. The female dancers are seated on the south side, while the male dancers sit on the north. The Captains sit on the northwest side.

In 1951, the special women's costume was worn by only five women, mostly young. The costume consists of a black dress with satin ribbon trim, a white blouse worn under it, and a white veil. Head streamers, of many colors, are attached with either a hair-bow, a ribbon headband, or a tiara, and are worn to mid-calf length. I observed a tiara made of silver tinsel. One old woman wore beaded moccasins at the performance I witnessed, while the rest of the women wore their usual footgear.⁴

The men wear no special costume. They dance with a bow and two arrows in the left hand and a gourd rattle in the right. These rattles are painted in red, with feathers at the top of the gourd and at the bottom of the handle. The rattle is attached to the wrist with a thong.

⁴The black dress is no doubt an economical adaptation of the valuable hand-woven woolen manta generally found in the pueblos. Pictures taken of this dance in 1907 show the costume to be essentially unchanged. Photographs published in the El Paso Times of June 14, 1951 of ceremonies held the previous day at Isleta del Sur show a costume substantially the same. The men carry a bow and a rattle, the women carry arrows.

At Isleta in the Christmas dances the men carry a bow in the left hand and a rattle in the right. See Parsons, Isleta, p. 303. At Santa Clara and Tesuque, men carry a bow in the left hand and a gourd rattle in the right in the Comanche Dance. See Parsons, Tewa, pp. 215-16.

room, opposite the kitchen. The kitchen is on the right side of the house, with the entrance to the right. The kitchen is on the right side of the house, with the entrance to the right.

In 1951, the house was bought by the same owner.

The house is a two-story building, with a white exterior and a red roof.

The house is located on a street that is about 100 feet wide.

The house is located on a street that is about 100 feet wide.

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The dancing is done to the accompaniment of a large drum and a men's chorus singing Tiwa chants. The drum is held by three men, who beat the instrument with all their strength, making the small Pueblo House reverberate. Men drift in and out of the chorus, but there are usually six or more men in it at any one time.

A Tiwa language, belonging to the Tanoan stock, was formerly spoken in Tortugas. Today it survives only in these chants accompanying the "Indian dances". Even in this case it is not intelligible to either the chanters or the listeners. An Isleta informant who has heard these performances states that these chants are indeed in a Tiwa language. They are, however, made up of bits and pieces of existing songs, compressed and thrown together.

Each dance set consists of three dances. In the first two each woman follows behind her male partner; in the last each woman is at the man's left, and the dancers move in a hollow square. The men's step in all of the dances is a hop, often with a backward slide on the weight-bearing foot. The women carry an unarmed arrow in each hand, gripped near the tip. In the first two dances of a set the arrows are moved alternately, first one down and then the other. In the last dance they are moved down simultaneously, but in three distinct movements, corresponding with the beat. On the fourth beat they are moved back to the upright position. While danc-

The dancing is done to the accompaniment of a band of
and a man's chorus singing "The Swan". The first is held by
three men, who lead the movement with all their strength,
making the small French House tremble. The first is held
out of the chorus, but the rest of the chorus is on watch
at any one time.

A first language, belonging to the French folk, and for
early spoken in French. Today a number of men in French
chant accompanying the "The Swan". Even in this case
it is not intelligible to those who speak the French
ers. In later instances the first is held by the French
stated that these changes are made in a first language. They
are, however, made up of three or four of existing words,
compressed and broken together.

Each dance set consists of three dances. In the first
two each woman follows behind her male partner, and the first
each woman is at the man's left, and the second is at the
hollow square. The men's feet in all of the three is a
often with a backward slide on the right-hand foot. The
women carry an unsteady step in each hand, stepped down the
tip. In the first two dances of a set the women move
alternately, first two down and then the other. In the third
dance they are moved down simultaneously, but in three
times movements, corresponding with the first, the second
first they are moved back to the original position.

ing, the women usually gaze fixedly at the feet of their male partners. At other times they gaze just as fixedly ahead at the ground. The chanters are likewise expressionless.

Two couples dance at a time, proceeding through the set of three dances. Then one of the Captains collects the bows and arrows from the boys, and another collects the arrows from the girls. They then hand these to the pairs who will dance the next set. They are never refused and are accepted without visible emotion.

During the entire afternoon refreshments are sold outside the Pueblo House. Coca-Cola is sold at five cents, and sandwiches donated by the ladies are sold at fifteen cents. It is not known what is done with the proceeds from this sale. There are some free refreshments inside.

While the dancing is proceeding some of the men gather in the small back room of the Pueblo House. Here there is Tokay wine, home-made cookies, candies, and soft drinks.⁵ Alcohol may be consumed only in this room and may not be carried into the main room or outside. As the evening wears on, some men become intoxicated.

At about 5:15 P.M. all present march to the church in a body, led by the dancers and singers, with the drum in the

⁵This may be a reflection of the practice in other pueblos of using the kiva as a men's club house and a place where the men are fed during dance intermissions.

ing, the women usually gaze fixedly at the feet of their male partners. At other times they gaze just as fixedly ahead as the ground. The dancers are likewise expressionless.

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forefront. On the way the rattles are shaken and the chorus chants. When the church ground is reached, the men remove their hats. Then three rows of dancers, the chorus, and the drummers advance very slowly toward the front of the church. Here the chorus disassociates itself from the rest. Then there are more dance sets of the type performed in the Pueblo House, an exception being that in this case the two dancing couples in the center are accompanied by the other dancers.

At 5:45 the dancers go into the church and remain for seven minutes. Then some of the spectators enter, while the dancers march back.

At 6:00 they dance in front of the chapel, repeating their previous movements in front of the church, including the slow advance and the dance sets with two couples.

This chapel (Capilla) was built in 1949 as the result of a vow, replacing a small house to the east of the Pueblo House where the image of the Virgin was formerly kept. The chapel has no seats. It is kept clean and whitewashed regularly, as is the Pueblo House.

When the dancers arrive, the doors to the chapel are opened. There are candles burning around the image and many flowers. A rosary is said, apparently led by a woman. Hymns are then sung in Spanish. In 1951 the service lasted from 6:17 until 6:45. Because all the people cannot be accommodated in the tiny chapel, many kneel on the ground fanwise

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6:17 until 6:45. Because all the people cannot be accommo-
dated in the tiny chapel, many kneel on the ground facing

around the entrance. After the service, some people go into the chapel. I observed one man, one of the singers who had also been the most vigorous of the dancers, go in and later emerge weeping. In general, the women came out laughing; the men appeared to be moved.

Upon the return of the celebrants to the Pueblo House a round dance is held. All of the people, including the chorus, move counter-clockwise in the circle. Dinner, consisting of sandwiches and Coca-Cola then is purchased. After dinner there is another group of Indian dances, lasting for about an hour. At about eight o'clock there is an announcement that the Baile de Olla is about to start, and the girls change their costumes.

The Baile de Olla, named for the pottery water drum which is one of its features, is the social dance of Tortugas. I was told that because the traditional olla was broken, a smaller drum of the usual hollow-log type had been substituted.⁶ Two men chant the words, allegedly in Tiwa, while

⁶Fewkes, Pueblo Settlements, mentions that at Isleta del Sur the olla is considered a secular drum, while the hollowed log drum is used for sacred purposes. Hurt, Tortugas, p. 114, states, "The old drum forms an important part of the Tiwa ceremonies. Once every three months the Cacique 'feeds' the drum in his home. On New Years' Eve a more elaborate ceremony for the drum is held. The Cacique refused to reveal all the details of the drum ceremonies. He did state, however, that the 'feeding' consists of blowing cigarette smoke into the hole in the side of the drum. The drum is considered sacred by the Cacique, to the extent that he was not willing to sell it." This follows Isleta practice. Parsons, Isleta, p. 281, notes that sacrosanct objects are smoked.

one of them plays the drum. The basic rhythm is two beats with variations. The men line up on the north side of the Pueblo House, while an equal number of women form a line on the south. Throughout most of the dance one line merely faces the other and keeps time by clapping. One of the Captains leads the group being at the end of the men's line. Certain patterns are described by couples (see figure 4). This appears to be the entire repertory of the Baile de Olla. There is a good deal of confusion, with exchanging of places and inadvertant mixing of partners. Partners are not chosen, but apparently obtained at random. There is, however, a way in which a girl can select a partner. The men line up first. As can be seen from the figure, if a certain man, for example, is fifth from the right end, the girl who has lined up fifth from her right end will become his partner and will remain so whenever a partner figure is executed. However, in the ensuing confusion, one can rarely keep a partner for the whole dance. The Baile de Olla usually lasts until sunrise. It is also given at other times during the year. In 1950 it was held on the Saturday following the Guadalupe fiesta.⁷

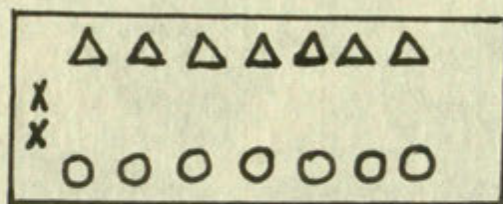
⁷An Isleta informant who is familiar with Tortugas states that the Baile de Olla is the same as the Isleta Hanch, or Comanche Dance. Parsons, Isleta, p. 205, mentions this dance in passing, stating that it is performed each Saturday night and is also danced by the Tewa.

The House Dance (Fewkes, Pueblo Settlements, p. 67) of Isleta del Sur parallels the Tortugas Baile de Olla in the use of an olla drum indoors. His descriptions of the dance figures show a marked similarity to those of Tortugas.

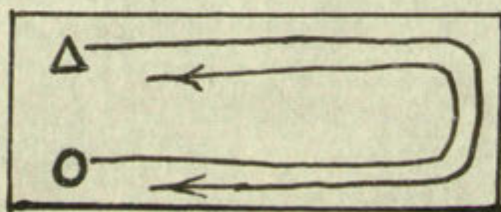
BAILE DE OLLA FIGURES

98a

DRUMMER
and
SINGER



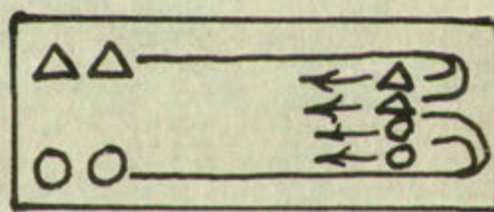
a.



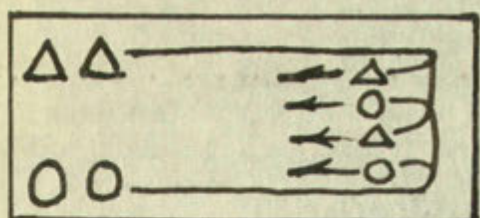
b. this is always the first figure



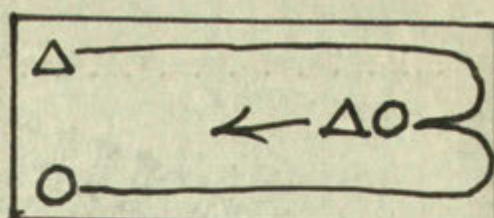
c. "ones"



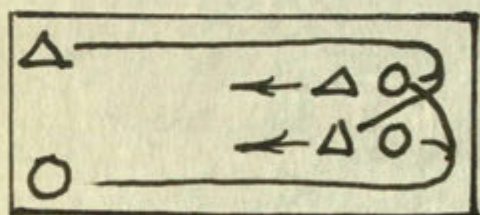
d. "twos"



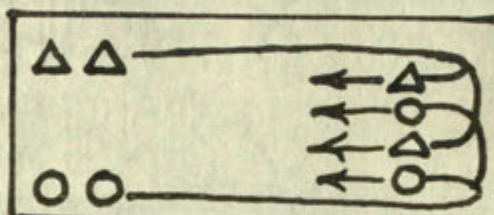
e.



f. man dances backwards with
right hand on woman's shoulder

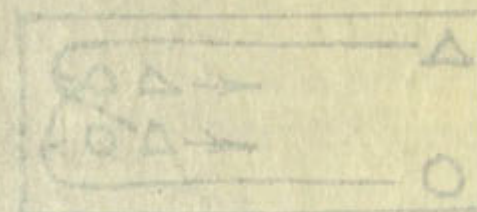
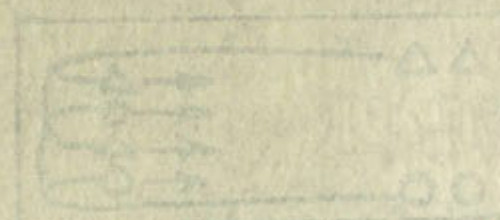
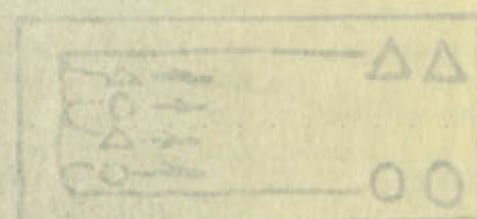
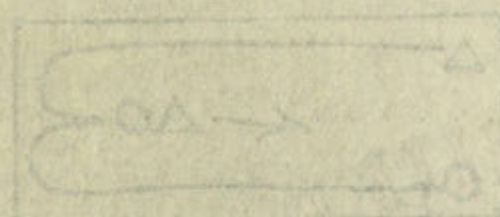
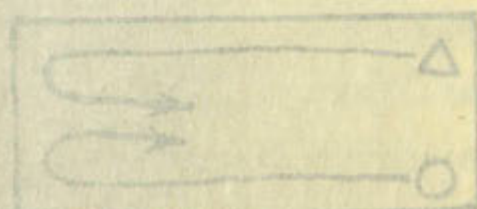
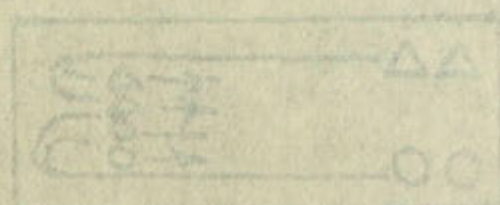
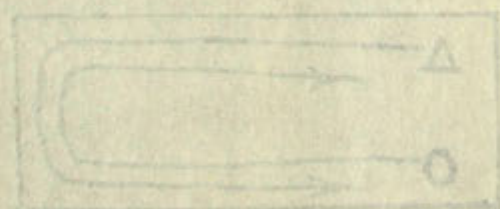
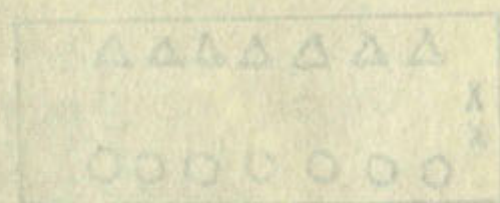


g. man dances backwards



h. final figure. man has his arm
around partner's shoulder

FIGURE 4



In former times a ritual bath was taken in the Rio Grande on San Juan Day after the Indian dances. Men and women bathed together. Branches used in the dancing were thrown into the river. At this time also the Indians cut their hair with an axe. It is said that the Indians had beautiful hair because they cut it only once a year.⁸

The major ceremony of the year centers around the Virgin of Guadalupe. The saint's day (Dia de Guadalupe), December twelfth, is the closing day of a three day ceremonial, for which the dancers have been practicing since about the first of November.

Hurt⁹ states that the ceremonies start at five A.M. on December tenth, when the image of the Virgin is taken from the chapel to the Pueblo House. In 1951, however, the ceremony started at six P.M. This first night ceremony, variously

⁸Ritual baths and hair-washing or cutting appear to be general in the Southwest. Among both Yaqui and Mayo a ritual bath in a river is taken on June 24, the day of San Juan. Especially among the Mayo, this observance is described as definitely having a connection with the saint. It no doubt is derived from the concept of baptism associated with this saint. See Beals, Cahita, p. 144 and p. 186. Ritual bathing not associated with San Juan is to be found at Isleta (Parsons, Isleta, pp. 286-7) and among the Tewa (Parsons, Tewa, p. 260) as a purification rite.

Concerning hair-cutting, Dr. Florence Hawley Ellis states, "The Pojoaque Indians used to braid their hair and cut off the braids with an axe. I don't know whether this is a Pueblo or Mexican custom." (Personal communication).

⁹Hurt, Tortugas, p. 114.

In former times a river...
do on San Juan Bay after the Indian...
bathed together. Unwashed and in the...
into the river. It was then...
with an axe. It is said that the...
because they are in only one...
The major...
of Guadalupe. The...
twelfth, in the...
which the...
of November.

Hurt...
December...
chapel to the...
started at six P.M. This...
...

⁸...
General in the...
back in a river...
Especially...
definitely...
is derived from...
saint. See...
not associated...
some...
p. 250...
Concerning...
asses. The...
cut off the...
is a...
There,...

known as Velorio, Belar, or "Wake", lasts until dawn.¹⁰ The picture of the Virgin is brought from the chapel to the Pueblo House during the evening, and is kept there all night. Rosaries are said, mostly by the women. A large fire is made outside of the Pueblo House, and it is here that the men gather for warmth and male companionship. A large tree is brought in by fifteen men for this purpose. While the rosaries are being said, twelve gauge shotguns are discharged after every ten "Hail Marys" and one "Our Father", as is the Mexican custom. Candelas are lit on the roof of the Pueblo House and the chapel. These are the candles burning in paper sacks filled with sand that in northern New Mexico are known as luminarios or faro-litos (little lanterns). It was said by an older Anglo informant that the candelas were introduced into southern New Mexico by the people of Tortugas.

During the night the Matechine dances are performed in the Pueblo House. These dances will be described in a later section.

December eleventh is mainly occupied with the pilgrimage to the top of Tortugas Mountain. At dawn the ceremony El Alva

¹⁰Spanish-Americans of New Mexico distinguish between Velorios de Santos, which are thanksgiving offerings for favors received or votive offerings for favors expected, and Velorios de difunto, wakes for the dead, which were like wakes for the saints in most respects. (White, Los Hispanos, pp. 13-18).

known as Velorio, Bejar, or "Wake", lasts until dawn. The picture of the Virgin is brought from the chapel to the Pueblo House during the evening, and is kept there all night. Relatives and friends of the woman, mostly by the women, bring large line to the outside of the Pueblo House, and it is here that the new mother for warmth and safe company. A large group is brought in by fifteen men for this purpose. While the relatives are being said, twelve gauge shots are discharged after every can "Hall Marys" and one "Our Father", as is the Mexican custom. Candles are lit on the roof of the Pueblo House and the chapel. These are the candles burning in paper at the filled with sand that in northern New Mexico are known as "Lanterns" or "Litos" (Little Lanterns). It was said by an older Anglo lawyer that the candles were introduced into northern New Mexico by the people of Portugal. During the night the Mexican dances are performed in the Pueblo House. These dances will be described in a later section.

December eleventh is mainly occupied with the planning to the top of Portugal Mountain. At dawn the ceremony is held

10 Spanish-American of New Mexico distinguished between Velorio de Santos, which are characterizing offerings for favors received or votive offerings for favors expected, and Velorio de Almas, wakes for the dead, which were like wakes for the saints in most respects. (White, Los Mexicanos, pp. 13-15).

is given preceding the ascent of the mountain. This ceremony is largely in the hands of the Matechine dancers, who have been active during the night. The picture of the Virgin is taken from the Pueblo House to the church. The people carry lighted candles and sing hymns as they accompany Her.

All who wish to ascend the mountain register at the Pueblo House. When the pilgrims reach the foot of the mountain, the group is divided into three parts. One group climbs the center of the mountain, while the remaining two groups ascend the sides.

The climb is a rigorous one. The mountain is steep and rough, with much loose rock. Nevertheless there are some who vow to climb barefooted. Many of those who make the ascent have been awake throughout the previous night for the Velorio and the Matechine dances. This pilgrimage is by no means limited to the people of Tortugas. Anyone who wishes may join the procession and many Spanish-American people from all over the Mesilla Valley make the climb. Also, many Tortugas people who have settled elsewhere return for the occasion. Three hundred and eighty-six people made the ascent in 1951. Hurt,¹¹ quoting the Albuquerque Journal for December 13, 1940, states that three hundred people made the pilgrimage that year. The years just after the second world war seem to have attract-

¹¹Hurt, Tortugas, p. 115.

is given preceding the ascent of the mountain. The people
is largely in the hands of the Indians, who have
been active during the night. The first of the night
taken from the Pueblo House to the summit. The people
lighted candles and sing hymns as they ascend.
All who wish to ascend are welcome to take part in the
Pueblo House. When the night is over, the people
tain, the group is divided into two groups. The first of
the center of the mountain, while the second of the
second the sides.
The climb is a rigorous one. The mountain is steep and
rough, with much loose rock. Many of the people who
vow to climb are disappointed. Many of those who do not
have been awake throughout the previous night for the climb
and the Wacchila dances. This experience is very
limited to the people of Toruaga. Many who do not
join the procession and many who do not climb are disappointed.
over the Meallia Valley make the climb. Many of the
people who have settled elsewhere return for the climb.
Three hundred and eighty-six people made the ascent in 1911.
Hurt, in quoting the Albuquerque Journal, for September 10, 1911,
states that three hundred people made the climb in 1911.
The years just after the second world war were the best years

Hurt, Toruaga, p. 115.

ed an unusual number of pilgrims. Many servicemen or their relatives vowed to climb the mountain if they were saved from death. During these years between six and seven hundred people made the climb.

Most people attempt the pilgrimage as the result of a vow. The motives to fulfill this vow at all costs are very strong. One very old woman said, "I'm going up the mountain if I have to drag myself." The people who climb barefooted tear their feet on the rocks. Those who are ill are helped up the mountain. Some individuals of the older generation feel that the younger people do not take the pilgrimage seriously enough and that the standards of deportment have been relaxed. One man said, "Now they just don't care. If it's cold or snowy, they won't go. If it's a promise, you just have to go." This man claims that now "they all get drunk." This is far from the truth. He said, "Now the girls and women go up just for a good time." Some older people feel that it is wrong for women to dress for the pilgrimage in "socks and slacks" and claim that this has occurred only since the administration of Fiero. Formerly men and women were not allowed any social intercourse while ascending the mountain; "a woman could only hand a man his lunch." The people carry their lunches and water bottles under their arms.

It is the responsibility of the Captains to keep order in their respective groups. They carry their varas, or switch-

es, and do not hesitate to use them, especially on children, often to the merriment of the onlookers. On the way up the mountain, wood is gathered for the luminarios, or bonfires, and these are laid to be lighted on the descent.¹² The older people say that fuel is much scarcer now than it was when they were young.

The summit of the mountain is reached shortly after noon. At this time all kneel in prayer and then eat. Hurt¹³ asserts that there is a shrine to the Virgin of Guadalupe on top of Tortugas Mountain. Until the descent, the people pray and sing and occupy themselves in making quiotes and coronas to be offered to the Virgin later that night. The quite is a staff, variously described as "a pole to help them down the mountain," and "a cane like shepherds use, only decorated."¹⁴ The stalk is made of yucca elata. White blades of sotol (Dasyllirion wheeleri) are tied to this stalk. These are often carved in the shape of a cross or a cross is cut into them. Fruiting stalks of bear grass (Nolina microcarpa) are also

¹²Luminarios are to be found generally throughout the pueblo and Spanish-American Southwest and in Mexico, especially in connection with Guadalupe Day and Christmas. The custom is apparently of Spanish origin: "On the Day of the Conception, December 8, a fire--luminario--is made in a brazier outside of the Cathedral and outside of the Church of the Conception at Palma, Balearics; and the custom of luminarios is found, I am told, in Southern Spain." (Parsons, Spanish Elements, footnote, p. 591).

¹³Hurt, Tortugas, p. 115.

¹⁴See page 3, footnote 2.

as, and do not hesitate to use them, especially on children, often to the detriment of the children. On the way up the mountain, wood is gathered for the lanterns, or posters, and these are laid to be lighted on the descent.¹² The other people say that fuel is much scarcer now than it was when they were young.

The summit of the mountain is reached shortly after noon. At this time all kneel in prayer and then eat. Hunt¹³ asserts that there is a shrine to the Virgin of Guadalupe on top of Tortugas Mountain. Until the descent, the people may and sing and occupy themselves in making altars and posters to be offered to the Virgin later that night. The posters is a staff, variously described as "a pole to help them down the mountain," and "a pole like a shepherd's one, only decorated."¹⁴ The staff is made of wood algar. White blades of sofo (Devil's whisker) are tied to this staff. These are often carved in the shape of a cross or a cross is cut into them. Fringing stalks of bear grass (Holcus microcarpus) are also

¹² Lanterns are to be found generally throughout the pueblo and Spanish-American Southwest and in Mexico, especially in connection with Guadalupe Day and Christmas. The custom is apparently of Spanish origin: "On the Day of the Conception, October 8, a fire--lantern--is made in a brazier outside of the Cathedral and on the side of the Church of the Conception at Toluca, Jalisco; and the custom of lanterns is found, I am told, in Southern Spain." (For some, Spanish Elements, footnote, p. 221).

¹³ Hunt, Tortugas, p. 115.

¹⁴ See page 3, footnote 2.

attached to the quiote. The coronas are wreaths or crowns worn by men and women. They are made of sotol blades, often cruciform, and sometimes of bear grass and creosote bush (Larrea tridentata).

At the summit a fire is lighted which is called the "general fire". At dusk the luminarios, which were set on the way up, are lit as the people start the descent. The "major fire" (lumbre mayor) is located on the valley floor about a quarter of a mile from the pueblo. This is the rallying point where the parties meet, the officers report, and the ceremonial approach to the pueblo begins. Formerly a string of lights was set on Mount Picacho, which rises about one thousand feet from the valley floor four miles west of Las Cruces. The luminarios are considered by the people to be an Indian custom. Many of the Anglo-American people of the area think that they are set to light the Virgin down to earth. Indian informants, however, consider them to function as an invitation to all who can see them to join in the festivities.

After the descent has been completed, the singers lead the group from the lumbre mayor to the village. The women are in a column on the left and the men in a column on the right as they approach the Pueblo House. Four times the singers knock on the Pueblo House door, lead a group around, and then return. These groups consisted of about ten men and ten

attached to the girls. The women were dressed in white
worn by men and women. They were dressed in white
cruciform, and sometimes in white with a red cross on the
back (evidence).

At the same time the women were dressed in white
"general type". At the same time the women were dressed in white
the way up, are all in the same way up, are all in the same way up,
"major type" (evidence) is dressed in white. The women were dressed in white
about a quarter of a mile from the temple. The women were dressed in white
the point where the temple was, the women were dressed in white
the ceremonial approach to the temple. The women were dressed in white
shape of light was as on light, the women were dressed in white
one thousand feet from the temple. The women were dressed in white
has been. The women were dressed in white. The women were dressed in white
be an Indian custom. The women were dressed in white. The women were dressed in white
the area which they were in. The women were dressed in white. The women were dressed in white
near. Indian information, however, was not given. The women were dressed in white
as an invitation to all who were in the area. The women were dressed in white
victim.

After the incident had been completed, the women were
the group from the temple. The women were dressed in white. The women were dressed in white
are in a column on the left and the women were dressed in white. The women were dressed in white
right as they approach the temple. The women were dressed in white. The women were dressed in white
are known on the temple. The women were dressed in white. The women were dressed in white
then return. The women were dressed in white. The women were dressed in white.

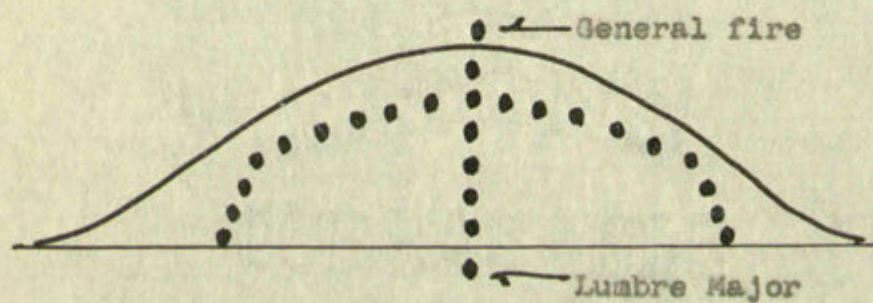


FIGURE 5. Pattern of Luminarios as viewed from Tortugas



FIGURE 5. Pattern of Insulation as viewed from Torus

women in 1951. I was told that formerly the entire group of pilgrims made this ceremonial approach. The quiotes and coronas are then stacked beside the Pueblo House door. These are considered to be a sacrifice to the Virgin. A supper is given those who participated in the pilgrimage at the casa de comida, or refreshment house.

A clear-cut example of change from Indian religion to Roman Catholic practice can be cited in the case of the Tortugas Mountain pilgrimage. As has been described, several hundred people now make the pilgrimage up Tortugas Mountain during the Guadalupe fiesta. This, however, was not always the case. Formerly, only the Abuelos, or sacred clowns, made the ascent. The Abuelos were instructed by the Cacique at his house, and started from there. It was the duty of the Cacique and Mayordomos to provide a lunch for the Abuelo group when they reached the top of the mountain. Fires were set and prayers were said to the four directions. On their return from the journey, the Abuelos gathered at a large fire at the bottom of the mountain. From there they marched to another fire which was lit beside an old brick house on Kansas Street in Las Cruces. At this place they were met by the War Captain, his staff, and the Cacique. From here the group went to the Cacique's house. A ceremony with singing was held, welcoming the Abuelos home. The group then went to Saint Genevieve's Church in Las Cruces in order to give thanks to the

Virgin of Guadalupe for their safe return. They returned to the house of the Cacique, where supper was furnished by him and the Mayordomos. Then some went home, while others stayed for the Ensayo Real, or General Practice.

The form of the lights is of some interest. In the old days the fires were set in the four directions. One of the lights was placed on the other side of the mountain, where it was not visible from Tortugas or Las Cruces. This arrangement of the lights apparently suggested the form of the cross. The practice at present is to light strings of fires in the cross form so that the entire arrangement of fires is visible from the village. At the time of this writer's visit, three strings of lights corresponding to the three groups making the ascent were lit, as shown in figure 5, facing p. 105.

During the afternoon of December eleventh, the Azteca dancers parade their altar of the Virgin of Guadalupe through the streets of the village, which are almost deserted.

The Ensayo Real, or General Practice, starts at about one o'clock on the morning of December twelfth in the Pueblo House. This consists of sets of "Indian dances" performed without special costume. Dance practice begins on the first of November and ends with the Ensayo Real.

December twelfth, the last day of the fiesta, is the actual saint's day. Throughout the day, the three dance groups of Tortugas perform. One of the groups provides the

Virgin of Guadalupe for their safe return. They returned to the house of the Cajones, where supper was furnished by him and the Mayordomos. Then some went home, while others stayed for the Ensayo Real, or General Practice.

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"Indian dances", which have been described in connection with the observance of the day of San Juan. The other two, the Matechines and the Azteca groups, will be described here.

The Matechine dance has been performed ever since the oldest members of the pueblo can remember. It is considered by the people of Tortugas to be part Indian and part Mexican. The Matechine dance, like the Indian dances, is regarded as indigenous to Tortugas, as opposed to the Azteca dance, which is considered as imported.

The Matechine dance, found throughout Mexico and the Southwest, varies little in basic form from village to village. Constants are: the presence of Abuelos, a Malinche who represents purity and must be protected by Monarca, the dance leader. The performance is accompanied by violins or guitars and often by a drum. The Matechine dancers carry wands and rattles, wear an elaborate headdress and a mask covering the lower half of the face. The Abuelos also wear masks. The dance formation consists of two parallel lines of Matechine with Monarca and Malinche in the middle. The Abuelos adjust costumes and assist the dancers.

The dance is Moorish in origin¹⁵ and was probably introduced into New Mexico by followers of Oñate in 1598.¹⁶

¹⁵Hawley, Dance of the Devil Chasers, p. 16.

¹⁶Parsons, Pueblo Religion, p. 852.

According to informants, the Tortugas group formerly was composed of twelve Matechine dancers, a Monarca, two Malinches, an Abuelo, a fiddler, and an impersonator of the Evil One (the devil). In 1951, when I observed the performances, the company was increased to eighteen Matechine dancers and five Malinches, but the Evil One was eliminated.

The costume of the Matechine dancers consists of a business suit, or trousers and jacket, to which all of the other elements are added. White leggings with fringes of lace around them are pinned on the men's trousers starting at about the knee and reaching down to the cuff. An apron, attached at the belt, is worn in the front, coming from beneath the jacket and extending below the knees. This apron, procured in Mexico, has a picture of the Virgin of Guadalupe printed on it, and very often has a floral border. Pictures taken in 1907 show a plain white apron or a floral printed one. A colored ribbon sash is worn over the shoulder, usually the right, and is fastened near the waist. A hat is worn, patterned after a bishop's miter. This is of white cloth, although early pictures indicate that it was formerly colored. Loops attached to the visor extend before the man's eyes. Mirrors, colored glass jewels, and small religious pictures are sewed to the front of the hat. The face is masked with a colored scarf worn just below the eyes and tied at the back of the head. With the mask and the hat on, only a man's eyes are visible.

In the left hand is carried a palma. This is a framework of wood covered with paper flowers shaped much like a small tennis racket, with a cross in the loop. Some of the loops are heart-shaped, with the indented part away from the handle.¹⁷ A marraca rattle from Mexico, covered with tinsel or paper flowers, is carried in the right hand. Ordinary street shoes are worn with the costume.

The Monarca, the leader of the group, wears the regular Matechine costume but is distinguished by his hat and wand. His hat is shaped like a king's crown, with a headband and two crossing loops meeting at the apex and a cross in the center.

The violinist wears an ordinary business suit. The small girls impersonating Malinche are dressed much as they would dress for first Communion. They wear white dresses, stockings and shoes, and a white hat and veil. Since the weather is cold, they often wear either a sweater or coat with a ribbon sash over the shoulder. They carry a tinsel or paper flower-covered marraca rattle, such as that used by the men. The Evil One wears an overcoat and a white false-face. One of the Abuelos, in plain clothes, acts with the Monarca in leading the group. He carries a coiled whip.

¹⁷This wand is the same shape as that used by the Tarahumara. See Bennett and Zingg, Tarahumara, p. 299 and plate 11b.

In the left hand is carried a palma. This is a framework of wood covered with paper flowers shaped much like a small palma flower, with a cross in the loop. Some of the loops are heart-shaped, with the indented part away from the hand. the a palma palma from Mexico, covered with tinial or paper flowers, is carried in the right hand. Ordinary palma shoes are worn with the costume.

The palma, the leader of the group, wears the regular palma costume but is distinguished by his hat and wand. His hat is shaped like a king's crown, with a band and two crossing loops meeting at the apex and a cross in the center.

The palma wears an ordinary business suit. The small girls palma are dressed much as they would dress for palma communion. They wear white dresses, stockings and shoes, and a white hat and veil. Since the weather is cold, they often wear either a sweater or coat with a ribbon sash over the shoulder. They carry a tinial or paper flower-covered palma palma, such as that used by the men. The palma wears an overcoat and a white false-face. One of the palma, in plain clothes, goes with the palma in leading the group. He carries a coiled whip.

¹⁷This word is the same shape as that used by the palma. See palma and palma, palma, p. 222 and place 110.

The dance is executed to the accompaniment of a violin. Shotguns are frequently discharged during the performance. The step consists of placing each foot twice and executing two beats with it on each placement. Then the dancers move on and repeat.

The Matechine performance must be considered as a dance drama. When the Evil One is included in the dance, it is the duty of the Monarca and the Abuelo to protect Malinche from him by interposing their bodies between them. Formerly the Abuelo whipped the Evil One with his long lash, and this may explain the inclusion of a heavy overcoat in the costume of the devil impersonator. There is some feeling that Monarca is protecting not only Malinche but "the whole bunch".

The performance has various symbolic significances for the Tortuguños. As one man said, "They used to get them Indians with bright ribbons and trinkets, and that's why they're wearing them. It means good will. They're trying to make friends." The dance is said to represent a journey with the building of a church as the last step. One man told me, "They all get together to build a church. The Monarca is in front. All of the rest combine to make a steeple." The people interpret the Matechine performance as a dramatization of the conquest of Mexico and the establishment of the Catholic Church on this continent by the Spanish. One informant told me that the dance is in honor of Juan Diego: "It belongs to that guy

the Virgin appeared to. His tribe used to dance it."

Many of the Matechine dancers perform as a result of a vow to the Virgin of Guadalupe. An alternative name for the Matechine performance is los Danzantes (the dancers).

In 1951 the performance was much abbreviated. Consequently, some of the more conservative members of the pueblo were dissatisfied. One man said, "There's too much missing here. There's only one part. This isn't the complete thing.. I think they lost their wording. It's over four hundred years old."

The Azteca dance was introduced into Tortugas in 1925 by the late Juan Pacheco, a native of Mexico. Those who knew him say that he was an Indian, but they do not know the locale from which he came or his tribal affiliation. His grandson, Juan Pacheco, is an Azteca dancer now. A reporter for a Las Cruces newspaper told me that young Juan, when interviewed, wanted to be listed not as an Indian but as "Mexicano".

The Azteca performance is considered in Tortugas as a Mexican dance, and apparently it is danced mainly by men of Mexican birth. The name is said to refer, as one man put it, to "another tribe, in Mexico". Although the Azteca dance is regarded as entirely different from the Matechine dance, it is patently a Matechine performance.

The Azteca group have their own altar to the Virgin of Guadalupe, and they perform at the side of the church while

other dances are in progress.

The dancer's costume consists of fringed leggings and an elaborate feather headdress much like that of Plains Indians, worn with or without a visor. Sometimes a sequined or embroidered vest is worn. A gourd rattle is held in the right hand, with the gourd facing downward rather than upward as in the Matechine dance. In the left hand a noise-making instrument in the form of a bow and arrow is carried. The bow is drilled in the middle to receive the arrow, which is permanently attached to the string. The arrow has a thick wooden stop which strikes the back of the bow when it is released, making a clacking sound. Ordinary footwear is worn. One Malinche takes part in the performance, dressed as in the Matechine dance.

One man, more elaborately dressed than the others, functions as the dance leader.¹⁸ The dance consists of a series of advances and retreats to the altar, with obeisances. Malinche is led to the altar by the dance leader. The performance is accompanied by a violin and a drum played with two beaters.

Two clowns take part in the performance. Both wear white fur masks. One mask has a red light-bulb for a nose. One of the clowns carries a short leather thong attached to the end of a stick. The other has a kit bag slung over his shoulder.

¹⁸This man is obviously Monarca.

other dances are the same.

The dance is called "The Dance of the Sun".

It is a very old dance, and is danced in all parts of the country.

The dance is performed in a circle, with the dancers holding hands.

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These clowns are the delight of the crowd. Their humorous and caustic comments never fail to elicit laughter. Other buffoonery includes such acts as dancing with a child's doll and tackling each other.¹⁹

According to Hurt,²⁰ three songs early in the morning symbolize the three days of the fiesta. Breakfast is supplied at the casa de comida by the outgoing Mayordomos on this the last, and most important day of their year-long administration. High Mass is said at nine A.M. in the Tortugas church. At noon on December twelfth lunch is given at the casa de comida by the retiring Mayordomos, after which dancing is resumed again by all three groups.

At three P.M. the Matechine and "Indian" dancers advance toward the church. The first row consists of the Indian dancers, with men and women alternating. The second row contains the Matechine dancers, and the third row the chorus. Then the Indian dances are performed in front of the church. The men line up to the left of the church entrance and the women to the right, with the chorus behind them, directly opposite the entrance. The Matechines align themselves on either side of

¹⁹Although it is not known if these Azteca clowns are referred to as Abuelos, they very clearly relate to the Mexican Abuelos. See Parsons and Beals, Sacred Clowns, p. 502, referring to the Yaqui-Mayo.

²⁰Hurt, Tortugas, p. 115.

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At three P.M. the Masachinas and "Indian" dancers advance toward the church. The first row consists of the Indian dancers, with men and women alternating. The second row contains the Masachinas dancers, and the third row the chorals. Then the Indian dances are performed in front of the church. The men line up to the left of the church entrance and the women to the right, with the chorals behind them, directly opposite the entrance. The Masachinas align themselves on either side of

¹² Although it is not known if these Aspas clowns are referred to as Aspas, they very clearly relate to the Aspas. See Aspas and Aspas, Sacred Clowns, p. 202, referring to the Aspas.

the entrance behind both the Indian dancers and the chorus. In this way they pay tribute to the Virgin before bringing Her image out in the procession. Meanwhile, the Azetca group is still dancing with their image of the Virgin at the side of the church. A shotgun is fired at the end of each dance set. The shooting is believed to be a protection for the Virgin. The Indian dancers then arrange themselves in four groups, two of men and two of women. According to the older people the groups are dancing to the four winds, although the cross formation in which they end is aligned northeast, southeast, northwest, southwest, I was told that it made no difference which way the dancers were aligned. The final formation found the men disposed toward the southeast and southwest, while the women's files pointed northeast and northwest. This apparently is a departure from the former procedure in which the men were all in one row and the women in the other. After the Indian dances, the Matechine group perform.

At four P.M. a procession forms and the image of the Virgin is carried around the Pueblo House and back. All three types of dancers escort the Virgin, while the spectators follow. Two men walk beside the altar with shotguns. Helpers carrying blank shells aid them in reloading, and they fire as fast as possible. This procession appears to mark the change in Mayordomos. The image is taken back to the church, where it remains until New Year's Day, when it is returned to the chapel.

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domes. The image is taken back to the church, where it re-
 mains until New Year's Day, when it is returned to the chapel.

At five o'clock refreshments are served in the casa de comida by the incoming Mayordomos. Both the Matechine and the Indian groups dance at this time. Soda pop and wine are served. They then return to the Pueblo House and dance again. Speeches are given by the President of the pueblo, thanking those who took part in the fiesta. The Matechines dance again, and the Guadalupe fiesta is over for another year.

The last ceremonial hunt was held in 1948. The lapse of this rite was attributed to a shortage of game. These annual hunts were usually held on a Sunday following the Guadalupe fiesta. Anyone, male or female, was welcome to take part. Statements by Anglo informants that only Indians were allowed on the hunt were vigorously denied.

Hurt²¹ notes that ceremonial preparations preceded the hunt. Although some of my informants denied this, I believe that Hurt is probably correct. One old lady, acknowledged by all to be an Indian, told me that ceremonial cigarettes were smoked at meetings before the hunt, the participants gathered in the Cacique's house and sang hunting songs and songs to the four directions, and that no drums or rattles were used. He asserts further that for the next week the hunters practiced running in the hills to prepare themselves physically.

A "smoke",²² or bonfire, was lit on the morning of the

²¹Hurt, Tortugas, pp. 116-117.

²²At sunrise of the Isleta rabbit hunt the Hunt Chief built a small fire, the smoke of which was supposed to blind

As the clouds parted, the sun came out.

coming by the eastern horizon. The sun was low in the sky. Indian people came to the river. They then return to the river. They are given by the treatment of the river. The river is in the state. The river is in the state. The river is in the state.

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There were some of my friends who were present. that there is probably some. The first ceremonial was held on the 1st of the month. The first ceremonial was held on the 1st of the month. The first ceremonial was held on the 1st of the month. The first ceremonial was held on the 1st of the month.

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²¹ Hart, Fortugas, pp. 114-115.
²² As a result of the study of the river, the state of the river was found to be in a small state.

hunt in order to notify the people. This fire was set on a hill on the ranch of a Mr. Isaacs.

At eight o'clock in the morning the people gathered at the "smoke". The Cacique gave his orders and the rules of the hunt, and the party left at nine o'clock. Wagons were sent to the place where the party was to stop for the noon meal.

The hunt itself was a drive. The men lined up in rows and shouted, in order to frighten and confuse the rabbits. Rabbits were either shot with a bow and arrow or killed with sticks thrown at them. The sticks were made of mesquite, either straight or slightly curved. Some of the men even threw stones. The men were not allowed to carry firearms, and the Cacique warned those who used the bow and arrow to be very cautious. Some men took dogs which were trained to catch and hold rabbits. A rabbit caught by a dog could be claimed by the first person who reached it.

The first woman to reach a rabbit that had been killed by any man claimed it. The man could not refuse to relinquish it. The woman paid at the rate of three tortillas or two empeñades for every rabbit. The empeñades, a type of pie, were usually made with dried peaches, pumpkins, or apples. This payment took place at the noon meal. The women carried sticks

the rabbits to prevent them from running far. The Hunt Chief obtained the firebrand from the house of the Town Chief, or Cacique. (Parsons, Isleta, p. 335).

hand in order to control the situation. The first was to
 bill on the basis of a 10% discount.
 It is a 10% discount in the amount of the bill.
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but were not allowed to throw them. They could, however, use their sticks for killing wounded rabbits. If a woman administered the coup de grace to a wounded rabbit, it was hers without payment.

After lunch the hunt continued until about six o'clock in the evening. The wagons went ahead, stopping at certain places and waiting for the hunters. At the last stop of the wagons the men were paid for the afternoon's rabbits. The annual rabbit hunt was one of the most keenly experienced pleasures that the people had. The hunters ran "like little kids through the sand and bushes and everything--lots of fun."²³

Very little is known of the deer hunt. Sometimes two or three deer were killed. They were brought to the Cacique, who divided the meat. Part was given to the Cacique, and the rest was divided among the Captains. The only persons who participated in the hunt were the Captains and two or three other men.

Los Pastores was one of a number of autos or miracle

²³Occurrences of communal rabbit hunt are found throughout the Southwest. Parsons tells of the hunt at Isleta, p. 336 ff., Underhill, *Workaday Life*, pp. 67-8, Parsons, *Tewa for Santa Clara and San Juan*, pp. 133-5, White, *Santa Ana*, pp. 295-6. See also Hill, *Agricultural and Hunting Methods*, pp. 170-1.

In most of these cases a rabbit stick of the false boomerang type was used. The Hunt Chief addressed the hunters before the hunt and cautioned them to be careful not to injure one another. A circle was formed and the drive began. Women who saw a rabbit fall might claim it, payment being made later to the hunter in the form of prepared food. At Isleta and Tortugas the game of the first drive belonged to the Cacique. At Isleta the second and third drive were also given to officers. It is not known if this was the case at Tortugas. The duties of the Hunt Chief were assumed by the Cacique at Tortugas. It was he who cautioned the hunters.

plays introduced by Spanish priests in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries into Mexico and the Southwest. The purpose of these plays was to instruct the natives in the Roman Catholic religion.²⁴ It is the only auto known to have been presented at Tortugas. Los Pastores, concerned with the birth of Jesus, was given at Christmas time. At Tortugas the audience beat rhythms on the floor with a stick. This play is no longer given at Tortugas, and it is not known when the last performance was held.

A belief in witchcraft appears to be general in Tortugas, although it is usually prefaced by protestations of disbelief. One older woman told me that she did not believe in witches or know anything about them. At a later date, when asked if there were any witches in Tortugas, she said, "No. Those fellows haven't got them." When told by the writer that he had heard of two, she replied, "No. They were no more witches than I am. They said she had a moon and a star on her head. She was a Mexican from old Mexico. People were afraid of her. At night we were making crowns of flowers for the funeral of ____'s mother. I called her in just to see if she had a moon and stars on her forehead and she didn't have nothing."

²⁴See, for instance, Bourke, *Miracle Play*, and Cole, *Los Pastores*.

plays introduced by ... in the ...
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A younger woman, when asked if there had been witches in Tortugas said, "I don't think so. Not that I know of. My family doesn't believe in that....I know those things exists, but they don't believe on it. What I mean is I don't believe in them myself, but I know these things exist. I read about it."

One redheaded woman had supernatural powers attributed to her by an older man of the village, who said that he believed her to be a witch. He said that she had married "an American boy from the East."

One of the older men, an acknowledged Indian, told me that there were good medicine men at Isleta and Sandia, New Mexico, who "know things that go on at other places." They are especially interested in happenings at Tortugas, and they know all that transpires immediately and without being told.

The following is the only recorded instance of an omen. A rooster crowed at about 7:30 in the evening. One of the older men stood up and listened, quieting us. He said that "the Indians" believed that if a rooster crows just before sunset there will be a death in the area. If he crows three times it presages fair weather.

In common with many of the Spanish-speaking Roman Catholics of the area, many people of Tortugas believe that a pilgrimage to the statue of Christ on a hill near the meeting place of New Mexico, Texas, and Chihuahua has efficacious

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In common with many of the Spanish-speaking Roman Catholic of the area, many people of Tortugas believe that a pilgrimage to the statue of Christ on a hill near the meeting place of New Mexico, Texas, and Chihuahua has efficacious

results. The normal ascent on foot takes about two hours.

There are some who make the climb barefooted.

Certain recurrent ceremonial patterns can be perceived in the religious life of Tortugas. These include the vow, the procession of the Virgin, "smokes", ritual number, and the giving of an object.

Vows²⁵ are taken repeatedly in the Tortugas religious and ceremonial life. A person may vow to become a dance participant or to improve the physical plant of the pueblo. The climbing of Tortugas Mountain in the Guadalupe pilgrimage is usually undertaken as the result of a promise to the Virgin, and the believer occasionally vows, in addition, to undertake the difficult ascent barefooted. The climbing of Cristo Rey near El Paso is analogously accomplished as the result of a vow.

The image of the Virgin of Guadalupe, one of the patron saints of the village, is escorted or paraded on all major ceremonial occasions.

The use of bonfires as a notification and invitation to a ceremonial occasion has been noticed in relation to the ceremonial rabbit hunt and the Guadalupe fiesta.

²⁵Apparently the vow is a feature of native Indian culture as well as of Roman Catholic practice. At Isleta vows are made during sickness to join societies or to dance. See Parsons, Isleta, pp. 259-63, p. 265, and p. 321, footnote. Vows are also made to Saint Escapula, (Parsons, Isleta, p. 244) and to Saint Augustin (Parsons, Isleta, p. 282).

respects. The ritual aspect of the ceremony is

There are some who think that the ceremony is

Certainly the ceremony is very ancient and is

in the religious life of the people. The ceremony is

procession of the Virgin, "Maries", and the

ing of an object.

Vows²⁵ are taken repeatedly in the ceremony and

and ceremonial life. A person may vow to observe a

fast or to improve the physical state of his family. The

clipping of the hair is the ceremonial act which is

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the difficult annual pilgrimage. The clipping of the hair

near El Paso is analogously accompanied as the result of a

vow.

The image of the Virgin of Guadalupe, one of the

beliefs of the village, is carried on a float on all major

ceremonial occasions.

The use of bellows and whistles and the

a ceremonial occasion has been noticed in various parts of the

mountain range and the Guadalupe region.

²⁵Apparently the vow is a promise to make a

contribution to the Virgin's shrine. The ceremony is

are made during sickness or to insure good crops.

Parsons, *Life*, pp. 250-51, 253, and 254.

Vows are also made to Saint Antonio, (Parsons, *Life*, p. 254).

and to Saint Augustin (Parsons, *Life*, p. 254).

Here the evidence is somewhat obscure. Some rituals utilize the four directions, and the Pueblo House door is approached four times on the return from the pilgrimage to Tortugas Mountain. This use of the number four is specifically associated with the Indian, and its usage at Tortugas is no doubt Indian in provenience.

The number three, which is often found in European and Christian usage, is also prominent in Tortugas. Tortugas Mountain is climbed by three groups. The Guadalupe fiesta lasts for three days. Songs are sung in groups of three, and now, at least, there are three dance groups.

Previous examples have illustrated that an object is given to an individual in order to obligate him to a ceremonial duty. Thus, bows and arrows are handed to spectators by the Captains to indicate that they are to be participants in the next dance set. After the ritual whipping the vara is handed to a Captain to remind him of his obligation to keep order. When a person from Tortugas goes to Isleta, Texas, a cigarette is given to be taken to the Capitan de Guerra of Isleta "so that they know you belong there." At meetings for the ceremonial rabbit hunt cigarettes are given to those men who will be expected to sing. Formerly, when a Captain wanted to choose a dancing partner, he went to her house and gave a cigarette made of cornhusks to the father or husband of the

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Previous examples have illustrated that an object is given to an individual in order to obligate him to a reciprocal duty. Thus, bows and arrows are handed to spectators in the Captains to indicate that they are to be participants in the next dance set. After the ritual whipping the year is handed to a Captain to remind him of his obligation to keep order. When a person from Tortugas goes to Laleta, Texas, a cigarette is given to be taken to the Captain de Guerra of Laleta "so that they know you belong there." At meetings for the ceremonial rabbit hunt cigarettes are given to those men who will be expected to sing. Formerly, when a Captain wanted to choose a dancing partner, he went to her house and gave a cigarette made of cornhusks to the father or husband of the

girl. The giving of the cigarette obligated the woman to dance.²⁶

²⁶The giving of a ceremonial cigarette is common at Isleta. It is presented to the "teasing singers" to "close their mouths" or as payment for songs. (Parsons, Isleta, p. 322). All ceremonial requests are made by the offer of a cane-made cigarette, which offer has a compulsory nature. Also, when a man attends a ceremony of a corn group not his own, he likewise presents the group with tobacco. (Parsons, Isleta, p. 281).

417. The giving of the cigarette lighter to the witness.
26

26 The giving of a ceremonial cigarette to the witness.
Lafayette is presented to the witness, Lafayette, the witness
their hands, or as present for honor. Lafayette, Lafayette,
p. 323). All ceremonial weapons are used in the witness's
a cane-made cigarette, which will be a ceremonial weapon.
Also, when a man attends a ceremony of a cigarette, the witness
own, he likewise presents the cigarette to the witness, Lafayette,
Lafayette, p. 281).

CONCLUSIONS

The problem we have set forth for ourselves in the preface is: What historical factors are responsible for the wide divergence of Tortugas culture from pueblo culture as a whole? It will be the purpose of this section to summarize our findings in this regard, and on the basis of these findings, to examine their value as predictive devices.

Tortugas differs markedly from other pueblos in the matter of land ownership. As has been seen Tortugas never has held significant agricultural lands. Because of this lack the people have never been able to minimize outside contacts as have the other pueblos. The economics of the other, older pueblos has been more stable than is the case with Tortugas. In basic economic structure these older pueblos are much the same as they have been for hundreds of years. There is evidence, however, that in some cases the old economic pattern is breaking down.¹ Tortugas long ago was forced to alter its economy because of historical conditions. These historical changes are summarized in the following paragraphs.

Ownership of the land passed from the hands of the original Mexican settlers of the Mesilla Valley to Anglo-Americans interested in commercial agriculture. Tortugas owned little,

¹For a thorough discussion of this breakdown and how it affects the culture of a Rio Grande pueblo see Lange, Role of Economics.

CONCLUSIONS

The problem we have not yet solved is how to face the fact that the divergence of the two systems is increasing. It will be the purpose of this study to examine the factors in this regard, and to suggest ways of examining their value as indicators of change.

Foreign direct investment has been a matter of land ownership, as has been the case in the past. It has held significant political and economic importance. The people have never been able to determine the extent to which they have the other side of the coin. The question of the future of the country has been more a matter of the future of the country. In basic economic structure there have been no changes. The same as they have been for hundreds of years. There is a change, however, that in some ways the country is turning down. The country is now a country of the future. The economy because of the changes in the country. The changes are summarized in the following way.

Ownership of the land is the basis of the country. The Mexican people are the basis of the country. The country is interested in the country.

¹For a thorough discussion of the country and how it affects the culture of the country, see the book "The Country and the Culture".

if any agricultural land even in the beginning, and in the recent period has owned none. Wage work, always important, became increasingly so as other subsistence activities dwindled. Wage competition increased as new groups appeared on the wage market but with the development of the Valley more workers could be absorbed. New developments elsewhere and improvements in transportation also expanded the wage market, and workers found it possible to go farther afield to search for jobs. Better transportation, however, was not an unmixed blessing. Cheaper manufactured articles destroyed handicrafts at Tortugas. The Mesilla Valley was integrated into the economy of the nation. A variety of crops and a measure of regional self-sufficiency gave way to a specialized economy largely focused on one crop--cotton. An increasing efficiency in land utilization made commercial large-scale agriculture possible in the Valley.

Gathering, never a major economic activity, became practically extinct with the settling of the Valley and the institution of large-scale agriculture. With game driven from the area, partially because of intensive agricultural use of land, and stringent hunting laws in effect, hunting activities lessened in importance. For ceremonial purposes, reservation Indians are allowed limited hunting privileges besides those granted to the public. The lack of these privileges for the Tortugueños has all but eliminated ceremonial deer hunting at Tortugas. Fishing never was economically significant at Tor-

if any agricultural land were in the country, it is the
cent period has been more or less a waste of time.
increasingly so as the agricultural sector has
competition increased as the country has opened up
but with the development of the country, the agricultural
be absorbed. New developments, however, and the
transportation also improved, the country has
found it possible to do better than it did.
Better transportation, however, has not improved the
Cheaper transportation has not improved the
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Gathering, however, is not the only factor
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Tortugas has a large area of land, and the
Tortugas. The country has a large area of land, and the

tugas, although it was practiced early and has continued to the present. Trapping, a boy's sport in early Tortugas, no longer is pursued. The division of labor pattern of Old Tortugas was completely destroyed with the introduction of cotton farming. All of these developments resulted in a change from a subsistence-based Indian-type economy which was brought from Isleta del Sur by the early colonists to a money based economy closely approximating that of their landless Mexican neighbors.

Economic factors are stressed in this present study, not because the writer wishes to propound any scheme of economic determinism, but because the economic influences in Tortugas history appear to have been one of the main forces which have differentiated this pueblo from others.

In the matter of social life, Tortugas manifests elements of the most heterogeneous nature. As has been shown, some elements suggest the Pueblo Indian background of Tortugas, some the Mexican Indian, and the great majority the Spanish-Mexican or Spanish-American background. The Hispanic elements, which were engrafted on an Indian-based culture in the nineteenth century, can be said now to form the base culture, with Indian elements adhering.

The earliest descriptions indicate that there always have been more Spanish-American culture features in Tortugas than in the other pueblos. Tortugas probably was populated by a greater proportion of Mexican or Spanish-American families than in other pueblos, but it is impossible to find historical

data to substantiate this. For the recent period it is certain that a large proportion if not a majority of the inhabitants were Mexican or Spanish-American. The Hispanic elements in Tortugas culture, therefore, were introduced by families actually living in the village as well as by contact with Mexicans and Spanish-Americans on the outside.

With much of the rest of Tortugas culture rather thoroughly Hispanicized, the question may be asked: Why have some of the Indian forms survived when they obviously no longer function in the same way as they did in the past or as they do today in the other pueblos? In the case of the Cacique, for instance, the basis of his sanction poses a problem. If the religious props have been knocked from his office, what explains the persistence of the form? This question cannot be answered on the basis of the realities of political authority, for the present Cacique is personally unpopular and has lost real power. The retention of these externals in the governmental and ceremonial realm is due, rather, to an inversion of the prestige structure usually found in this area. The people of Tortugas believe that there are more status rewards in being Indian than in being Mexican or Spanish-American. Prestige in the village goes to those with the knowledge of Indian practices. Those who are considered Indians "by blood" are jealous of their position. The Anglos of the Valley feel that Indians have more romantic appeal than Mexicans.

This situation is to be explained by the very low status

of Mexicans in the area. In the rest of rural New Mexico many, if not most of the Spanish-Americans own their own land. In the Mesilla Valley they are, like the Tortuguños, landless. In the period 1881-1916 the Mexicans who were the original settlers of the Valley lost their land by the process of subdivision among heirs. They became day laborers on the holdings of their fathers. In the period from 1916 to the present the influx of immigrant and "wetback" labor, poverty-stricken and crude, with whom the Spanish-Americans have been identified, has tended to further lower their status.²

The basic economic factor of landlessness is felt in the social sphere also. There is a functional difference between the work groups of Pueblo Indians generally and those of Tortugas, although there is an overt similarity. In the pueblos the people work on cleaning plazas and ditches as a community group, they plaster kivas and churches and conduct group ceremonials. At Tortugas the people often work together also, but they do not labor for mutual or reciprocal benefits. On an employer's land they work for individual or family gain, and they do not work coöperatively on each other's land, since they own no land. In the pueblos, working together is a factor for social cohesiveness. At Tortugas the lack of working together in the pueblo sense probably is a powerful factor, if not the governing or causal factor, for opening the village

²Dr. W. W. Hill informs the writer that this same prestige inversion has been in process at Santa Clara for fifty years.

to inroads of outside culture. It throws the people of Tortugas on the wage market, where contact with others further loosens the social fiber.

Lack of land has not failed to make itself felt in the ceremonial and religious sphere. With no land there is no need for the fertility and rain ceremonialism of the other pueblos. Most of the ritual and paraphernalia and all of the beliefs associated with these have been lost. Any curing ceremonies which may have been present in early Tortugas, but for which there is no data, have disappeared. Hunting ceremonialism--and hunting--is on the decline.

These factors have paved the way for the increasing acceptance of the Roman Catholic faith at the expense of Indian religion. This does not explain why Indian elements of religion have declined, but why the conditions were such that they could.

Generally speaking, all that remains of the original pueblo pattern consists of a number of religious forms with little substance, some religious and political offices, factionalism, and games. Among the religious externals which still are to be found are some dances and dance paraphernalia, remnants of Tiwa chants, a generalized sort of kiva-moiety house, the rabbit hunt, and certain ceremonial patterns.

To conclude, one may ask, in what measure is Tortugas valuable as a predictive device for other pueblo groups? In

this connection it is interesting to collate the cultural history of Tortugas with Lange's predictions for the future of Cochiti culture change, which he postulates on the basis of his studies of Cochiti economics.³ All but a few of his conclusions are amply borne out by the history of Tortugas. To summarize Lange's predictions: (1) An increasing percentage of the Cochiti will leave the pueblo. (2) Clans will disappear from general Cochiti consciousness. (3) Economic emphases will shift increasingly toward wage-earning, income-producing handicrafts, and commerical agriculture. (4) Medicine societies and members will continue to lose power and prestige; eventually this will necessitate a new system of designating secular officers. Very possibly the new system will be that of electing officers according to provisions of a written constitution as is already true of a few pueblo tribes. (5) Non-medicine societies will continue as secret societies, but their activities will be concentrated in directing certain ceremonies, primarily associated with the Catholic calendar. (6) Present esoteric aspects of the katsinas and medicine societies will be lost completely or will shift to esoteric ceremonies. In this transition, the ceremonies will lose their religious significance and will become primarily tribal folk pageantry. (7) The two kiva groups will continue

³Lange, *Role of Economics*, pp. 693-694.

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as friendly rivals. (8) The Catholic Church will continue to grow in strength. (9) Witchcraft will continue but will be carried along by a few fringe individuals. (10) Interest in broader and more advanced education will increase. (11) Certain individuals will retain their interest in the old ways.

As will be seen, the only exceptions to these predictions in Tortugas will be found in the complete loss of handicrafts and the disappearance of the moieties. On the basis of these two studies, then, it may be postulated that this pattern of culture change may well be that which the pueblo groups generally will follow. It is to be expected that each tribe will display individual differences in its acculturation and its rate of change.

Some of the more perceptive individuals at Tortugas are well aware of the meaning of their village to the Pueblo people. As one man said, "The same will happen in Isleta, Texas. It's happening already. And then it will happen to Isleta, New Mexico. Maybe not in my time, but it will happen. I wish they would come down here and see it."

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