

The Southwestern Journals
of Adolph F. Bandelier

1883-1884



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the folks. Mailed letter to Joe, cards to Woodside and to Frank Cushing. Concluded not to go to Zuñi. Stevenson¹⁰² here (Monday).

OCTOBER 30: (Tuesday) Wrote to Morris. Day was spent calling around. Concluded to go to Isleta with Pauline and Clara Huning. Not much lost and may be of some value. Eddy here all evening.

OCTOBER 31: Reached Isleta at 9:30 A.M. and went to Tondre's. Called at Jesús Chavez and at the Padre's [Pevron]. The latter not at home. Then visited the pueblo with the girls. The rooms are mostly larger than at the other pueblos, and much cleaner and nicer. They are preparing for the day of "Los Muertos," baking very good cakes, etc. These cakes are presented to the Church, and then the priest sells them back again to the people. Could not obtain any other information except that they came from the north along the Rio Grande, and that Chilili, Tajique, and Cuaray were Tigua Pueblos. About San Pedro they know nothing. There is a tale that, when the Piros left their villages below they came up to the Ojo del Coyote and upon leaving, they left an olla upon the fire with water in it and that this is the origin of the hot springs there. But whither they went is not known.

They say that all the Pueblos came from the north except the Zuñi, who came from the northwest to their place. The Apaches they call "BeLo-nin," and the Navajos "De-clonin." Had another confirmation of the matter of the "Ojos negros" [Black eyes] and the "Ojos colorados" [Red Eyes] and of their division into white, yellow, red, and blue maize, but could not determine how they were located. Spoke at length about the gentes of other tribes, but could not elicit anything. They denied positively having other clans than those of the corn. There are many Lagunas among them, and it is evident that these have kept their clans and their rites. Some of the Laguna dances are kept very secret.¹⁰³

Of ruins, there are none on the west bank of the Rio Grande, but on the médanos [dunes] south of the Cerro de la Isleta there are at least two, one east and the other east-southeast of the pueblo. They think that these, together with the pueblo on the Mesa de las Padillas, were the original villages of the Isleteños, and that they were originally small, the people congregating into larger pueblos only of late.¹⁰⁰ The Mesa de las Padillas is called "Hyem-tu-ay." Their pottery are red bowls "Bu-ru" and black jars "Pa-bu-ru." "Ba" water; "fa" fire.

NOVEMBER

NOVEMBER 1: The proper name for Isleta is "She-ui-gu-ba;" for Sandia, "Na-fi-a." The latter means: "dusty." They call the Mexicans "e'la-fan." Left at 9:40 A.M. and met Román Baca and Don Felipe Chavez¹⁰⁷ on the train. They know nothing of the existence of a pueblo at San Antonio [New Mexico; on the Rio Grande some 75 miles south of Isleta]. Between Belen and La Joya, about the Sabinal, the country looks remarkably arid. Sand drifts are huge, and the mesa behind Belen continues south interrupted only at the Sabinal by the mouth of the Rio Puerco, perfectly dry and with enormous heaps of drift and sand. This is near La Joya. At Alamillo, cottonwoods cover the river bottom, and thence on they continue to beyond San Marcial, with much more vegetation besides. Although the drift terraces become very heavy at San Antonio, the bottom is generally from a half to two miles wide on the west bank. The east bank is exceedingly bleak and denuded. About Polvadera the bottom disappears as the basal terraces of the Sierra Ladrona are shoved almost to the river front, but Limitar [present-day Lemitar] itself is very handsome.

North of Socorro, the Spaniards were compelled to march on the east bank, as there are two "Angosturas [narrow passes]," one at the "Barro" and the other above. Socorro is always handsome. About San Antonio, a hamlet situated on the drift terrace, with coke works and much coal, the "Sierra Oscura," and the "Soledad" appear. The Black Mesa at San Marcial is a unique object. We had a splendid view of the Magdalena [Mountains] and of the San Mateo [Peak], and then rounding the Black Mesa, entered the Paraje, at the foot of the Sierra Fra Cristóbal. It had rained and rained farther south in the southern half of the Jornada.¹⁰⁸ This latter is an undulating plain, covered with tufts of grama, with chaparro, palo verde as a little shrub, low mesquite and some yucca, only few of which are arborescent. It looks not at all barren. In the northern half, the soil is red and lava protrudes everywhere; the southern half is whitish, marly, and drifty.

The Sierra Fra Cristóbal is barren and frowning; the strata are uplifted remarkably to the northwest presenting this appearance.* The layers are very plainly seen. There are but few trees on the very crests. Slopes naked. The Sierra del Caballo connects with the former. It consists of a few gigantic lumps, one of which had a distinct saddle.* It is, if possible, more barren yet than the Sierra Fra Cristóbal. Between the

atter and the Sierra de San Mateo,⁴⁰⁹ extensive terraces, clad like the Cañada, slope down to the river, along whose banks álamos continue to be seen. Then broad terraces, farther down, extend into the interior here, through the rain clouds, I could catch a glimpse of the Sierra de los Mimbres. On the east, all was enveloped, else I would have seen the Sierra de San Andrés. Got to Las Cruces at 9 P.M.

NOVEMBER 2: Organos [Organ Mountains] in the east, 12 miles away, very handsome; northwest, the Cerros Narvaez with an old Spanish fort on top and an old Spanish village at the foot. North, the "Roblero."⁴¹⁰ Country level, but handsome. Las Cruces is a little Mexican town of 2500 inhabitants. It is built Mexican fashion, one-story houses of adobe with a plazita. Church not large and without tower, only a belfry. The bottom is of course sandy, but still exceedingly fertile. Acequias cross in every direction, and cottonwoods and willows grow in bunches, alleys, lanes, and groves. On the west, there are no mountains, the country slopes down in a broad terrace, at least 50 miles wide from east to west. On the north, besides the "Roblero," there is a distant mountain chain in the northwest, probably the spurs of the Mimbres. In the northeast, the Sierra de San Andrés; in the south, the Sierra del Paso.

I went to see Major Van Patten,⁴¹¹ and met Capt. Pedregon⁴¹² at the same time. Van Patten is very kind; he offers aid. There are some Piroes here. He says that the tribes between here and Encinillas, south of El Paso, are the Piros, Piras, Mansos,⁴¹³ Senecús, Tiguas, Tchocoloches ("Txocolouchque," giants, in Nahuatl, or "Tecolotes"??!)—usually the Tarahumares [Tarahumaras].⁴¹⁴ The latter are dark, tall, long black hair, straight, faces round, noses flat; they go almost naked, are gardening in the mountains, and they live south of El Paso towards Chihuahua. Of the Mansos, he speaks as of Pueblo Indians. It is singular that he distinguished between the Piros and Piras. Might not the latter have been the "Tompiras?" They still dance at Christmas, but all these customs are falling into disuse completely. They have no governor, but the "cacique" is often mentioned. They dance to the sound of the tombé! Made pottery. All this preliminary talk is doubtful, of course. But all, as far as I have seen them, assert, that there are no ruins along the river up to San Marcial, none in the Organos, and none west of the Mesilla. There are ruins at "Pa-chi-te-hú," 16 miles northwest from Fort Cummings, at the "Pueblo Encantado" of San Simón.

Still both Van Patten and Pedregon assert that, about 20 miles from

this place, east, at the Cañada de las Tinajas, there are rock-paintings! This would indicate a pueblo! It appears that water is scarce off from the river on both sides. I called on Father Laseigne [Lassaigne].⁴¹⁵ He told me that there was pottery in the Sacramento [Mountains] and on the Rio Hondo. Van Patten asserts that there are ruins towards Janos. The Mansos claim to have lived in the north too!?? Van Patten says that "Ju" is not Apache, and he has heard of the Tabosos and Pananas. There is a place called Toboso about Fort Quitman⁴¹⁶ in Texas. Met Mr. Daniel Fritz of Mesilla. He knows Guadalupe Miranda very well who now lives at Carrizal. The latter, from documents there at Santa Fe (up to 1836), says that Onate moved up on the east side of the mountains. This is hardly possible, from the "Discurso." Still, it is well to note it. In that case the river would have changed its bed completely, from about 160 miles east of its present place to now. It has grown shallower in the past years; its channel 12 years ago was 18 feet deep; now it is only ten feet, and the old river bed is only a half-mile west of Las Cruces.

The climate has changed within 12 years. Earlier frosts have set in, and the freshets of the river have discontinued, showing a decrease in snows above. The rains have become more frequent in every season. The first crops are usually killed by frosts now. He also states that, since the past few years, a dew falls every night about 8 P.M. which withers everything. (I felt that dew tonight, returning with Major Van Patten.) There is much fever here, which has even been an epidemic among the Indians, but Capt. Pedregon states that this epidemic has been here in former times too occasionally.

I went to Van Patten at dusk and took supper. He says that, while there are pueblos on the southern slope of the Sierra del Sacramento, there are absolutely none in the Sierra de Guadalupe, but that there are in the Sierra Hueca in Texas, at Seven Rivers on the Rio Pecos (opposite the mouth of the Rio Peñasco), and towards the Rio Grande until Fort Quitman, but none east of it. West of the Rio Grande, there are several ruins beyond Chorreros or between the Rio Conchos and the Rio Grande. (This would about agree with the place where Espejo met the Jumanos villages in Chihuahua.) There are also ruins between El Paso and Janos and Presidio Viejo, but none in the timbered regions about Temoseche [Temósachi].

He then spoke of the Piros. They have their clans, and at Christmas night, they knock in crowds at each other's doors, calling the name of the clan, and begging for admission, singing in chorus a Spanish song

in low voices. Admission is first refused on the ground that the clan is dead, but finally granted, as his relatives are still alive. They have their dances and many sorceries. He witnessed the feather dance, an act of witchcraft, for which purpose the sorcerers assemble in the estufa (!), a wreath of rushes (cañutilla [cañatilla?]) around their head. Six or seven feathers are made to dance alone, probably by friction. The estufa is a room entered into by a trap door from above. During that dance, they torture, pinch and punch with needles, etc., little dolls made of "corcho" (corkwood), representing the person whom they want to hurt. Compare Navajos! They worship the sun "Olo" and the moon "Orno." They go to the housetops at sunrise, a "pregonero" first doing it. Then three men ascend to the belfry, their heads covered with the tilmas. When the sun rises, they uncover the heads and shade the eyes with the hands, the middle man using the right, the others the left hand. Thus they stand immovably gazing, until the shadow falls at their feet, when they turn back and descend. They strew sacred meal sometimes on the gates; they also strew salt (against witches). They keep idols, and know nothing about Montezuma at all!¹¹⁷ It is the sun they are looking at, and not the return of Montezuma! At a certain moon, the girls reaching their maturity make a feast to it, but they are accompanied by four or five old women, and closely watched by the men at a distance, who let nobody approach. At Christmas Eve, they build huge fires in the mountains. On the night of St. John's Day (25 of June) the girls bathe in the acequia and then lie flat on the sand on their faces. An old woman then cuts off two inches from their hair with an instrument which is not to be sharp.

The cañutilla, or rush-circle, is a favorite material for witchcraft; they hang it above the main doors and on the corners of the buildings. Every dance begun at their homes at El Paso is also finished in Van Patten's house, since his wife was the daughter of one of their caciques!?? They hate the Apaches mortally and will not believe them under oath. Emilia showed me a beautiful manta (about 150 years old) worn by her mother. It is black, with a gold-trimming below and green embroidery. It is fastened over the left shoulder, and passes under the right arm. The women wear their hair loose; the men have "chungo" and "melotes."

They have plume-sticks, and when they want to know where a certain hidden object, or lost object, lies, they bandage the eyes of a man. He takes the plume-stick, places it on the end of an elastic chip or rod, the plumes upwards, vertically, and then bend the latter down, letting

it suddenly go. This hurls the plume-stick upwards into the air, and when it falls, they look for the object in the ground. The same thing is done with a candle.

Mr. Wattlington told me that very large pottery [vessels] had been found at the foot of the Sierra San Andrés, near the Sandy Hill. The sand there is pulverized gypsum. The country east of the Organos is grassy "like the Jornada," but without water. Both Van Patten and Wattlington reject the idea of an ancient river there.

NOVEMBER 3: No letters! This is strange, if anything at all. I painted all day, finishing two sheets, one the Isleta pottery, and the other, the fetishes from Cochiti. Van Patten had promised to get me out in the morning, but he did not come, so I kept to myself all day at work. Frogs are crying like spring. Van Patten, to whom I showed my fetish drawings, recognized them at once and assured me that the Piros had similar ones, but of clay and of wood, and that they also carry them in a little bag of leather over the breast. Met Capt. Salazar today. Wrote and mailed postcards this evening to Joe, to Cushing, to the postmasters at Fort Wingate and at Tucson. Also wrote to García Icazbalceta, and to Fr. Campos. It appears that corn, here, would often give two crops; also apples. Grapes however would not do it. Finally, after mailing my cards, I wrote to the Ausland though not very long. The Indians here are completely Mexicanized, but they say that at El Paso they will not intermarry with Mexicans, although they do with other nations, except Negroes, whom they also shun and spurn. Is it the color only?

NOVEMBER 4: Stores closed, but bars open. No letters again. Mailed my two Mexican letters. Met Capt. Pedregon and spoke to him about the pottery. Wrote for the Ausland. Called on Father Laseigne and on Mr. Hildreth.¹¹⁸ In the afternoon, I at last met Alberto Fountain.¹¹⁹ He is a very good, attractive boy. There was a big funeral; I could not do anything at all, of course, so wrote to Padre Ribera and mailed him the little book. Called on Mr. Carbonnier. Left for El Paso at night. We crossed the pass about 11 P.M. by moonlight.

NOVEMBER 5: Headache. El Paso lies right at the foot of the eastern mountain forming the pass. El Paso del Norte at the foot of the western. In the distant east, the Cerro Hueco looms up. Did not find anybody at home for a long time. The town of El Paso del Norte is a big Indian village, below trees, except the two principal streets, where the

houses are connected. The Indians mostly live in the "Barrial," [muddy place]. At 2 P.M. I could at last see the Cura Ramón Ortiz.¹²⁰ He told me that all the Indians (Mansos excepted) were transplanted hither in 1681, etc. The Mansos themselves are so mixed with the population that they have given up their nationality and language. Foundation of the church, 1656. Fray Martín de Hinajosa. Origin of the name of Gran Quivira being applied to the present pueblo. An ancestor of his, a Spanish officer, came hither at the beginning of this century, sent by the Spanish government after the Gran Quivira. He looked for it in the northwest and surveyed the Pueblo Bonito, etc.¹²¹ But an old Jumano Indian, Tio [Uncle] Juan Largo, of Socorro, called attention to the present pueblo of Quivira, and thus the name remained. "Ju," "Nané," etc. are Apache "Janeros" and descend from the family of the "Baboso." They are the last of the tribe. Staid at Gallendo finally.

NOVEMBER 6: I walked over and found Nicomedes Lara or [y?] Leyva. He is alone in his house, his people left him; his wife is dead. Very soon became acquainted. He is a Manso! They have now forgotten their language completely and speak only Spanish. But he says that they know they came from the north and that they are Piros. He even says that some of his people (speaking of the Leyva) are at Zuñi! Of course, he began with the fib of Montezuma, but when I told him that I was adopted at Cochiti, he changed tune and interrogated me as to "que era la primera cosa en un Pueblo? [Who was of first importance in a Pueblo?]" When I replied to him it was the cacique, and told him the names in Queres and Zuñi, and told him of the governor and his lieutenant, of the war captain and his lieutenant, then he became satisfied I was "OK." He said that the old cacique, whose assistant he was [prior to the cacique's death], called him, the war captain, and his lieutenant, and told him they should, 11 days after his death, call together the people of the Pueblo, the principal men, and elect a new cacique of his own "blood" (!) He thus pointed to him, as he was "de la misma gente of the same clan." At the meeting of the principals, however, they looked to the fact of being of pure Indian blood from father and mother, and thus selected another one who, however, had not the knowledge required to fill the position. He particularly insisted upon the fact that the position of cacique was a very hard and responsible one, that he had to know a great deal in order to guide the Pueblo and to keep the peace among the people, and that his successor should be thoroughly informed in all the ways and means for that purpose.

I then asked him about the gentes, and he confessed that he was "blue corn," and that there was yellow, white, and red corn. He almost intimated that the office of cacique should be hereditary in the blue corn gens. He certainly knew all the other clans, but was not positive in regard to the fact that they still exist among the Piros, beyond the four colors of the maize! He evidently put me to quite a test of veracity and reliability.

On the 12th of December they celebrate their feast, first in the church; then the dance begins, men and women painted, both sexes with feathers on their heads but no headdresses, the hair of the women plaited. They play the "tumbé," of which he has one, made of a hollow tree, and covered with leather. They also had flutes formerly, but none any more. They sing old chants in their language, but do not understand them. The other Pueblos often deride them for their singing songs which they do not themselves understand. He has two large pieces of pottery which his mother made. One is red; the other is black. He finally complained that his people had no "médicos," and that consequently they were unprotected because the medicine men had to guide and to counsel and direct the tribe!¹²² This is of great interest and value in every way. It shows the true position of that class. On the whole, I am satisfied. These Indians make pottery and the recent pottery looks very much like that of the Pimas. It has the same paint and color. Only it is a little lighter in here, but the designs are remarkably similar. Painted in the afternoon, and then called on Mr. Boisselier, where I met Mr. Robert Fasnacht of New Orleans. Mr. Boisselier promised to give me a room tomorrow, and so I went over to El Paso to spend an hour with Mr. Fasnacht and then returned. The Rio Grande here is narrow but tolerably rapid.

NOVEMBER 7: Called on Nicomedes Lara and had a long conversation. It results from it that the pueblo of the Mansos was originally where the church is, because, there was the head of the acequia. At the "Real," a pueblo of the Zumas existed, which is now abandoned, the Zumas having confounded themselves with the Spanish population. The Mansos originally lived in houses of branches and of straw or reeds, and only through the Spaniards were they brought to live in houses of adobe. In the sierra around here, the mountain sheep still exists. The Cura Ortiz told me that his great-grandfather, Don Bernardo de Mier y Pacheco,¹²³ Colonel of Engineers, about 150 years ago, surveyed the pueblos of the Nayajo Country. Some of the plats were still at the City

of Durango, in the hands of Señor Rascón. The story of the Gran Quivira of today originated thus about 100-120 years ago, for Tio Juan Largo, the "Jumano" Indian at Socorro, died 60 or 70 years ago, he being at the time over 100 years of age. Went with Mr. Boisselier and spent the night there.

NOVEMBER 8: Wrote and mailed letter to J. C. and to W. Dessauer.⁴²⁴ Got my room at last. It is exceedingly convenient for me. I called on Nicomedes and spent some time with him. The Mansos have seven war captains, the first, second, and five assistants. At the time of the Apaches the latter troubled them very much, and the people had to do all their planting together. They knew the red "Ara" here, but do not have it. The feathers which they use are eagle feathers and turkey feathers. From this talk I am led to infer that they look upon owl feathers as something very bad.⁴²⁵ At night went to Padre Ortiz who gave me the first four books of the church extant, that is, the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th, the first one being lost. The "Libro 2do de Bautismos, Año de 1682" begins 26 Sept. 1682 and terminates 1 Aug. 1696, and contains names of Mansos: Males, Females (Males as #1, Females as #2). [Bandelier here inserts a list of baptismal names.]

NOVEMBER 9: They killed a policeman on the streets of El Paso del Norte last night! Yesterday, Nicomedes told me that he had hunted all over the mountains, etc. of this neighborhood all his lifetime, but had never seen the slightest trace indicating ruins of ancient houses. This is conclusive.⁴²⁶

"Libro 2do de Defuntos, 1685" (from 1 Jan'y 1685 to 25 Febr, 1693). [Here again Bandelier inserts a lengthy list of names; this list is followed by others taken from "Libro Tersero de Defuntos, 1693," (from June 1693 to 1709), and from "Libro 2do de Casamientos, Año de 1707" (1707-1728).] My eyes were very much hurt by the study of these old books, so much so that I had to sleep in the afternoon. Here, the corn is planted in May; some of the wheat, in fall. The ground is irrigated before plowing for corn. They cover their vines in November. Called on Nicomedes Lara. He repeated to me the names of the gentes. There are six: "Rio azul," "Maíz negro, blanco, azul, amarillo, colorado." He again stated that they came from the north and lived in huts of straw and reeds until after the Spaniards came. . . . They had two tracts of communal lands, but the Cura Ortiz took hold of them under the promise of charging them half-rate for all funerals, etc. Now the lands

are sold, and they pay full-rate! He got their papers. They have private real estate.

NOVEMBER 10: Lara told me last night that according to an old tradition of theirs, there should come at one time, from the north, people—Indians—but they would not be able to recognize them as such, although it would prove beneficial to them, and he is convinced that I am one of them. I let him believe it. Pious fraud!

About the Quivira, he says that they heard it had been a pueblo once, but now is a lagune, where they hear cocks crow and Indians sing yet today. He thinks the Quiviras dwelt there. Repeated again that they had no more medicine men.

I called on Padre Ortiz. He told me that the Zumas were wiped out by the smallpox epidemic in 1780, all dying but one, Camargo, who himself died 14 years ago, leaving only one son. The archives of El Paso were carried off and stolen by Mexicans, not by Americans. This was done for the purpose of stealing the lands of the Mesilla afterwards.

I left for Senecú at 3 P.M. The distance is six miles, all over and through a sandy flat nearly all cultivated and traversed by acequias with cottonwoods. A young Indian of Senecú joined me on the road. He is lieutenant of the war captain. There, as among the Mansos, one war captain, one lieutenant, and five "alguaziles [alguaciles]." He told me that, shortly [recently], upon the denunciation of a Mexican, they had been compelled to bury and conceal "hasta la madre" [probably a native fetish of some sort]. This he said with a wink!

I was most heartily received by the people. The cacique took me to his house at once, as a duty.⁴²⁷ The governor, war captain, etc. called at night. The proper name of the Pueblo is "Tze-no-qué [Senecú?]." They claim to have come from Abó! Have no knowledge of Socorro or of any of the pueblos in the list of Oñate, their traditions are so far lost that even the cacique has forgotten the names of the gentes, although they exist. Tomorrow they will have the rabbit hunt, with sticks and bows and arrows. They have not exactly the same customs as at Cochiti, but they pay for each rabbit, one medio; for each hare, one Real. The skins do not go to the cacique. They make the same pottery as the Mansos. Their merced [land grant] is in the hands of the heirs of Miguel Antonio Lobato at Bernalillo. They lived formerly about one legua [league] higher up, on the right bank of the Rio Grande, but the river changed its channel about 30 years ago, and the village was abandoned.

El Paso del Norte
archives stolen
by Mexicans

near Bernalillo

They
got it?
→

NOVEMBER 11: We started for Isleta [del Sur] "Tshia-iu-be-ga" on horseback about 11 A.M., the old good cacique going with me. Crossed the bottom, which is very fertile (consequently exceedingly muddy), overgrown with a thorny thicket, some cottonwood and small coralillos [?], then crossed the Rio Grande, which is neither deep nor wide and reached Isleta, a much scattered village near the banks. Saw Mr. Blanchard,⁴²⁸ Father Personné, and Juan Severiano. The Tiguas are, like the Piros, reduced to about 40 families, but they have preserved more of their language. Still it is slowly dying out among the younger people. They claim to have come from the Manzano, that is, from that place and Cuaray, probably also from Chilili and Tajique. Know nothing of San Pedro, and of the Quivira but the name and a few tales. The ruins of Socorro are still above the "Presidio," but they have lost all knowledge of it and merely say that the people came from the same place as those of Senccú. Unable to ascertain more than that, we rode back. Their pottery is exactly the same as that of the Piros, and so are their drums. Their patron saint is San Antonio de Padua, and that of Socorro was San Miguel. I returned on foot, the mud terrible, and a cold easterly wind, blowing all night.

Called on Nicomedes who at last told me that he knows the language of the Mansos and gave me some names in it. He has trusted me fully as yet. They are exceedingly suspicious and wily, these people, and slow to trust. Nicomedes says that the office of cacique is hereditary in the blue corn [clan]; that of captain, in the yellow corn; and governor, in the white corn! He now says positively that he knows they came from the north, from New Mexico! About the Quivira, he thinks that the Queres inhabited it!⁴²⁹

NOVEMBER 12: The Piros had confirmed the fact, that the Mansos originally lived in "jacales" only. So did the Zumas. Left early for El Paso del Norte. They were dancing the Matachinas. Met Tobler! He is a worthless deadbeat and bilk. I left for a hiding place and for a place where there was a fire, as it was cold and windy from the east all day.

About noon the Indians came up from the southeast, a small band, six women, and girls, dressed in a manta of dark blue or black fastened over the left shoulder. It is embroidered beneath. Over it they wear a mantle of cotton goods, white or with print. They wear a white shirt under the manta. The manta has a waist. There is much embroidery, and necklaces about them. The top of the head has a knot of red and

blue ribbons, which hang down the back; the hair is left long. Some of them had paint on their cheeks, brown "almagre [ochre]." They wear in each hand a handkerchief with something tied up in it. The men were dressed in citizens' clothes, with a rattle.

Nicomedes beat the drum, and around him, as usual, congregated the singers. It was, on a small and poor scale, a perfect Pueblo dance. They first danced in a line, facing the church, then made a few of the common figures, and finally we all went back to the house where, after taking an "aguardiente [a distilled beverage, perhaps mescal or sotol]" with the cacique, we squatted down to the dinner without forks, spoons, or anything. The "sopa" was of bread or rather a pudding (composition unknown); then came three courses of meat, but no vegetables at all. Water was the only beverage. It was, in every way, a Mexican-Indian, not a Pueblo, dinner. The "molle" [mole, chocolate-based sauce] was there too. After dinner I left and retired early, it being decidedly too cold. The Cura Ortiz assured me that there are ruined pueblos along the river.

NOVEMBER 13: Went to see Nicomedes but he was not ready yet. No letters! Cannot account for it. It is absolutely beyond comprehension! I returned to Nicomedes and went to the cacique. Manuel Guero with him. The cacique received us kindly, but Nicomedes insisted upon having him "give me what I deserved."⁴³⁰ So we went to the kitchen hearth, and there went through the ceremonies. He first offered me pinole, which I strewed, first to the east, then to the south, to the west, and to the north. Then I had to smoke the cigarrito, to the east, south west, and north also, to above, and to below. They did the same.

Then a long conversation ensued, while I had to detail the custom of the nether Pueblos. We finally took dinner, and then the cacique took the pinole, strewed it outside on the path whence I came, and came back. Nicomedes then made four cigarettes, and these were smoked in turn, each one taking four whiffs, to the east, south, west, and north. The stumps, when nearly finished, were deposited on the ground. Finally each one took pinole in his mouth and then threw some of it into the fire of the hearth. Afterwards we took our leave. Met Fasnacht. No letters! Don't know what to do!

It appears that the ruins are all those of Pueblos since the time of 1680. I forgot to state that, before we threw the meal into the hearth, we started out in procession, first the cacique, then Nicomedes, then I, then the cacica [cacique's wife, or female assistant (?)], to outside,

1860. Bishop Lamy induced the Sisters of Loreto to found a settlement in Santa Fe in 1852, the Christian Brothers in 1867 and, with their help, actively promoted the building of schools and churches. Lamy died on February 13, 1888, and was buried in Santa Fe. The famous novel by Willa Cather, Death Comes for the Archbishop (1927), was based on Lamy's life. (Who Was Who 1963: 301.)

399. Other than a reference to "Father Farjón in Santa Fe" in an October 10, 1884, issue of the Santa Fe New Mexican Review, no further clue to this person's identity has been found.

400. Captain Fletcher A. Blake was prominent in the 1880's in the general area of Las Vegas. He had been active in White Oaks, Lincoln County, where gold had been discovered in 1879. He became the first postmaster of Vera Cruz, Lincoln County, July 5, 1881 (the office was discontinued June 25, 1883). In 1882, he was associated with the Las Vegas Coal and Coke Company. In 1884, Blake was listed as a cattle raiser at Las Vegas. The same year, Polk and Danser (1884a: 362, 365) listed Blake as editor and proprietor of the Daily Sun, on the plaza in Las Vegas. In 1897, he was the operator of a health resort at Beulah, near Las Vegas. (Dike 1958; Lange and Riley 1966: 408; Polk and Danser 1884a: 327.)

401. Mariano S. Otero, Bernalillo, New Mexico, was one of the group that formed a committee with Nathan Bibb in the period, 1873-78, to aid the sheriff in the capture of a gang which was terrorizing the area. (Fierman 1962: 57.)

402. The Pereas were locally prominent in the flour mill, general merchandising, and the post office of Bernalillo. (Polk and Danser 1884a: 310.) Haines (1891: 384) commented that the mercantile house of the Perea Bros. in Bernalillo transacted the largest business in that part of the country. Twitchell (1925: 401n, 474) said that Don Pedro Perea (Facing p. 398) was a councilman from Bernalillo, as well as being president of First National Bank in Santa Fe and delegate in Congress from New Mexico.

403. This name was given in the first volume as Father D. Parisis (Lange and Riley 1966: index.) The initial "D." is in error. Defourni (1887: 54) said Father Stephen Parisis was pastor of Bernalillo. Chávez (1957) stated that Parisis was ordained February 5, 1869; he was one of the priests brought to New Mexico by Bishop Lamy. (Salpointe 1898: 283.)

404. See fn 109.

405. This remark stemmed from the fact that the presence of kachinas, or masked dancers, at Isleta was the result of the immigration to Isleta of the "Laguna Colony," who brought their masks with them, having been driven from Laguna by the progressive element there. The point was a fine example of the attitude that secrecy among the Puebloans was not directed at non-Puebloans, Anglos, for example, but to non-believers whether these were white, Negro, Indian, or other.

406. Isleta (and Isleta del Sur), in fact, represent the remnant of the Southern Tiwas. These people may, at one time, have had as many as twenty villages in the central Rio Grande area. The Tiwa, however, took the brunt of Coronado's invasion of 1540-1542 and, because of their central and vulnerable position, declined sharply in the first century of Spanish rule. During the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, Isleta, by then the paramount village of the Southern Tiwa, remained loyal to the Spaniards. During the confused years that led to the Reconquest of 1692, a number of the Isletans were moved south to El Paso and settled in a new village called Isleta del Sur. From the eighteenth century on, only one main pueblo remained in the Isleta area, though with surrounding rancherías.

407. According to Haines (1891: 383), Felipe Chaves was born in Pedillos, Bernalillo County, November 16, 1835. He received a common school education in Mexico; he

married Josie Chavez, 1856, and they had three children. In 1886, Chaves moved to Valencia County. At one time he was the largest sheep owner in the Territory, but during the Civil War he lost the entire number. He later restocked his ranch, and by 1881 he had sold his sheep interests.

408. JORNADA DEL MUERTO (Socorro, Sierra, Doña Ana). Span., "journey of death." This celebrated topographic feature lay on the caravan routes from Chihuahua to Santa Fe and was chosen for travel because it shortened the route by at least a day. It was a waterless stretch of nearly 90 mi from Rincon to San Marcial between San Andres Mts. on E and Fray Cristobal Range on W. In addition, many miles were sandy, and sometimes the Indians made their attacks from hiding places in the mountains or arroyos. Oñate in 1598 named one of the arroyos Los Muertos, "The Dead," and the phrase jornada del muerto in Spanish is "journey of the dead man." However, since hundreds perished in this crossing, women and children as well as men, "journey of death" seems a much more fitting translation. (Pearce 1965: 77.)

409. Bandelier (1892: II, 355n1), in writing of the San Mateo Range said, "There are two mountain ranges in New Mexico which bear this name. The one to which I refer here lies west of Fort Craig and San Marcial, and appears like a continuation of the Magdalena Mountains; its altitude is given as 10,209 feet." It was to these mountains in Socorro County that Bandelier referred in this entry. The second range are the San Mateo Mountains in Valencia County, also called the Sierra de San Mateo. Mount Taylor (old Spanish name, Cebolleta Mountain) is the highest of the San Mateo Mountains. (Pearce 1965: 105, 147.)

410. Bandelier probably had reference to the Robledo country here. Pedro Robledo, a native of Toledo, was the first person in the Oñate colony to die in New Mexico. It is thought that Robledo, a settlement on the west branch of the Rio Grande near Doña Ana commemorated the place where he was buried. A nearby promontory may also have commemorated him. A second explanation for the name given this area was that it honored Doña Ana Robledo, the legendary (perhaps mythical) seventeenth-century lady for whom Doña Ana Settlement seemingly was named. (Pearce 1965: 137.) Christiansen (1964) referred also to the death of Pedro Robledo and said that his name remained on Oñate's campsite for 300 years and was then forgotten, being retained only on the nearby mountain. He noted that the site at Robledo was a favorite one during the eighteenth century on the long and arduous route from Santa Fe to Chihuahua. The Spanish talked of building a presidio there as it commanded a critical river ford but nothing was ever built until the Americans built Fort Selden there. Pearce (1965) did not mention Fort Selden in connection with Robledo. He noted the Spanish campground a short distance south of Robledo (p. 137).

411. Major Eugene Van Patten, of the 1st Regiment, Cavalry, New Mexico Volunteer Militia. (Official Reports 1884: 114-15.)

412. Pedro Pedregón, Captain, Commanding Officer, Troop A (Las Cruces), 1st Regiment, Cavalry, New Mexico Volunteer Militia. (Official Reports 1884: 114-15.)

413. The Manso lived originally in the area of Las Cruces and El Paso in the lower Middle Rio Grande Valley. Their linguistic affiliation remains uncertain, but in historic times they showed considerable cultural similarities to the Piro and the Tiwa. (Lange and Riley 1966: 364n 161; Hodge 1907: I, 801-802.)

414. A large group of Taracahitian speaking peoples who, today and throughout historic times, have occupied the mountainous areas of central Chihuahua. For a recent study of the Tarahumar see Pennington 1963.

415. Reverend Peter Lassaigue was among the clergy brought to New Mexico by Bishop Lamy. In 1864 Lassaigue and Reverend Peter Bernal volunteered to go to Tucson,

as the Jesuit Fathers had been recalled. They could not get any farther than Las Cruces, as no one would risk guiding them because of fear of the Apaches. The two fathers returned to Santa Fe. However, in 1869, Lassigne, with permission of the ecclesiastical authority, did join the clergy in Arizona. When Tularosa was made the center of a parish in 1870, Lassigne became its pastor. (Salpointe 1898: 241, 261, 262, 282.) As this entry indicates, Lassigne had returned to Las Cruces sometime in the interim. Polk and Danser (1884a: 324) also listed him at Las Cruces.

416. Quitman was 80 miles below El Paso on the Rio Grande. Fort Quitman had been reoccupied after the Civil War but it had been abandoned in 1877. (Crimmins 1935: 141n27.)

417. In view of the widespread incorporation of Montezuma into Southwestern myths, this alleged lack of knowledge is dubious. Probably Bandelier's informants were simply reluctant to discuss the matter with him, a stranger.

418. This was Christopher J. Hildreth, listed by Polk and Danser (1884a: 326) as the editor and proprietor of the Rio Grande Republican, a weekly paper at Las Cruces devoted to the interests of Mesilla Valley. The paper was founded in 1881, and after a few years Hildreth was followed by several successors. (Anderson 1907: 476; Greene 1882: 50.)

419. Alberto, or Albert J. Fountain was a prominent figure in New Mexico military, political, and professional life according to Twitchell (1912: II, 494-95, 495-96n409). Colonel Fountain, a lawyer, was in command of the 1st Regiment, Cavalry, territorial militia troops, called out by Governor Sheldon in 1884. Fountain also rendered service to local peace officers in ridding the ranges of Grant, Sierra, and Socorro counties of cattle thieves. An interesting episode of this type was contained in the Official Reports (1884). In 1896, he and his nine-year-old son, Henry, were mysteriously ambushed; the bodies were never found. The criminals were never identified despite strong suspicions of individuals involved in the range wars and power struggles of the area at that time. (See Jenkinson and Kernberger 1967: 131, 145-151.)

420. Defouri (1887: 21) mentioned Reverend Ramón Ortiz, "for forty years parish priest of El Paso."

421. A large unit-type pueblo of several hundred rooms and many kivas in Chaco Canyon, New Mexico; it is one of the principal attractions of this much-visited national monument.

422. In primitive groups, generally, there is a very close relationship between the practice of medicine and both religious and political organization. Medicine men are closely involved with religion and are usually political leaders as well.

423. Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, a soldier-cartographer and religious image maker, who was a member of the Vélez de Escalante Expedition to Utah in 1776. Adams and Chávez (1956: 1301, 161n3) referred to him as Captain Miera. He was for some years a citizen of Santa Fe (pp. 268-269).

424. This was William Dessauer, proprietor of a general merchandise store in Las Cruces, New Mexico. (Polk and Danser 1884a: 324.) Dessauer also served as quartermaster of the 1st Regiment, Cavalry, New Mexico Volunteer Militia in 1883-84. (Official Reports 1884: 114-115.)

425. In the Southwest, the owl was, and is, widely considered an evil omen, connected with black magic and witchcraft.

426. This is not really conclusive. There may well have been large numbers of sites of former human occupation that would have been missed by the (presumably) untrained observer, Nicomedes.

427. Actually, it would have been more normal to have the governor, rather than the cacique, act as host to any outside visitor.

428. This was almost certainly Charles Blanchard of Las Vegas who traveled in the southern portion of New Mexico and adjacent Texas in his business as a general merchandiser. On March 12, 1880, Blanchard became president and treasurer of the Las Vegas and St. Louis Mining and Smelting Company. Among the incorporators was Charles Longuemare, metallurgist and superintendent. (Callon 1962: 113.) (See also fns 418 and 422 for 1884) 472 for 1883 and 118 for 1884.)

429. This account of the Queres occupation of Gran Quivira would have appeared little more than hearsay until rather recent archaeological findings. National Park Service excavations of the pueblo at Gran Quivira National Monument under the direction of Alden C. Hayes have revealed such features as a flat stone slab in the rim of the kiva firepits, consistently placed in the right-hand portion as one faces the firepit, deflector, and ventilator complex. This unique trait has also been found in salvage archaeological excavations in the new Cochiti Dam area. While present elsewhere, as at Pindi Pueblo, and in the Chama Valley, such shared features would seem to lend credence to some degree, at least, of common background for Gran Quivira and the Keresan tribes.

430. This was probably prompted by Bandelier's claim of adoption by the Cochiti, with esoteric knowledge to support the claim, and/or Nicomedes' stated belief in a traditional prophecy which seemingly led to his confusing Bandelier with an Indian from the North. (See entry of November 10, 1883.) The editors remain somewhat doubtful of Bandelier's claim of adoption by the Cochiti. No mention of any even slightly related activity has been found in the journals, either in anticipation or in retrospect, of what could only have been a really great event in his life. Of course, another great event in Bandelier's life, his conversion to Catholicism in Mexico in 1881, was also very scantily recorded in the journals.

431. This was Mr. O. W. Mevsenburg of St. Louis and Santa Fe. (See fns 109, 133, 134, and 135 for 1884.)

432. It is quite likely that this was Joseph P. Whyte, president of the Jos. P. Whyte Real Estate Co. of St. Louis (Kargau n.d.: 147).

433. Except that Polk and Danser (1884a: 324) listed him as a physician at Las Cruces, nothing more has been found about him.

434. Juh, a Chiricahua war chief and companion of Geronimo. Juh refused to surrender to Crook in May, 1883, but died or was killed a short time later near Casas Grandes, Chihuahua. (Davis 1929: 6 et seq.)

435. Nana, a war chief of the Warm Springs Apache group and contemporary of Victorio. Nana was with Geronimo in Chihuahua in 1883 and surrendered to Crook's forces. (Davis 1929: 6 et seq.)

436. Victorio was a warrior and chief of the Warm Springs and Chiricahua Apache. From the early 1870's until his death in Chihuahua in 1880, Victorio kept the Southwestern border area in turmoil. After his death, Nana inherited the remnants of Victorio's band and continued raiding. He was finally captured by Crook in 1883 and died in Oklahoma. (Lockwood 1938: 324; Davis 1929: 13 et seq.)

437. This may have been William H. H. Llewellyn, listed in the 1882 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, p. 369, as the farmer-in-charge, October 1, 1881, at South Fork, Lincoln County, where he dealt with both Mescalero and Jicarilla Apaches. (Official Reports 1884: 369.)

438. In 1847, shortly after the Americans took over control of New Mexico, a few Taos Indians and Mexicans from the Taos vicinity attacked and killed the newly appointed