A SURVEY OF THE ARTS OF
THE PUEBLO PEOPLE
AND
THE NEW MEXICAN SPANIARDS

A Thesis
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for the Degree Master of Fine Art

By

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Introduction

For years American archaeologists, busy with the many phases of civilization from the oldest times in the far corners of the world, did not realize that here in the United States was a cultural development of the greatest interest comparable to the achievements of Neolithic man anywhere in the world.

In the American Southwest amazing levels were reached in architecture and community life. This paper is an attempt to understand the development of the crafts and arts through the ages among the Pueblo Indians and their conquerors, the Spanish. Because of ancient migrations, for one reason or another among the pueblo people, the region studied, must necessarily be far flung. It includes parts of Utah, Colorado, Arizona but especially New Mexico which is the home of the greatest number of Pueblo Indians today.

Three cultures live side by side in this corner of America. The Indian in his age old pueblo; the descendants of the Spanish and Mexicans in the nearby villages who linger in the traditions of the past; the Anglos, who bring the commercial life of the twentieth century to this land of "manana", in the cities and the fashionable suburbs.

Nowhere else in America will one find quite the same sociological problems as one does in the Southwest. The Indians live quietly on their ancestral lands, wishing only
to be left alone. The Natives, as the residents of Spanish descent are called, lead a life restricted by a caste system that has been established by the comparatively new Anglo inhabitants. Anyone who is not an Indian or a Native is an Anglo, no matter what his background may have been.

The four hundred years since Coronado and his companions started on their search for the fabulous Seven Cities of Cibola, have seen vast changes in the Southwest but little change in the sedentary peoples they found there. It is the amalgamation of the varying cultures that makes the region so fascinating to the student of history.

Here at first hand one can trace the course of the centuries, in the ruins that have been reclaimed from the sands of the desert and in the far flung canyons and mesas of the mountains that abound. Here one can view the living art of the pueblos, as well as the vagabond Navajo and Apache tribes. One can trace, too, the influence of sixteenth and seventeenth century European art from Spain, that was carried on the hazardous trips from the south to the colonies of Nueva Mejico.

Much has been written about the Southwest, for many scholars have found it a fascinating field for research in archaeology and ethnology. The burden of this thesis will be to assemble the information they have gleaned into a concise story as a general survey of the history of the arts and
crafts of the Indians and the Spanish of that part of the country that can be identified as New Mexico and Arizona.
Part I

Chapter I  The Country
THE COUNTRY

Environment being essentially correlative with facts of culture, it is well to begin with the physiographic conditions of that part of the great Southwest that is the home of the Pueblo People. The climate with its physical and psychical influences; the geological structure and the soil of the country are all things to be reckoned with in the study of the cultural progress of man.

According to Edgar Lee Hewitt,¹ the Pueblo Indians built their homes according to the drainage systems, which located them for the most part in what is now known as New Mexico and northern Arizona. The Zuñi and the Hopi, or Moqui, are in Arizona and all the other pueblos in New Mexico.

¹ Hewitt, Dr. Edgar L., Historic and Pre-Historic Ruins of the Southwest, p. 5, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1904. Dr. Hewitt says: "The distribution of the pre-historic tribes of the Southwest was determined by the drainage system. The great basins of the Rio Grande, the San Juan, the Little Colorado and the Gila constitute the four great seats of pre-historic culture of the so-called pueblo region. The remains of this ancient culture are scattered extensively over these four areas. The majority of the ruins of the four great basins are embraced in twenty districts.

"The districts are grouped as follows:

I. The Rio Grande Basin:
   1. The Pajarito Park district
   2. The Pecos Pueblo district.
   3. The Gran Quivira district.
   4. Jemez district.
   5. The Acoma district.

II. The San Juan Basin
   1. The Aztec district.
   2. The Mesa Verde district.
   3. The Chaco Canyon district.
A wealth of well preserved archeological remains mark every stage of the pre-European epoch. Much of a similar character belongs to the period following the Spanish invasion, which will be dealt with in subsequent chapters. Suffice to say here, that these historic remains give an excellent clue to the lay of the land.

Many people think of the Rio Grande as the boundary line between Texas and Mexico but the upper part of that river, cutting the state of New Mexico into two parts, plays a most important part in the life of that section of the country and has for hundreds of years.

Tributaries of the Mississippi rise in this region, notably the Canadian River which flows through the Panhandle of Texas, and the Red River which forms the border between Texas and Oklahoma. The Pecos drains the eastern part of New Mexico and joins the Rio Grande far south. The most important of all in the history of the Southwest is the Rio Grande, or,

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4. The Canyon de Chelly district.
5. The Bluff district.

III. The Colorado Basin
1. The Tusayan district.
2. The Flagstaff district.
3. The Holbrook district.
4. The Zuni district.

IV. The Gila Basin
1. The Rio Verde district.
2. The San Carlos district.
3. The Lower Gila district.
4. The Middle Gila district.
5. The Upper Gila district.
6. The San Francisco River district.
PLATE 1.

Map of the Area
as the Spanish first called it, Rio Bravo del Norte, the swift river of the north, which is sometimes but a wide strip of white sand in the baking sun. (Plate I)

The Rio Grande rises in the mountains of Colorado and enters New Mexico in a broad valley which becomes a narrow gorge below Taos and then, alternately winding through green valleys and cutting its way through canyons, turns up at El Paso to become a modern international boundary. Roughly parallel ranges of mountains border its banks. On the East, continuing down from the Rockies of Colorado, is the Sangre de Cristo Range which has the highest peaks in the state, sometimes as high as thirteen thousand feet. Farther down the Rio Grande are isolated ranges, the Sandias east of Albuquerque, and the Manzano Range to the south. On the west the San Juan Mountains cross the southwestern corner of the state of Colorado and extend into New Mexico until they reach the canyon of the Rio Chama, which flows into the Rio Grande at Española. To the south of the Chama are other isolated ranges. The Jemez Mountains are west of Santa Fe and the Black Range is farther south where the Gila River rises.

All through this country detached ranges of mountains suddenly appear out of the plateau, and mesas with steep sides dot the landscape. On the mountain tops pine trees and spruce give way to aspens and piñon and dwarf cedars partly cover the rolling hills, while in the river valleys
the cottonwoods hold sway. For the most part it is at least a semi-arid country but the region is subject to sudden and fierce downpours. Without warning, black rain clouds fill the sky obscuring the mountains. The sandy bottoms of the rivers and arroyos become rushing torrents of mud and the roads are awash. As suddenly the blue sky appears and the sun shines benignly on the cottonwoods and the aspens on the mountains sigh contentedly.

The San Juan river has its source very near where the Rio Grande rises but between these headwaters the Continental Divide zigzags through western New Mexico southward to form the border between the Mexican states of Sonora and Chihuahua. It was Coronado who first broke the news of this great ridgepole of America to the Europeans, noting that the rivers east empty into the Gulf of Mexico or the Atlantic Ocean; those west, empty into the Gulf of California or the Pacific Ocean.

The San Juan is the largest tributary of the Colorado as well as the largest river in New Mexico. It discharges more than twice as much water as the Rio Grande, although it flows through only one hundred miles of the state in the northwest corner. It is the San Juan that gave birth to the greatest of all pre-Columbian residential architecture. Here is the section known as "The Four Corners," because it is the only

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place in the United States where four states meet - Utah, Colorado, Arizona and New Mexico. It is a place known to archaeologists as the cradle of southwestern civilization, pit houses dated as early as 100 B.C. being evidences here.

The Gila River and its principal tributary the Salt, flow west across southern Arizona to join the Colorado. Midway between the Gila and the San Juan, the Little Colorado flows, joined by the Zuñi and the Puerco rivers, and meets the main river near the beginning of the Grand Canyon.

It was the magic of water that drew prehistoric people to the vicinity, to build the first permanent homes in the land that is now the United States. Even now, although New Mexico is the fourth largest state in area among our forty-eight, it is the smallest of any in the United States in water area, having only one hundred and thirty-one square miles. ¹

Conversely, the area has considerably more than the average amount of sunshine in the United States. Owing to the mean elevation of five thousand seven hundred feet and comparative freedom from dirt in the air, the atmosphere is much more transparent to the solar rays, which is an important factor from the health viewpoint. The unfiltered sun-

¹ Hand, Irving F., expert consultant with the Quartermaster U.S. Army, formerly with the U.S. Weather Bureau at Albuquerque, from "Neighbors in the Sun" published in New Mexico Magazine, February, 1944.
shine is a powerful germicide and has tangible psychological effects on patients in hospitals. There can be no doubt that sunshine is the Southwest's greatest asset.

There is a wide range of liveable temperatures, the nights cooler and the days warmer than in eastern sections having the same average temperature.

Precipitation averages between fourteen and eighteen inches a year, but it varies from less than ten inches in the Rio Grande Valley to over thirty inches in the higher mountains of the north.
CHAPTER II

Antiquity
PLATE 2

Map of the Cultural Areas
ANTIQUITY

The aboriginal history of the country can be divided into three periods. The farthest removed, fixes the human race with species of animals long extinct. The following period is that of the Mound Builders. The last is that during which America was discovered by the Spanish explorers. When the Indians first entered the Southwest, or from whence they came, is still a secret that archaeologists and ethnologists have as yet been unable to solve. H. O. Ladd\(^1\) says that the Southwest was the pathway of migrating races from early in the Christian era. Humbolt places 600 A.D. as its beginning as the abode of nations kindred to the Mound Builders. In "The Indian Art of the United States," by Frederic H. Douglas and Rene d'Harnoncourt, it states: "For at least 2000 years the Southwest has been occupied by peoples who still live there." So, whether one prefers the theory of their origin as Asiatic\(^2\) via the Bering Straits, or some other supposition, there was a flourishing and long established population on the continent when it was discovered by

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1 Ladd, H. O., "The Story of New Mexico," Boston, 1891.

2 Bancroft, H. H., "Native Races," San Francisco, 1886, Vol. I, p. 19: "There are many advocates for an Asiatic origin....Favourable winds and currents, the short distance between the islands, traditions, both Chinese and Indian, refer the peopling of America to that quarter....Similarity of color, features, religion and lack of beard...support a Mongolian origin."
Columbus and claimed for Spain. Because Columbus mistakenly thought he had arrived at the Indies, and called the inhabitants that came to meet every boat, Indios, the name Indians has been retained through the years in spite of the fallacy.

*Anasazi* is the Navaho word meaning ancient people, which is now applied to the Pueblos and their ancestors the Basketmakers. The Basketmakers appear in dated history from the beginning of the Christian era. Agriculture and pottery-making do not appear in their early development. This civilization reached its height in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The Pima word *Hohokam*, meaning ancient people is applied to those tribes who lived in the desert of southern Arizona and the group is roughly contemporaneous with the Anasazi.

*Mogollón* culture of southwestern New Mexico is another division, but less defined culture, linked both to the Pueblo and the Hohokam.

Because they had no written language the history of these pre-Columbians is strictly within the realm of the archaeologist. The point where the four states of Utah, Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona meet is unique, not only for this political boundary meeting, but because it was the center of settlement by those American tribes who built apartment-house dwellings. Because they had been abandoned long before the
Spaniards came, it was thought that it would be impossible to date them, until Dr. A. E. Douglas of the University of Arizona devised the tree ring method. He found that all trees in a given region under similar circumstances of wet and dry years, carried the same pattern of annual rings.

From this a master chart was made giving the age record of the oldest living trees and telling accurately, from the width of the annual rings, which had been the lean years and which the fat ones. The next step was to employ trees which had been cut by the Spaniards for use in beams three hundred years ago and extend the time count farther back into history. By comparing beams from the Aztec ruin in northern New Mexico with some from Pueblo Bonito not far away, he found that the former had been cut exactly nine years before the Bonitian one in Chaco Canyon. After several years of intensive investigation, a charred beam from an Arizona site was found that contained the latest rings of the ancient specimens and the earliest years of the historical specimens. Thus the pine trees of the Southwest had silently kept the records of the Indians and archaeological surmise became history in that part of the country.

It was only in the dry country of the Southwest that agriculture was developed to a degree that permitted the Indians to engage in permanent home building, thus earning for themselves the title of Pueblo Indians. Only where water was so scarce that it had to be hoarded, did the Indians
become primarily farmers and secondly hunters. Since the minerals were so close to the surface, once an adequate supply of water was assured, the ground could be used over and over again in that sun-baked land. Thus there developed the cultures which made the ancient history of the United States mainly the story of the Pueblo Indians and their ancient architectural works. In contrast to the ceremonial structures of the Mayas and the Toltecs, Pueblo architecture was residential.

The ancestors of the Pueblos built shallow pits to hold their corn while they wandered away as hunters. As crops improved, they built larger underground storerooms. When they had sufficient corn, that it was no longer necessary to seek sustenance elsewhere, they settled down with their corn cribs and built abodes like them. Then they progressed to the surface with their corncribs and followed with their houses, since it developed that stone houses were better than pits. From there, through many ages, they developed their many roomed houses of masonry. Their stored-up crops gave them leisure to develop their communal life, laws, and crafts.

The Anasazi of the Four Corners lived in these simple pit-houses as early as the first quarter of the Christian Era. Oval or rectangular excavations from two to six feet deep had saucer-shaped floors and the single rooms contained a fire pit and a storage bin. Upright poles supported a flat roof
of saplings, twigs, and mud.

About the year one thousand, these pit villages, were spread over a much greater area than formerly, and the houses were made much larger and more elaborate. They were built in single or double rows of rooms above the ground and the pit-houses became a ceremonial chamber and lounging place for the males.¹ "Kiva" is a Hopi word meaning "old house" and kivas are still a distinctive feature of all Indian pueblos, retaining the same circular or square semi-subterranean structure.

The Golden Age of the Pueblo lasted from about 1050 A.D. to 1300 A.D. Though it covered a smaller area and the sites were fewer, the villages were much larger. About half of them were cliff houses while the others were built on mesa tops or in river valleys. In general the plans of the villages were similar, with a mass of contiguous rooms numbering from twenty to a thousand. They varied from one to four stories high and were often terraced with setbacks. They were built in a variety of shapes. Where they were built in caverns on the face of cliffs, the living rooms were set back facing the cave openings and the kivas were along the face of the cliff. The setbacks provided a series of ledges for ladders which could be drawn up in case of attack, and access to the first story was gained through a trap door in the roof.

This was the period of building at Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon, roughly contemporaneous with the building of the Maya temples far to the south and the Gothic cathedrals in Europe.

All through the far reaches of the San Juan river these ancient cliff dwellings can be found in widely scattered areas, the outlying villages probably representing the overflow from the concentrated larger populous sections. Some are southern Utah, others across the Arizona line in the Canyon de Chelly, Muerto, and Monument canyons, and even far to the south, sixty miles below Flagstaff, is "Montezuma's" Castle, one of the most striking of all the cliff dwellings.

But it was on the high green tableland of southwestern Colorado that the life and the works of the cliff dwellers reached their zenith. Along the walls of the canyons of Mesa Verde is a multitude of fortresslike cliff dwellings, and on the top of the mesa are many pit dwellings, built by the earlier Indians before protection from marauding tribes became necessary. The whole gamut of ancient Indian architecture is seen here. "Cliff Palace" is the greatest of these, having been discovered first by white men in 1833, when two cattlemen in search of strays, confronted it across the canyon. It fills a cavern three hundred feet long and hundred feet high under the mesa rim. It was built between 1075 and 1275 and was probably abandoned shortly thereafter. The quantity and quality of the masonry is amazing and in excel-
PLATs 3

Reconstruction of Mesa Verde
Cliff Dwellings
Reconstruction of Mesa Verde
lent condition. Other spectacular ruins at Mesa Verde in-
clude Square Tower House, Balcony House hanging seven hundred
feet above the floor of the canyon, Spruce Tree House, Fire
Temple, Oak Tree House and Sun Temple. (Plate 3)

While Mesa Verde represents the ultimate in cliff archi-
tecture, Chaco Canyon in northwestern New Mexico is the acme
of surface pueblo building. Pueblo Bonito,1 excavated by the
National Geographic Society in the nineteen twenties is amaz-
ing in view of the fact that there is no sign of a tree for
miles and no living stream within recent memory. But a
thousand years ago it was a thriving productive valley sup-
porting probably a population of ten thousand. (Plate 4)

Tree ring dating shows that Pueblo Bonito, the City
Beautiful, was under construction as early as 919 and that it
was occupied as late as 1130. Some of the rooms of the com-
munity apartments have the original timbered ceilings making
the dating possible. Unlike most of the ruins which are
variations on an E shape, Pueblo Bonito is the shape of a cap-
ital D. It was increased in size from time to time without
any preconceived plan. The straight, one story side of the
court is six hundred and sixty-seven feet long, the shorter
arm three hundred and fifteen feet, while the sweep of the
curving wall, more than eight hundred feet long, once rose to
two stories and is still standing forty feet high in places.

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1 National Geographic Magazines, 1922, 1924, 1926, 1927.
PLATE 4

Reconstruction of Pueblo Bonito
The eight hundred rooms could have sheltered twice that number of people. Within the court are the ruins of thirty-three kivas.

Trent Sanford in his "Architecture of the Southwest" says:

Of particular interest is the beauty of the masonry, which was laid in great variety. The sandstone blocks were not "cut stone" since the Indians had no metal tools, but they were carefully shaped and were laid on their natural bedding planes. The stone facings of the walls are laid in patterns of large and small stones that would do credit to the most meticulously designed garden wall.¹ (Plate 5)

Seventy feet behind the wall of the pueblo is a balanced vertical mass of rock which is detached from the rest of the cliff. There is masonry reinforcement under the wall which, hundreds of years ago, the Bonitians had placed to forestall erosion.

Not far from Pueblo Bonito is a smaller apartment house known as Pueblo del Arroyo which also has some beautiful masonry remaining. It was in the typical E shape rather than the D curve of Pueblo Bonito and in all probability was part of the same community.

Chetro Ketl, comparable in size to Bonito, is a quarter of a mile to the east. It has a kiva more than sixty feet in diameter and is known for its beautiful masonry walls. The entire pueblo covered about two city blocks.

PLATE 5

Types of Masonry found in
Chaco Canyon
Types of Masonry
Chaco Canyon
There are many more ruins in the vicinity, all with the same communal style, indicating the democratic mode of living that was typical of these pre-Columbian people. Some time during the 12th Century, Chaco Canyon was evacuated. There was no gradual decay, but rather a mass exodus indicating that something, probably pestilence, drove the inhabitants out. Many rooms were sealed off as though the owners expected to return. Recent excavations show that beneath the ruins of Chaco Canyon, buried beneath the soil, are the remains of earlier towns, which in architecture, surpass even these Bonitian remains.\(^1\)

Other important ruins include the Aztec Ruins on the Animas river halfway between Chaco Canyon and Mesa Verde. The pueblo in the form of a U was built and ready for occupation by more than a thousand people in the span of years between 1101 and 1121. The great kiva at Aztec was restored in 1934 under the direction of Earl H. Morris and is one of the most interesting of the Classic Pueblo period. It was probably a tribal kiva, rather than a clan one, and is more than forty feet in diameter. There is a series of rooms on an upper level surrounding the main room, each with a door into the outer courtyard and a ladder going from the inner opening to the floor of the central room. A larger T-shaped room may

PLATE 6

Interior view of Reconstructed
Great Kiva Ruins at Aztec
New Mexico
have been an altar space. Four large masonry columns support
the roof of large timbers, topped with small poles and mort-
tar. The firepit is really a raised masonry fire box and is
flanked with rectangular vaults eight and a half feet long
and about three feet deep. Their function is not known. The
walls are plastered with adobe and painted white with a red
dado. The restoration of this great kiva of the twelfth cen-
tury gives a fascinating picture of the ceremonial setting of
the past. (Plate 6)

The inhabitants of Mesa Verde abandoned their fortress
like homes around the end of the thirteenth century and the
Chaco Canyon folks about a hundred years earlier. Where they
went is not definitely known but it is supposed that the
greater part of them went to the Rio Grande Valley. Others
moved in with the Hopi, some moved to the Zuñí River and
others went still farther south to lower Arizona and Chihuahua.

From a little north of Bernalillo to Española, north of
Santa Fé, the Rio Grande dips back into wild country, so the
modern highway avoids it. This back country was excellent
country for the Indian nomads and later for Indian refugees.
It is volcanic country and the tufa is cut by deep canyons of
streams that find their way to the Rio Grande. In the
fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this area was the most
densely populated part of the Southwest. Natural caves used
in earlier ages were occupied by later tribes, who brought
agriculture to the area and built cliff houses and pueblos.
Plate 7

Cliff Dwellings in
Rito de Los Frijoles Canyon
Puyé, "the place of the white tailed rabbit," west of Española was a closely packed center of population with small houses, cave dwellings and a terraced pueblo on the mesa. A series of paths connecting them indicate that they were all occupied at the same time.

A little to the south, the Rito de los Frijoles (the little river of the beans) has carved its way through the Pajarita Plateau to the Rio Grande. Here there are many remnants of cliff houses (Plate 7) and valley pueblos. This is the country so extensively investigated by Adolph de F. Bandelier, who is one of the greatest authorities on the

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Hon. W. G. Ritch, Secretary of the Territory of New Mexico:

Dear Sir - Agreeably to your wishes, I herewith submit to you a rapid and important sketch of the aboriginal ruins scattered over the county of Santa Fé. This sketch must of necessity fall short of completeness, since all my material is far beyond reach now, and my journeyings through the county have not carried me everywhere. I beg therefore to offer this as an apologia for the defects which may abound in my statements.

In "assorting" the ruins, the first division to be made is between such villages as are known to have been occupied in the sixteenth century, and such, of which no documentary records are left, which consequently were already abandoned previous to 1540. The former show but one common type: that of the many-storied, communal, "pueblo" house, still in use today among the sedentary aborigines of New Mexico. The latter embrace two types - the one already alluded to, and the detached family-building, forming scattered villages. The cave-sheltering constructions represent only modifications of either of the two patterns.

At the time of the first Spanish colonization (1598) and previous to it, when the transient Spanish explorers under
ancient Southwest. Tuuonyi, "the place of the council meet-

Coronado (1540-43), Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado (1580),
Espejo (1583), Gaspar Castano de Sosa (1590), traversed por-
tions of Santa Fé county, three distinct groups of sedentary
Indians dwelt on parts of its area. There were the Queeres
on the west, the Tanos in the south, and the Tehuas in the
north and center. The latter two spoke dialects of a common
stock-language.

The Queeres inhabited, until after 1639, the site of the
Cienega or Cieneguilla, on the Peña-Blanca road. Their vil-
lage there, now almost obliterated, was called "Chi-mu-a."
It was the easterly outpost of the great Rio Grande branch
of the tribe.

The Tanos villages are completely deserted today, the
tribe having removed mainly to the Moqui after 1694, and the
last remnants here dying out with small-pox in the early part
of this century. The ruins of "Galisteo," (not the actual
village, but the remains one and one-half miles northeast of
it-north of the "Creston," of "San Cristobal," "San Cazarro"
and "San Marcos," also in all probability those at the Garita,
in the city of Santa Fé, belonged to the tribe. Their origi-
nal names are unknown to me, except that of the Santa Fé
pueblo, which was called "Po-o-ge." The pueblo of the "Tuerto"
near Golden City, and that of the "Tunque," opposite Santo
Domingo and San Felipe, were also inhabited by the Tanos —
the former certainly in 1593.

Of the Tehua pueblos but one, that of "Ojque," or San
Juan, stood on the east bank of the Rio Grande, about its
present location. The villages of "Nambé," "Tezique," "Poju-
que," and "Cuyamun-ge" were (1593) inconsiderable hamlets,
but they grew rapidly during that era of general prosperity
of the Pueblos which ended in 1680. The main settlements of
the Tehuas stood on the west side of the river and consisted
of not less than ten villages. Only one of these remains in
situation, Santa Clara ("Ca-po"). San Idelfonso ("O-Jo-que")
stands on a site about one mile from "Bo-vo" of 1593. The
pueblos of "Trio-maxia-qui-no" (Pajaritos), "Camitria,"
"Quiotracro," "Axol," "Junestre," etc., are found, in ruins, in
Rio Arriba county also, so is "Yunque," where, on the Rio
Chama, the first settlement of the Spaniards in New Mexico
was made — first of September 1593. The "Tiguas" — that is,
the Indians speaking the dialect of Sandia and Isleta — just
grazed the southwestern boundary of the county, through their
two pueblos of old San Pedro, both of which were abandoned
after 1680, and are now in ruins.

The inhabitants of the Pecos Valley, which centered in
the great village of "A-gu-yu," (where the old Pecos church
now stands) did not extend their settlements into Santa Fé
ing," was the center of this community. This pueblo shows county proper.

Referring now to those ruins which were inhabited and abandoned previous to the sixteenth century, the oldest type thereof, the detached family house, grouped to irregular hamlets or isolated, is not very common. A village of this sort, indicated by mounds and pottery fragments alone, is found at the station of Lamy, at old Fort Marcy (Santa Fé), and isolated buildings or small groups are scattered, though not profusely, in some parts. In the form of so-called "cliff-houses," or small caves, walled up, this class of aboriginal architecture is still now rarely met with. But the latest form, that of the compact communal house, several stories high, is represented by numerous ruins.

Beginning at the south, there is a ruin at Valverde, near Golden. A chain of four handsome ancient villages, some of them quite large, extends from west to east, at an average of five miles south of Galisteo along the southern "Cresto." These are the "Pueblo Largo," "Pueblo Colorado," Pueblo de She," and the Pueblo "Blanco." A large ruin lies about two miles east-northeast of Wallace. On the "Arroyo Hondo" five to six miles south of Santa Fé, there are two, a small one above and a large one below the rocky gorge. The road to Peña Blanca intersects the foundations of a small pueblo six miles southwest of the city, near Agua Tria. North of Santa Fé I know of at least three ruins of that character. East and southeast of Tezusa, towards the Sierra, there is the ruin of "Pic-ga," at Loa Larcos whence the present Indians of San Juan settled in the locality which they today occupy. This list of twelve approximates only the full number of ruins of that descriptions.

Beyond the Rio Grande, and facing the northern part of the county, to the west, the high canyons of the Sierra del Valle disengulfs towards Santa Clara. The fireplace volcanic tufa of which their sides are formed has been scraped out in numerous places, so as to form artificial caves, mostly of small size, each group of caves representing a pueblo for itself, and imitating, as far as practicable, the system of the many-storied communal village. Other ruins of the later character occupy the tops of the mesas and the base of the cañon. These ancient cave-habitations which, from the nature of the rock, were of easier construction than house-building proper, are claimed by the Tehuas as having been the homes of their forefathers, previous to their descent into the Rio Grande Valley. There exists consequently a historic connection between them and the settlements of northern Santa Fé county, which connection explains their brief mention here. I have to remain, Very respectfully, Ad. F. Bandelier, In Charge of Investigations for the Archaeological Institute of America.
signs of a preconceived structural plan with its terraced circular apartment stories and circular kivas.

Evidence points to a not uncommon drying up of the region which would account for the eventual abandoning of the site. So no doubt the inhabitants moved nearer to the Rio Grande and farther away from the raids of maurading nomads. By the beginning of the sixteenth century they were concentrated along the Rio Grande except for the reaches through Ácoma, Zuñi and the Hopi villages of Arizona. Here they were well ensconced with their culture and their community government when the Spanish came in 1540.

Thus the Anasazi are followed from their earliest known sites at the Four Corners, through their exodus to the Pajarita- tian Plateau, to their current homes in the Rio Grande Valley. But a wider circle on the map includes still other cultures, that of the Hohokam or desert culture and the less define Mogollón or mountain culture.

The largest circle on the map of pre-historic cultures includes the Gila and the Salt River valleys in southern Arizona, as well as those in southern New Mexico and northern Chihuahua. This area of culture overlaps with those that might be drawn with Tenochtitlán, or Mexico City, as the center. Two cultures in this area are allied both to the Anasazi or plateau culture of the Four Corners and to the Mexican cultures to the south. The Hohokam is the desert culture and the Mogollón is a mountain culture.
The Hohokam people, meaning the ancient ones, are often called "The Canal Builders." Just as the Gila River is notable today for the extensive irrigation, so it was a thousand years ago. Some of the old canals are even in use today, after many years of idleness. The area the Hohokam occupied is a semi-arid region but the irrigation makes it a fertile agricultural country. Reservoirs were also used by the ancients.

Pit houses were their earliest dwellings, just as they were for the Anasazi of the Four Corners. Evidences of these have been dated to the beginning of the Christian Era. The scarcity of stone in this area led to the development of adobe (mud) as the chief building material when the homes of the natives progressed to the surface of the earth. In this sun-drenched country the mud hardens and lasts almost as long as stone.

Sometime between 1100 and 1400 the cousins of the Hohokam, the Salado people, moved down along the natural route of migration from the north east. They lived together peacefully many years, developing an interesting communal life and an architecture unique in the Southwest. Adobe houses were built in compounds with a dozen or more adjoining rooms. The compound wall served as one wall for the outer tier. From this plan they developed many small plazas within a larger compound and the houses were built several stories high,
so that the compound wall made it a walled village. Their method of forming and setting the adobe walls is a forerunner of the modern method of building with concrete, according to Trent Sanford, in his "Architecture of the Southwest."

The Pima Indians who now inhabit this section of the Gilla Valley have a comparatively simple culture. It is they who gave the name to the Hohokam, but whether they are the descendants of their ancient predecessors in the valley is not known. Their culture is primitive compared to the ruins of the Hohokam known as Casa Grande, or great house. This ruin, now a national monument, consisted of twelve or more houses covering two acres of land. The principal building of this walled city is forty feet wide by sixty feet long and is four stories high in the center. Wooden poles extending through the structure were covered with sticks and filled with mud, smoothed to a fineness of our modern plastered walls. Low doorways were the only openings except for small holes which may have been for ventilation or for shooting arrows at aggressors. Ball courts and rubber balls, such as have been found in the Toltec capital of Tula and later in Yucatan among the Mayas, have been found in the old Hohokam ruins that about around Casa Grande. How they are connected is unknown.

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PLATE 8

Mimbres Pottery from Mogollon Culture
The Continental Divide makes a jog to the east in southern New Mexico. The mountains hem in the rivers to the south so that they do not empty into the Rio Grande but rather into inland lakes which make the fertile Mimbres-Chihuahau Valley. Spurs of the Mogollon Mountains, which form the Divide to the north, give their name to the culture of the region. The Salado, who came from the mountains, moved in and stayed for about three hundred years before moving on. Pit houses, such as the Anasazi had, were typical of the early culture in the valley and later findings show influences from various directions. There are ruins of the pueblos of the Anasazi; individual houses, such as the Salado had, remain and evidence of Cliff dwellings and kiva-like pit houses are found. Great urnlike structures of grass rope and adobe, too, have been found, obviously granaries, that resemble the "cuezcomate" of the Aztecs, a thousand miles to the south. The mountains are carefully terraced and irrigated much as the Aztecs would have done it.

This area revealed some of the most interesting of prehistoric pottery known as Mimbres Pottery.\(^1\) This one particular type is so skillfully decorated as to suggest the work of one talented potter. It is known for its exacting geometrical patterns and natural motives - animals, insects and the

like. They are faithfully reproduced, considering the medium and there is a great deal of humor to the designs. (Plate 8) By the time the Spaniards came the great houses of adobe, the cliff houses all had disappeared and the region deserted.

When the Spanish arrived in Mexico, the Aztecs were the flourishing tribe. They were not the ancient inhabitants, they were merely the dominant ones. They were in fact newcomers to the Valley, being the last of seven Nahua tribes speaking the Uto-Aztecan language. Their folklore included tales of their long wanderings from the north, and, in spite of their lowly beginning in the valley, in the space of a few hundred years they surpassed their neighbors and were extracting tribute when the Spaniards came. Their beautiful cities presuppose a cultural background that would enable them to make such progress. Their legendary ancestral home was Aztlan, the place of herons. They also spoke of seven caves where their ancestors had emerged into the world. Whether they migrated from the Four Corners and the Mountains of the north cannot be known, but the possibility of their wanderings, and the claims of the southwest Indians on the name of Montezuma, do not entirely exclude the possibility.

In the Preliminary Report of the Peabody Museum Upper Gila Expedition, Reconnaissance Division, 1949, Edward Bridge Danson, Jr. of the University of Arizona, reporting in El Palacio Magazine says:
We are aware of the movements of people in the Southwest in the late 1200's. To the north the four-corners region was abandoned. The Chaco area was no longer the center of a large population. By 1300 A.D., the entire area from the Mimbres to approximately the Arizona border and north up to Magdalena, New Mexico, and Springer, Arizona, was emptied of the groups which had filled this country. To the west, in Arizona, below the Mogollón Rim and to the south along the Little Colorado, Fuerco and Rio Grande Rivers, we find large fortified or defensible sites after 1300.

It is the writer's belief that while the drought and the resulting arroyo cutting may have been primary causes of the movement out of the Mariana Mesa area, it was the approach of the westward-moving Athabaskan-speaking hunters that caused the movement out of the mountain areas of west central New Mexico at this time.

So, through the efforts of the archaeologists, the ancient peoples of the Southwest - the Anasazi, the Hohokam and the Mogollón are sketchily traced from the beginning of the Christian Era through their Golden period from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries to the coming of the Spaniards in 1540.

The following table, based on Dr. Edgar L. Hewett's tentative timing shows the pre-Pueblo chronology.
<table>
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<th>10th to 15th Centuries A.D.</th>
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<td>Surviving Pueblo</td>
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<td>Mesa Verde</td>
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<td>Chaco Canyon</td>
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<td>Recent Peruvian</td>
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CHAPTER III

The Spirit of Adventure
THE SPIRIT OF ADVENTURE

The Franciscan Order of Friars Minor have always been known for the spirit of adventure as shown by their founder St. Francis of Assisi. They were willing to take chances to save souls, even to risking their lives. This daring spirit was fortunate for Christopher Columbus. After Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain had turned a deaf ear to his proposal, the Franciscan Friars sponsored his cause and won him recognition, with the result that America was discovered in 1492. Friars accompanied him on his voyage of discovery.¹

Scarcely had Cortez conquered Mexico when the Franciscan Friars began their long history of consolation and assistance to the conquered people, spreading the doctrines of Christianity to the Indians of Mexico. It was not long before they had established convents and schools for the neophytes. They espoused the cause of the down trodden natives, reproaching the conquerers for their cruelty and avarice and were instrumental in the enacting of laws beneficial to the Indians in the colonies.

When Cabeza de Baca, of the ill-fated Narvaez expedition to Florida, arrived in Mexico, on July 25th, 1536, he told his tale of shipwreck on the coast of Texas and of seven years


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wandering among Indians now hostile, now friendly; of traveling across barren plains, rugged mountains and fertile valleys, across dry arroyos and deep rivers until he reached Culiacán Mexico in early May, 1536.

Cabeza was accompanied on his transcontinental journey by two of Narvaez's capitanes, Castillo and Dorantes, and Esteban, the later's Moorish slave. These overland pedestrians painted such a glorious picture of the lands they had seen that the sensational news spread rapidly of this new land of promise, for the adventurous Spaniards to explore for gold and fame, and to claim for the Spanish crown, then the greatest power in the world.

Mendoza, the Viceroy of Mexico, relying on the learning and intrepid spirit of the Franciscans, chose Fr. Marcos de Niza, who had distinguished himself in Peru, to go in search of this fabulous country to the north. Esteban, the Moorish slave, was to accompany him as guide.

Cabeza's report on his wanderings included a statement that Indians in the upper Sonora Valley, as it is called now, told him that in the mountainous country to the north were "towns with big houses and many people" to whom they traded parrot plumes in exchange for turquoise. They were referring to the six Zuñi towns in western New Mexico. The story

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1 Cabeza de Vaca's "Los Naufragios" (The Shipwrecked Men), published in 1542.
revived a legend dating from 1150 in medieval Spain of the search for the "Cities of Cibola."\footnote{"Land of Conquistadores," Clave Hallenbaek, The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, 1950. The legend goes - seven Christian bishops and their congregations fled by ship from the conquering Moslems in 1150 from Lisbon. They sailed in search of some mythical islands known as "The Blessed Isles." They reached a large and beautiful island and after landing, they burned their ships and proceeded to found settlements that grew into seven beautiful and wealthy cities. When the West Indies were discovered it was thought Antilla, the beautiful island of the legend, was found and the search began for the seven cities of the seven bishops.}

Mendoza gave his full instructions to Coronado, the Governor of Culiacán, Mexico, who in turn instructed Fr. Marcos de Niza. Fr. Marco left Culiacán March 7th, 1539, just a little over forty-six years after Columbus' discovery. Esteban went ahead, instructed by his master Fr. Marcos to send back word of anything important he should encounter. If the prospects were mildly interesting he was to send back a small cross, if more important, a large one.

The slave, exulting in his new freedom and importance, ignored his orders and went far ahead. When word finally came from him, it was in the form of a cross as large as a man. The rest of the entourage was overjoyed with the good news the large cross indicated. They hurried on, many days behind the triumphant Esteban. When they had reached the lands of the Zuñis, however, they learned from Indians what had happened to Esteban. Drawing near the land of Cibola, he became over-anxious, and with a proclivity for stirring up
trouble, angered the Indians and was killed at Cíbola. This made it impossible for Fr. Marcos to enter the town. He merely looked at it from a nearby hill, planted a cross, taking the country in the name of Spain, and returned to Mexico in September, 1539.

He gave a glowing account about what he had seen, but mostly about what he had heard from Indians through whose territory he had passed. Everybody was elated about the wonderful new lands claimed for the crown.

Under the leadership of Coronado a huge expedition left Tepic, Mexico, in February, 1540. Adventurers and gold-seekers had visions of wealth laying around loose to be picked up at will by the first there. Five Franciscans, including Fr. Marcos de Niza, accompanied the expedition to administer to the needs of the army and to effect "the conquest of the souls of the heathen."

Upon reaching the cities of Cíbola, as the Spanish called the land, the Indians fought them, but were overcome on July 7th, 1540. Coronado himself was almost killed in the skirmish. He and his men were shocked and disappointed when they saw the poor dwellings of the Indians and resentment against Fr. Marcos ran high. He found it best to return to Mexico. This marks the beginning of a series of slanders against the Franciscans that was to cause them trouble for
centuries, and to cripple their efforts.  

Exploring parties were sent out from there, one reached Tiguex (north of Albuquerque) another was invited to Cicuye (now Pecos). They were treated in a friendly manner and the Indians, knowing the Spaniards were looking for riches, told them fanciful stories of great riches farther on. A captive Pawnee, whom the Spaniards dubbed El Turco, because he looked like a Turk, entertained them with fabulous stories and offered to lead them to this new country with its wealth.

The wily "Turk" led them far into what is now Texas, the land of the Teyas, before the Spaniards learned they had been misled. He admitted that it was a plot by the Indians at Cicuye, to lead them far inland until they should weaken and perish, ridding the Indians of their unwelcome guests.

The country for which they were searching was called the Gran Quivira by the Spanish. Where the name was derived is not known. It has been suggested that it may have been derived from "Quien vivirá, vera," (meaning: he who lives shall see) the slogan of the Coronado expedition. By successive shortenings "Quivira" was reached, it is supposed. After their sad experience with the "Turk," Coronado and 35 horsemen went north, accompanied by Fr. Juan de Padilla. The main army, after killing buffalos to replenish their supplies, returned to Tiguex.

Coronado found the Quivira, but what a disappointment! The great cities turned out to be villages of straw huts and wigwams and the habitants had not even knowledge of precious metals. Quivira was probably located in north-eastern Kansas or southeastern Nebraska near the Missouri.

Returning to Tiguex, Coronado wintered there. His resentment and chagrin at the failure of the exploration resulted in cruel treatment of his hosts the Indians, fostering resentment and distrust that remains even today. Despondent, he decided to return to Mexico, so with the ragged remnants of his army, they made their way back in April, 1542.

Coronado's expedition was financed through public funds. Only Columbus, for whom Isabella is supposed to have pawned her jewels, had hitherto received any help from the Crown. Coronado was the last. When the results were known, the order came that no more of the Crown's money was to be wasted on such nonsense. Fray Marcos' rose colored glasses had proved to be very expensive.

The Friars, however, who had come north with Coronado refused to return with him, saying they had not come for ease and safety, but souls. Fr. Juan de Padilla decided to return to Gran Quivira to convert the Indians. Fr. Luis de Escalone went to Cícuyes and Fr. Juan de la Cruz remained at Tiguex.
Fr. Padilla was accompanied on his journey to Quivira by Andres de Campo, two Indian donados, Lucas and Sebastian, and a mestizo or half breed. He was received with joy and worked successfully with the Indians. His zeal led him among other tribes to the northeast, where he was met by some of these tribesmen, shot with arrows, thrown into a pit and covered with stones, on November 30th, 1542. His companions were held captive for months before they made their escape. After eight years of wanderings and hardship, de Campo reached Tampico, Mexico, and Lucas and Sebastian reached Michoacán.

Fr. Luis de Escalante remained at Cícuye in a little hut outside the pueblo. He had goats, sheep and supplies that Coronado left him. He was held in high regard by the soldiers while he was with the army, loving prayer and solitude. The Indians, too, held him in great respect. The medicine-men at Cícuye disliked him, because he infringed on their authority. He was slain in 1542, whether at the instigation of the medicine-men, or by some of the roving tribes who often swooped down on the pueblos, is not known. Fr. Juan de la Cruz, an old and saintly Franciscan, who accompanied Coronado, was beloved by the Indians. The records as to his fate is not clear, one story saying he was killed by an arrow in the province of Tiguex; another that he was killed across the Missouri from Gran Quivira.
The significance of the Coronado expedition is not in what it found but in what it failed to find. In sheer boldness, it was one of the greatest expeditions of all time. It exploded the dreams and found the truth. It had thoroughly explored what is now Arizona, New Mexico, parts of Texas, Oklahoma and Kansas. The Rio Grande Pueblos had all been seen, as had the Grand Canyon and the mouth of the Colorado river. No gold had been found, and the jewels and Cibola had been discovered to be only sunbaked adobe and sandstone.

It was nearly forty years before the conquerors recovered from the blow when their high hopes and aspirations collapsed. Fr. Agustín Rodríguez at San Bartolomé in southern Chihuahua, Mexico, was filled with zeal to carry the Gospel to the people farther north. He was given permission by his superiors to undertake a journey and applied to Viceroy Mendoza for a commission and soldiers to escort him. Chamuscado and eight other soldiers volunteered. They set forth on June 6th, 1581.

After visiting the pueblos along the Rio Conchos and the Rio Grande until they reached Tiguex, the band set out for "the country of the cows," east of the Pecos river, where the Coronado expedition had killed many buffalo. Later they explored the Zuni country to the west. The soldiers, tiring of the hardship and fatigue, decided to return to Mexico, but Fr. Rodriguez and his remaining companions chose to stay
among the Indians, studying their language and imparting what little of Christian teaching they could manage with their speech limitation. When Chamuscado returned without the Friars, Antonia de Espejo offered to return for them. He started November 10th, 1582. He found that the Friars had been murdered, so he punished the Indians severely. After exploring a large part of the country, Espejo returned to Santa Barbara with reports of great mineral deposits, good grazing country and land, suitable for fields and gardens.

The machinery was now started for the permanent settlement of New Mexico. In March, 1583, a royal order was issued for a contract with some suitable person to undertake the settlement, without cost to the royal treasury. Twelve years were spent by the viceroy and the Council of the Indies, in investigating the applicants. Juan de Oñate of Zacatecas was finally selected. His father, Cristobal, was immensely wealthy, being one of four men who discovered the silver mines of Zacatecas, and his mother was a grand daughter of Cortez.

Oñate was to pay all expenses and a lengthy inventory was finally approved for the expedition. Only the expenses of the missionaries were to be paid by the crown, as was the

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custom. The contract provided that all land, not in possession of the Indians, was to be granted to the settlers and they should have the rank of hidalgos, the lowest order of nobility in Spain, among other privileges.

The caravan started from San Bartolomé on January 26th, 1598. With it came 130 or more families and at least 230 soldiers. There are conflicting accounts of the amount. Oñate was accompanied by Comisario Fr. Alonzo Martínez, eight Friars and several lay brothers. They finally reached the pueblo of Yuque-yungue and settled there where the Río Chama flows into the Río Grande. The settlement was called San Juan de los Caballeros.

The appointment of all Franciscan missionaries to go with the New Mexico colony gave rise to a dispute between secular and regular clergy concerning the religious jurisdiction of New Mexico. The bishop of Guadalajara insisted that the territory should be under his bishopric but the viceroy felt that it would be unwise for both secular and regular clergy to go into the field, independent of one another.¹ He submitted the question to the audiencia, the highest church authority in the colonies. The bishop must have been overruled because the Franciscans had exclusive ecclesiastical authority for the next century in the New Mexican church.

Under the papal bull "Exponi nobis" of Pope Adrian VI, the commissaries and custodians of the Franciscans were the prelates in New Mexico, that is they were the authority, independent of any bishopric.

The building of the first church in New Mexico was begun on August 23rd and a great fiesta celebrated its completion in October. On September 9th the assignments of fields of labor were made to the various missionaries. Fearlessly they took the part of the Indians and the poorer settlers against many of the overbearing and unfeeling governors, and minor officials, incurring their ill-will. Alonso de Benevides, in his Memorial of his tour of duty in New Mexico reported, in 1629, that there were 34 mission churches with convents and 37 smaller missions, making a total of about 71 churches and chapels built over a period of thirty years.

The headquarters of the colony was kept at San Juan until the first capital, San Gabriel, could be built. The move to San Gabriel was made sometime around 1600. It is now the village of Chamita.

At heart a conquistador, this great grandson of Cortez, having established the followers of his expensive expedition in a permanent settlement, and the mission system having been established, Oñate decided to try to recoup some of his dwindling fortune. He dispatched his scouting parties in all directions, thoroughly covering the nearby territory, and
even extended his searching as far across the plains as the Quivira Coronado had reached, but with equal disappointment.

Six years after the founding of San Gabriel, Oñate set out for the South Sea, reaching the Gulf of California in January 1605. No gold, no pearls materialized, just more wishful stories of illusive wealth with starvation almost overtaking the explorers. On the return they encamped one night near a great gray sandstone rock that rose to sheer heights out of a pleasant sheltered valley with a water hole. This natural camp site has become one of the most famous landmarks in the United States as well as a valuable historical document. The Spaniards called it "El Morro" but it is now known as Inscription Rock. Carved on the rock are hundreds of inscriptions of Spanish explorers. There are even prehistoric petroglyphs. Oñate's is the oldest dated record. The translation is: "Passed by here the Governor Don Juan de Oñate, from the discovery of the Sea of the South, the 16th of April of 1605."

Oñate's steadily declining fortunes resulted in an order for his suspension in 1607, which he forestalled by resigning. Drought and discouragement had resulted in extensive desertions. Malcontents had sent accusations against Oñate to Mexico City, of a long list of crimes, so he was forced to stand trial. His sentence, besides a heavy fine, was perpetual banishment from New Mexico - where he had ex-
explored far more thoroughly than Coronado, had founded the first permanent settlement and organized the first mission system.

The future of New Mexico was a dark one in 1608. The glamour was gone. Primitive farmers and mud houses were the reality instead of castles and gold the conquerors sought.

This fertile land could not go long unsettled. In 1609 Don Pedro de Feralta was designated Governor by the Viceroy, who instructed him to move the capital. During 1610 the Villa Real de Santa Fé de San Francisco de Assisi was founded, replacing San Gabriel as the seat of government, because of its central location. El Palacio Real, or the Palace of the Governors, was built and at the same time a church and convent, probably the original San Miguel of Santa Fé.

For a few years there was peace. Father Juan de Escalone had died in 1607 at Santo Domingo, being probably the first of the Franciscan missionaries to live out his natural life in New Mexico.¹ Friar Alonso Peñado came as the new commissary in the winter of 1609-1610 and with him came a new crew of seven friars, of whom five were priests and two were lay brothers. Estevan de Perea, one of the priests, was destined to become one of the great men of the seventeenth century

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¹ Hewett and Fisher, Mission Monuments of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1943.
Church in New Mexico.

The area of evangelization was greatly enlarged. Resident missionaries were sent to the Keres and the southern Tiwa Indians. Father Perea founded the mission of San Francisco at Sandia, and it was during this time that the prelate's church was moved from San Gabriel to Santo Domingo, making it the ecclesiastical capital of New Mexico.

Supply caravans were sent to fill the needs of the missions and the colonists. These escorted supply trains were scheduled for every three years. The round trip including the time spent in Santa Fé took about a year and a half. It is impossible to overemphasize the importance of the supply train in 17th century New Mexico. It was the only regular means of communication between the colony and the civilized world. Emptied of supplies for the missions, which were the responsibility of the Crown, the wagons were reloaded with hides, salt, textiles and the like for the outgoing train. With the supply caravans came the new prelates, friars, governors and colonists. On the return trip went the ex-governors, retiring friars, prisoners for trial in Mexico, traders and occasionally New Mexicans on business. The caravans consisted of thirty-three wagons, in the beginning one for every two friars serving in New Mexico.

The following inventory of supplies and equipment is from Professor France V. Scholze's paper "The Supply Service
of the New Mexico Missions in the Seventeenth Century" in the
New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. 5, 1930.

Equipment for each new mission to be established
during the coming triennium brought by the supply
caravans:

One ornament of Chinese damask, Chasuble, stole,
maniple, frontal and frontal trimming and bundle
of corporals.
One alb made of Rouen-cloth.
One surplice.
One pair of altar-cloths made of Rouen cloth, each
six yards in length.
One embroidered altar-cloth
Some coarse corporal-cloths.
One missal, with the office of the Order.
One enamel silver chalice, the paten and cup gilded.
One small bell to sound the Sanctus.
One bell, two hundred pounds in weight.
Iron framework from which to sling the bell.
One pair of gilded wooden processional candle-holders.
One pair of brass candlesticks.
Snuffing scissors.
An oil painting of saint, two and half yards in
height with gilded frames to go behind altar.
Small chest with crismeras.
Two papers of pins,
One pair of cassocks made of Chinese stuff.
One piece of damask to cover the altar
Cupboard for the chalice.
One rug for the altar steps.
One copper vessel for the holy water.
One tin plate with vinajeras.
One crucifix, with gilded brass handle.
One wafer-box for unconsecrated hosts.
Three yards of Rouen-cloth for amice and convaltares.
Two and a half pounds of incense.
Two and a half pounds of copal.
Three ounces of silk wicking.
Three pesos' worth of soap.
One white cedazo and a black one.
For every five friars two choir robes of Chinese
damask.
For every five friars sets of dalmatics made of the
same stuff.
For every five friars a ciborium.
For every five friars an iron for making hosts.
For every five friars a brass lamp.
For every five friars a pail for the Blessed Sacrament.  
For every five friars a set of trumpets.  
For every five friars three books of chants.  
For every five friars three mangas of velvet with gold edgings.  
For every friar for building his church:  
Ten axes  
Three adzes.  
Three spits.  
Ten hoes.  
One medium-sized saw.  
One chisel with collar and handle  
One large latch for the church door.  
Two augurs.  
One plane and box for same.  
Ten pounds of steel.  
Six hundred tinned nails for the church doors.  
4000 assorted nails.  
Eight hundred tacks.  
Two small locks.  
One dozen hinges for doors and windows.  
One dozen hook and eye latches.  
One pair of braces for the two doors.

Supplies for each friar-priest or lay brother serving in the custody during the triennium brought by supply caravans, were the same except for the wine, tapers and oil:  
Forty-five gallons of sacramental wine.  
Eighty-five and a half pounds of prepared candle wax.  
Twenty-six gallons of oil for the Sanctuary lamp.  
Eight gallons more for the friar.  
Four gallons of vinegar.  
One hundred yards of sack-cloth.  
Twelve yards of Rouen-cloth.  
Twelve yards of linen.  
One ream of paper.  
Two blankets.  
Two sets of ten butcher knives.  
Two pairs of scissors.  
One pound of domestic yarn or thread.  
One dozen awls with handles.  
One dozen angled or square needles.  
One dozen coarse needles.  
One dozen horseshoes.  
Three pairs of sandals.  
Two pairs of woolen stockings.  
One friar's hat.  
One pendant or locket.  
Six common rosaries.
Two bundles of plaited cord.  
One white cedazo (strainer) and one black one.  
One pair of spurs and a Jerez bridle.  
Thirty-five pesos worth of medicines.  
One sheet made of Rouen-cloth, one pillow case.  
One blanket.  
Six and a half yards of coarse linen.  
Five boxes of conserves.  
Six and a half pounds of sweetmeats.  
Twenty-five pounds of sugar.  
Three ounces of saffron.  
One pound of pepper.  
Six ounces of cinnamon.  
Ten and half pounds of raisins.  
Five pounds of conserves in syrup.  
Two jugs of Campeche honey for the infirmary.  
For every two friars one razor.  
For every two friars one lancet.  
For every two friars one pair of barber's scissors.  
For the entire infirmary, one grindstone.  
Also two stills for distilling water.  
Four pairs of razor horns.  
One large brass basin.  
One box of Loza de Puebla (Puebla tile or porcelain)

As can be seen from the inventories, all luxuries and many necessaries had to be imported to this primitive outpost of Spain and the Church. Whatever there was of luxury and social life was to be found in Santa Fe. While it was the center of government, many outposts grew up, estancias were developed along the Rio Grande and in the foothills of the mountains. The work of the missionaries grew apace. There was always a great deal of dissention between the civil and the church authorities and this cancer destroyed the efficiency of administration.

By 1675 this conflict of authority in high places had inspired a growing contempt in the Indians for the Spanish regime. A series of droughts, poor crops and a dwindling of
the mission supplies, which was one of the strongest appeals to the Indians, all were contributing factors to a bad situation. Apaches and Navahos facing want themselves, would swoop down on the pueblos stealing hundreds of bushels of grain and whole herds of livestock, carrying off many captives, leaving burning and pillaged villages behind. The inefficient civil government could not cope with situation.

The pueblos east of the Manzano mountains had been abandoned and there was a great shrinkage in the number of active missions. Ábo, Tenabo, Tabira, Quarai and many more that were exposed to attack, were left to disintegrate with the years and the climate.

So it was that an appeal was made to the Viceroy, not this time for the missions but for more military protection. It was granted and with the caravan of 1677 came the reinforcements and the new governor, Don Antonio de Otermin.

Friar Francisco de Ayeta, who had been the procurator-general of the missions since 1673, was back in Mexico the following year getting ready for the supply caravan of 1680. He started with it in the spring and when he reached the Rio Grande at El Paso del Norte in August, he heard the news that a general uprising of the Pueblos was in progress.

Popé, an Indian of San Juan Pueblo, was the leader. The final plans for the rebellion were made at Taos, where the leaders of the northern pueblos gathered. On the ap-
pointed day August 13th, 1680, the Indians of each pueblo were to seize the arms of the Spaniards and kill every man, woman and child including the friars.

Popé and his lieutenants visted all the pueblos, even far-off Cibola and Tusayan (the Zuñí and Moqui). Some fell in readily with the plan, others procrastinated, and still others had to be coerced. The Piros refused to have anything to do with it since two previous rebellions on their part had been met with dire punishment.

When Popé thought the time ripe to strike, he sent a messenger to make the rounds of the pueblos, carrying a knotted cord, signifying the number of days to elapse before the uprising.¹ The messenger untied one knot at the end of each day as he proceeded on his journey.

On August 9th, Otermin received secret warnings of the impending uprising from Pecos and Galisteo from friendly or fearful Indians. Also on the same day two of Popé's messengers from Tesuque pueblo were siezed as they passed through Santa Fe. They revealed the entire conspiracy. The arrest of Catua and Omtua, the two Indians, precipitated the revolt and Popé gave the order to strike at once. The first murders occurred at Tesuque on August 9th. Two soldiers and a priest were stationed there. One soldier and the priest were killed, the other soldier, who was mounted, fled to

Santa Fe.

Twenty-one missionaries were slain the first day. All the settlers who had not gathered at Santa Fe or Isleta, at the order of Governor Otermin were killed outright or hunted down and exterminated. The roads were strewn with bodies of the settlers, when the survivors were evacuated to El Paso del Norte. Not a living Spaniard was left in New Mexico, except some of the young women who were reserved as wives for the Indian braves.

The mission buildings were nearly all damaged but only a few were entirely destroyed. Many were fired. The Zuñi church was preserved entirely with all its contents. A few others were not damaged.

Futile attempts were made spasmodically to reconquer New Mexico until 1692 when Don Diego de Vargas, with a small army, by tact, persuaded every pueblo he visited to submit peaceably again to the Spanish crown. The change in the Pueblos was due, in part to the ravages of the Apaches who had taken advantage of the absence of the Spaniards to harass the pueblos.

In 1693 de Vargas returned from Mexico with a large force of soldiers with colonists and padres proceeded up the Rio Grande valley, with slight resistance from the Indians.

Santa Fe was taken without a blow. It had been inhabited by the Indians of several abandoned pueblos after the
rebellion and their complete demoralization accounts for the bloodless reconquest. There was great jubilation in Mexico City when the news reached there. By order of the viceroy, the cathedral was illuminated\(^1\) and every year since in Santa Fe, on the second Sunday after Trinity a procession is held in honor of "Our Lady of Victory" who was de Vargas' patron in the peaceful reconquest of the city.

New settlers continued to come northward. The devastated areas were rebuilt and the missions reestablished. Intermittent uprisings kept the soldiers on constant guard and it was not until 1698 that Spanish rule was made secure, just a hundred years after Don Juan de Oñate led his colonists into New Mexico.

The province of New Mexico thus far had been regarded as a mission field rather than a colonizing venture by the Crown and the viceroy. With the reconquest the attitude changed. Colonization increased and Albuquerque was founded in 1706 by Governor Don Francisco Cuervo y Valdes and named in honor of the Duke of Albuquerque, the Viceroy in Mexico City.

When Spain occupied New Mexico, she held undisputed sway on this continent. In the succeeding century English colonists dominated the Atlantic seaboard and the French

\(^1\) Cleve Hallenbeck, Land of the Conquistadores, Caldwell, Idaho, 1950.
were advancing from Quebec and taking possession of the territory along the Mississippi River. They were challenging Spain's dominance over the Gulf of Mexico. The Spanish also were apprehensive of the Pawnees of Kansas and Nebraska and the Jumanos of northern Texas and Oklahoma, who were allied with the French and being supplied with European weapons to make war on the Spanish. In 1723 the Spanish government forbade trade with the French and limited trade with the Plains Indians to those coming to Pecos and Taos, thus given rise to the two annual fairs at these pueblos.\footnote{New Mexico, American Guide Series, New York, 1940. It was through such primitive commerce that articles were found in the possession of the Indians thousands of miles from their source. The Indians of the Dakotas traded with the Aztecs by relays, as it were.

In 1725 Bishop Crespo of Durango paid the first official visit of the Church to the province of New Mexico. It is of note because it was the beginning of the end of the monopoly the Franciscans had held on the religious life of New Mexico for a century and a quarter. Formerly administered by the custodio of the Order of Friars Minor, the padres coming directly from the mother house in Spain, there was dissention among the Mexicans and many of the disputes were taken before the civil authorities rather than the proper religious superiors. Eventually the province was taken away
from the Franciscans and made a part of the bishopric of Durango and secular clergy sent from Mexico. Their regime left much to be desired. It is this period in the New Mexican church history that was the subject of Willa Cather's "Death Comes for the Archbishop." The change was made in 1817 but some Franciscans remained at a few missions as late as 1840. In 1846 shortly after the American occupation, New Mexico was made a vicariate, then a bishopric with Bishop Lamy as the first bishop. He brought many French priests who labored faithfully for many years. Then in 1900 the Franciscans of the Province of St. John the Baptist, of Cincinnati, Ohio, took over the missions of this old field of St. Francis.

In 1739 the Mallet brothers and a band of French Canadian fur traders made their way to Sante Fé by way of the Missouri and Platte River through Nebraska, Kansas and southeastern Colorado. Some returned across the plains to Illinois; other went down the Canadian and Arkansas Rivers to New Orleans. It marked a new epoch because traders had penetrated through dangerous Indian territory and returned safely. The results were immediate. More traders entered. French officials in Louisiana became interested and although most of the trading was in contraband, New Mexico's dependency on the caravans of supply from old Mexico diminished.

Meantime New Spain extended her missions and outposts along the California coast. July, 1776 Friars Escalante and
Dominguez with eight companions left Santa Fé to blaze a trail to the new missions in Monterey, California. They got far into Utah before winter overtook them and they turned back through the Grand Canyon and Zuñi to Santa Fé, reaching there in January 1777. Their route to central Utah became the first stage of the Spanish trail from Santa Fé to Los Angeles.

In 1776 Juan Bautista de Anza was made the governor of New Mexico and he began a vigorous campaign against the Comanche who were raiding the settlers of the Rio Grande Valley.

De Anza's troops met and defeated the Comanche chief Cuerno Verde in the present state of Kansas, his route leading him by the peak later named for Zebulon Pike.

Smallpox and drought with resulting famine in 1790 killed over five thousand of the Pueblo Indians.

Thanks to the peace de Anza had effected with the Plains Indians, New Mexico enjoyed one of its most prosperous periods during the 1790's. New trails were open up and traders found their way over plain and mountain. Pierre Vial, a French frontiersman, and two companions left Santa Fé in May, 1792 with orders from the governor to find a direct route to St. Louis in Spanish Louisiana. They reached St. Louis and returned making the first complete journey across what became the famed Santa Fé Trail. It was not until 1822, however, that William Becknell, a Missouri
trader among the Comanche, brought the first wagons loaded with goods from Missouri to Santa Fé and earned the title "Father of the Santa Fé Trail."\(^1\)

In 1810 Spain was overrun with Napoleon's armies and looked to her American colonies for support. A decree provided for election of deputies from Spanish America to the Cortes and Pedro Bautista Pino was chosen as the first and only representative from New Mexico to Spain.

In 1821 the news of the Mexican independence was received. Although the people of New Mexico were ignorant of the events which had preceded it, and knew nothing of the situation, they celebrated the event with great enthusiasm and swore allegiance to Iturbide. In 1824, just three years after independence, came the news of the fall of Iturbide and the inauguration of the Republic of Mexico. The new regime was applauded as a blessing to New Mexico.

When war was declared between the United States and Mexico, an event concerning which the New Mexican were ignorant, General Stephen Watts Kearny was sent to conquer New Mexico. He entered the territory in 1846 and General Armijo, the local military chief, fled to Mexico. Kearny took possession of the territory in the name of the United States, promising the people all the rights and liberties citizens enjoyed. The people joyfully accepted American rule.

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\(^1\) New Mexico, American Guide Series, New York, 1940.
and swore allegiance to the Stars and Stripes. At one stroke, no one knew why or how, a Spanish colony, after existing under Spanish institutions for nearly three hundred years, was brought under the rule of a foreign race and under new and unknown laws. After occupation by Kearney in 1846, Charles Bent was civil governor. He was murdered at Taos in 1847 by some Spaniards he had offended and was followed by Donaciano Vigil as civil governor.

In 1848, by the treaty of Gaudalupe Hidalgo, New Mexico was formally ceded by Mexico to the United States and in 1850 it was regularly organized as a territory, which included Arizona until 1863. James C. Calhoun was the first territorial governor. The first territorial Legislative Assembly met at Santa Fe in 1851. Most of the members were of Spanish descent as was true of all the assemblies until the end of the century. Up to 1919 the proceedings were in Spanish and English, interpreters always being present.

During the years from 1860 to 1862 the Texan Confederates entered New Mexico to occupy Albuquerque and Santa Fe, but Federal troops arrived from Colorado and California and frustrated the attempt.

New Mexico progressed very slowly from 1860 to 1890. No educational system was established until 1890. Nine-tenths of the inhabitants were of Spanish descent in 1880. By 1911 it had dwindled to one half owing to constant immigration from other states of the Union.
On January 6th, 1912 New Mexico was admitted as the 47th state of the Union and on January 15th the first state Governor, William C. McDonald, was inaugurated.

Many public documents were destroyed when the capitol building burned on May 12th, 1892, and the alleged sale of the Santa Fe Archives by Governor olive as wastepaper in 1869, together with burning of the early public documents in the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680, has made the task of piecing together the history of New Mexico a difficult one and left many details open to debate. Much of the material available on New Mexico's history has been searched out in the archives of Madrid, Cadiz, Seville and Mexico City by many scholars beginning with Bancroft in 1880 to Scholes in 1941.
CHAPTER IV

Pueblo Society
PUEBLO SOCIETY

The Pueblo tribes of historic times, beginning with their chance discovery by Cabeza de Vaca, lived in the area extending from northwestern Arizona to the Pecos River in New Mexico and from Taos to below El Paso. In Utah and Colorado there are remains of prehistoric cliff dwellings once occupied by ancestors of the Pueblo folk visited by Coronado, and of their present day descendants.

The Spanish applied the term pueblo, meaning town, to the Indians to designate that they lived in compact little villages, just as they do today. The name is now used by English speaking people to mean Indians who are living, or once lived, in permanent stone or adobe houses in New Mexico, Arizona and adjacent Mexican territory. The pueblos comprise the Tanoan, Keresan and Zuñian linguistic families of New Mexico and the Hopi, of Shoshonean affinity, in northeastern Arizona.

The dwellings of the Pueblos varied according to native building materials and topography. In the Northern area the buildings were generally of sandstone, quarried nearby. In the south, especially along the Gila and Salt rivers, adobe was the material usually used. Pueblo dwellings were usually compact structures of several stories, with many small rooms or compartments. They were primitive apartment houses, generally built in terraces, pyramidal in shape, each tier of
the houses being narrower than the one below. The ground floor was used for storage and defensive purposes, and was without doors. Entrance was made by ladders from the ground to the flat roof, then through a hatchway and down a ladder to the floor inside. The upper stories were reached by moveable ladders or masonry steps built against the outer walls and resting on the roofs of the houses below.

In the more ancient pueblos, fireplaces were in the form of a shallow pit in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping through the hatchway. Many kivas still use this form of fireplace. Corner fireplaces were also used. Floors were paved with flat stones or plastered smooth with adobe, like the walls of the terraces. The houses were built and owned by the women, the men assisting in the heavy work. Each pueblo had at least one kiva or ceremonial chamber which was the center of the ancient pueblo life.

The Pueblo Indians were well advanced in many elements of civilization. They made good basketry, but not equal to that of some tribes of northern California. The Hopi made basket trays with color derived from native substances, now mainly replaced by commercial dyes. As potters and weavers the Pueblo Indians have not been excelled by any tribes north of Mexico. Their clay vessels, ancient and modern, exemplifying most every form known to the aborigines, include cooking and storage vessels, jars, ladels, bowls and boxes beautifully modeled and intricately painted.
Many of the ancient Pueblos, especially those of the northern area, were horticulturists rather than agriculturists, so intensive was their cultivation. The chief crop was maize, raised in small fields irrigated from streams or reservoirs. Cotton was raised, the fibre being used for the fabrics woven for clothing and ceremonial robes which were traded extensively to other tribes. The Hopi were and still are the chief cotton weavers of all the Pueblos, but native cotton has been replaced almost entirely by trade stuffs. Many authorities claim that weaving was introduced to the Navahos by Pueblo women who had been adopted into the tribe. Hope and Zuñi looms, operated by both men and women, produce most of the "Navaho Blankets" of today.

In the southern Pueblo lands, agriculture was conducted on a large scale with extensive irrigation systems. A communal plan utilized the entire community. Wheat, pumpkins, melons, onions, beans and chili were important crops besides the corn. The small crops were raised in small gardens near the houses and water carried daily for watering them, by the women and children.

Wild game, deer, antelope, bear and mountain lion ab- betted their agricultural products. The eastern Pueblos also hunted buffalo on the eastern plains. Cottontails and jack rabbits were hunted extensively by individuals as well as large groups of boys and men who surrounded an area, gradually coming together thus cornering the game, which they
killed with rabbit sticks shaped like boomerangs. Traps were also used to trap small mammals and birds. Eagles were especially prized for their feathers for ceremonial purposes. Fish and other products of the water were never eaten and certain animals were taboo as food by some of the clans. Turkeys were domesticated into large herds and are still kept in captivity for their feathers. The dog was the only domesticated animal at the time of the coming of the Spaniards.

The clothing of the Pueblo men in the sixteenth century, and for many years afterwards, consisted of a short tunic of deerskin and deerskin trousers to the knees. Leggings of cotton or skin fastened at the knees with woven garters, and deerskin moccasins with rawhide soles, sewn with sinews, were worn. In snowy weather fur moccasins with the fur inside were worn. Ventilated caps decorated with gay feathers were the head-dress. The hair of the Pueblo men was and is banged across the forehead and cut straight at the neckline, the back hair tied with a band into a knot in the back. Western pueblo men and boys wear a head band while those of the Rio Grande Valley plait their hair and wear no headband. Shell and turquoise beads are beloved and still worn extensively by Pueblo men as ear and neck pendants, the silver and metal work having been developed since the advent of the Spaniards.
PLATE 9

Woman of Ácoma Pueblo
Ácoma Woman
One of the most distinctive features of the Pueblo woman's garb is her snowy white leggings of deerskin, wrapped round and round, that form part of her moccasins. A woolen dress, of native weave in the form of a blanket extends to the knees. The two ends are sewn together and the dress worn over the right shoulder and draped under the left arm and is belted with a long woven sash, fringed at the ends, and tucked in. It is worn over a long cotton shirt which extends to the knees. The women also wear a light cotton mantle. (Plate 9) Among some of the Pueblos the married women wear bangs and coil the long hair behind the ears. Marriageable girls wear their hair in two large whorls on either side. The Hopi call them squash blossoms, symbols of fertility. Earrings, necklaces, pendants and bracelets in quantity are worn.

Every pueblo was and is composed of a number of clans based on descent in the female or male lines, the number of clans varying in the different pueblos. Most of the clans are named for natural objects and the elements. Each has its own rites and ceremonies, many performed in secret. (Plate 10)

The status of women among the Pueblos is much higher than in most other American Indian tribes. The Pueblos are monogamists but divorce is possible according to tribal customs and is initiated by the woman. The home belongs to the
Plate 10

Cacique, or Medicam Man,
Snake Clan, Hopi Pueblo.
mother and descent is recognized through her. The sons-in-law make their home with her. Labor is divided as equitably as possible.

Each pueblo has one or more secret chambers known as kivas. They are temples for sacred ceremonial, and also serve as lounging places for the men and boys. Women were never permitted to enter except to bring food to their men-folks, although in recent years the women use the kiva occasionally for certain religious rites. In the Rio Grande pueblos, and many of the others, kivas are circular but among the Zuñi and Hopi towns, they are rectangular in shape. Originally they were in the center of the plaza or courtyard, but now frequently they are hidden among the dwellings. A pueblo may have one or many kivas depending upon the number of clans using them.

Kivas are entered by ladders from the roof. The roof is supported by beams covered with osiers or with boards and adobe. The floors are smooth sandstone slabs. The walls are sometimes painted with symbols. A stone top adobe bench runs around all or most of the wall space, and a shallow fire-pit occupies the center of the floor. The smoke escapes through the hatchway. An orifice in a stone or cottonwood slab, at one end of the kiva facing the ladder, is called a "sipapu" and symbolizes the place of origin and the final departure of the Pueblo peoples. It is alleged to be the
means of communication with the underworld. Behind the orifice there is usually an altar, and sometimes in front of it a painting or symbols.

The Pueblos

Pueblo is a name used to designate all the Indians who live in towns (Spanish, pueblo, town) in the Southwest. There are many of them; the following are the best known.

AT THE WEST:

* Hopi

Zuñi

NEAR THIS CENTER:

Keres (Language) Queres
San Filipe
*Cochiti
*Santo Domingo
Santa Ana
Zia
Acoma
*Laguna

AT THE EAST:

Tanoan, Tewa
San Juan
Santa Clara

* Visited by the Author in 1947, 1949, 1951.
San Ildefonso
Nambe'
Tesuque
Pojoaque

Tonoan, Towa

Jemez

Pecos (extinct)

Tanoan Tiwa (Tigua)

Taos

Picuris

Sandia

Isleta

Catalogue of the Pueblos

(Orthography of Indian words is as in Spanish, except k replaces hard c and qu; w as in English; g always hard; h as in English; j as German ch; sh as in English; z as in English)

Ácoma (Ako)... the "sky Village" is sixty miles west of the Rio Grande and fifteen miles southwest of Laguna. It has small farming communities Acomita and Pueblita and altogether they number about a thousand inhabitants. The famous sandstone mesa is 357 feet high and nearby is the fabled Mesa

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Visited by the Author in 1947, 1949, 1951.

Encantada. It, Acoma, gives a definite impression of living in ancestral times with its dizzy rocky trails. The Acomenos are among the finest and most prolific potters. Their arts and ceremonies, and manners of antiquities, says Hewett, is among the finest survivals in the world. The language is pure Keres.

Cochiti (Kotyiti)
In the middle of the Rio Grande Valley at the upper end of the Keres province lies the Cochiti at the White Rock Canyon, on the west side of the river. Their remoteness has helped to preserve their native culture. They make excellent pottery and Tonita Peña, a Towa girl who married into the town, is a water color painter who is ranked next to the three, best who are (1930) Awa Tsira, Kabotie and Velino. They excell in the presentation of the Matachina.

Isleta (Shiahwibak), one of the largest of all the pueblos, is also the farthest south and has around a thousand people. It is on the west bend of the Rio Grande, fifteen miles south of Albuquerque. They speak a Tiwa dialect and are of Tanoan descent. The name and ceremonies suggest that it was once on an island in the Rio Grande, and the main village was on the east side of the river. They are quite independent economically, having excellent land and plentiful water. They make some pottery which is not superior and they do not cling to their aboriginal arts.
Jemez (Heminsh) ten miles up the Jemez Creek, is "more or less unfriendly to the Keres" and speaks the Towa language a totally unrelated language. Pecos, the frontier settlement sixty miles to the east, extinct since 1338, is the nearest cognate of Jemez. Here the remnants of Pecos took refuge and have since thrived and multiplied until now they claim that over a third of the population of 600 are descendant of Pecos mothers. Jemez is well-to-do with ample land and water which makes for independence among the Indians. They depend on Zia for pottery. In recent years they have been reviving textile work under the guidance of the governmental schools.

Laguna (Kawaik), fifty miles west of Albuquerque, is the largest of all pueblos east of the Continental divide. It is of recent origin and is composed of Keresan, Shoshonean and Zuñi elements. There are about 2000 inhabitants. The language is Keres. They are good farmers and potters and are thrifty and industrious. They are composed of small agricultural communities. Casa Blanca, Cubero, Pagueate and Pajare among others.

Nambe, is a dwindling village with Tewa speech. It is a few miles from Pojoaque. It is becoming quite Mexicanized. A little crude pottery is made here.
Picuris (Pinwel-tha) - is another Tiwa Village, in the mountains twenty miles south of Taos, from which it probably is an offshoot. It is poor and quite Mexicanized, reduced in population and retaining little of its ancient art.

Pojoaque (Posunwage), a Tewa village, recently extinct, is four miles up the valley from the Rio Grande in the vicinity of Española on the Toas Highway. Antonio Tapia, was the last inhabitant. He died in 1922. He was a rain priest who gave his ancient rain vials and ceremonial instruments to the Museum before he died.

Sandia (Nanfiath) is a few miles south of Bernalillo on the Rio Grande, fourteen miles north of Albuquerque. It is the only surviving village of the province of Tiguex, in which Coronado made his headquarters in 1540 to 1542. The Sandias fled to the Hopis in Arizona during the Rebellion of 1680 remaining sixty years, returning in 1742-43. It has preserved no ceremonials or arts. It is of Tanoan stock speaking the Tiwa language, as do Taos, Picuris and Isleta.

San Felipe (Katishlya), five miles south of Santo Domingo on the Rio Grande, is large and well preserved, and as the other Keresan town of Santo Domingo, is conservative, resenting white intrusion. They are prosperous with fertile, well watered land. Their old church is one of the best preserved of the early examples of Franciscan architecture.
San Ildefonso (Po hwo ge) - east of the Rio Grande, "is truly an art center." Among its celebrities are Maria Martinez (Pove-tse) and her husband Julian, now deceased, her sisters Maximiliana and Desideria; Juanita Peña; Antonia Roybal; Romona Gonzales, Rosalie Aguilar and Tonita Roybal, all very fine potters. This was the home of Crecencio, noted for reviving painting in water colors, rather than aboriginal earthen colors. His successor, Awa Tsira, is another noted painter. The Eagle Dance of San Ildefonso is an "esthetic achievement."

San Juan (Oke) is the farthest north of the Tewa (Tegua-Tehua) villages. It is on the east side of the Rio Grande at the fork of the Chama. The first Spanish capitol of New Spain was founded here in 1598, by Oñate, but was abandoned a decade later for Santa Fé. It is well off in fertile land and water. Pottery making is still practised - a black, undecorated, burnished wear being the favorite product.

Santa Ana (Tamaya) is in the Jemez Valley, a few miles north of Bernalillo. It also belongs to the Keres province. It is a poor and dwindling pueblo located in the sand dunes, but they till fields about six miles away on the Rio Grande.

Santa Clara (Khapo) - on the west bank of the Rio Grande near Española. It is on the Santa Clara Croek, which empties into the Rio Grande, and the pueblo land extends to the
top of Jemez mountain range and has much timber and grazing land. It had a scism about 60 years ago dividing the pueblo into two factions. Because of this Santa Clara does not live the tranquil life of the other pueblos. It retains the art of pottery making, mostly lustrous black ware. It is of Tanoan stock and speaks the Tewa language. Santiago Naranjo (O ye ge pi), four times its governor, was one of the best known of the Pueblo Indians being very helpful to artists, tourist and archaeologists.

Santo Domingo (Kihwa) is the most populous of Keres towns and is just seven miles from Cochiti, to the south and on the opposite side of the Rio Grande. It is one of the most populous of the pueblos, rich as to fertile land and irrigation. They make excellent pottery, do some weaving, turquoise work has been revived here. Their Green Corn Dance on the fourth of August is the mecca for thousands of tourists.

Taos (Toa-tha) - northernmost and swankiest of the Rio Grande Pueblos, is at the foot of the sacred Taos Mountain, a spur of the Sangre de Cristo. Taos is among the most populous of the Pueblos, having nearly 600 inhabitants. They have an abundance of agricultural lands, watered by the mountain streams. Fish and game are plentiful. In the last forty years it has attracted many artists by its beauty. The town is divided into two parts by a creek. Each part consists of
a six story terraced community structure and numerous small houses for individual families. The many kivas are almost entirely subterranean and more archaic than others in the Rio Grande Valley. Their native arts have been allowed to die because of their economic prosperity. Taos belongs to the Tanoan stock, speaking the Towa or Tigua language as do the Pueblos of Picuris, Sandía and Isleta.

Tесuque (Tathunge) - ten miles north of Sante Fé, is a Tewa village. In spite of its proximity to the capitol it retains much of its ancient character, probably because they zealously guard their privacy from tourists and white neighbors. They make very good pottery but ruin it with gay tempera designs which are very perishable. But because the bright designs help its sale with the uninitiated tourists, they persist in decorating it in this manner. The designs are intricate and applied free hand by the skilled women. They have several able painters from Tesuque pueblo. Their most notable dances include the Buffalo Dance.

Zia (Tsi-ya) is a Keres pueblo, ten miles from Santa Ana on a basaltic mound on the north side of Jemez creek. It has a minimum amount of farming land. However, it is quite content and more affable to the whites than most of the other Keres villages. It is having a renaissance of pueblo arts and industries. One of the best of the old Franciscan
churches is at Zia. They make excellent pottery at Zia and their ceremonies survive. Velino Shiye is a distinguished painter from Zia.

Besides the eighteen towns that Hewett catalogues, those west of the Continental Divide should be included in the Pueblo Group. They include Zuñi in Western New Mexico with a population of about 2000. Their Tanoan language shows a marked affinity to that of Taos. The Hopi towns are in three groups. On the first, or East Mesa, are Hano (Tewa) the home of the famous Nampeyo, Walpi and Sichomovi. On the Middle Mesa are Mishongnovi, Shipaulovi and Shongopovi. On the West Mesa are Oraibi, falling in decay and its modern successor Hotaville. There are also outlying communities, Moencopi and Tuba City which can be counted with West Mesa. There are about 2000 in all the Hopi villages and Shoshonean is the language spoken, except at Hano which is Tewa, transplanted from the Rio Grande Valley. Zuñi is the remnants of the famed seven cities of Cibola and the Hopi towns are the remnants of the ancient province Tusayan.

These towns are the transition between the archaeological areas such as Puye, Frijoles, Mesa Verde and the like and the modern pueblos - one to be excavated, the other studied through their arts, language and ceremonials of a living people.
PART II

Indian Arts
PART II

Introduction

The fascination of pueblo life lies in its changelessness. So it is that the outsider glories in the terraced houses of Taos or a clay olla from Acoma as evidence that here time has failed to make its accustomed ravages. But it is not so. Pueblo crafts contain elements from all ages and so do the pueblos. Through the glass windows of the pueblos electric lights shine and designs on silver may be traced from whites to Pueblo to Navaho and back again.

The following study of pueblo crafts takes into account the many influences that have contributed to these ancient villages. They are living crafts, developed to fit the need of the people, environment placing the limitations on their development until time produced new ideas, new tools or new requirements. Major changes usually came with the influx of new people. Each new resource was adjusted to the needs of pueblo life and the material at hand. The Pueblos learned from the Aztecs, from their Spanish conquerors, the Navaho, Paiute, the Plains Indians and lastly from white Americans. They were very discriminating, accepting only what fitted into their plans. Even water color painting, the latest development among the pueblo arts, has a character of its own, the jewel-like beauty of a pueblo ceremony.
This study presumes to give a cursory look at the various crafts as they were practiced through the ages as evidenced by the artifacts in museums throughout the land and as reproduced in reports, pamphlets and books of the government and private research foundations, and in current products available at the pueblos. Footnotes give proper credit and an extensive bibliography will be found following the conclusion.
PART II
CHAPTER I

Basketry
BASKETRY

Among the ancient Anasazi, much equipment was made from basketry materials, so much so, that the first explorers called them Basket Makers. Their products included fringed skirts and sandals, bags and stiff containers, and the houses of poles and brush.

The processes of manufacturing were highly complex and so standardized that a study of techniques has been a great help in piecing together the history of the inhabitants. Various features are useful for comparison - the structure of the walls, center, rim, splice, shape, design, as well as the plant material used in the basketry. A detailed study of each element was made in 1940 by Earl H. Morris and Robert F. Burgh.¹ These two authorities conclude that since basketry was an art, old and well perfected as far back as we know anything about (in Basket Maker II archaeological horizon, roughly placed from about A.D. 1), that the Anasazi stemmed from a culture old and self contained farther back than it is yet possible to trace.

It was not until circa 1300 on Pueblo III, that pottery began to supplant basketry. Basket making declined steadily through the ensuing ages, except for a few needed

¹ Anasazi Basketry. A Study based on specimens from San Juan River Country, Publication 533, Carnegie Institution in Washington D.C., 1941.
household articles, until today it is practically a lost art except among the Hopi who make decorative baskets, and Zuni, Jemez and a few others who make useful ones.

Basketry methods are still in evidence in the pueblos. In the chimney foundation, in the cradle or in the container for the bride's clothes are seen traces of this ancient tradition. The women, who were the basketmakers, did not drop their old craft all at once. They would try one method, then another, wickerwork, coiling, twining or plaiting as the styles changed. When more permanent homes were established and danger from breakage was lessened, they developed pottery, to match the advance in their house building, as adobe replaced the brush house.

WICKERWORK is the simplest form of basketry. It is the weaving in and out of stiff twigs, over and under other twigs. As in weaving, the variation is achieved in the system of the over and under process. Windbreaks still used in the fields are frequently wickerwork, as are most of the Hopi trays. The material for the Hopi trays is sumac or rabbits brush, peeled and rubbed with sandstone to remove rough places. Then some of the reeds are dyed to make colorful patterns in the weaving. The colors originally were vegetable dyes and earth colors but now commercial dyes are used frequently. The patterns may be birds, dancing gods or stepped geometrical motives.
PLATE 11

The start and the finished wicker tray, Hopi Third Mesa.

from "Pueblo Crafts"

by Ruth Underhill, U.S. Indian Service publication
PLAITING differs from wickerwork in the material used. Grasses and flexible reeds are used for it while stiff twigs are used for wickerwork. Plate 11 shows the manner of weaving a Hopi wickerwork tray.

TWILLING is a process that gives a look of slanting lines by passing the strips over two, under two, or three as the case may be, and is also used in weaving. Mats and flat trays are usually done by twilling with the edges plaited back for a sturdy finish.

TWINING is an old Basketmaker method almost extinct. A foundation of strips were placed parallel and then two strands at a time were woven through, one over the other under. The finished effect was much like the modern bamboo curtain and could be rolled up because it was flexible. Curtains for doorways and windbreaks were frequently made in this manner. Rabbits skin blankets were made in the same way by twining yucca, milkweed or cedar bark string through long strips of the skins.

COILING was another old Basketmaker method known in the earliest times, abandoned for a while and revived in Golden Age of the Pueblos about 1300 A.D. Hopi of the Second Mesa use it for ceremonial trays. The foundation of twigs or grass spiral from the center and are sewn with the
PLATE 12

The start and the finished coiled tray, Hopi Second Mesa

from "Pueblo Crafts"
by Ruth Underhill
help of an awl with a strip of yucca as shown in Plate 12.¹ The ancients used many variations of coiling. Close coiling, as shown, which placed the spirals tightly together and space coiling, achieved by knots between the coils gave an openwork, ideal for sifting meal.

Two kinds of decoration were used by the Anasazi in both coiled and twilled basketry, structural variation and color. Color was achieved by stained splints of the same material as the basket, splints of different materials in natural color contrasts and by mineral pigments. A lacquer-like coating or overlay was another method of decoration, used rarely, however.

For the EARTH COLORS, clay or rock mixed with an oil of squash seeds is used among the Hopi of Second Mesa. The paint is applied to the twigs with a bit of fur or rabbit foot either before or after the basket is woven. The VEGETABLE COLORS are made by boiling roots, bark, or flowers and dipping the twigs into the solution. The dyes are set by holding the twigs in the smoke from burning wool.

¹ Copied from Pueblo Crafts, Ruth Underhill, A publication of the Education Division, U.S. Indian Service, Haskell Institute Print Shop, Lawrence, Kansas, 1943.
CHAPTER II

Weaving
WEAVING

Among the Pueblos, articles of dress and ornament are the evolution of long experimentation in the use of objects offered them by nature, as well as those that have been acquired by invention, cultivation and trade.

The Basketmakers - the earliest people we have any knowledge of in the Southwest - were adept at braiding. This we know from the remains that are found in the museums, garnered from archaeological sites. The main difference between braiding and basketry is that flexible string is used. The Basketmaker's string was made from yucca fibre, milkweed, Indian hemp and cedar bark. Yucca was the most commonly used. The leaves, stems and bark were pounded between two stones after they had been wet, and the long fibres extracted. The men, who were probably the weavers then, took two strands of the fibre and rolled them down the thigh with the palm of the hand to twist them and then back up to roll them together. Sometimes two strands that were rolled already, were rolled together for a four-ply, if a strong string was needed. For a very fine string, the weaver usually used his wife's hair. Pueblo people used the same kind of string until the coming of the railroads, for snares, nets, belts and fastenings.

Besides braiding or plaiting, another form of manipulation of fibre was looping. We would call it knitting or
PLATE 13

Pueblo Blanket Loom
crocheting. Leggings and footless stockings are best examples of this type. Twining of string through a fixed warp was a process used extensively in making blankets, the warp usually being strips of fur or feathers.

Weaving with a loom, however, was not developed until about 795 A.D., the date being established by tree ring process at the ruins where the first cotton garments were found. The true loom and cotton arrived at the same time in America. We can only speculate on its origin, Peru or Middle America, perhaps. Cotton, as a cultivated plant, is associated with Middle America in the generally accepted theory of the New World origins of agriculture. Cotton of the same species was grown from Peru up to the pueblos. It flourished in the hot low places usually, but the Pueblos, in their high country, had developed a variety that would ripen in one hundred days, the shortest season known. Their patches were small because of the need of water which they managed by irrigation or by hand. With the arrival of commercial cotton cloth via the railroads, the Pueblos gradually abandoned their cotton fields except among the Hopi, who still raise small quantities.

The harvesting, ginning, carding and spinning were all done by ingenious methods. If the cotton was to be used for

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PLATE 14

Variations in Weaves
Top: Diamond Pattern
Middle: Plain Weave
Bottom: Twill Pattern
ceremonial purposes, each process was a ceremony, too. Tight spinning was highly desirable. When commercial yarns were used in more recent years, they were spun again for a tight twist. The Pueblos and the Navahos, who learned weaving from captive pueblo women, unravelled red baize cloth or bayeta, to get red yarn which they also respun.

Throughout the first four Pueblo periods cotton was the staple product from which cloth fabrics were made. It was not until the coming of the Spaniards in 1540 that wool was known in the Southwest, because they brought sheep with them to grow their own wool. The Spaniards introduced sheep among the Pueblos and from then on woolen yarn and cloth was used extensively for textiles. The use of cotton was continued, especially for ceremonial garments.

Two distinct types of looms were used in the Southwest. The waist loom which is probably the oldest form of loom in the world and used by most primitive peoples. The yarn beam is attached to the wall or tree and the cloth beam is fastened to the weavers' waist and the loom must be adjusted each time it is used. The well-known blanket loom was a later development. There are many variations of these two types. Plate 13 shows the blanket type loom of the pueblos. It is set up in the home or the kiva while the Navaho usually suspend it from forked stakes in the outdoors.

The Pueblos experimented with many type weaves, which
they did and do on either type loom. The waist loom is ideal for narrow things like belts and the larger loom is more adaptable to garments and blankets. Three basic weaves are shown on Plate 14, but many variations of twills are possible. Plain weave is used mostly for ceremonial garments for its burlap-type weave is an excellent background for embroidery.

The Hopi are the textile manufacturers of today among the Pueblos. They carry on extensive trade with the others, exchanging dresses, kilts, robes and belts to be embroidered, for turquoise, shell necklaces or money. With few exceptions the men are the weavers. At Hopi they are also the embroiderers, but the women still do the old patterns borrowed frequently from pottery and basketry at the other pueblos.

The Navahos, those wild and roving Atabascans who plagued the pueblos and the Spaniards alike, adopted the art of weaving from Pueblo women taken in raids on the sedentary tribes. They were so skillful that they far surpassed their teachers so that today most of the Indian weaving is really Navaho, except for small quantities which the Indians make for themselves.

The Spanish colonists depended upon the Indians for spinning and weaving. The growing needs of the settlers inspired the viceroy to write to Mexico for master weavers to instruct local craftsmen. Don Ricardo and Don Juan Bazan
came to Santa Fe and settled a little later in Chimayo in the Española Valley about 1804. Thus it was that Chimayo became the center of the native weaving industry. The best blankets were made about 1850 of handspun wool, colored with vegetable dyes. Indigo, brazil wool and cochineal were imported from Mexico and other dyes were made from local plants. Some of the patterns were derived from Mexico, others in step designs may have been inspired by Indian pottery, and others, from purely local sources, were quite primitive.

After the American occupation, the old craft fell into discard throughout the territory except at Chimayo, where it has been preserved due to the demand of curio dealers and tourist trade. Commercial dyes were used by 1880, and Germantown and Saxony yarns later replaced the homespuns, until very recent years, when the old weaving methods have been revived.

The Chimayo weavers used the same type of horizontal loom that the earliest settlers imported from Europe by way of the Spanish colonies in Mexico. Even today there is nothing factory-made about the Chimayo looms. They are hewn by hand and rigged with wire, twine and rope, much the same as the original looms which began their work there 400 years ago.

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1 New Mexico, American Guide Series, New York, 1940.
CHAPTER III

Pottery
POTTERY

The history of ceramics in the Southwest is the story of its early inhabitants. Almost anywhere one goes he can kick up with the toe of his shoe fragments of pottery, the potsherds, that have unraveled the fascinating tale of pre-historic times for the archaeologists. Though they may have been broken into hundreds of pieces, the sherds never crumble into earth. One of the most important tasks of the diggers is piecing the fragments of a pot, glueing them together and working out the design.

The pueblos have always excelled in pottery. The method and materials still employed are those used at the time of the coming of the Spaniards. In every village there are a few who make plain kitchenware for their own use, but not all the pueblos still make pottery on the grand scale. Those who do, make it for sale to the tourist trade and for collectors.

At an early age the Indian girl is taught to make a spherical bowl by coiling layers of clay one above the other and to polish the whole with a stone or pebble to a great smoothness. Frequently the boys in the family apply the design and fire the pottery in a rude kiln. A circle of tin cans is formed and a few strips of iron replace the stones and branches used in ancient times. The dried pottery is placed in the circle and covered by sheep-dung to maintain
a hot even fire. The slip and design are added before firing. The slip or thin contrasting clay wash, gives a clue to the pueblo, as does the intricate freehand pattern applied with a yucca brush.

Cultural Areas of the Southwest (Plate 2)

1. Northern Peripheral
2. San Juan
3. Little Colorado
4. Upper Gila
5. Middle Gila
6. Lower Gila
7. Rio Grande
8. Mimbres
9. Chihuahua

There is a bewildering array of painted pottery types to be found in the Southwest. Some of these date from very early times, that is, from the very first beginnings of pottery making; and some are being made at the present moment by the many skilful Indian potters who are carrying on the worthwhile traditions of their ancestors.

The art of painting pottery is almost as old as the art of pottery itself.

There are two systems of pottery classifications in use in the Southwest. The one used by Dr. Cummings of the University of Arizona and the other that of the Pecos Conference.
### Contrasting Pottery Classifications

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<th>Pecos Classification</th>
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<td>Cave People</td>
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Classification of Pottery

San Juan
  \{ Chaco Canon
      \{ Mesa Verde
          \{ Sagie
              \{ Kayenta
                  \{ Marsh
                      \{ Pass
              \{ Little Colorado
                  \{ Puerco
                      \{ Roosevelt
      \{ Tularosa
          \{ Upper Gila
      \{ Mimbres
          \{ Prescott (Black-on-Gray)
      \{ Kayenta
          \{ Little Colorado
      \{ Upper and Middle Gila

Red-on-Buff or Hohokam

Brown-on-Yellow, or Old Hopi
  \{ Red and Black on
      \{ Orange
          \{ Red, Black, and White
              \{ on Orange
                  \{ Black and White on
                      \{ Red
              \{ Four Mile
          \{ Pinedale
      \{ Little Colorado
          \{ St. Johns
  \{ Kayenta

Polychrome
  \{ Houck
      \{ Ancient Zuñi (Heshot-anchla)
          \{ Early
              \{ Late
          \{ Pecos (Zuñi)
      \{ Gila Polychrome
          \{ Tuscon Polychrome
      \{ Nogales Polychrome
      \{ Sikatki

PLATE 15

Designs from Ancient Pottery from,
"The Pottery of Pecos,"
by
Dr. A. V. Kidder
The pottery scraps show a gradual change through the ages, which enables the experts to date and place the potsherds in their proper locality since pottery was used in trade between the tribes even to the present day. An excellent analysis of pottery types and designs can be found in "The Pottery of Pecos" by Dr. A. V. Kidder. The patterns shown on Plate 15 are selected from this source, showing the variety achieved in a narrow band design inside the wide bowls of earliest times.

Just as the ancients changed their decorative patterns, so today there is constant change in the styles from the various pueblos. On the Rio Grande, Santo Domingo and Cochiti produce bold black geometric designs on a creamy buff background. Zia uses its conventionalized deer, birds, flowers and seeds. Zuñi to the west, makes complex designs with rotund whorls, birds and triangular figures. (Plate 16) Close-knit geometrics are typical of Ácoma and cross-hatching of fine line work usually denotes the work at the Laguna Pueblo.

At San Ildefonso and Santa Clara pueblos the matte black on gleaming black is a combination of modern and old techniques that produces an interesting new effect. Maria Martinez, of San Ildefonso, is probably one of the best.

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PLATE 16

"Bird-Forms in Zuñi Pottery Decoration"
Kenneth Chapman
El Palacio, January, 1928

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known of contemporary Indian potters and Pablita Velarde, at Santa Clara, is another modern potter who is making interesting design experiments. (Plate 17)

"A Study at the Village of San Ildefonso," of pottery making is an authoritative study of method typical of all the Pueblos. Written by Carl E. Guthe in 1925, the following is some of the information he assembled.

Raw Materials: Collection and Preparation Ingredients

1. **Red Clay** is most often obtained about a quarter of a mile south of the pueblo in the arroyos and low hills under a sandstone deposit and can be easily scooped up with the hand after clearing away the top which usually contains impurities. Winnowing, like wheat in the wind, is a common way of cleaning the clay, or sifting with an ordinary sieve is another preferred method. During the Fall, the Indians gather large quantities of clay to use during the Winter. The preparation of the clay includes mixing and kneading. The mixing is done while the clay is dry and mixed until the clay is one color. Usual proportions are one third temper and two-thirds clay. The clay is reddish brown and the temper lightens it. For the kneading, a quantity of water is poured into a hallow in the middle of the clay and it is worked until the water is evenly divided and then sprinkled carefully till it is the proper consistency, which is that of putty.
PLATE 17

Pueblo Pottery Patterns
2. **White Clay** is used interchangeably with red but never mixed. It is obtained in the bad lands northeast of San Ildefonso towards Truchas Peak.

3. **Temper** is obtained in the vicinity of Camel Rock on the Santa Fé - Española Road. This mineral is a light gray color. When freshly exposed to air, it is soft and crumbly, but hardens on exposure. The purpose of the tempering material is to counteract the tendency of the pure clay to crack during the shrinking while sun-drying.

4. **Cooking Vessel or Apache Clay** is obtained near the town of Las Truchas and is light brown with fine mica flakes. It is very strong and has a distinctive odor. No other temper is used with this clay.

**Slips and Paints**

1. **Native Slip** is a white, flaky, fairly soft mineral, used in solution to give a white outer coating. A sufficient amount is mixed with water to the consistency of milk and color of milk.

2. **Santo Domingo Slip or Conchiti White** is obtained from the Santo Domingo people and has a soapy feel. It does not require polishing as does the native slip.

3. **Red Slip** is found near Santa Fé and is used for polished black ware or decorated red ware and is used in a water solution of thin consistency.

4. **Orange red slip** is obtained beyond the first Jemez
range and is prepared like the other slips in a thin but saturated solution. It is used to color the bases of ollas and as paint for polychrome designs.

5. **Black Ware Paint** is used for making matte designs on polished blackware, a decorative departure introduced by Maria and Julian Martinez in June, 1921. The substance is a hard yellow stone, which is scraped with a knife to produce a powder which is mixed with guaco to make the paint stick to the polished surface. It, too, is used thin as water.

6. **Black or Guaco Paint** is the only vegetable paint used by the San Ildefonso Indians for the decoration of their pottery. It is obtained from the Rocky Mountain Bee Plant or Guaco. Tender young shoots are gathered in April or May and placed in Apache clay pots with water and boiled over an open fire until it loses its peppery taste, which takes from a half to a full day. It is allowed to harden into a sticky mass in the sun. The juice is stored for a year before being used for painting. It will keep indefinitely.

**FUEL**

Cow and Horse manure are used but sheep-dung is preferred because it makes a hotter fire. It is shaped into cakes and left in the sun to harden and then stored till use or is gathered from the corral in Spring and chopped into slabs
and stored. Cedar kindling, 6 to 18 inches long, is used.

PARAPHERNALIA

Earthenware moulds or pukia - gourd moulding spoons or kajepes sometimes made of broken potsherds - scrapers which may be baking powder can lids or kitchen case-knifes - polishing stones which are frequently heirlooms or picked up at old ruins - and paint brushes made of yucca leaf silvers fringed at the end - mops for slips, made of folded rag.

MOULDING

This process consists of four steps - making the base, building the walls, shaping and the finishing.
CHAPTER IV

Turquoise and Silverwork
TURQUOISE AND SILVERWORK

Contrary to accepted opinion, silversmithing is not an ancient art in the Southwest. It was around 1850 that the first Navaho learned to work with silver. He was called Herrero, the Iron Worker, by the Mexicans, because he first learned to work with that metal. His Navaho name, Atsidi Sani, means Old Smith in English. Some ten years after he learned ironwork from a Mexican living near Mt. Taylor, the same man taught him silverwork. It is from this friendship that the extensive silver craft in the Southwest had its beginning. Atsidi Sani taught his four sons to work with silver and the craft spread. In time a Navaho taught a Zuni and so on throughout the pueblos. Today more silver is made at Zuni than all the other pueblos put together. Although all of the Indians in the Southwest delight in wearing great quantities of jewelry, most of it is obtained in trade with the Navaho and the Zuni at the great annual ceremonials.

Silver that is made in the various pueblos is usually for the use of relatives or friends in the village. Commercialization of silver for the most part is carried on outside the pueblo.

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American dollars were the first silver used by the Indians and this coin silver was in general use until 1890, at which time the United States Government forbade its use by the silversmiths. Mexican pesos then became the usual metal. It was purer silver and much easier to work. Silver bars were later supplied by the traders when commissioning the Indians for jewelry. The Fred Harvey Company, with its chain of gift shops is responsible for popularizing Indian silver and turquoise.

In the beginning silver alone was worked. It was not until 1880 that the first turquoise was set. The bright decorative effect on the old designs met with immediate approval and silver without turquoise declined. The early articles included little bells, which were worn on earrings and on the leggings of the men, usually at the Squaw Dances. Silver bridles, conchas, buckles, ketohs or bow guards, bracelets, necklaces, buttons and pins, tobacco canteens, as well as rings and earrings, number among the articles made by the Indians for their own use. The list has been greatly enlarged in recent years by articles that appeal to the tourist trade.

The earliest designs were simple and progressed through file and cold chisel patterns to intricate designs, achieved with modern tools. As the Indian silversmith's skill increased his designs became over-elaborated, reaching the
baroque, as so frequently happens in the development of an art. The Arts and Crafts Board of the Department of the Interior, especially in the Indian Schools in Santa Fé and Albuquerque are seeking to foster the old designs and the original techniques. The market for inexpensive souvenir type jewelry is so great, however, it is difficult to control the work of the craftsmen after they leave the schools.

While the first designs were made by awl and file, dies were introduced later and so many of the better older pieces are cast. The Navahos, never very good potters, used pueblo pottery and potsherds from nearby ruins for molds and crucibles.

Nearly all the pueblos learned silverwork. Besides Zuñi, Hopi, Ácoma, Laguna, Isleta, Santa Ana, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso and Santo Domingo learned the craft. Hopi and Santo Domingo both do considerably more than the other pueblos, except Zuñi. It is only since 1930 that any silverwork has been done at San Ildefonso. Among others, the well-known painter Awa Tsireh makes some silver for the tourists who visit his shop during the Summer.

The Zuñi have known the art of carving turquoise for hundreds of years. Small fetishes, similar to the larger ones were carved of the blue stone in the forms of animals - the bear and the mountain, lion and worn between the nuggets on necklaces. These same Kachina figures are used
PLATE 18

Indian Necklace of Silver
and Turquoise owned
by Mrs. John E. Wright
extensively in their silver jewelry of today. Knife-Wing, frequently called Thunderbird by the whites, and Dragon-Fly are set in bezels of silver using shell, jet and turquoise in a colorful manner. It is the trader, however, who developed this new use of the polished and bright bits. In the gift shops and trading posts this type of work is known as Zuñi inlay.

Ruth Underhill\(^1\) in her book "Pueblo Crafts" gives an interesting description of the pump drill contrived by thong, crossbar and needle that made the holes in the turquoise the men brought home from the mines and the countryside. Clam shells and stones of many varieties were polished and strung for necklaces, usually with an elaborate pendant. Simpler ones made of modern materials are peddled today throughout the Southwest.

So it is that the best known craft of the Indian country of the Southwest is not essentially an ancient or even a native one, since it developed in the last hundred years, learned from the Mexicans, copying their leather designs in silver first, then adding the turquoise and other sets as a later development at the suggestion of the traders. (Plate 18)

\(^1\) "Pueblo Crafts," by Ruth Underhill, Ph.D., A publication of the U.S. Indian Service, Haskell Institute Print Shop, Lawrence, Kansas, 1948.
CHAPTER V

Indian Painting
INDIAN PAINTING

Modern Indian painting, which is little known outside of the Southwest, has its roots, among the Pueblo Indians in the dim past. About 1400 A.D. the people began to paint pictures on the walls of their kivas. The adobe plastered walls were painted with the colors they used to decorate pottery, brownish red, yellow and white. The colors were mixed with water, and since, they could not be fired as the pottery was, they in time checked off. A new coat of plaster would then be applied and new designs painted on the brown background.

In the ruined villages near the Hopi mesas and at Kuaua near Bernalillo, New Mexico, many of these old kiva paintings can be seen. As many as twenty-six layers of paintings have been found, the top layers have been painstakingly removed by glue and cloth, and preserved. The paintings represented ancient rituals in the traditional costumes, and religious symbols, frequently. They have much in common with the designs of Navaho sand paintings. Ancient Indians also painted on rocks near their pueblos and many of these paintings are still to be seen throughout puebloland.

Moveable pictures were unknown until the white man brought paper. Ruth Underhill in "Pueblo Crafts" places the beginning at about 1910, when Alfredo Montoya of San Ildefonso was discovered drawing deer and antelope dancers from
their own religious ceremonies. Each detail was jewel clear. Dr. Edgar L. Hewett was one of the first to aid these early artists by making paints and paper available to the Indians. Three pueblo boys were taken into the employ of the School of American Research and permitted to develop their own style without any training. The three were Awa-Tsireh of San Ildefonso, Fred Kaboti, a Hopi and Ma-Pe-Wi from Zia. All three are now famous - Ma-Pe-Wi or Valino Herrera as he is also known, painted a mural in 1933 in the Department of the Interior in Washington and has illustrated several books. Fred Kaboti teaches art in an Indian school and exhibits extensively and Awa-Tsireh, whose white "school name" is Alfonso Royval, is probably the best known of the older modern Indian artists. He not only recorded the dances and costumes of his own pueblo, San Ildefonso, but persuaded other pueblos to let him paint their ceremonials also, so that they would be recorded for posterity.

Other Indian students followed. Tonita Peña, also of San Ildefonso, was the first Indian woman artist. In 1924 Anne Evans arranged exhibits in Denver at the Art Museum, for a group of San Ildefonso artists that included Awa-Tsireh, Tonita Peña, Julian Martinez, Wo-Peen (Luis Gonzales), Encarnacion Peña, Richard and Miguel Martinez. Through her enthusiasm, their fame spread and exhibitions in Chicago,

As late as 1923 the Indian Schools maintained by the government frowned on any development of Indian native arts, but schooled the pupils in American and European cultures. Since 1933, however, the Santa Fe Indian School has had an art department. Hopi High School at Oraibi also has an art department. Indian teachers are used who work to bring out the native feeling for color, line, accuracy and dignity that before was only preserved in the painting of pottery and in the arrangement and costuming of the ceremonials.

The pueblo style is two dimensional. There is no feeling of depth or perspective as there is in European representation. Rather there is the feeling of the Orient, Chinese or Japanese, in the placing of figures, in the wealth of detail, in costumes and in the lack of background. The figures, with their poses of arrested motion, seem to stand out in space, neither of this world or another.

There has developed a very strong and individual school of American Indian painting that is wholly independent in mood and pictorial effect. The seeds that were planted at San Ildefonso have spread throughout the many Indian tribes and have their greatest flowering in the exhibitions that are held annually in Tulsa. The Gilcrease Foundation there houses the world's finest collection of modern Indian paintings. The Philbrooke Art Center sponsors
an annual exhibition of Indian paintings and the Woolaroc Museum at Bartlesville, north of Tulsa, is another Indian Art repository. It is Santa Fe, however, with its extensive tourist trade, that is the best Indian art market.

There are a host of young artists to give competition to the older original Indian painters. They include See-Ru (Joe H. Herrera) the son of Tonita Peña, who is now on the staff of the Laboratory of Anthropology; Eva Mirabel, of Taos, who was a WAC, painted murals in many officers' clubs and did a cartoon "G.I. Gertie" and now teaches art at the University of Illinois; Narcisco Abeyte and Harrison Begay, two Navajos; Vincent Mirabel of Taos who was killed in the war. There are many more, José Rey Toledo of Jemez, who won first prize at Philbrook in 1947; Alan Houser grandson of Geronimo. Pop-Chalee (Marina Lujan) of Taos pueblo, niece of Tony, Indian husband of Mable Dodge Lujan, is one of the most famous of the current Indian women artists. She is especially noted for her leaping antelopes. Pahlita Velarde (Taan, meaning Dawn) who lives at Española near Santa Clara Pueblo, is another very famous Indian woman artist of the day.
CHAPTER VI

Indian Ceremonials
INDIAN CEREMONIALS

The religious life of the Pueblos is the basis for their existence, according to Edgar L. Hewett. Their arts, industries, social structure, government, flow in orderly sequence from their beliefs in a pantheism of gods of nature. The sky, the earth, the sun, and the natural elements were defied in ancient times because the Indian was so dependent upon them for the cultivation of his crops and the supply of game. The acceptance of Christianity in modern times did not alter the allegiance to the personifications of these traditional benefactions. In this theology the Indian was able to integrate the idea of Almighty God with the blessings he had defied. So it is that the feast days of the Church are the occasions for the colorful Indian Ceremonial Dances. San Juan Day in Taos, San Antonio in Sandia, San Esteban in Acoma, San Diego Day in Tesuque, San Geronimo at Santa Clara and on through the litany of the saints go the ceremonial days of the Pueblos.

The general form of the rituals is a retreat for prayer and fasting followed by a dance. The retreat is private but the dance is usually performed publicly in the plaza or in the kiva of the various cult groups.

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1 Ancient Life in the Southwest, Indianapolis, 1930.
The Kachina Cult is one of the better known of these groups and is represented in almost every pueblo. The kachina spirits are supernaturals who brings rain and good health. According to an old tale at Acoma there was a great fight because the people had mocked and criticized the kachinas. So the kachinas decided they had better not come back, but they showed the people how to copy their masks and costumes, taught them their songs and exhorted them to perform the dances correctly and lead good lives. From then on the kachinas were only with them in spirit. When the impersonator dons the mask he is then the spirit and the women, girls, and uninitiated boys are supposed not to know that the dancer is one of their own clansmen. The kachina dolls made so extensively by the Zuñi and Hopi are good luck symbols to help bring prosperity.

The costumes for the ceremonials are traditional and symbolic in detail and present one of the most colorful facets of all pueblo crafts. The materials vary but are the result of long experimentation in the manipulation of objects offered them by nature - feathers, skins, cottons, color for dyes and for painting the body.

The accompanying plates show a few of the more spectacular types - the kilt, the ceremonial sash and blankets, and

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1 Ceremonial Costumes of the Pueblo Indians, Their Evolution, Fabrication, and Signification in the Prayer Drama, Virgina More Roediger, University of California Press, 1941.
Zuñi Shalako, ten foot effigy balanced on a pole, the dancer peeps through an opening between the ceremonial blankets - From "Ceremonial Costumes of the Pueblo Indians," Virginia M. Roediger.
PLATE 20

Ancient Ceremonial Headdress
the grotesque masks worn by the dancers in their impersonations. (Plates 19 and 20)

A study of the technique and style of Indian dancing discloses that its steps are varied and often difficult of execution and its mood and manner are highly expressive of a native genius. The rhythms are diverse, complicated and marked with frequent change. Indian dance art is basically different from other forms. In the dance the soul of the Indian seems to be laid bare, as if he were caught off guard. The Indian takes his dancing disinterestedly - not for a living, applause or curtain calls. Socially, he practices, night after night in the seclusion of the meeting place, for forthcoming performances - every step, every tone, every drum-beat, every syllable is rehearsed diligently, lest there be a flaw in a ceremony designed to honor and propitiate the spirit powers. He dances with reverence not only for the outlet of his esthetic nature but for the inflow of spiritual power.

The chief element in Indian dancing consists of foot and leg movement, with arm and hand movements in moderation, but mostly reflex action. There is no change of facial expression. Men do the greater part of the dancing, but women often participate. Indian dancing can be reduced to a few

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basic movements. The step – Jump, hop, skip, and the tap.

The dance-song is an inherent part of Indian dance ceremonial. The vocal tone varies with the tribes. In some of the productions the dancers carry decorated gourds for rattles and sometimes they wear strings of bells. The drum is the chief rhythm making instrument in the orchestra. In the Southwest, it is usually fashioned from a hollowed out cottonwood tree trunk with heavy skin stretched over top and bottom. They are beautifully decorated.

EAGLE DANCE

To the Indian, a bird soaring aloft or a feather wafted up by the breeze, is in its lightness and its ethereal beauty, exquisitely symbolic as a carrier of prayer from the heart of man to the ears of the gods. The eagle, most majestic of birds, is therefore the object of special veneration. It is the sacred bird, the thunder bird, so naturally widely venerated in arid pueblo region dance, a prayer for rain and thunder clouds. The dance varies in different pueblos. It is usually performed by two men, one representing the male and the other the female bird. They imitate the eagle's movements. Their naked bodies are realistically painted. A very short skirt is worn, as is a cap-like headgear with a long beak and great feather wings extending from the fingertips of one hand, across the back to the other fingertips. The arms rotate without elbow bending and a
PLATE 21

Eagle Dancer

from "Ceremonial Costumes of the Pueblo Indians," Virginia M. Roadiger
feather tail is fastened to the belt. They dance in a semi-squatting position. The speed throughout is increased almost to double. (Plate 21)

WAR DANCE

Steps and music of the war dances vary among the tribes but the form is similar. The body position is usually bending forward, an arrow or a tomahawk is held high in the right hand and a feather in the left. The elbows are flexed and the hands held forward. The dancers turn their heads to look from side to side in rhythm with the foot movements. They touch the ball of the right foot to the ground, about a foot length forward, then slide the right foot back a few inches and shift the weight to it, with heel lowered to the ground, then continue with alternation. The movement is most primitive, with crouching body and stealthy step and furtive side to side glance, suggesting expectancy of a lurking enemy.

SUN DANCE

The sun dance celebrates the return of Spring, the planting and growth of the corn under the kindly sun. Four persons perform the dance in single file about two feet apart. Each holds a rattle in the right hand which is shaken slightly at each step of the right foot. A bow and arrow are held in the left hand. The movements are practically all in place. Once in the course of the dance they face
about but they return to the original position before the end.

LOS MATACHINES

Developed probably since the Spanish Conquest it is the most derivative of the Indian dances. The steps are unlike other Indian dances, the music sounds like an European folk tune. The instrument is a violin and there is no vocal part. The costumes almost defy description. Long white trousers, a fringed Spanish shawl over a shirt or coat, a mask over the lower face and a fringe of black beads over the eyes, a rattle concealed in a bright scarf in the right hand and a decorated wooden trident in the left and topping it all a bishop's mitre sparkling with ornaments and topped with a cross. Colored ribbons stream from the back of the mitre. The leader of the Matachines is Mananca who wears a caplike crown with a cross. An unsmiling little Indian girl, Malinche is in a white frock, clumsy black leather store shoes and a long white net veil like a first communicant, with a flower wreath. Two mimes, a boy wearing a hide and head of a bull, the other a man with an exaggerated patriarchal appearance and armed with a whip and wooden knife complete the group. The costumes vary among the tribes. There are many conflicting theories of the origin and meaning. One version is that the little girl represents the church and is pursued by sin and the devil but escapes them
and she rescues the people as the Church does. The grotesques are sin and death who are destroyed by the Church or each other. Other versions attribute it to myths and legends of Montezuma, the last ruler of the Aztecs and the girl is identified with Marina who acts as Cortez intermediary between the Spanish and the Aztecs in the affairs of the Conquest. The leader of the Matchines is sometimes identified with Montezuma.
PART III

NEW MEXICAN REGIONAL ART

CHAPTER I

Spanish Colonial Architecture
SPANISH-COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE

While the architecture of the Southwest is very expressive of the pioneer needs and the rugged setting it occupies, it was the result of a long heredity traceable through Mexico to Spain. From the Iberians to the Romans, through the Visigoths to the Moors, Spanish blood and architecture had become truly cosmopolitan.

When the Spaniards arrived in Mexico they built in the style of their homeland, borrowing little from the Aztecs. Plateresque, the classicism of Herrera and the very unarchitectural and decorative Churrigueresque style were in turn used by the colonists in building new world structures. While the style was of Spain, the native labor contributed a certain barbaric quality that is noticeable in most of the Mexican architecture.

The priests, who were usually the builders, had no professional architectural training. So, in building their churches in the remote mission fields, they could but do their best. The near churches in Texas and Arizona had the benefit of workmen from Mexico but the same was not so of the California and New Mexican missions. The padres, aided by their Indian neophytes, used the humble materials at hand and the techniques of their helpers. The provincial development in New Mexico was "a style, which for the country
PLATE 22

San Buena Ventura at Cochiti Pueblo

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in which it was developed, has not been excelled". "The charm of the New Mexican...churches may in a measure be said to consist of a certain naive simplicity and a rugged straight-forwardness that is as interesting as it is rare."¹

Fray Marcos de Niza discovered New Mexico for Spain in 1539, Coronado explored the territory in 1540 and 1542 and Don Juan de Oñate brought his band of four hundred colonists to the present site of the San Juan pueblo in 1598. But it was not until 1609, when Don Pedro de Peralta was appointed governor, that the development of the New Mexican province was started in earnest. "The day of the get-rich-quick adelantado was over, and a settled policy of gradual development at royal expense was inaugurated," says Dr. George P. Hammond.²

Out from Santa Fe went the Franciscan friars to establish their missions and convert the Indians. These missions were in time to develop an architectural idiom that is most truly American.

In general the mission structures followed similar plans. Placed around a patio, or little plaza, were the domestic buildings forming three sides, with the church making the fourth side. The churches were simple cruciform,

¹ Rexford Newcomb, Spanish Colonial Architecture in the United States, New York, 1937.
² The Founding of New Mexico, New Mexican Historical Review, Vol. II, 143.
PLATE 23

Ranchos de Taos
basilican or one-aisled in plan. The entrance was flanked by twin towers or an open belfry might be centered atop. Many of the churches had an outside balcony at the level of the choir loft. (Plate 22) A porch or covered walk was typical of most of the facades. These portales as they are called, are colonnaded and formed by heavy carved wooden beams, vigas, and brackets resting on the round wooden columns.

The general lines of the mission buildings resemble the terraced houses of the Indians. The flowing lines and the graceful picturesque mass melt into the landscape. Adobe bricks or stone laid in mud-mortar and mud-plastered inside as well as out, formed the principal materials. Roofs were heavy beams, wood-ceiled and covered with turf on top. The walls were blank and unadorned, with only the belfry relieving the outlines of the church. Belfries were of two types. (Plate 23) The pair of square towers topped with an open belfry or a single pierced belfry above the facade of the church. A low parapet often surrounded the flat earthy roof and was pierced with canales, or spouts, for drainage.

The interiors of the mission churches were blank and bare except at the sanctuary and where the colorful retablos, altars or paintings brought from Mexico or Spain concentrated the interest of the congregation. The carved vigas of the
PLATE 24

San Miguel at Santa Fe

from a photograph taken before 1872
roof and the choir loft were other points of interest in the bare interiors.

San Miguel Church of Santa Fe is generally referred to as the oldest church structure in the United States. La Leche in St. Augustine Florida also claims the same honor. The date of San Miguel's founding cannot be authenticated but the Right Reverend J. B. Salpointe, second Bishop of Santa Fe, writing in his book "Soldiers of the Cross," fixes the date at 1605 or 1606 but later historians inclined to place it after 1609 under the Governorship of Peralta. Some enthusiasts even place it in 1541, the winter Coronado stayed at Tiguex, which pueblo was the site of the Royal City of the Holy Faith. (Plate 24)

During the Pueblo rebellion of 1680, the church was fired, as were all the other Spanish buildings, with the exception of the Palace of the Governor. After the reconquest by de Vargas the church was repaired in 1693. The repairs were completed in 1710, which information is inscribed on a great square beam near the west end of the building.

The exterior of the building has changed its appearance many times, but its massive walls are the same. Fully five feet thick, they are one reason why the building has withstood the attacks of fire, battles and earthquakes. There was a triple tower, each story diminishing in size but a severe storm wrecked the upper story in 1872. When the
building was repaired the tower was not restored. Stone buttresses were constructed on either side at the front to prevent further damage. Considerable Spanish and Mexican carving may be found upon the puncheon floor of the gallery.

An ancient bell, weighing seven hundred and eighty pounds, is over four inches thick and has a most melodic tone. Legend has it that it dates from 1356, and was a votive offering in honor of St. Joseph, during the invasion of the Moors in Spain - that it is made of gold and silver plate and the jewelry of the petitioners. The bell was cast and it sounded the defeat of Moslemism in Spain, so the story goes, and then came to ring in the birth of Christianity when the padres found their way up the Rio Grande.¹

With the exception of the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fé, the major Hispanic monuments of new Mexico are all ecclesiastical.

The "palacio" was erected probably in 1610 by Peralta who was the founder of Santa Fé, and was its first occupant. It was used as a government building for 300 years under three ruling powers. In 1680 it housed in its compound, the entire population of new Mexico. After their evacuation, it was partially burned but was immediately reoccupied after the reconquest by de Vargas. Originally the Palace was the

¹ Edward F. Rines, Old Historic Churches of America, New York, 1936.
most imposing part of the royal presidio. It extended east and west along the north side of the plaza for a distance of 400 feet and north and south more than double that distance. Entirely surrounded by an adobe wall, the buildings within were known as Casas Reales. The palace, quarters for the soldiers and a few governmental buildings composed the group. A pair of towers stood at either end on the plaza side. The west tower was used to store powder and military equipment and the east tower housed the castrense, or chapel of Our Lady of Light, for the military. Connecting with the tower to the west were the dungeons and a covered porch extended the whole length of the building on the south facade in the same manner as it does today.

During the rebellion the Indians walled up the door to the chapel in the south tower, cut a hole in the roof for a ladder and, clearing the interior of everything which had been in it, had a ready-made round kiva.¹

The architecture represents the earliest application of Spanish methods and ideas to indigenous materials. Arches are absent because the adobe bricks were thought incapable of supporting the arch construction. The use of flat roofs and fibas was borrowed directly from the Indians. Only the

doors, windows and the covered portal were Spanish innovations. A "puddled" adobe wall, a method similar to the pouring of concrete between forms, is exhibited under glass in the Territorial Room suggesting that the building may have been, in part, pre-Spanish. The adobe brick was a method unknown before the Spaniards arrival.

The building is a hallow rectangle with a grassy patio in the center. It has survived many vicissitudes and in recent years was almost raised to make way for a many storied office building. It has been turned over for an historic museum and preserves within its restored walls, the Hispanic trophies of the past. It's preservation has inspired, since 1909, an appreciation of this indigenous New Mexican style of architecture and its use has spread. It also started the reclamation of the religious monuments in the pueblos.

The Franciscan missions of the Archaic group - Pecos, Ábo, Quarai, Grand Quivira, Jemez and Ácoma - were built within twenty-five years of the founding of Santa Fé.¹ Pecos was rebuilt and probably used for a hundred years. Ácoma, which survived the rebellion, has never been completely abandoned. The others have been in ruins for more than two hundred and fifty years. These missions were built about

150 years before the Franciscans built their California Missions. All except Jemez were East of the Rio Grande at the foot of the mountains, the eastern frontier of the pueblos, and so, were the first pueblos to be abandoned to the ravages of the Apaches and Comanches. All but Pecos were extinguished about 1680.

These six churches, Pecos in adobe, the rest in stone, are a noble group of ruins — crude, massive and elemental as compared with the later missions of California, Arizona and Texas. Although they are in advanced decay, the main architectural features remain. Nave, transept, chancel, high altar and baptistry, flagstone floor and the adjacent convento with austere cells, fireplaces, corridors and patio, all present a priceless heritage of sound traditional form, meeting the requirements of the environment.

The School of American Archaeology and the Museum of New Mexico acquired the Pecos ruins in 1921 and the Jemez mission the same year. The mission and pueblo of Gran Quivira was acquired in 1922 by the same school and the Federal government. In 1928 Quarai mission was purchased by the University of New Mexico and in 1937, Abo was acquired by the University of New Mexico. All are in the public domain. There were many staying attempts made to preserve the mission monuments, but the W.P.A. was the godsend in the 1930's for their restoration.

The Cristo Rey church on Canyon Road in Santa Fe is
the Catholic Church's Memorial to the Coronado Cuarto Centennial in 1940. It is the largest adobe structure in the Southwest. One hundred eighty thousand adobe bricks, 4x10x13 inches, were reportedly used in its construction, being made on the site by natives. All native lumber was used, the enormous vigas each weighting 2500 pounds, were hewn in the Chama mountain region. Cristo Rey was built around the stone reredos from the Castrense which was dedicated in 1761. Bishop Lamy had it removed to his new St. Francis Cathedral, where it remained in a back chapel until it was transferred to Cristo Rey.
CHAPTER II

Domestic Architecture
DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

The sunlit lands of the Mediterranean area gave rise to a very distinct type of architecture. The emphasis on light and shade produced an open court plan in the Assyrian palace, the Greek house, the Roman villa and in the Spanish residence. The primitive impulse to build an artificial shelter from the heat is noticeable in all.

The vicissitudes of Spanish history developed a type of house eminently suited to life in sunny lands. Turning a bleak facade to the street, it reserves its greatest interest for the interior or patio where family life abounds in this outdoor living room. This is the type of house that the conquistadores introduced into their New World environments, in the Indies, South America, Mexico and wherever they settled in what is now the United States.\footnote{Based on "The Spanish House for America," Rexford Newcomb, J. P. Lippincott, 1927.}

The Spanish houses in New Mexico, while typically Spanish in plan, vary from their prototypes in Mexico and Spain. The sedentary Indian population was already living in cities when the Spanish came, and had developed an appropriate native architecture. So, when they helped their conquerors build houses, an amalgamation of half-Spanish, half-Indian resulted, entirely unlike anything developed in other Spanish colonies.
The mass and outline of the terraced pueblos prevail in the picturesque silhouettes of the houses but they remain uniformly low, never more than two stories high. Flowing lines and good proportions add greatly to the charm and make them eminently suited to the environment.

Rexford Newcomb says:

The flowing quality of line which asserts itself not only in the elevations but also in the plans of the older New Mexican types probably came about through the Indian's appreciation of nature's disregard for right lines. He therefore shows no respect for them nor for mathematical right angles. Thus his plans, as well as his masses, show many pleasant little inexactnesses which impart to the house a quality of life that no mathematically accurate structure can possibly have.\(^1\)

Coming into America, the Spaniards used the materials at hand. While stone was employed in New Mexico, the material most widely used was the plebian adobe, sun baked clay, stroked into place by the bare hands of the Indian masons who were called in to build the houses.

The abundance of native cedar made possible a type of house not found elsewhere. The roofs were flat and formed of earth, tramped down upon a ceiling made of small saplings, laid in herringbone pattern on heavy beams or vigas, the ends of which projected through the walls and showed on the outside. The earthen covering of the roofs is always rolled after a heavy rain to fill the cracks that develop on drying. Water drains outward and is led through hewn spouts, canales,

\(^1\) Ibid., p. 33.
to the ground.

Another interesting feature of New Mexican houses are the porches or portales, which flank the patios or extend across the front of the buildings. Parapeted earthen roofs, carried upon heavy undressed beams, are supported by circular columns of pine, capped by carved brackets or double corbels, known as zapatas. Such columns can be traced to old Spain where the brackets were executed in carved stone or wood.

Exposed windows or those near the ground in Spain are always protected by grills of either wood or iron. In New Mexico these rejas or grills were usually square cross-section because there were no lathes available for turning them. The Indian craftsmen notched them, and color was frequently added in the notches for an interesting effect.

The pier and column with the colonnade, and, of course, the arch and its derivative the arcade, was expedient because of the sunshine that prevails throughout the year. The Spanish had an historical background of such protections, so they are found extensively throughout the Southwest. Notable ones are those on the Palace of the Governors and the Federal building in Santa Fe.

Few architectural changes took place during the three centuries of Latin domination. Homes of the wealthy haciendados, or ricos up and down the Rio Grande Valley, were
finer than those of the poorer people, but the difference was mainly in size and detail. As communication with Mexico was established, iron, tin, glass and other refinements of living were imported which lead to slight modifications but essentially they remained the same.

The acquisition of New Mexico by the United States in 1846 resulted in profound changes in architecture.\(^1\) As the Santa Fe Trail became safer for travel increasing numbers of Anglo-Americans arrived with new materials and architectural ideas based on their backgrounds. Millwork, brick and double sashes, as well as shutters on the outside, began to appear. Doors, windows and portals were trimmed and slender squared columns replaced heavy hewn ones. With the introduction of brick kilns and lime plaster, the old adobes were capped with protecting cornices of brick, and walls were coated with stucco. These changes were surface changes only, however, the basic structures remaining the same. This style is known as Territorial to distinguish it from Pueblo-Spanish. There are examples of it in Santa Fe on Canyon Road.

With the advent of the railroad, builders were no longer dependent on native materials and the newer towns took on the look of the Mid-west. Many types were employed.

\(^1\) Based on "New Mexico, W.P.A. Guide Series, Hasting House, 1940."
The first capitol was built in Victorian Gothic to be replaced later by a domed capitol in neo-English Renaissance style. The later building was raised in 1951 and is being replaced by a new one in the traditional Pueblo-Spanish style.

A renascence of indigenous architecture has proved eminently practical in modern dwellings as well as public buildings in Taos and Santa Fe, where the movement has been most persistent. Old traditions have been successfully revivied. Nowhere else in the United States can a style of architecture be found with an unbroken line of descent from aboriginal sources.
CHAPTER III

Santos
SANTOS

At the time that Spanish colonists from Mexico were establishing their first roots in New Mexico, Spain was in the height of her artistic glory. Velasquez, El Greco, Ribera and Zubaran were roughly contemporaneous, and, in 1680, Murillo was born in Seville, which became the center of Spanish art. Sweet Madonnas, such as Murillo painted, found their way across the sea and over the tortuous way with the settlers.

The colonization of New Spain, being as much a work of the Church as of state, art was brought along for the adornment of the church, as well as of homes. No mission church was complete without its painted and carved reredos, and its stations of the Cross, its Crucifix and its replicas of the saints. These were all a part of the things necessary for the establishment of a church. So there are in New Mexico old paintings of the Spanish and Italian school, some in private collections and some still in the churches. The "St. Joseph of Ácoma" is one of the best known. It was the subject of a lawsuit instituted by the Ácoma Pueblo against the Laguna Pueblo over its possession in 1358. Another old master is claimed by the church at Isleta, while San Miguel in Santa Fé possesses a canvas claimed to be from the brush of Cimabue. Old wills among the Spanish Archives list paintings and sculpture. These were of course, religious
works of art, for in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, art was the handmaiden of religion. There is little doubt of the antiquity of these works of art in the public domain and the era to which they belong. Thus the local art derived from sources in the mother country, for the original imported paintings served as models for crude copies.

To supply the great love the colonists felt for religious art, paintings were made under the direction of the missionary priests. The result was a primitive adaptation of Spanish painting.

During the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680 the churches were razed and the paintings brought from Europe were damaged. In the reconstruction the local artists strayed from tradition, since there were fewer of the originals to pattern after, and developed a native expression based on their own conceptions and drawn from environment.

In a short time the making of "santos" as the paintings and statues of the saints were called, developed into a business as well as a devotional pastime among the settlers. Old records tell of visits of itinerant wood carvers who came up from Mexico City to carve "bultos," as the wooden statues are called, others came to paint santos for church and home. In those days, every home of importance had its private chapel in which was to be found sacred paintings and bultos and every home, however, humble had its patron saint. Remote pueblos or even shepherders huts have turned up old
PLATE 25

Our Lady of Guadalupe,
Bulto of Mexican Derivation.
By New Mexican Santero

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bultos and retablos mellowed with age. There are occasionally painted boards, retablos, that are signed by the santero but the names of most of the artisans have been lost in the ages.

The native folk art of the santero, amateur and professional flourished because of the need of the colonials for some artistic expression. In 1854 the beloved Archbishop Lamy with his company of French priests brought a more sophisticated viewpoint to New Mexican art appreciation, introducing new standards of ecclesiastical art and architecture in their nostalgic love of their home land. The St. Francis Cathedral in Santa Fé, with its Gothic spires and mullioned windows, is an exotic example. The opening of the Santa Fé Trail and rise of commerce from the east with the United States, introduced still more influences, Currier and Ives religious prints and flamboyant chromos. Native arts gradually gave way to the commercial articles, as nothing was done to encourage them. It is only in recent years that an appreciation of this charming indigenous folk art has been aroused.

Santos, or saints, include bultos which are carved statues and retablos which are painted boards used as pictures or as backdrops for altars.

The bultos were usually carved from the very soft cottonwood trees which abound. (Plate 25) It was used, prob-
ably because it is so easy to carve, but it has other disadvantages. It chips and splinters easily. After a coating of gesso was applied, they were colored with available dyes or earth tones. Other bultos were made by impregnating cloth or skin with gesso and stretching it over a reed like frame. The frame was then decorated. This reduced the amount of carving considerably, leaving only the heads, hands and, perhaps, the block torso to the unskilled worker.

In spite of the fact that juniper was available, it was seldom used by the New Mexican santero. Instead, the cottonwood was almost invariably used. After the soft wood had been carved it was finished with one or several layers of gesso in preparation for the subsequent coloring. This sizing was made in several ways. One native recipe according to Mitchell Wilder,¹ consisted in mixing a paste of flour and water in the proportions of one quart of flour to a gallon of water. Gypsum was baked in an oven until very white, then ground to a fine powder. The gypsum powder was boiled in water to a stiff paste and the flour paste added till the mixture was the proper consistency. This native mixture is much too friable, so no doubt commercial animal glue was used instead of the flour in many of the better examples of the santos, because they have a very hard surface. Too intense heat in cooking the gesso frequently

¹ Santos, Mitchell A. Wilder, New York, 1943.
resulted in a buff or ivory tint. Poorly prepared gesso, checks and chips and even the entire surface has fallen off of some retablos.

Extensive modelling was possible with gesso and frequently features were built up with it to abet the crude carving. There are a few examples of relief panels being built up with this gypsum medium.

A common technique in the construction of bultos, involved the used of gesso and cloth. The head, the torso and the arms were carved and attached to a tent like arrangement of reeds. This radiating tipi was then covered with cloth, previously impregnated. When the fabric dried it stretched taut over the framework, giving adequate support to the figure. There is an example of this type in the bulto of Nuestra Senora at Santa Cruz, in the church of that name. The cover of Art News, December, 1950 has a colorful reproduction of this type of eighteenth century bulto. The gesso and cloth was frequently draped to represent the folds of the garment and offered an excellent surface for painting.

Many of the larger bultos had articulated parts. The arms, the legs and even the jaw, in a few rare examples, were made flexible by means of bits of leather or cloth. The bultos with moveable parts were typical of those found in the moradas of the Penitentes because even greater realism could be achieved.

Little is known of the paints used to color the orig-
inal bultos and recent santeros, like José Lopez of Cordova, and Celso Gallegos of Agua Fria, in using paints have not achieved the same effect as the old ones. Gilberto Espinosa, an authority on Spanish American culture believes that earth and vegetable colors of local origin were used for yellow and red. The blues were probably indigo, locally used extensively in weaving; but not stable for painting, because the blues are invariably quite faded. Since gilt and gold leaf were unavailable in New Mexico in the early days, examples with gold on the original coat can be identified as of Mexican origin.

Fine rosin varnish was frequently used to cover the surface of the painted bultos, and the poor grade of the varnish has made the surface crack extensively, darkening it to a deep brown. By removing the outercoats of varnish, it is possible to see the original paint or coloring. Many of the santos were repainted extensively in spring house-cleaning episodes, no doubt, but the top layers have been removed from many revealing the original surface.

To add to the realism of the figures, ingenious use of material at hand was employed. Mica to add a gleam to the eye, real hair for wigs, carved wooden teeth, tin for details were means of embellishment.

1 New Mexico Santos, New Mexico Magazine, March, 1935.
After laborious experiment, many of the santeros developed distinct characteristics which are discernable. Mitchell Wilder groups them thus:

Santa Cruz Valley - characterized by a delicacy of carving in the face and hands, puckered lips and a long pointed nose, flat on the ridge, with protruding eyeballs. A bend to the figure is a typical mannerism.

The "Flat Figures" - a wide spread type, many of which have been found in Mora County, New Mexico. Austere impelling countenances and flat bodies are typical. On the male figures square black beards, jutting chins and angular noses are standard equipment. The hands are rudely carved resembling little combs and the entire figure lacks a three dimensional quality.

Taos - The Penitente Brotherhood flourished in the northern part of New Mexico, so many of the bultos from this section are easily distinguishable for their agonized attitudes. The figures are frequently large and realistic with articulated arms and extensive use of draped cloth dipped in gesso, sculptured gesso beards and mica eyes.

Arroyo Hondo - Bultos from this section are characterized by the bulk of the lower body, full painted beard around a slightly open mouth, and a very long sharp nose.

The making of santos was widely distributed, so it is difficult to localize the varying styles after so much elapsed time.
Copying from paintings was frequent in the retablos, with original additions in expression and interpretation by the artist. The santeros were frequently skilled primitives and achieved great proficiency in line and brush work. Some, lesser talented, have left evidence of actual tracing on some old retablos, but with all, have had intriguing results. Such examples have been attributed to the later years after 1850.

Copying of prints and chromos in the nineteenth century was frequent, when they became available. Traces of Mexican, European and Currier and Ives, which were extensively distributed, are identified. Since the santos were developed through the limitations of the environment, as trade and travel opened up, the art of the santero waned until it was only a memory in the remaining examples of this indigenous craft. The remoteness of New Mexico from the trade routes for so long, can be thanked for the development of this charming and devotional folk art.

E. Boyd, formerly of the Federal Art Project, in her book "Saints and Saint Makers of New Mexico," published by the Laboratory of Anthropology in 1946, has made an outstanding contribution to information available on this charming native American folk art.

While Mitchell Wilder, in his book, "Santos," deals primarily with bultos, Miss Boyd has concentrated her re-
search on the retablos. It is her considered opinion, after studying some two hundred and sixty examples, that some of the artists can be identified and dated.

The most prolific was Nolleño, better known as the "Chili Painter," 1820-40, so called because of the inevitable decoration of the red peppers, in lieu of baroque detail. She attributes forty of the two-hundred and sixty she analyzed to him. José Aragon, who accommodately signed and dated a few of his retablos, is placed at 1825 to 1835; Miguel Aragon, whose retablos are identified with Cordova and Chimayo, is placed at about 1830-50; and a disciple or imitator of Miguel Aragon who is readily identified, is believed to be a contemporary. Two santeros who have left no clue to their names, but whose work is distinctive enough to be recognized, are named by E. Boyd as the "oriental painter," because of the slanting eyes and as the "Dot-and Dash Painter," because of a trick of space filling. Over a period of fifteen years E. Boyd examined over a thousand santos. The two hundred and sixty that comprise her test group are those of the Cady Wells collection in the Laboratory of Anthropology; the John Gaw Meem collection; the Seligman collection, the Museum of Santa Fe, the Gilmour collection and her own, all in Santa Fe; the Harwood Foundation, Taos; the Taylor Museum at Colorado Springs and the Evans Collection in the Denver Art Museum.
In the foreword of "Saints" she concludes:

Barring a few inferior examples, the santos of New Mexico appear, on critical examination, to have been the work of perhaps a dozen men. When we realize that this handful supplied all of the reredos, retablos, and bultos for the churches and homes of New Mexico for nearly a century, we must accord them the status of professional artists whose constant output earned their livelihood.

The outstanding work of art, and one whose history is recorded beyond any doubt, is the stone carved reredos of the old Military chapel, the Castrense in Santa Fé, dedicated in the spring of 1761, now housed in El Cristo Rey Church in Santa Fé.

Art critics say that this reredos is "the most extraordinary piece of ecclesiastical art that has been preserved within the boundaries of the United States from Spanish Colonial times...captivating in its quiet and serene beauty and fascinating through its intricate but harmonious blending of Spanish and Indian motives of decoration."

Carved as it was by pious Spanish and Indian hands in the best period of Spanish-Mexican baroque style, this carved stone reredos is said to be an "unique expression of the amalgamation of the two cultures" and "Santa Fé is blessed with possessing it."

The reredos, entirely of stone, stands thirty-nine feet high and eighteen feet wide, carved from native New Mexico white stone, and tinted in beautiful old fresco colors. All
its sections are intact except the original panel containing the relief of our Lady of Light, which for some reason was replaced by a wooden panel of San Juan Capistrano. The Lady of Light panel was also preserved, however.

The reredos was the gift to the Military Chapel by the then Governor, Francisco Antonio Martín del Valle and his wife, Doña María Martínez de Ugarte. Bishop Pedro Tamaron of Durango, in his journal of 1760 tells of his visit to Santa Fé and of the Castrense with its beautiful reredos. The Castrense is said to have been the second church in Santa Fé, the first having been located in the now destroyed tower of the Old Palace where De Vargas is supposed to have been buried. If this ancient reredos had been found in Europe, modern experts say it would be credited to the 16th century, if in Mexico it would be 17th Century. Made in Santa Fé in the 18th Century, it is in the style of the previous centuries. The carving has been compared to that of the Cathedral of Zacatecas, and as it is known that Del Valle visited Zacatecas in 1759-60 it is supposed that he brought back with him stone carvers from there to carve his reredos. The native white stone according to old records was found "in a vein 80 leagues from Santa Fé."

The Castrense was abandoned, and when Bishop Lamy came, he found it was being used as a U.S. court room. He sought and won its return to the Church's jurisdiction. He placed
the reredos in a chapel of his new Cathedral, where it remained until 1940 when it was transferred to the new El Christo Rey Church up the Canyon.
CHAPTER IV

Conclusion
CONCLUSION

This survey of the arts and crafts of the Pueblo Indians and the New Mexican Spaniards was planned to point the way to the vast field of research that lies in the Southwest. Many specialists have delved into the history of the area. Governmental and private institutions have worked on the many facets of this interesting region. As far as prehistory is concerned, who knows what may turn up next? In the Southwest everyone is an archaeologist, kicking up sherds with the toes of his boots. Boy Scouts are forever delving into caves or cowboys riding around to come suddenly upon ancient cave dwellers' fastness.

An attempt has been made to give a representative picture of indigenous Pueblo Indian art through the ages, a cultural resource that is of great antiquity, and never fully appreciated. The Pueblo Indians' achievements both past and present constitute a great artistic and spiritual heritage.

Pottery is their greatest contribution, with a few contemporary artists carrying on the best traditions of design. Weaving, basketry, turquoise and silver work, all are crafts that have been employed by the Pueblos, more or less spasmodically. The modern development of moveable picture painting among the pueblos has discovered many able artists, who paint in a style peculiarly their own. It is in the traditional

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ceremonials, however, that the Pueblos' love of color, drama and design is presented most spectacularly.

Together the Indians, their Spanish Neighbors and the Johnny-come-lately Americans have achieved a community life that is colorful and unique. The artists who flocked to Taos and other communities of the Southwest, while exploiting the scenery and the charm of the inhabitants, have contributed little, except, perhaps, appreciation for the native crafts. The imposition of European standards is not the solution to the problem. The further development of Indian art must come from the deep rooted spirit and genius of the Indians themselves, rather than from the tutelage and new set of values offered by their would be benefactors.

The santos and bultos of the early Spanish settlers are phenomena of a bygone era, deserving their place among the other visual and plastic arts in our American museums. Their naive charm is another proud heritage of our country's past achievements.

The pageant of history as presented in the Southwest provides a basis for thoughtful evaluation so necessary for progress, whether in the arts or the art of living.
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