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THE INFLUENCE OF THE EARLY CULTURE
OF NEW MEXICO ON THE CONTEMPORARY
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THE INFLUENCE OF THE EARLY CULTURE OF NEW MEXICO
ON THE CONTEMPORARY FASHIONS OF THAT AREA

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

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Approved by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Overview

Anatole France, the great French writer, commenting on the changes and innovations occurring in this world, said that a fashion magazine would be the only guide he would need to find his way about, should he be allowed to return to this planet a hundred years after his death. He was convinced that fashion, above everything else, betrays the aspirations, dreams, and ideas which are prevalent in a certain period, and that the clothing styles mirror the life of the people who wear them.

Textiles and clothing tell a fascinating story. It is the story of man's development from savage through civilization. It is the history of man's innate desire to satisfy his love for adornment. In textiles and clothing...people have expressed their innermost feelings--their status, their customs, traditions, and many events in their lives and history.¹

The age-old interdependence of clothes and customs from cave-dweller to modern man has nowhere been

¹ Katherine Holtzclaw, "Costume and Culture," Journal of Home Economics, XLVIII, No. 6, June 1956, 404.

so well established as in New Mexico where archaeologists have been able to reconstruct much of the past life of people.

Prehistoric man's desire for decoration and protection of the body was probably the primary impetus for the invention of clothing in warmer climates. The first item of wearing apparel seems to have been a large fur wrapped around the body serving as a cloak and providing insulation against the cold.

The bones and skeletons, which the archaeologists of the Southwest have unearthed, testify to the chronological age of man but produce very little, if any, evidence of early clothing. However, ornaments, awls, and needles of bone with which man made clothes, have been found in prehistoric cave sites and can be dated back as far as 20,000 years.

Much inventive genius was required to fashion a cloak from a large fur-bearing animal's skin to cover the human body, because of the crude tools of that day. To do this, and fasten that cloak to the body by thongs worn around the shoulders or neck so as to give freedom of movement without bodily discomfort, or to connect a series of pelts together and attach them to the body as a coat, required ingenuity of a high order.

So it is evident that primitive man progressed tremendously when he realized that a number of small furs could also provide a cover for the body if they could be fastened together by some means. The result was the invention of the awl and string.

When the hunting groups were replaced by agricultural communities of more settled people, important improvements took place in the development of women's clothing. One of the earliest crops to be raised by these sedentary groups in the Southwest was a wild variety of cotton. This crop was instrumental in changing the production of clothing greatly. Inventions such as hand looms for weaving, devices for spinning, dyestuffs, and methods of dyeing became evident. These devices and methods developed to such an extent, that when the historical periods were reached, the Indians in New Mexico were already in possession of two types of clothing which substantially covered the body. The first was made of weaving animal or vegetable fibers into a fabric which was draped around the body; the second, by stitching together pieces of fabric or materials. The making of clothing from woven fabric by cutting and tailoring the fabric to fit the shape of the body did not come until later.

The Writer's Interest in the Problem

The particular interest of the writer in the cultural background and existing clothing factories of New Mexico was aroused by--

1. An Indian fashion show presented by the late Dr. Frederic H. Douglas, Curator of the Denver Art Museum, in the Brooklyn Museum in 1949.
2. Teaching residence in New Mexico since 1946.
3. Attendance of a number of Pueblo Indian Ceremonials.
4. Observations of the impact of the annual tourist business in New Mexico on the entire nation's fashions with its own particular style of women's garments.
5. Interviews and visits with clothing designers of New Mexico, representatives of various Indian groups, faculty members of Indian schools, creators of authentic doll collections, and curators of the museums in Sante Fe and Denver.
6. A course in the history of the Southwest audited on the campus of Eastern New Mexico University, 1960.
7. Contact with students from various culture patterns (Indian, Spanish, Anglo-American).

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study is to ascertain the influence of the early culture of New Mexico on the contemporary fashions of that area. The writer will attempt to shed greater light on what is already known about the cultural development of New Mexico through analyzing the clothing fashions of prehistoric, historic, and modern women in this area.

It is in the above context that the New Mexico clothing industry will be examined and the findings presented in two ways: first, by compiling authentic material about New Mexico's women's fashions, properly documented for specific historic periods, occasioned by the Indian, Spanish, and Anglo impacts on the Southwest; second, by analyzing the influence of the cultural interchange on the adaptations which the twentieth century dress designers create for the ready-to-wear industry of New Mexico.

Justification of the Study

World histories have generally been written by men, and in writing them they have, almost without exception, ignored women. The early history of the Southwest has been transmitted to us largely through notes kept by

explorers, diaries written by male missionaries who accompanied the explorers, and logs kept by the officers who made the expeditions into the new land. These recorders were so busy with their affairs that very little information was registered concerning the women of the American Southwest. Nevertheless, while the men made history, women were history.

Therefore it is the belief of the writer that very little information is available about woman's role as transmitter of the culture, which is, in part, reflected in the fashion changes of her clothing, and that this limited information is scattered in bits through anthropological and historical sources.

The writer further believes that in spite of scant written records, women made a sizable contribution to the primitive clothing industry which can, upon close scrutiny, be detected in the fashion changes of her garments.

If aught in the heavens above, or on the earth beneath or in the waters wore a skin, savage women were found on examination to have had a name for it, and to have succeeded in turning it into its primitive use for human clothing and to have invented¹ new uses undreamed of by its original owner.

¹ Otis Lufton Mason, Woman's Share in Primitive Culture (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1898), 71.

It is the conviction of the writer that fashion changes throughout the ages run parallel to social, economic, climatic, psychological, and cultural changes. Their limited records in the form of photographs or museum pieces serve as a visible example of what words may convey only imperfectly.

The writer holds the concept that the contemporary fashion designers of New Mexico reflect the past cultures of that area through adaptations incorporated into the women's wear which is being manufactured there today.

In keeping with these concepts, it is the belief of the writer that there are several significant factors that support the defense of the above theses:

1. The consciousness of the scarcity of published and unpublished bibliographies and first-hand source material on women's clothing in the prehistoric, historic, and modern periods of the conquest of the Southwest. This is obvious when public and museum librarians of New Mexico report that search for authentic descriptions of period garments requires a great deal of their time when a centennial is observed any place in the state.

2. The awareness of evidence in limited museum collections and original photographs, presents a challenge

to prove that the traditional dress of the native women of New Mexico reflects their ingenuity in creating clothing with style from the natural elements of their surroundings.

3. The cognizance of visible evidence of a distinctive Southwest fashion incorporated in the formal and informal wear of contemporary New Mexican women.

Consequently the writer feels that this study is unique; first, in that, except for limited references in scattered sources, she is unaware of any work done in this specific area of research; second, that the fragmentary evidence of source material on the clothing industry of New Mexico reveals that this survey is probably the first of its kind.

Hypotheses

The writer postulates that--

1. Twentieth-century dress designers of New Mexico reflect the Southwest culture of the past, creating a local impact on the fashion market of the entire nation, as well as abroad, with their own particular design and style of women's dresses.

2. Women's clothing in New Mexico serves as an independent witness on the subject of the past which has

been incompletely recorded by observers or distorted by human memory.

Methods of Procedure and Techniques

This dissertation was designed to be a historical research. The procedure involved, first, an analysis of historical data in terms of the subject matter and, second, a survey of a selected regional market producing women's and misses' apparel.

The writer traced the women's clothing fashions through the remains of ancient cultures, modern Indian villages, Spanish-speaking towns, and up-to-date cities inhabited by the atomic scientist. For convenience, a summary sheet was formulated to chart the characteristics of garments, hair arrangements, accessories, and footwear of New Mexico women through the cultural developmental stages of the Southwest.

Aided by the 1958 Directory of New Mexico Manufacturing and Mining put out by the Bureau of Business Research,¹ the writer made a survey of the women's ready-to-wear garment factories in New Mexico to discover the

¹ Vincente T. Ximenes. The 1958 Directory of New Mexico Manufacturing and Mining Bureau of Research. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1958.

production, distribution, consumption, number of employees, and designers for each establishment. This information was collected with the help of a survey sheet used in a personal interview with the designer or manager of each factory visited. The survey sheet included data on the personal life of the designer, preparation and training for the position, factors involved in the choice of the designing career, the style of garments designed, the philosophy of designing, the steps of production, the potential market, and the recognition received by each designer.

Both primary and secondary sources of research were utilized. The primary sources included several different kinds of periodicals; diaries, journals, logs, historic records, inventories, numerous magazines, and books, all authored by those who themselves experienced the events. The secondary sources included books, analyses, and surveys compiled by authors who reviewed the original sources to prove their point.

The problem-solving method of research was employed in the organization of this assignment. The problem was identified as being twofold: first, a historic research study, which presupposed that the bulk of factual content would be gleaned from printed material available in public and museum library collections; second, an

on-the-spot survey study, which involved personal interviews. Next the steps were taken to solve this problem. The answer was arrived at after a two-week period of study at the Denver Art Museum and Denver Public Library, two weeks of research in the Santa Fe Museum, a 1500-mile field trip to visit the Apache, Navajo, and most of the Pueblo reservations in New Mexico, and a personal visit to the clothing factories in Lovington, Santa Fe, Taos, Albuquerque, and Galestego, New Mexico.

Limitations of the Study

Because of the broad scope of this study, certain limitations were set:

1. Women's apparel as a means of interpreting the culture of the American Southwest,
2. The state of New Mexico as one segment of the American Southwest,
3. The Indian, Spanish, and Anglo impact on New Mexico, and
4. The designers in factories of women's wear in New Mexico.

CHAPTER II

SETTING OF THE STUDY

Geographical Background

The term, American Southwest, means many things to many people. State ^rlines and international boundaries, which are man-made devices, do not delineate the region to the archaeologist who studies and seeks to interpret the life and times of prehistoric man.

It is generally agreed that the greater Southwest usually means the 465,000 square miles occupied by nine states: New Mexico, Arizona, California, Texas, Colorado, Oklahoma, Kansas, Utah, and Nevada. Such superlatives as "the lowest land, the largest canyon, the highest mountain, the driest deserts, the hottest valley, the richest mines, and the oldest towns in the United States,"¹ are common in this area.

The Southwest is a land where man and his works do not dominate. Modern civilization, as such, consists

¹ Natt N. Dodge and Herbert S. Zim, The American Southwest (New York: Golden Press, 1955), 4.

of only a spidery network of a few highways with a few cities clotted between them; where the wilderness is only a stone's throw from those highways and only a gunshot from those cities.¹

Some of the characteristics which entitle the Southwest to be considered a unit on a geographic and cultural basis are these: (1) It is known as the Indian country; (2) all of it has been touched by the Spaniards; (3) it is a relatively new country from the Anglo approach, (4) it is vast and thinly settled; (5) it is known for its hospitality; and (6) its people demonstrate a feeling of unlimited optimism.²

The climate of the Southwest is dry, warm, and breezy, identified by a clean atmosphere, abundant sunshine, and low humidity. It is postulated that these arid conditions have made it impossible for the bacteria of decay to survive, accounting for the preservation of much material which in most climates would have disappeared in a relatively short time.³

¹ Jack Shaefer, "My Southwest," Holiday, XXV (March 1959), 54-66.

² Rupert Norval Richardson and Carl Coke Rister, The Greater Southwest (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1935), 475-487.

³ Reuben Gold Thwaites, Early Western Travels, 1784-1849, XIX (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905), 277-299.

This study is limited to the state of New Mexico which is only one small segment of the geographical kinship of the American Southwest. In the American territorial days, Arizona and New Mexico were a single territory. Before that it was a single province of the Spanish colonial empire. Previous to that it was the range of the nomadic Navajos and Apaches who roamed freely and raided the Rio Grande Pueblos, Hopi, and Zuni tribes of prehistoric years, who, in turn, discovered it millennia ago. As recently as 1912 the New Mexico territory was divided into the states of Arizona and New Mexico and included as a part of the United States.¹

New Mexico is bounded on the north by Colorado; on the east by Oklahoma and Texas; on the south by Texas and the Republic of Mexico; and on the west by Arizona. Because of the unique geographical position on the map of the United States, joining corners with Colorado, Utah, and Arizona, New Mexico is often identified as one of the "Four Corners," the only spot in the United States where four states meet.²

¹ United States Statutes at Large, XXVI, Part I, 557-568.

² Erna Fergusson, New Mexico (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), 9.

New Mexico occupies a plateau which reaches its highest elevations in the north central parts and slopes to the south having an approximate mean altitude of 5,700 feet.¹ It is trisected by two series of north-and-south mountain ranges, belonging to the Southern Rocky Mountains under the name of Sangre de Cristo which extends southward from Colorado into east central New Mexico. This range divides the head waters of New Mexico's two most useful streams, the Rio Grande and the Pecos. They and their tributaries have provided irrigation for many centuries of farming and dramatic histories in interstate and international affairs.²

East of the Pecos River are high plains which break down in steep escarpments for hundreds of miles, known as Caprock. Early men marked their trails across these grasslands with stakes, which are named Llano Estacado (staked plains).³

Northwestern New Mexico is drained by the Canadian River, which rises not far from the head waters of the

¹ Frank D. Reeve, "New Mexico," Encyclopedia Americana, 1951 ed., XX, 148.

² Fergusson, loc. cit., 7.

³ Charles F. Coan, A History of New Mexico, I (Chicago: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1925), 3-4.

Rio Grande in Colorado. It collects waters from lesser streams whose names reappear in history: the Cimarron, Mora, Ute Creek, Tucumcari, and Conchas.¹

Between the headwaters of the Canadian and Rio Grande Rivers runs the Continental Divide. This wavering ridge divides the waters between the Gulf of Mexico and the Gulf of California. The Pacific drainage in New Mexico begins with the San Juan River, which rises in Colorado but swings a wide loop into New Mexico bringing in more water than all the state's other streams.²

The Tularosa Basin in south-central New Mexico cradles the gypsum beds whose snow white, bone-dry deposits form the White Sands, which provided a fitting background for the first atomic explosion in 1945 and the testing of rockets in 1947.³

The Carlsbad Caverns, located in southeastern New Mexico, are world-famous for their immense size, their vaulted rooms, and their wonderful rock formations. Formed by the collapse of rock after a slow solution, and decorated by limestone dripping, these caverns have been in

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Fergusson, op. cit., 11.

the making for millions of years but were discovered only in 1901 by Jim White, a cowboy, who became interested in the hordes of bats which poured from the natural entrance each summer evening.¹

The outstanding colors which provide atmosphere for New Mexico are dark and light green, varied by gray in the chamiso and cactus, set against rocks which are more vivid in color than the plants. Over all of this is the unexcelled blueness of the sky.

Altogether, geographically New Mexico has proved to be a land where men could live well if they respected water, used it sparingly, dealt fairly with good soil, and laid by food for the inevitable years of drought.

The People

An undiminishing tide of newcomers has been drifting into the Southwest for 25,000 years. Census figures show a steady incline for the state of New Mexico. According to the 1930 census, the state had a population of 423,317. By 1950, the number had risen to 681,187. The 1960 census stands at 951,023. These figures do not include the thousands of summer tourists and winter

¹ Dodge and Zim, op. cit., 129.

vacationers who come for the clear air, sunshine, and unspoiled scenery.¹

Climate

New Mexico is dry, warm, and breezy. A clear atmosphere, abundant sunshine, and low humidity typify this region. The annual precipitation (rain and snow) varies from 30 to 35 inches in the mountains to one to six inches in the semi-deserts. Much of this moisture falls as spotty, frequently heavy flash thundershowers, in the summer and early fall or as slow winter soakers. The temperatures vary with latitude, altitude, and other factors but are generally mild with cool nights. The mountains are cool and moderately moist, the central plateaus are warm and dry, and the low south and west portions of the region are hot and dry in the summer. Winter temperatures are cool to cold in these same locations. The prevailing winds are from the southwest and sand storms are common; however, tornados are almost unknown.²

¹ The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1960
(New York: New York World Telegraph and Sun, 1960), 202.

² Dodge and Zim, op. cit., 6.

Industry

The mountain and plateau areas experienced a growth of the sheep and cattle industry introduced by the early Spaniards. The coming of railways, barbed wire, and windmills helped the settler to convert the open cattle ranges into agricultural areas, thus transforming the state into a thriving area of civilization producing a land of contrasts. Today, New Mexico is a sun-warmed region of modern cities and wide expanses; the forest-covered mountains and cactus-studded deserts; the fertile farm lands; and the rocky mesas where minerals such as coal, gold, lead, pumice, and copper are mined and where prospectors still search for hidden uranium, petroleum, and other treasures of the earth. Atomic scientists from ultra-modern Los Alamos en route to the Spanish-speaking state capitol of Santa Fe, the oldest permanent capital city in the United States, pass Indian pueblos where potters use ancient methods to produce pottery which is sold to modern tourists who provide the second greatest industry for the state, while travelers in diesel-drawn trains flash past burros laden with wood for cooking-stove fuel, "dude" ranches, and ghost towns.¹

¹ Ibid., 48.

CHAPTER III

PREHISTORIC AND HISTORIC CULTURES OF NEW MEXICO

Culture

The culture of any area depicts the way of life of the people who reside there.

Ruth Benedict puts it in these words:

A culture, like an individual, is a more or less consistent pattern of thought and action. Within each culture there come into being characteristic purposes not necessarily shared by other types of society. In obedience to these purposes, each people further and further consolidates its experience, and in proportion to its urgency of these drives and heterogeneous items of behavior take more and more congruous shape.¹

Paul Martin maintains:

Culture in the anthropological sense, embraces the sum total of human behavior and activities which are handed on by precept, imitation, and social heritage. This includes all customs, habits, usages, attitudes, beliefs, religious and political ideas, and material products, such as methods of building houses, of manufacturing all kinds of

¹ Ruth Benedict, Patterns of Culture, An Analysis of our Social Structure as Related to Primitive Civilization, A Mentor Book (New York: The New American Library of World Literature, 1934), 42.

artifacts (weapons, pottery, ornament, basket, cloth), of planting and harvesting. When culture becomes complex and advanced, especially in a material way, it is referred to as civilization.¹

Prehistoric Culture

When the preceding definitions of culture are applied to New Mexico, it becomes both the oldest and the youngest area of the continental country. Because of unlike findings in different localities, archaeologists vary somewhat when they assign dates to earliest man in North America. Frank C. Hibben estimated the earliest evidence of man in North America to be about 10,000 years ago. His evidence is based on the 1936 excavations of the Sandia Cave located in the Sandia Mountains near Albuquerque, New Mexico, where spear points of flaked stone were found along with bones of long-extinct bison, camel, mastodon, and mammoth. He sums up the evidence accumulated in bibliographical materials in the following points:

1. That human beings were present in the New World in the later portion of the Pleistocene period

¹ Paul S. Martin, George I. Quimby, Donald Collier, Indians Before Columbus, Twenty Thousand Years of North American History Revealed by Archeology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), 5.

2. These early American inhabitants existed on a hunting type of economy
3. Large mammals which they hunted and with which their remains are associated are now extinct
4. These hunters were coincident with the closing phases of the glacial period known in North America as Wisconsin
5. Some tools, notably projectile points, made by these early men are distinctive and may be recognized out of context
6. Geologic and stratigraphic evidence indicates that this Paleo-Indian existed at least 10,000 years ago and was distinct from earlier than New World cultures with an agricultural and economic basis.¹

Hibben also found evidence, which indicated extremely probable but not absolutely certain,

1. That this Paleo-Indian was physically a modern type.
2. That he may be regarded as a legitimate progenitor, at least in part, of the American Indian.
3. That he transmigrated in a hunting status from Asiatic sources via the Bering Strait and the so-called Inland corridor.

¹ Frank C. Hibben, Evidences of Early Occupation in Sandia Cave, New Mexico, and Other Sites in the Sandia-Mamzano Region, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collection, XCIX, No. 23 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, October 15, 1941), 1.

4. That this migration took place in the upper Paleolithic times as measured by European standards and terminology.¹

Probably the most widely known of Ancient cultures represented in New Mexico is called Folsom because of the flaked projectile points found near Folsom, New Mexico, in 1929. It is estimated that this group of inhabitants lived about 10,000 years ago. Their culture represents a specialized hunting culture, living almost exclusively on bison.²

Another excavation in Yuma County, Colorado, identifies the long narrow points with Yuma Man, who probably roamed through northern New Mexico about 9,000 to 7,000 years ago. He is described as a bison hunter and probably lived during the time of the climatic change from cold to wet to weather conditions similar to those of the present day. This culture represents the last chapter of the story of man in the ice age in North America.³

More recently, ancient grinding stones found in the Mimbres River basin in southwestern New Mexico, mark

¹ Ibid., 2.

² Ibid., 38-42.

³ Malcolm J. Rogers, "An Outline of Yuma Prehistory," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, I, 1945, 167-198.

the Cochise culture of the fruit-and-root-gathering people who lived from 15,000 to 25,000 years ago in the southeast corner of Arizona and adjacent New Mexico.¹

E. H. Sellards, who conducted excavations for the Texas Memorial Museum in 1949 and 1950, reports that the Clovis site in Roosevelt County, New Mexico, also produced grinding stones for wild seeds, and hunting implements which belonged to the man in pursuit of elephants, camels, and bison. These findings seem to establish, for the first time, the chronological sequence of early culture of man and to date his beginning to 15,000 to 20,000 years ago.²

The report of the Midland Discovery by Wendorf and Krieger has thrown new light on the antiquity of fossil human remains. This excavation produced a partial human skeleton of a Texas woman, aged 30 at death, in a deposit of the late Pleistocene Age, in a field six miles southwest of Midland, Texas, which is not very far from the New Mexico line. The report states,

We believe the available evidence points very strongly to an age for this human being that is considerably greater than that of

¹ Martin, Quimby, Collier, op. cit., 85.

² E. H. Sellards, Early Man in America, A Study in Prehistory (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1952), 29.

the Folsom culture, a famous and now well established chronological reference point approximately contemporaneous with the last major advance of Pleistocene ice sheets in North America.¹

These first known human remains from the ice age seem to place the age of these hunters of bison and antelope about 20,000 years ago.²

It has proved to be an intricate task to deduce the way of life of a whole people from a few points, some hunting and skinning equipment, or a grinding stone, but from the above named evidence anthropologists feel certain that the aboriginal inhabitants had already developed a culture in the Southwest, and specifically New Mexico, as long as 20,000 years ago, which endures, not much changed, to this day.

Additional authentic records which produce information about the early inhabitant of New Mexico are found in dendrochronology and provided by the radio-carbon method of identifying age.

¹ Fred Wendorf, Alex D. Krieger, Claude C. Albritton, and T. D. Stewart, The Midland Discovery; A Report on the Pleistocene Human Remains from Midland (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1955), 6.

² Fred Wendorf and Alex D. Krieger, "New Light on the Midland Discovery," American Antiquity, XXV, No. 1, July 1959 (Society of American Archaeology), 78.

Dendrochronology or the tree-ring dating was discovered by Dr. A. E. Douglass, who found that every year a new layer of wood was added to the entire living surface of a pine. A dry year will produce a thin ring and a wet year will produce a wide one. By correlating old beams used in buildings whose outer rings formed the same pattern as the inner rings of living trees, the known chronology was learned. Dr. Douglass was able to establish the missing sequence of history by presenting the Hopi Chief with yards and yards of beautiful purple chiffon velvet to pay for permission to saw cross sections from beams of buildings and bore holes in timbers where cutting was not practical. Thus the age of prehistoric sites could be established by one remarkable piece of timber. By this method, the age for the Pueblo Bonito, the oldest and largest of the great Indian communiter, in Chaco Canyon, New Mexico, is set at about 1,200 years ago.¹

Another tool which modifies present concepts of chronology during at least the past 20,000 years is radio-carbon dating. This idea originated with W. F. Libby

¹ Andrew Ellicott, "The Secret of the Southwest Solved by Talkative Tree Rings, Horizons of American History are Carried Back to A.D. 700 and a Calendar for 1200 Years Established," National Geographic Magazine, LVI, July-December, 1929, 737-770.

and was developed into a technique for the determination of age by means of radio carbon.¹

The latest finds, tested by what is called the radio-carbon method, which tells the age of charcoal by measuring radio-activity, indicated that man of Indian type had reached New Mexico 20,000 years ago, long before mankind anywhere had emerged from the Old Stone Age. They were the Stone Age people. They had no pottery, probably no basketry. The earlier ones had no bows and arrows; they hunted with spears and darts or javelin.²

All of these findings have prompted archaeologists to agree that man came from the old world to the western hemisphere as man of our own species. Therefore, this country was settled by immigrants from the start. A study of their physical structure proves that the Indians were mixed racially before they came to America, and the distribution of racial physical characteristics indicates that the Indians are basically Mongoloid with traces of intermixture, which occurred in the remote past.³

¹ Frederick Johnson, Radio Carbon Dating, A Report on the Program to Aid in the Development of a Method of Dating. Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology, No. 8, Salt Lake City: The Society for American Archaeology, 1951, 1-65.

² Oliver Lafarge, A Pictorial History of the American Indian (New York: Crown Publishers Inc., 1957), 12.

³ Martin, Quimby, and Collier, op. cit., 22.

It is also agreed that these human beings came from Asia, primarily across the Bering Strait. This is logical because Asia and America are only fifty-six miles apart, broken by three islands, and the widest expanse of unbroken sea is only twenty-five miles with land always in sight.¹

It has been suggested that early hunters may have entered North America by following animals over the ice because the presence of game animals in the unglaciated area of Central Alaska serves to provide a possible motive for such a migration.²

On the basis of all the preceding evidence, the time for the first migration falls some time before 20,000 years ago. These migrants slowly fanned out over the two New World Continents wherever they found wild plants, game, and fish.³

The Southwest, and specifically New Mexico, presents quite a clear picture of ancient peoples classified by archaeologists into different periods and types.

¹ H. M. Wormington, Ancient Man in North America, 2d ed. revised, No. 4 (Denver: The Colorado Museum of Natural History, 1944), 68.

² Ibid., 69.

³ Malcolm Carr Collier, "Indians, American," Encyclopedia Americana, 1957 ed., XV, 51.

The best known culture in the Southwest is often called the Anasazi which is the Navajo name for the "ancient ones." This culture type is a continuous one but is generally divided into two successive horizons: the earlier of which are called Basketmaker and the latter ones, Pueblo.

Following many debates, the leading archaeologists of the Southwest gathered at Pecos, New Mexico, and worked out a system of terminology to identify the Basketmaker and Pueblo cultures, agreeing on hypothetical periods for the same.¹

In 1947 Martin and colleagues again divided the development of the Anasazi culture, and gave the following classifications:²

Estimated Date	Period
A.D. 1700 to date	Pueblo V
A.D. 1300-1700	Pueblo IV
A.D. 1050-1300	Pueblo III
A.D. 900-1050	Pueblo II
A.D. 700- 900	Pueblo I
A.D. 500- 700	Modified Basketmaker
A.D. 100- 500	Basketmaker

This classification of cultures will be used to analyze the clothing of the Anasazi people.

¹ Alfred Vincent Kidder, "Southwest Archaeological Conference," Science, LXVI (1927), 489-491.

² Martin, Quimby, and Collier, op. cit., 103.

The early Anasazi people were called Basketmakers because of the basketry remains found in their caves. These people were semi-agricultural. They built slab-lined storage pits, hunted with spears, had dogs, wove clothing from skins and plant fibers, and buried food and equipment with the dead to provide for a future life.¹

By 500-700 A.D. these people had established communities and had learned to build pithouse shelters and make some pottery for utilitary use. Corn, squash, and beans were raised and the bow and arrow was used. By 700 A.D. the beginnings of modern culture were evident.²

The transition from Basketmaker to Pueblo about 700-800 A.D. is recognized by the development of many-roomed masonry houses, and the modification of the old pithouse to a ceremonial chamber or kiva. Cotton was a new crop, and the loom was developed and new techniques and materials appeared in their weaving. Human bodies were buried in a flexed position surrounded by pottery and other offerings.³

¹ H. M. Wormington, Prehistoric Indians of the Southwest (Denver: The Denver Museum of Natural History, 1959), 57-107.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

The Pueblo culture reached its peak in the Southwest about 1050 A.D. There was a trend toward great, terraced, communal dwellings several stories high housing hundreds of people. These were built in the open under protecting cliffs. Much local variation developed in architecture and in the arts and crafts. Pottery exhibited a richness of form and design. High quality cotton cloth evidenced progress in weaving. Beautiful turquoise jewelry was produced. Dry farming and irrigation were practiced.¹

About 1300 A.D. the communal dwellings were gradually abandoned until the entire northern area was deserted. No one really knows what caused this emigration.

However, several theories about this disappearance have been advanced by archaeologists. Some felt that the disappearance of the Pueblos can be traced entirely to a disastrous drought shown by the tree ring records. Others attribute it to the loss of much farm land through arroyo-cutting. Still others explain the departure of the ancient agriculturists to epidemics or to attacks of fierce nomadic tribes who were attracted by the wealth of food stored in their granaries. The best theory seems to refer

¹ Ibid., 81.

to a breakdown in the social structure of the people within the Pueblos.¹

The period which followed the Great Pueblo era and lasted until historic times has been defined as a stage characterized by contraction of the area occupied; by the gradual disappearance of corrugated wares; and in general, by the decline from the preceding cultural peak.²

The most curious and in some ways the most interesting cultural development of the Pueblo plateau was that found in the Mimbres River Valley in west-central New Mexico. Although the people were the same as the Anasazi Indians, it represents the focal point of a separate basic culture unlike the other prehistoric phases. Excavations supply evidence that throughout the history of the Mimbres--from about A.D. 1050-1200--many outsiders joined them, eventually altering and submerging them so that they became a new entity.³

Martin and his colleagues place the Mimbres about 950-1000 A.D. They seem to have possessed a simple faith because they believed that the living and the dead formed

¹ Martin, Quimby, and Collier, op. cit., 100-150.

² Kidder, op. cit., 489-491.

³ Martin, Quimby, and Collier, op. cit., 210-214.

the same society; that the departed spirit remained on with the family. Therefore they buried their dead under the dirt floors of their apartments with bowls placed over their heads. One interesting feature of this burial pottery was the presence of a hole, said to be punched or drilled to release the spirit or soul of the vessel which was thought to be part of the maker, thus "killing" the vessel. These bowls made permanent by firing the clay, were considered as reminders of the common events in the ongoing life of the tribe of which they still were thought to be a part.¹

Like the other pueblos, the Mimbres disappeared, deserting their fertile valley during the twelfth century. No reason for leaving was in evidence. There was no sign of a hurried departure for only heavy stone artifacts were left behind. Some archaeologists conjecture that they moved south into Mexico while others think they moved northward, where they were assimilated and absorbed by other groups, losing their identity.²

The writer finds that archaeological opinions of the prehistory of New Mexico are by no means unanimous on

¹ Ibid., 214.

² Wormington, op. cit., Prehistoric Indians....., 161.

all points for there are many gaps in their knowledge of the prehistoric peoples. As in other sciences, the findings must be regarded as reassuring approximations to truth, which will be extended and modified in the future.

Historic Culture

To divide the story of a people into prehistoric and historic phases, conforms with the accepted practice of anthropology, which is itself divided into archaeology, the study of prehistoric man, and ethnology, the study of historic and modern man.¹

The phrase, historic period, has acquired a cultural meaning implying a new stage of intellectual and technical development comparable with that of literate cultures. The beginning of the historic period in this cultural sense did not usually coincide with their first appearance in written records for the Indians north of Mexico because the Indians living north of the Rio Grande were still non-literate at the time of their discovery by the Europeans. Our earliest records of them were made by explorers. These records are available from the beginning

¹ Frederic H. Douglas and Rene D'Harnoncourt, Indian Art of the United States (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1941), 16.

of the sixteenth century in New Mexico, whereas records also show that certain tribes in the West were not discovered and described until the nineteenth century.¹

Nevertheless, the arrival of the Europeans in the sixteenth century halted the rejuvenation of the Anasazi culture in the new villages which the Indians had established after the great communal dwellings were abandoned. The Indians in the meantime had absorbed new ideas from the Spanish explorers of the Southwest indicating the arrival of the historic era.

In Europe, Spain was recognized as the strongest nation in the world during the sixteenth century. She gained this reputation after successfully waging hundreds of wars with the Moors and Turks. Peace was finally established and Queen Isabella sent Columbus on an expedition which led to the discovery of America in 1492.²

This series of wars had produced a hard core of men who were rugged, adventuresome, and ready to beat out paths to the New World to explore the newly found continent. Since the Roman Catholic religion was a State

¹ Ibid.

² W. C. Atkinson, Spain, a Brief History (London: Methuen and Company, 1934), 27-37.

religion in Spain, the State soon sponsored expeditions to America as a missionary endeavor. Accordingly, in 1527, the Spanish Crown sent out an expedition of six hundred men under Narvaez with orders to explore the area which is Florida today, to make settlements, look for gold, and convert the Indians. This was the beginning of the Spanish Conquistadores, who were to figure prominently in the history of the Southwest until 1680.¹

The expedition encountered many setbacks, due to desertions in the West Indies, a hurricane in Cuba, and starvation. Finally Narvaez disappeared and the remnant of four remaining men was captured by the Indians and reduced to slavery. Cabeza de Vaca, treasurer for the expedition and one of the four men left, befriended the Indians as a doctor, and later wandered on foot across the continent to Mexico City in New Spain, where he arrived nine years later in 1536. His treks led him through the territory of New Mexico, giving him the distinction of having been the first white man to enter this area.²

¹ Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888, XVIII (San Francisco: The History Company, 1889), 1-11.

² Morris Bishop, The Odyssey of Cabeza de Vaca (New York: The Century Company, 1933), 35-53.

"The appointment of Antonio de Mendoza as first viceroy of New Spain in 1535, marked the beginning of a period of improved organization in the continental possessions of Spain."¹ He chose Friar Marcos de Miza to investigate the land to the north, and inaugurate a new policy in Indian affairs.

Spanish Impact

In the spring of 1539, Friar Marcos and a few Indians started to explore the land on foot with the guide, Estevanico, a slave with great imagination, who had been one of de Vaca's companions. This was the first expedition to explore the unknown lands of which Estevanico had brought such wonderful reports. They proceeded to find the "Seven Cities of Cibola, full of gold." The party reached the vicinity of the Zuni Pueblos in the western part of New Mexico and returned delivering an exaggerated report of the area explored.²

¹ Herbert E. Bolton, Coronado Knight of Pueblos and Plains (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1949), 40-62.

² Percy M. Baldwin, "Fray Marcos De Niza and His Discovery of the Seven Cities of Cibola," New Mexico Historical Review, I (1926), 193-223.

The following year, 1540, Francisco de Coronado, a vigorous, ambitious, young, intelligent man, about thirty years of age, headed an expedition which followed the same trail that Friar Marcos had taken. This well-equipped expedition was underwritten by the rich wife of Coronado and provided an outlet for the Spanish officers, the "blue bloods," who were hanging around Mexico City at the time and with whom peace did not agree.¹

This time the Zuni Pueblos were conquered and the expedition established winter headquarters near the present town of Bernalillo, New Mexico, following the winning of a discreditable war with the Tigue Pueblos. From here Coronado sent out small expeditions which discovered the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River and explored the Rio Grande Valley.

Disheartened by his broken body, resulting from an injury suffered by a fall from his horse, and by the unredeemed disappointments of the forbidding land he had hoped to settle, Coronado gave up all hope of colonizing New Mexico and returned to Mexico in the summer of 1542. His return demonstrated a disobedience of the command of the

¹ Bolton, op. cit., 60-64.

Viceroy which cast him into disgrace, and he passed the rest of his life in obscurity.¹

After the discouraging discoveries of Coronado, the Spaniards paid little attention to New Mexico for a whole generation. However, when the ill reports of Coronado had largely been forgotten, the Roman Catholic Church initiated other Spanish movements into the New Mexico and Arizona province.

The first expedition sponsored by the Church for the purpose of converting the Indians in the lands north of Mexico was organized by a Franciscan friar, Augustin Rodriguez in 1581.² With two other missionaries, Fray Francisco Lopez and Fray Juan de Santa Maria, Rodriguez started from Chihuahua, Mexico, with an escort of nine Spanish soldiers under the command of Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado. They trudged a thousand miles up along the Rio Grande River to where Bernalillo, New Mexico, is now located. There the missionaries remained to teach the gospel, while the soldiers explored the country as far as Zuni and returned to Chihuahua leaving the brave missionaries behind in the wilderness where they soon became

¹ Charles F. Lummis, The Spanish Pioneers (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company, 1899), 82.

² Ibid., 86-87.

martyrs. The result of this expedition was the blazing of a new trail into the area, and naming the Rio Grande Valley, New Mexico.¹

A year later, 1582, Antonio de Espejo, a wealthy miner, who was under death sentence for having killed a man, led an expedition to rescue the friars of Rodriguez's party. He financed the venture himself as a retribution to the Catholic Church for suspending his death sentence. With a friar and fifteen people, he made his way up the Rio Grande to some distance above where Albuquerque, New Mexico, is located today, meeting no opposition from the Pueblo Indians. Being a miner, he traveled a long way into northern Arizona and collected samples of copper ore before returning to Mexico. Because he never found Rodriguez, the viceroy of Mexico did not allow him to return to work the mines he had discovered. Nevertheless, his discovery whet the appetite of the Spanish government to go Southwest for the purpose of mining.²

Near the end of the century, contact was made with Juan de Oñate for the colonization of New Mexico. The

¹ George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey (translators), The Gallegos Relation of the Rodriguez Expedition to New Mexico, Historical Society of New Mexico, IV (Santa Fe: El Palacio Press, 1927), 1-58.

² Lummis, op. cit., 87.

expedition was assembled in Chihuahua in 1597 with the viceroy's permission to explore the possibilities of mining in the river areas of New Mexico. When he entered New Mexico in 1598, Oñate met no immediate resistance because his force of four hundred people, including two hundred men-in-arms, was large enough to awe the Indians. He organized the first capital of New Mexico on the Rio Grande River, where Chamita stands today, and called it San Gabriel de Espanoles. Thus he became the first governor of New Mexico. The first church was built in this town and mass was celebrated for the first time on September 9, 1598.¹

When things became settled, Oñate and a small force set out to explore the territory surrounding San Gabriel. Although the Indians seemingly befriended them and entertained them generously, they secretly plotted to slay Oñate and get rid of all the Spaniards. This mission was partially accomplished in December. While Oñate was visiting the Acoma Pueblo, a bloody massacre was suddenly staged, and the Spaniards were driven to the edge of table top mountain ledge and forced to leap a hundred

¹ George P. Hammond, Don Juan De Oñate Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1928 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1953), 42-64.

and fifty feet to safety. Miraculously fourteen soldiers survived and finally got back to San Gabriel by the end of the year, 1598.¹

This massacre was but a prelude to a general uprising of the twenty-five or thirty thousand inhabitants of the pueblos, resulting in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.² Onate finally got back to Mexico City, but he was censured for his Indian treatment and tried for his misconduct.

In the seventy years which followed, twenty-four political governors were sent up from Mexico to rule the New Mexican province. Their position was best expressed by the governor who said, "I came to serve God and get gold."³

The first of the twenty-four governors, Feralta, moved the capital of New Mexico thirty-five miles south to the present site of Santa Fe, thus establishing the oldest permanent capital of the United States in 1609.

¹ Leslie A. White, The Acoma Indians, 47th Annual Report of Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1929-1930), 17-92.

² Lummis, op. cit., 89.

³ Bancroft, op. cit., 283-284.

The Palace of the Governors, which he built, still exists in Santa Fe, and is now being used as a museum.¹

New Mexico remained a frontier mission field during the seventeenth century. The Indian revolt of 1680 was attributed to differences between the Indian culture and the Spanish manner of life. It has been established that the Pueblo Indians were willing to accept the God of the Christians as an additional protecting power, but they could not give up their own beliefs about the spirits of the universe without completely destroying their organized tribal life. Even today every phase of the Indian's existence is affected by his conceptions of the relation of his tribe to the world.

In addition to interfering with the religion of the Indians, the Spanish abused them by hanging several Indians for not accepting their Christian religion. They stole supplies from the Indians, and made them pay taxes in the form of minerals and crops. These grievances led to a secretly organized plan of liquidation of the Spanish under the leadership of Pope', an old medicine man from San Juan Pueblo.²

¹ Bancroft, op. cit., 158.

² Wormington, op. cit., Prehistoric Indians..., 115.

As a result, the Spanish Settlers retreated southward to El Paso and literally gave the country back to the Indians between 1680 and 1692. Popé (Red Moon) set himself up as dictator in the Palace of the Governors, but anarchy soon reigned, for the Indians started to fight among themselves. About the same time a drought set in, the heavens gave forth no rain, and the Indians thought that God was punishing them. The Pueblo Indians were foresighted and always kept a year's supply of grain buried in their granary. This attracted the Navajo, Apache, and Commanche raiders who preyed on the Pueblos for food and supplies, and a period of insurrection followed.¹

Finally in 1692, the viceroy of Mexico appointed General Diego de Vargas as governor. He was a diplomat and a colonizer. With three hundred men, he visited all the Pueblos, had a conference with the chiefs, and, by employing psychology and religion, he was able to reconquer the Pueblos one by one and establish peace. By 1696 he had brought one thousand five hundred Spanish colonists to New Mexico and became recognized as an outstanding governor from the standpoint of demonstrating

¹ Ibid.

justice and fair play. In comemoration of his accomplishments, an annual fiesta is held in Santa Fe.¹

The Spaniard and the Indian understood each other.

They had the same dignity and aloofness, the same practicality and mysticism, the same habit of regarding the basic facts of life and death. Both were people who preferred, in the end, to adapt themselves to the soil and become a part of it, rather than make it over for their convenience. After the first shock of incredulous surprise, they could recognize in each other, common qualities as a foundation on which to build a new civilization in America. As time went on the differences faded while the likenesses grew.²

So the Indians first endured their conqueror, then copied his ways, and finally converted him to their own methods.

During the years which followed, a wagon train came up to Santa Fe from Mexico City every three years bringing a new governor, Mexican settlers, and supplies. In return, it took back the old governor and such items as minerals and hides.³

¹ Jessie Bromilow, Diego De Vargas and the Reconquest of New Mexico (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1940), 31-36.

² Green Peyton, America's Heartland, the Southwest (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1948), 53.

³ Max L. Moorehead, New Mexico's Royal Road: Trade and Travel on the Chihuahua Trail (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 32-54.

This trail became known, for the next century, as the Camino Real, and constituted almost the only means of communication and supply for the entire province during the seventeenth century.

According to the specifications, the caravan service was subsidized by the royal treasury and required to make a trip to Mexico City every three years. It supposedly took about six months to reach Santa Fe, and equal time to distribute its cargo, and another six months for the return, one and one-half years being considered the normal period for the round-trip. The scheduled departure from Mexico City, however, seems to have been somewhat irregular.¹

The Spaniard came from a cattle country and soon adapted his native culture to the Southwest. Coronado left behind the cattle and horses which were to populate the plains. The Navajo and Apache Indians, in turn, modified their culture by replacing the dog with the Spanish horse for their mode of travel and transportation. This innovation allowed them to migrate long distances with speed and ease. They could take their family along on long trips and carry them to points so far away that it was not worth returning.²

¹ Ibid., 32.

² Julia M. Seton, The Indian Costume Book (Santa Fe, New Mexico: The Seton Village Press, 1938), 3.

The acquisition of firearms, another Spanish contribution, produced many changes in tribal habits. It stimulated aggressiveness and, because some tribes acquired the deadly weapons before others, the equilibrium, which had existed, was quickly destroyed. Under the old system, tribal warfare was attended with a minimum loss of life and slight changes of territory. Now firearms enforced migration and horses made it possible to cover wide stretches of country. The result was a wholesale change in the habitats of the many Indian tribes.¹

It is hard to determine the outcome of this integration of the Spanish and Indian cultures had things taken the natural course. However, New Mexico became a political subdivision of the Mexican Republic in 1821 following the revolutionary developments which took place in Spain and Mexico at that time. The outcome was the termination of the Spanish rule in New Mexico and the beginning of Mexican control which lasted until 1848.

Anglo Impact

The word Anglo is a local term applied to the white man, who came to the Southwest from the North as a trapper, trader, soldier, settler, or cowboy.

¹ Ibid.

While the Spaniard and Indian were adjusting to each other, this new enemy appeared to threaten the Southwest. Parties of French fur traders had worked their way down the Mississippi Valley mainly interested in opening commercial relationships with the Spaniards.¹ By 1821 this trade was legalized and an annual trading caravan set out from Missouri in the spring of the year inaugurating the famous Santa Fe Trail.

The real significance of this historic train was its connection with Mexico's longest Camino Real of the seventeenth century. This route provided a road by which merchants or the so-called Santa Fe traders from Missouri reached the interior markets of Mexico as far as Chihuahua. In 1846 it became the invasion route of the American Army which conquered New Mexico for the United States. In the twentieth century it has become the route for a major railroad and a paved highway.²

The Santa Fe Trail proved to be a great success because merchandise could be freighted across the plains to the markets of New Mexico and sold for a lower price

¹ Josiah Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 9-80

² Rupert N. Richardson and Carl C. Rister, The Greater Southwest (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1934), 129-134.

than goods could be brought from Vera Cruz by way of Chihuahua, Mexico. During the next quarter century the number of traders increased and more and more merchandise was being sold.¹

Another well-known early express company founded by Henry Wells and William G. Fargo with headquarters in San Francisco, was organized in 1852 to handle postal and freight service. This company operated west of the Mississippi River at the same time that the American Express Company carried on business throughout the eastern parts of the United States. The company soon became very powerful as its service became, first nation-wide, and then world-wide. Finally in 1918, the Wells-Fargo Company united with the American Express Company and lost its identity, but it had proved its worth in the service which it had rendered, to unite the East with the West.²

When it became evident that New Mexico might add to the economy of a nation, the Republic of Texas claimed jurisdiction westward to the Rio Grande, its southern boundary, and tried to make its claim good in 1841, because it foresaw a rich source of taxation. The

¹ Ibid., 330.

² Edward Hungerford, Wells Fargo (New York: Random House, 1948), 1-274.

unsuccessful expedition of about three hundred men was rounded up by the Mexican Army and sent to Mexico City to force their claim. A second expedition in 1843 also failed, and the Republic of Texas gave up her claim.¹

In 1846, the United States began hostilities by invading the territory north of the Rio Grande previously claimed by Texas. Because of internal weakness, Mexico was unable to oppose the United States Armies effectively and peace was finally sealed by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. Through this treaty Mexico lost half of her territory including New Mexico, Arizona, all of Upper California, and parts of what are now other states. This treaty established new boundary lines; however, the actual position of the southern boundary of New Mexico remained in dispute until after the Gadsden Purchase in 1859.²

A few years later, in 1865, when the Civil War started, the Confederate Army advanced to take possession of the territory of New Mexico. It met the federal

¹ Frank Driver Reeve, "New Mexico," Encyclopedia Britannica, XVI (1957), 318.

² Ibid.

troops in a decisive conflict in Glorieta Pass, east of Santa Fe, and was defeated.¹ By 1870 the Apache and Ute Indians, who had been raiding the established settlements, were rounded up and placed on reservations, making the area safe for newcomers. The first railroad entered the territory through the Raton Pass, encouraging a general white immigration into the territory of New Mexico and a growing Anglo population was in evidence.²

Constant efforts were made to secure statehood. Finally the Enabling Act passed by Congress June 20, 1910, drafted and approved a constitution and on January 6, 1912, New Mexico was formally admitted as a state into the Union.³

The Anglo advance into the Southwest was accompanied by a conflict of cultures and an amalgamation not experienced in any of the other phases of the continental expansion of America. The procession of trappers, traders, soldiers, and finally settlers makes a fascinating tale. The diaries, journals, correspondence, and private

¹ J. F. Santee, "The Battle of La Glorieta Pass," New Mexico Review, VI (1931), 66-75.

² "New Mexico," Encyclopedia Americana, 1957 ed., XX, 188.

³ Ibid.

papers that have been collected, tell a far more interesting and colorful story than the fiction which generally is responsible for the popular conceptions of the life and culture on a frontier. Except for two or three desultory publications of some fifty years' standing, the general library public has been deprived of the most accurate accounts of the conquest and settlement of the Southwest.¹

The range cattle industry developed with the coming of the Anglo settlers during the years of 1865-1885. Numerous historical sources substantiate the claims made concerning the extraordinary features of ranch life, which consisted of

...the boundless hills, valleys, and prairie lands, covered with cattle; the lonely life of the range rider; the hurry and confusion of roundups; the thundering stampedes; the long drives to market; and the boisterous character of the cow towns at the end of the trails.²

Today three cultures exist side by side in New Mexico: the Indian, tracing back to man's beginnings in North America; the Spanish-Mexican, tracing back to the Conquistadores and mission padres; and the American,

¹ James Josiah Webb, "Adventure in the Santa Fe Trade, 1844-1847," New Mexico Historical Review, VI (1931), 313-314.

² Richardson and Rister, op. cit., 330.

called Anglo, the latest culture, which is still trying to adjust to the land.

These cultures have dramatized the familiar story of man's inhumanity to man. The Spanish exploited and conquered the Indian, and the Anglo in turn conquered and exploited the Spanish-become-Mexican. Despite the mingling and overlapping of these three cultures, much of the individual character and integrity has been retained, and people today live together with an increasingly shared tolerance which is slowly erasing the animosities of the past injustices.¹

Indian Woman in a Changing World

The problem of acculturation is probably no less acute among the American Indians today than it was when the white man moved into their province. In the first place, Indians are a minority group, differing widely among themselves in blood mixture, language, and background culture. Secondly, government policies relating to the Indians, have often been imposed without consideration for their traditions.

¹ Jack Shaefer, "My Southwest," Holiday, XXV (March, 1959), 54-66.

The foregoing factors are evidenced in New Mexico, where the federal government has located six Indian Reservations which, in order to expedite matters, the writer chooses to group into the following general culture groups: Pueblo, Navajo, and Apache.

The general pattern of domestic life of the Indian women in the three cultures was much the same through the ages, until the two World Wars and the satellite age effected a number of changes.

Previously, the Navajo women lived close neighbors with their relatives, the group consisting of "an older woman, her husband, her unmarried children, her married daughters, and the daughter's husbands and children."¹ The ownership and use of the property, except personal items, was generally in control of the family group and inheritance was through the women, with daughters and nieces often receiving more than the male relatives. Women made the financial decisions and their opinions were respected.

The Pueblo women held much the same status. Descent was traced through the mother. "Women owned the

¹ Bertha Dutton and Maggy Packard, "The Changing Woman," Indian Life: The Magazine of the Inter-tribal Indian Ceremonial (Gallup: Inter-tribal Indian Ceremonial Association, 1960), 37.

houses, food, seed for the coming year, springs, cisterns, and garden plots."¹ All members of the family participated in caring for the children with maternal uncles teaching and disciplining them, while the father's function was mainly affectional.

The mother was also the focus of the Apache family life. When a girl married, her husband came to live in her community; with her sisters and their husbands. Her mother was likely to be near by, but not too close, because the mother-in-law-avoidance taboo is practiced here like it is in Navajo land. While the father was the head of the family, the mother and children made up its stable core, and the woman often made the decisions in financial affairs.

This way of life still persists, to a degree, among the Indian groups and according to Stephania Toya, a native Jemez Pueblo Indian, now an instructor of weaving at the United States Indian School, Santa Fe, "this way of life was so simple; so beautiful."²

Miss Toya went on to admit that many of the changes among all the Indians have come to their families by their

¹ Ibid., 38.

² Interview with Stephania Toya, February 1961.

own choice. The men and women who entered the armed service during the last two wars, came back to the reservations, dissatisfied with the traditional way of life. They had become acquainted with modern entertainment which was quite different from their fairs, ceremonial dances, and family parties. They had learned the convenience of automobiles and modern household appliances. They now were eager to introduce automation into their homes. All these things required money, which was not easy to come by on the barren reservations where the land was owned in common. This meant that both men and women were forced to seek work in towns and cities, sometimes far removed from the native reservations, and according to Stephania, this greatly disrupted the traditional home life. The close knit family was separated and the entire pattern of the Indian way of life suffered a great change.¹

Congruent with this change, the Indian women lost the economic importance, due to the land policy initiated by the federal government in 1930, under which only married Navajo men were eligible for land. This barred the women and children, the traditionally important owners of land, from ownership and greatly changed their status. Instead

¹ Ibid.

of the economic security, which they had formerly shared in the family unit, they now were dependent on their husbands and fathers, who traditionally were not trained to accept this responsibility.¹

In the Indian tradition, cash has always been the property of the person who earned it. Under the present set-up, if the wage earner of the family has not adjusted his spending habits to his new responsibilities and modern living conditions, the wife and children are left without subsistence. The prevailing wage scale for women is so low that it is impossible to survive economically if the wife should be able to take a job to earn her money.²

Therefore, probably the biggest problem of Indian women today is a social one, involving the adaptation of individuals to a new type of life; it is really a problem concerned with the process of a culture change which is resulting in an economic and emotional upheaval as it takes on more and more of the white man's ways.

It is evident that all cultures change over a period of time. Some may develop new characteristics of their own if they are left alone and some may be persuaded to

¹ Dutton and Packard, op. cit., 38.

² Ibid.

borrow certain features from an adjoining group; but behind the influence must be the realization that the persons who are to change, already have a background and a system of values of their own, inculcated by the sum total of their previous experiences at home. This system of values, which the individual has acquired throughout his life, has emotional implications based on reasons, which are very difficult to counteract.

CHAPTER IV

THE INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO

Three major groups of Indians are residents of New Mexico: Pueblo, Navajo, and Apache. In order to make the study more meaningful, the principal features of each tribe will be presented briefly in this chapter in order to provide a background for the report of findings on the prehistoric and historic fashions which identify each group.

The Rio Grande Pueblos

With the exception of the Zuni tribe, the Pueblo Indians have been confined to the Rio Grande Valley and the area extending from northeast Arizona to the Pecos River in New Mexico, and from Taos on the Rio Grande to as far south as El Paso, Texas.

These Indians were first named Pueblo in 1540 by the early Spanish explorers who entered the territory which is now Arizona and New Mexico under Francisco Coronado.¹

¹ John R. Swanton, The Indian Tribes of North America, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 145, Washington, D. C., 1953, 339.

The name Pueblo today means "Village."¹

A general name for those Indians in the Southwest who dwelt in stone buildings as opposed to the tribes living in more fragile shelters, pueblo being the word for "town" or "village" in Spanish.²

There are eighteen different pueblos in New Mexico made up of four different linguistic stocks. The Tiwa group includes Taos, Picuris, Sandia, and Isleta; the Tewa group is made up of San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambe, and Tesuque; the Keresan group includes the Cochiti, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Santa Clara, Zia, Laguna, and Acoma villages; while the Towa dialect is spoken in Jamez pueblo only.

The three major traits which mark the Pueblo Indian were not acquired at one time. Agriculture came first, followed by the production of pottery, followed finally by the development of the large communal structures which gave the pueblos their name.

The earliest known agricultural crop to appear about two thousand years ago in the Southwest was corn. The Pueblos soon added beans, squash, and cotton. During

¹ Bertha P. Dutton, New Mexico Indians, Pocket Handbook (Santa Fe: New Mexico Association of Indian Affairs, 1948), 1.

² Swanton, op. cit., 339.

the early years of agricultural development, the living habits of the Pueblo Indians changed little.

The production of pottery made its appearance in the Pueblo area about 500 A.D. This craft was undoubtedly inspired from regions outside the Southwest; however, in time the Pueblo Indians became the finest potters north of Mexico. Each local area and each period showed progressive changes in design, shape, and quality so that the archaeologist has been able to trace the history of the Pueblo Indian through these changing styles. Even today this is an established art with most of the Pueblos.¹

Housing ranged from caves and overhanging rocks to pit houses and crude brush shelters. The first attempts at architecture evolved from the single-room structures into multiple-room masonry or adobe houses, and finally into great terraced buildings that often had many hundreds of rooms surrounding central courts or plazas somewhat resembling our modern apartment houses.²

The fluid Pueblo population did not always follow an uninterrupted path for there were constant shifts of

¹ Dutton, op. cit., 40-45.

² Virginia Moore Roediger, Ceremonial Costumes of Pueblo Indians (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941), 1.

location. The coming of the Spanish and the white settlers put an end to the purely native development, but the long tradition of the Pueblo Indian is still evident to a marked degree.

Although the Pueblos are generally alike, each has its own social organization with the secular authority in the hands of a governor who is elected annually. This system was originated by the Spanish in order to have one person act as spokesman for the Indians. Serving with the governor were several assistants; among them the war captains and the principals--a group of elder statesmen, whose life-long experience enables them to integrate civil and religious matters wisely.¹

The Pueblo religion is based on the idea that man must live in harmony with nature. This philosophy integrates the arts, crafts, farming, hunting, and social affairs and underlies Pueblo legend, poetry, song, ceremony, and dance.

The Pueblo groups are related yet distinct. They mingle, but they also hold apart. Most of the Rio Grande

¹ S. D. Aberle, "The Pueblo Indians in New Mexico, Their Land, Economy, and Civil Organization," American Anthropologist, L, No. 4, Part II, Memoir No. 70 (Menasha: American Anthropological Association, 1948), 24-60.

Pueblos have two courts or plazas, each with its individual kiva which reflects the dual organization, or moiety system, in which all the people of a village are members of one group or another. The ceremonial labors can thus be easily divided into curing, hunting, warring, procuring of rain and fertility, and managing groups.¹

All of the Pueblo Indians are monogamous. The status of women is much higher than among most Indian tribes. The home is the property of the woman, and on marriage of the daughters, the sons-in-law move in. Marriage is effected with little ceremony and divorce is common. The wife has the power to dismiss her husband on slight pretext, the latter returning to his parents' home, free to marry again. As among other Indian tribes, the woman performs all domestic duties as well as some of the farm work. Unlike other tribes, the Indian women of the Pueblos are helped by the men in the heavier domestic work, such as gathering food and building houses. The men weave blankets, make moccasins for their wives, and do other things which are regarded as part of woman's work in other Indian tribes.² The children in most of the

¹ Dutton, op. cit., 6.

² Frederick Webb Hodge, Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1907), 323.

Pueblos belong to the mother's clan. They are very obedient and are punished only on rare occasions.

In 1680, nearly all the Pueblo towns revolted against the Spanish rule and succeeded in driving the enemy from their domain. However, in 1692 the Spanish reconquered the land, but local skirmishes continued until about 1700, greatly reducing the population and number of villages.

With the introduction of agriculture into the Southwest, about 700-800 A.D., the Indians were forced to adopt stable habits because a crop once planted had to be cared for, protected against raids by non-farming peoples, and finally harvested. After the crop was harvested, living was assured until the next season, so the group, no longer driven to wander in search of food, began to build permanent settlements near water supplies and on land suitable for farming.

Peace gradually replaced the strife, and the Pueblo Indians settled down to farm, inspired by improved agricultural conditions inaugurated by government irrigation projects.

The Pueblos today are a flexible people. They often show themselves more realistic about inevitable change than their white neighbors do. The extreme test

of the Pueblo adaptability came with the Spanish Conquerors who introduced a new government, a new religion, and a whole new set of superstitions. The Spanish ways were accepted without much difficulty; the Pueblo moccasins were made more durable with cowhide soles, sheep pelts were soft to sleep on, wool was easy to weave, and the deerskin or cotton slippers, which were replaced with wool blankets, were easier to make than their old robes of twisted rabbit skin.¹

The Pueblo's greatest problem has been to reconcile the traditional ways "with concepts and needs of today: rain dances with farm machinery, inoculations with curing societies, old moralities with modern taboos--or old taboos with modern moralities."² The dance that may impress the tourist as a triumph of art in step, costume, music, and choreography, to the Pueblo Indian means a renewal of an ancient faith which provides his security in the time of transition. "So the Pueblo, having absorbed Catholicism, American education, and a cash economy, may be able to preserve his ancient ceremonies in secret societies."³

¹ Erna Fergusson, New Mexico, A Pageant of Three Peoples (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), 52.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

Pueblo Indian farmers today employ modern methods of agriculture as well as modern tools and machinery. Their homes are a mixture of ancient terraced adobe buildings and modern split-level architecture. They wear store clothes in general, but the older women still favor the native styles for dress-up occasions. Although nominally Christianized, the majority of the people still retain many of the religious beliefs of their forefathers, and each family still has the cherished responsibility of keeping in custody the communal religious regalia which is displayed at ceremonial time. Many of the Pueblo Indians speak their own tribal language, Spanish and English.¹

Tiwa Language

The Tiwa Pueblos, a division of the Tanoan linguistic family, are located in three geographic divisions. Taos and Picuris at the upper waters of the Rio Grande and Sandia and Isleta north and south of Albuquerque, respectively.²

The Tiwa people were first encountered by Coronado in 1540-42. The relations between his followers and these

¹ Ibid.

² Swanton, op. cit., 344-346.

Indians became hostile, and finally two of the pueblos were captured by the army. As a follow-up, Spain sent three missionaries in 1581 to Tiwa under an escort, but all were killed as soon as the escort was withdrawn.¹

Missionary work was resumed among the Tiwa Indians early in the seventeenth century, but the Indians were withdrawn progressively from the area until only four pueblos were occupied at the time of the Rebellion of 1680. In 1681, Governor Oternun stormed Isleta and captured 500 Indians. Part of them fled to the Hopi country and remained there until 1743 when they returned to establish the town of Isleta on the Rio Grande River. The Sandia Indians remained away until 1742 when they were brought back by some missionaries and settled in a new Pueblo near the former one. Taos, Picuris, and Sandia are the only Tiwa pueblos left today.

Taos. Taos is the northernmost of the Rio Grande villages and it lies fifty-two miles northeast of Santa Fe. The community consists of two large, high house-blocks or community houses, one on the north, the other on the south side of the Taos River, which issues from the Taos Mountains, a high range east of town.

¹ Charles F. Lummis, The Spanish Pioneers (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company, 1899), 89.

There has been very little change in the original pueblo which was first seen by the white man, Hernando de Alvarado, a captain under Coronado, in 1540.¹

Taos took a leading part in the rebellion against the Spanish rule in 1680. In retaliation, the ancient buildings, somewhat farther east than the present ones, were destroyed. The half-ruined wall with its loopholes through which the inhabitants once defended themselves today evidence a reminder of that distant conflict.²

The communal dwellings receded, terrace by terrace, from the first story to the fourth and fifth behind the ground floor, as a protection from the enemy and the apartments could be reached only by ladders and entered from the top through trapdoors.

A typical apartment contained two rooms with a fireplace in the corner. The furnishings consisted of cooking vessels, stores of provisions such as colored corn, red peppers, jerked meat, bear grass, feathers, etc., as well as the family treasures and ceremonial garments. The bedding, consisting of neat rolls of blankets and skins which were spread on the adobe floor at night,

¹ Mary Roberts Coolidge, The Rain Makers (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1929), 32-34.

² Ibid.

served in the daytime as seats placed against the walls. The stripped cottonwood logs or viga extending through the walls to the outside held up the ceilings. In spite of the many furnishings and ladder in such a small space, the rooms were kept orderly and spotless with whitewash and once a year the dwellings were plastered with yellow mud on the outside by the women, in preparation for important festivities.¹

Ovens in the shape of beehives have been built in the wide plaza, located on either side of the river. In these all the baking is done, the heat being provided by the live coals after a wood fire has died down.²

Two underground kivas, with the high poles of their ladders extending into the air, are used for civil, religious, and secret ritualistic assemblies as well as preparation chambers for public ceremonies and festivals or as a lounging-place for the men of the pueblo.³

The regular communal hunting of buffalo, deer, antelope, and elk which formerly provided clothing and

¹ Ibid.

² Charles F. Coan, A History of New Mexico, I (Chicago: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1925), 45-48.

³ Ibid.

meat for the inhabitants ceased long ago, because of the scarcity of the animals. Only the rabbit-hunt is still held as a village sport and individuals hunt deer and other game in the surrounding mountains during open season.¹

At the time of the Rebellion of 1680, the inhabitants numbered about two thousand. The 1950 Census record shows that this number has been reduced to 990. Even so, Taos is among the most populous of the Pueblo villages and its inhabitants are among the most prosperous and virile of all the Southwest Indians due to an abundance of fertile agricultural land which is well watered by the mountain stream that flows through the town making crops all but certain.² The three thousand acres of irrigated farmland provide food for the pueblo.

The people of Taos are locally self-governing under an elective chief and council, and have very little interference from the federal government. This makes the inhabitants reticent, self-supporting, and conservative. They make nothing to sell to the tourist;

¹ Ibid.

² Adolph F. Bandelier and Edgar L. Hewett, Indians of the Rio Grande Valley (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1937), 74-78.

however, the finer physical types of inhabitants pose for a sympathetic artist colony located in the neighboring American village of San Fernando de Taos, and earn a meager livelihood. Because of their economic prosperity the native arts have not been nurtured.¹

The summer ceremonies are concerned with the bringing of rain and the planting, germination, growth, and harvesting of grain. These ceremonies are initiated on May 3, by a foot-race from the east to the west in the morning, a dance in the afternoon which signifies the planting of the corn, and culminate on San Geronimo's Day, September 30, which compares to the American Thanksgiving Day. At present it includes many Catholic elements.²

The huge Roman Church, built before the revolt of 1680 by peon Indian labor, flanked by a small new church in which masses are said at infrequent intervals, provide for the Christian life of the community.³ The traditional social structure is well preserved, however, and the people still adhere to the old religion with its secret ceremonials.⁴

¹ Edgar L. Hewett, Ancient Life in the American Southwest (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1930), 76-77.

² Ibid., 74-78.

³ Coolidge, op. cit., 32-34.

⁴ Hewett, op. cit., 76-77.

The Spanish invaded Taos in the late sixteenth century and American pioneers, including Kit Carson who is buried there, invaded the pueblo in the early 1800's. It later became an important commercial center on one of the trails to Santa Fe. Although it was the scene of an Indian revolt against the Spaniards in 1680 and against the Americans in 1847, its history does not compare in violence with that of other Indian communities.

Picuris. Picuris, a Tiwa village, is inhabited by the Tigua branch of the Tanoan stock which is identified by Bandelier, with the Acha of the Chronicles of Coronado's expedition in 1540-42. It is a little Tanoan Pueblo, located forty miles north of Santa Fe, at the foot of the Picuris Mountains, and according to the 1950 Census figures had 138 inhabitants.

It early became the seat of the Franciscan mission of San Lorenzo and was said to have contained 3,000 inhabitants in 1680 when, in the Pueblo revolt of that year the natives killed their missionary, burned the church, and abandoned the pueblo, but it was rebuilt near its former site in or soon after 1692.¹

The Picuris people again deserted their pueblo in 1704 on account of some superstition and fled to a Jicarilla

¹ Hodge, op. cit., 245.

settlement near Santa Fe, but were induced to return two years later. This move resulted in an infusion of Apache blood, which accounts for their proximity to the Jicarillas in later times.¹

Since Picuris is off the main highway, it still retains much of its native simplicity. The people, who are hardworking, find it difficult to make a living on their 17,461 acres of land, because very little of it is arable, for the water is scant.²

Their principal fiesta ceremony takes place on August 10.³

Sandia (Watermelon). The Sandia Pueblo is located fourteen miles north of Albuquerque, a few miles south of Bernalillo, on the east bank of the Rio Grande River. It is the only surviving village of the province of Tiguex in which Coronado made his headquarters from 1540 to 1542. In 1680, during the Pueblo rebellion, the entire community fled to northeastern Arizona and remained

¹ Coolidge, op. cit., 26.

² Coan, op. cit., 48-50.

³ Bandelier and Hewett, op. cit., 78.

among the Hopi until 1743, when 441 of them and their children were brought back by some missionaries to their Rio Grande home. The governor gave them the present grant of lands on which they support themselves.¹

The population was 158 in 1950 and seems to be increasing slowly. They have no industry.² Their annual festival is Saint Anthony's Day observed on June 13.

Isleta. The largest of all the pueblos is Isleta, the southernmost village of the Rio Grande Valley, and in 1950 numbered 1,566 inhabitants. It is located fifteen miles south of Albuquerque on the west bank of the Rio Grande River. Its name suggests that it once was an island in the Rio Grande and it is very possible that the main village was once situated on the east side of the river.³

Governor Oternun is said to have captured five hundred of the two thousand inhabitants at the time of the revolt of 1680. Some of the uncaptured people fled to the Hopis in the west, while others joined the Spaniards in the flight and, with them, established a new pueblo, Isleta del Sur, near El Paso, Texas.⁴

¹ Hewett, op. cit., 89.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., 90.

⁴ Coolidge, op. cit., 21.

The original pueblo which was rebuilt early in the eighteenth century, became a refuge for the Indians of Acoma and Laguna when they were driven from their homes later by severe droughts. Thus, the settlement has lost many of the original characteristics. The large circular kiva remains but the one-story houses, with small green plazitas in front, are today picturesquely scattered along the highway, and the large Roman Church has a priest in residence.¹

The Pueblo is quite independent economically because it has excellent land and plenty of water. It is reputed that this group of Indians is the richest of the Pueblos, being excellent farmers--raising corn, alfalfa, fruit, and honey. Approximately thirty-eight hundred acres of their land was reclaimed for cultivation in 1923 through the construction of a drainage canal by the government and further reclamations have been made since then.²

The pottery industry is said to be "only good enough for tourists" because the available clay does not produce fine ware.

¹ Ibid., 22.

² Ibid.

The people of Isleta are intelligent, good traders, thrifty, proud, and independent, attached to the ancient order to do things.¹

Lummis knew the people quite intimately, for he lived with them for several years and wrote extensively about their customs and folklore.²

Only one principal public festival is held, which is on San Augustine's Day, August 28.³

Tewa Language (meaning "Moccasins")

When Coronado passed through the southern end of the Tewa territory in 1540, he found that it had been greatly depopulated by a warlike Plains tribe. They were next visited by Espejo, who reported even fewer inhabitants. In 1630 there were only five southern Tewa towns left and they were broken up during the Pueblo revolts of 1680-96. After 1694, most of the Indians moved to the Hopi country in Arizona. Of those who remained, the greater part were destroyed by smallpox early in the

¹ Coan, op. cit., 96-100.

² Charles F. Lummis, Mesa, Cañon, and Pueblo, Our Wonderland of the Southwest (New York: The Century Company, 1925), 215.

³ Coolidge, op. cit., 22.

nineteenth century. There are still a few descendants of this group living in the pueblos along the Rio Grande River, particularly Santo Domingo.¹

San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambe, and Tesuque constitute the Pueblos which speak the Tewa dialect.

San Juan (Saint John). San Juan is the northernmost of the Tewa villages and is located in the sand dunes on the east side of the Rio Grande River near the confluence of the Chama and Rio Grande, twenty-five miles northwest of Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Before its establishment, the Indians occupied and abandoned successively three other pueblos just previous to the sixteenth century. In 1598 ^vOnate founded here the first capital of the province of New Spain, and preparations were even made for building the permanent city of "San Francisco." However, this endeavor was abandoned a little more than a decade later for the founding of the new and permanent capital, La Villa Real de Santa Fe de San Francisco de Assisi.²

¹ Hewett, op. cit., 240.

² Ibid., 78.

This was the native place of Pope,¹ the celebrated medicine man who incited the revolt against the Spanish rule in 1680, with the object of obliterating everything Spanish from the Indian life and thought.¹

San Juan was the seat of a Franciscan mission from an early date and, owing to the generous treatment of the people of Yugeuingge after their voluntary relinquishment of their pueblo to the Spanish conquerors, won from them the name of San Juan de los Caballeros. In 1782, five hundred of the inhabitants of San Juan and Santa Clara died of pestilence in two months.²

The houses of the San Juan pueblo were built in parallel rows, terraced back from the streets. The kivas are above the ground and rectangular in shape. A Roman Catholic Church and a mission are located here. Interesting footraces and ceremonials are scheduled for June 24, Saint John's Day.³

According to the 1950 Census, San Juan had 834 inhabitants, who are well-off, with fertile land and irrigation water. Its social structures and religious ceremonies are fairly well preserved; however, it has

¹ Coolidge, op. cit., 29.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

lost most of its arts though pottery-making is still practiced. A thin black, light weight, undecorated, burnished ware seems to be the favorite product made by the women.¹

Santa Clara. Santa Clara pueblo is located on the western bank of the Rio Grande River, about thirty miles above Santa Fe, just south of the modern village of Espanola. It is situated near the mouth of the Santa Clara Creek, one of the few small western tributaries to carry its water to the Rio Grande. The native name of the pueblo is K'hap'oo which is said to mean, "where the roses grow near the water."²

Santa Clara was formerly the seat of a Spanish mission, with a church and monastery erected sometime between 1622 and 1629. It was also the visita of the mission of San Ildefonso until 1782, after which time it was again made a mission with San Ildefonso as its visita. Like so many of the other pueblos, Santa Clara owed its decline to the constant inter-killing as a result of evil practices of witchcraft and of the ravages of diseases,

¹ Hewett, op. cit., 79.

² Hodge, op. cit., 457.

for in 1782, five hundred deaths occurred in this and the San Juan pueblo alone within two months.¹

Santa Clara suffered an unfortunate schism in 1890, which time does not seem to have healed. As a result, it is divided into two nearly equal factions, each having its own organization.

One of these, recognized by the United States authorities as the de facto government, is conservative, reactionary, zealous for the preservation of the ancient order. The other calls itself progressive without knowing just how or why it rather hesitatingly flouts the ancient tradition.²

This bitter antagonism between factions has robbed Santa Clara of the tranquil life that characterizes the pueblo communities.

Santa Clara has a population of 609 and is fairly well off economically. It has irrigable land and abundant timber and grazing land. It retains the art of pottery-making, producing the black lustrous ware which is very decorative. It is made by smothering red clay vessels in dense smoke and polishing them with a smooth hard stone.³

¹ Ibid.

² Hewett, op. cit., 79.

³ Ibid.

Santiago Naranjo, four times governor of the pueblo, is the best known of all the Pueblo Indians as guide, philosopher, and friend of the archaeologists, artists, and tourists. Hewett says he is a firm fundamentalist for the old, true, and good way.¹

In contrast with the other pueblos, the square kiva is the center of the Santa Clara ceremonials with the most important public ceremony being the Corn Dance held on August 12.²

San Ildefonso (the Place where Water Raged). San Ildefonso is located east of the Rio Grande, east of Santa Clara, and eighteen miles northwest of Santa Fe.

The history of the decline and revival of San Ildefonso is interesting. The original town was built around a plaza previous to the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680. This is south of the present plaza. The row of two- and three-story houses forming the south side of the plaza constituted the north side of the ancient square. The town was prosperous. However, the council moved the pueblo north against the advice of the caciques who knew

¹ Ibid.

² Coolidge, op. cit., 30.

that new migrations of the village should be to the south. A game, which was won by witchcraft, finally decided the issue, and the plaza was changed to the north.¹

The decline of the pueblo started immediately, assisted by epidemics, famines, and persecutions to the point where the wise men of the community realized they were facing extinction. It was believed that this calamity could be averted by abandoning the new plaza of misfortune and moving back to the south. A second large kiva was built to take the place of the one to be abandoned. The population was shifted to the new south plaza and the ceremonials were also transferred to the new precinct. The move resulted in a slowing down of epidemics and an increasing number of healthy children. The improvement of morale and sanitation saved the pueblo from extinction.²

Although reduced to 191 inhabitants, it is one of the most interesting of all pueblo villages because it is an art center. It is the home of Maria Martinez who,

¹ Hewett, op. cit., 79-82

² Bandelier and Hewett, op. cit., 91-93.

with the exception of Nampeo at Hano, is the most famous of Indian artists. While she has perfected old processes of art in pottery, she has actually invented new ones, thus becoming a thoroughly creative artist.¹

In 1910 this pueblo was chosen for an experiment in cultural revival by the School of American Research of the Archaeological Institute of America in Santa Fe. The Indians were most receptive and the results have been entirely satisfactory. Relative prosperity is experienced by the community through the revival of pottery-making, painting, and other arts.²

The pottery wares now made are polychrome--black and red on light slip or polished red. A recent and very successful invention is polished black pottery etched in dull black. The motives used are geometric symbols and characteristic birds. There seems to be more decorative variation in design than those made by other villages.³

A Roman Catholic church and a government day school are located in San Ildefonso. January 23 and September 6 are set aside for public ceremonies.⁴

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Coolidge, op. cit., 28.

⁴ Ibid., 29.

The inhabitants of San Ildefonso have given an inestimable service to research. The monograms of the School of American Research on Tewa ethnobotany and ethnozoology by Harrington, Freire-Marreco, Robbs, and Henderson are based on facts collected from the inhabitants. The studies of Edgar L. Hewett which were made over a period of twenty-five years are a result of the assistance of the men of this pueblo.¹

The village today consists of one-story homes around a large plaza spreading outward to the hillsides. Four sacred springs and a boulder shrine are in the vicinity on the top of a hill to which the Cacique goes daily.²

Nambe (Round Hill). Nambe, meaning round hill or round valley, is a Tewa pueblo located about sixteen miles north of Santa Fe on the Nambe River, a small tributary of the Rio Grande.

Early in the seventeenth century, it became the seat of a Franciscan mission, but was reduced to a visita of Pojoaque in 1782. Nambe was built around a plaza with a circular kiva. The large dilapidated Roman Church as

¹ Hewett, op. cit., 79-82.

² Coolidge, op. cit., 29.

well as the crumbling houses suggest that this was a much larger settlement in former times.¹

According to Bandelier, like a number of other pueblos, Nambe owes its decline to the constant inter-tribal execution for supposed evil practices of witchcraft.²

The census figures make it appear as if the population of 163 is increasing, but there is proof that it is doing so only by amalgamation with a nearby Mexican village, so that as an Indian community, it will probably disappear in the course of time. Only a very little crude pottery is being made.³

The annual festival is still celebrated on October 4.

Tesuque (Cottonwood Place). Tesuque, meaning cottonwood-tree place, one of the most southernmost of the Tanoan pueblos, is located ten miles north of Santa Fe and has 171 inhabitants. It is the Indian settlement nearest to the state capital and in spite of its constant exposure to acculturation, it retains much of its ancient

¹ Ibid., 24.

² Hodge, op. cit., 15.

³ Hewett, op. cit., 83.

character, probably due to an attitude of mild hostility toward white visitors.

It became the seat of a Spanish mission early in the seventeenth century, but was made a visita of Santa Fe in 1760 and of Pojuaque in 1782. The people were divided into two factions, the winter and the summer people, each with its own Caciques. In times past, they adhered to the tribal law which forbade intermarriage between members of the same clan. Unlike the Pueblos in general, the descent is in the male line.¹

Because of the scarcity of water for irrigation, Tesuque has been for years one of the poorest of the Pueblo communities. Conditions have improved since the building of a dam on Tesuque Creek above the village and by the adjustment of land titles through the Pueblo Lands Board.²

Irrigation farming is the chief occupation of the people of Tesuque. They also make small drums, bows and arrows, rattles, war clubs, and pottery for sale on the streets of Santa Fe. The pottery consists mostly of so-called "rain-gods," little images, and various animal forms.³

¹ Hodge, op. cit., 739.

² Hewett, op. cit., 83-84.

³ Coolidge, op. cit., 34-35.

Saint James' Day, November 12, is the principal ceremonial and fiesta day.

Keresan Language

The Keresan Pueblos are located on the Rio Grande in north central New Mexico. The people of this language group trace their origin to the underworld, from whence they had emerged through an opening called Shipapu. The inhabitants of the villages of Cochiti, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Zia, Laguna, and Acoma speak Keresan.¹

Tradition had it that the Keresans slowly drifted south to the Rio Grande where they took up their residence in the Rito de los Frijoles and constructed the cliff dwellings found there today. Long before the Europeans appeared, the Keresans abandoned the canyon and moved farther south, separating into a number of autonomous village communities. Coronado reported seven of these in 1540; Espejo encountered them in 1583, and Onate mentions them in 1598.²

Missions were established in the principal towns early in the seventeenth century, but the Spanish dominion

¹ Bandelier and Hewett, op. cit., 101-104.

² Swanton, op. cit., 333.

was temporarily brought to an end in 1680 by the great Pueblo Rebellion. By the eighteenth century, missionary work was resumed without pronounced success as the native population gradually declined in number.¹

Cochiti. The northernmost village of the Keresan province is on the west side of the Rio Grande River, twenty-seven miles southwest of Santa Fe. Remote from highways and white settlements, their native culture is well protected.

The people of Cochiti believe they are the descendants of the cliff-dwellers of the Rito de los Frijoles. They took an active part in the Rebellion of 1680 and were conquered by De Vargas in 1696.²

The village holds historic interest because the scientist and explorer, Adolph F. Bandelier, lived in Cochiti for several years and the Mission of Santa Buenaventura is located here.³

The houses of the pueblo are one-story and separate, built around a plaza with a circular kiva centrally located.⁴

¹ Ibid.

² Coolidge, op. cit., 18.

³ Bandelier and Hewett, op. cit., 109.

⁴ Coolidge, op. cit., 18.

The population numbers 425 and has been intensely conservative and somewhat Mexicanized.¹ However, the writer saw an American Santa Claus taking an active part in the ceremonies on Christmas Day in 1960.

The Cochitians make excellent pottery and share in the revival of the Pueblo Arts. Formerly this pottery was confined to black or white, but now red often appears on the product. The designs, which often look as if they are scattered over the vessel, employ the rain and fruitation symbols freely.²

On the Potrero de las Vacas, not far from Cochiti is an ancient shrine, identified by a pair of sculptured stone mountain lions and an interesting cave named the Arena Pintata, which has colored wall paintings.³

The principal fiesta, Saint Bonaventure's Day, is held on July 14.

Santo Domingo. Santo Domingo, a Keresan village, is located on the east bank of the Rio Grande River, about eighteen miles above Bernalillo in north central New Mexico.

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., 19.

³ Coolidge, op. cit., 19.

Earliest traditions locate the pueblo at the Potrero de la Cañada Quemeda. From here the inhabitants moved in prehistoric times to two villages, each named Gipuy. Here is where Onate found them in 1598.

The first Gipuy was located on the banks of the arroyo de Galisteo about a mile east of the present station of Thornton. It was almost completely destroyed by the rise of a dangerous water torrent one night, so the people were evacuated farther to the west and built the second Gipuy. This pueblo was also destroyed by a flood and the present Santo Domingo was built on the Rio Grande. It has had three disasters from floods since its establishment two hundred years ago. In 1886 both of its churches were destroyed.

Early in the seventeenth century, Santo Domingo became the seat of a mission. After 1782 San Felipe and Cochiti became its visitas.¹

The pueblo numbered 1,232 people in the 1950 Census and the population is steadily increasing. It has ample land of great fertility and can always depend on water for irrigation. The old form of government is

¹ Hodge, op. cit., 462.

intact and the ceremonial life goes on uninterrupted by the pressure of modern life around the pueblo.¹

The village has four streets lined with large two-story houses, a circular kiva, and a large Spanish church. The inhabitants are very conservative and religious, conducting many ceremonies of which the Green Corn Dance held on Saint Dominic's Day, August 4, is the best known.²

The people of Santo Domingo ask only the privilege of being left alone. They want no advice about farming and no white man's medicine. Extreme conservatism marks these people and even today it is maintained by an attitude of firm hostility which can become acute on a slight provocation such as a photographer or sketcher at the ceremonial without the governor's permission.³

Creamy white or pinkish pottery of excellent black geometric design is produced by the women of Santo Domingo in the shape of ollas and bowls. Some weaving and shell bead work, turquoise and silver jewelry have

¹ Ibid.

² Coolidge, op. cit., 30.

³ Hewett, op. cit., 85-86.

been revived providing for a large source of revenue for the pueblo.¹

San Felipe (Saint Philip). San Felipe is a well-preserved Keresan town, numbering 830 inhabitants in 1950, located on the west bank of the Rio Grande River about twelve miles above Bernalillo in north central New Mexico.

Before the advent of the Spaniards in this area in the sixteenth century, the inhabitants of this pueblo formed a single tribe with the Cochiti, occupying successively a number of pueblos. Because of the aggressiveness of the Tewa, who bounded the pueblo on the north, these people were forced to separate into two divisions. The Cochiti retired to Potrero Viejo and the other faction went farther west, down the Rio Grande to where the present site of Cubero is now found. Here they built the pueblo Katishtya. This was abandoned for a new pueblo bearing the same name at the foot of the mesa of Tamita. Here is where Coronado found them in 1540.²

In 1591 it was given the saint name of San Felipe and early in the seventeenth century San Felipe became the seat of a Spanish mission.³

¹ Ibid.

² Leslie A. White, The Pueblo of San Felipe, Memoirs of American Anthropology, No. 38 (Menasha: American Anthropological Association, 1932), 7-69.

³ Hodge, op. cit., 432-433.

The San Felipe Indians took an active part in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and aided in killing the missionaries of Cochiti and Santo Domingo. They took part in the massacre of Spanish colonists living in neighboring haciendas as well as members of their own tribe who remained faithful to the Spaniards.¹

In the latter part of 1681 the pueblo was deserted and the inhabitants fled with the Cochitenos to Potrero Viejo only to return to 1683. Between 1683 and 1692, when Vargas appeared in New Mexico, they again retreated to Potrero but were induced by the Spaniards to return.²

Soon after the beginning of the eighteenth century, when there was no further necessity for defense, the tribe left the mesa settlement and built its base on the river where it is found at the present time.³

The people are characterized by extreme conservatism. They do very little with arts and crafts probably because they are fairly well-to-do. Their land is fertile and well irrigated. One of the best of all

¹ Ibid., 433.

² White, op. cit., 7-69.

³ Ibid.

surviving examples of early Franciscan architecture is found in the two-hundred-year-old church of this pueblo.¹

The principal annual festival is held on May 1.²

Santa Ana. Santa Ana is a Keresan pueblo on the north bank of the Rio Jemez, a west affluent of the Rio Grande in central New Mexico twelve miles northwest of Bernalillo.

According to Bandelier, the original pueblo of the Santa Ana tribe was located near the Mesa del Cangelon, west of the Rio Grande, north of Bernalillo. This site was abandoned in the sixteenth century and another pueblo was built on an elevation which rises about midway between the Santa Ana and San Felipe pueblos. Óñate referred to it in 1598 as Tamy and Tamyá. It was an early seat of a Spanish mission but it had no priest at the outbreak of the Pueblo Rebellion in 1680, so the people of Santa Ana joined those of San Felipe in the massacre of the missionaries at Santo Domingo and the colonists in the Rio Grande valley.³

¹ Hewett, op. cit., 86-87.

² Coolidge, op. cit., 27.

³ Hodge, op. cit., 454.

Since the pueblo was located west of the Rio Grande, it was not molested in 1681 by Governor Otermun in his attempt to reconquer New Mexico; however, in 1687 Pedro Reneros de Posada, who was governor at El Paso, conquered the pueblo after a desperate resistance, and burned it. A number of Indians perished in the flames.¹

The Santa Ana tribe occupied the Cerro Colorado mesa ten miles north of Jemez when Vargas made his appearance in 1692. He induced them to return to their former locality where they built the pueblo which they occupy today.²

Santa Ana is located in the midst of the sand-dunes on the north side of Jemez Creek. It has but little tillable land near the pueblo with additional land in the Rio Grande Valley six miles away. Therefore the pueblo of about 306 people is practically abandoned during the cropping season except for fiesta days. All of the natives except the old men, who stand guard in the camps and lookouts, leave the pueblo.³

Until recently good pottery was produced in Santa Ana, but the pueblo takes no part in the recent art

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Hewett, op. cit., 87-88.

revival. Since it is removed from the highway, across sand dunes and quicksands, few tourists enter the village. Generation after generation of people have lived their lives out upon these desolate hills in contentment, seemingly not tempted by agricultural and industrial opportunities which lie only a few miles away.¹

Zia (Sia). Zia, a small Keresan pueblo, is located on the north bank of the Jemez River, about sixteen miles northwest of Bernalillo, New Mexico.

In 1541, Castaneda mentioned one village of the tribe, but forty-two years later Espejo visited the area and described five pueblos, of which Zia was the largest. Onate (1598) mentions only one pueblo. The Indians themselves, claim that they occupied the same site as they did in the days of Coronado.²

Zia engaged, with the other Pueblos, in the Revolt of 1680. In August of 1689 the pueblo was wrecked completely and the tribe decimated in the most bloody battle of the Pueblo Rebellion. The friendly attitude of the remaining Indians toward the Spaniards from that time to

¹ Ibid.

² Hodge, op. cit., p. 562.

the end of the revolt in 1696, created a good bit of friction between them and the Indians of Jemez and Cochiti. According to Bandelier, the Pueblo owes its decline since the revolt to the constant inter-killing going on for the supposed practice of witchcraft.¹

According to Stevenson, wars, pestilence, and oppression seemed to have been the heritage of the people of Zia. When not contending with the marauding nomads and Mexicans, they were suffering the effects of disease. Between murder and epidemic the people were reduced to small numbers by 1889.²

Zia has a population of about one hundred fifty. It has about the smallest conceivable amount of farming land that a community could exist on, yet it seems to be perfectly content to sit upon its black lava knoll. The people are quite cordial to white visitors and are taking part in the renaissance of the Pueblo arts and industries. The inhabitants make excellent pottery. Velino Shije, a distinguished painter, comes from Zia.³

¹ Ibid.

² Matilda Coxe Stevenson, The Sia, 11th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1889-1890 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), 3-157.

³ Hewett, op. cit., 88.

One of the best of the old Franciscan churches is found in this pueblo, and the principal festival is celebrated on August 15, the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.¹

Laguna (Lagoon). The Laguna Pueblo is located on the south bank of the San Jose River in Valencia County, New Mexico, about forty-five miles west of Albuquerque, at Laguna Station. It is inhabited by a mixed pueblo stock speaking the Keresan language.

Formerly, Laguna was the seat of a Spanish mission, established in 1699. The lands of the Lagunas, 125,225 acres, mostly desert land, stem from a Spanish grant. Nineteen clans make up this Pueblo. It is not only the most recent of the New Mexico pueblos, but its members are of mixed origin, being composed of at least four linguistic stocks: Keresan, Tanoan, Shoshonean, and Zunian. Formerly the people were divided into two social groups known as Kapaito and Kayomasho, which finally became political parties, one progressive, the other conservative.²

¹ Coolidge, op. cit., 32.

² Hodge, op. cit., 752-753.

In the 1950 Census Laguna was the largest of all pueblo settlements east of the Continental Divide, numbering 3,083. The people are all exceptionally high class, owing to their having broken the large community up into smaller groups, which have established permanent agricultural villages at Casa Blanca, Cubero, Paguate, and several other localities. The inhabitants are good farmers, industrious and thrifty, well provided with land.¹ Stock-raising is the chief occupation of the men while the women produce some good pottery in a variety of forms in black and red designs on a white background. However, it is not well fired.²

The houses are two-story, made of adobe. Prominent buildings include a Roman church, the walls of which are decorated with Indian paintings and several old Spanish pictures; a Presbyterian mission, and a government school.³

The inhabitants are somewhat difficult to approach because the village is invaded by so many inquisitive strangers.⁴

¹ Hewett, op. cit., 90-91.

² Coolidge, op. cit., 23.

³ Coan, op. cit., 106-109.

⁴ Coolidge, op. cit., 23.

Acoma (People of a White Rock). Acoma is located on a rock mesa, three hundred fifty-seven feet high, about sixty miles west of the Rio Grande, about twenty miles southwest of Laguna Station, and in Valencia County, New Mexico.

Acoma is mentioned by Fray Marcos de Niza, under the name Acus as early as 1539. It is said by Hodge to be the oldest inhabited settlement in the United States.¹ Coronado's army visited it the following year and recorded the name as Acuco. Antonio Espejo visited Acoma in 1583, giving it the name by which it is now known and describing its dizzy trails cut in the rock, and cultivated fields several leagues away. The inhabitants were hostile to surrounding tribes and in 1540 explorers mentioned the fact that they were feared by the country round about.²

In 1598, when Onate's forces visited Acoma, they were surprised by the Indians who killed fourteen Spaniards outright, including three captains, and forced four soldiers to leap over the cliff, three of whom were miraculously saved. In revenge an avenging party of

¹ Hodge, op. cit., 10-11.

² Ibid.

seventy Spaniards were dispatched under Vicente, a brother of one of the captains who was slain. The battle lasted three days; half the tribe was killed and most of the village was burned.¹

Fray Juan Ramirez who went to Acoma in 1629 and remained many years, was the first permanent missionary. He built the first church, which was replaced in 1699 by the present adobe structure, which is remarkable for its heavy timbers brought by the Indians from forests many miles away and for its retaining walls of great height and strength.²

The inhabitants of Acoma participated in the general Pueblo Revolt against the Spaniards in 1680 killing their missionary, Fray Lucas Maldonado. Because of their isolation and inaccessibility, Acoma was not so severely dealt with by the Spaniards as were most of the pueblos involved.³

In November, 1692, Acoma voluntarily surrendered to Diego de Vargas, the reconqueror of New Mexico. In 1696, the inhabitants of Acoma rebelled again and this

¹ Leslie A. White, The Acoma Indians, 47th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1910), 10-11.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., 11

time Vargas was unable to storm the rock. However, the Pueblos grew to lasting peace by degrees and the mission of Acoma was re-established about 1700 to remain one of the most interesting in the world. Acoma was not implicated in the Pueblo uprising of 1728 and has remained at peace with the world ever since.¹

The village, consisting of three-story houses, is built of rubble and clay materials, terraced back from three parallel streets. The water for the inhabitants is supplied from rock cisterns in the streets and has to be transported by the women in jars.²

The population, which declined from fifteen hundred in 1680 to five hundred in 1905, increased to 1,597 in 1950. Many of the young families no longer live on the top of the mesa, but are scattered along the San Jose River on their own farms. This spreading out has weakened the community spirit somewhat.³

The people of Acoma are chiefly engaged in agriculture and raise corn, wheat, mellons, etc., by means of irrigation. Their stock consists of sheep, goats,

¹ Lummis, op. cit., 135-143.

² Coolidge, op. cit., 17.

³ Ibid.

horses, donkeys, and cattle. Formerly the pottery was produced by the women from very fine clay, light in weight, with very interesting designs, but this industry has declined in recent years.¹

San Juan's Day has been set aside for the fiesta featuring the Gallo race-chicken-pull. However, the most important festival takes place on Saint Stephen's Day, September 2.²

The Acomenos are among the most prolific potters and their arts, ceremonies, and manners of antiquity are preserved as one of the finest survivals in the world.

Towa Language

Jemez Pueblo. The Jemez village is on the north bank of the Jemez River about twenty miles northwest of Bernalillo, New Mexico. The inhabitants constitute the only distinct Towa linguistic family.

According to tradition, they came from the north, then settled in the valleys of the upper tributaries of the James River and finally in the sandy valley of James proper. Castaneda, chronicler of Coronado's expedition,

¹ Ibid., 18.

² Ibid.

mentions seven towns belonging to the Jemez tribe, besides the three in the region of Jemez Hot Springs. They were induced to abandon their towns by degrees after they were missionized. About 1622 they became concentrated in the pueblos of Gyusiwa and probably Astialakwa, which had chapels dating as far back as 1618. By 1680 Astialakwa was abandoned and another pueblo established.

About the middle of the seventeenth century the Jemez people twice plotted insurrection against the Spanish in conjunction with the Navajos, Zunis, and Acomas. Following the insurrection of 1680 the Spanish forces attacked the Jemez and after storming the mesa in July 1694, killed eighty-four Indians and returned to Santa Fe with three hundred sixty-one prisoners and a large quantity of stores.

In 1696 there was a second revolt and the Jemez finally fled to the Navajo country where they remained for some time, returning to their former home where they built the present village called by them Walatoa, "Village of the Bear."³ Here seven or more scattered

¹ Swanton, op. cit., 330-332.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., 332.

settlements of Jemez concentrated into one community, residing mostly in two-story houses facing two streets. In addition, there are today threshing floors; two kivas above the ground, in buildings like the houses, however without windows or doors; a Roman Catholic mission; and a Presbyterian school.¹

A pathetic remnant of the Pecos population, about eighteen souls sought and received sanctuary at Jemez in 1838. This group has thrived and multiplied until it is claimed that two hundred of the Jemez population of 991 are descended from Pecos mothers.²

Today Jemez is a well-to-do town with ample land and water. Its people are noticeably independent and prosperous with agriculture for a livelihood. The chief crops are corn, wheat, melons, alfalfa, garden products, chili, gourds, and grapes.³

The old government and ceremony have been well preserved but the arts in pottery have been lost. Under the guidance of teachers in the government day school, work in textiles has been resumed with marked success.⁴

¹ Coolidge, op. cit., 23.

² Hewett, op. cit. 88-89.

³ Coolidge, op. cit., 23.

⁴ Hewett, op. cit., 88-89.

The public fiesta occurs on Saint James's Day, November 12, and is dedicated to San Diego, the patron saint of Jemez but the villagers object to the presence of white visitors at their masked dances.¹

Zuni Pueblo

The Zuni Pueblo is located on the north bank of the upper Zuni River, in Valencia County, forty-two miles southwest of Gallup, New Mexico. Of all the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico only the Zuni do not live within the Rio Grande drainage.

According to Cushing, who lived for years among the Zuni, became a member of the tribe, and was awarded one of their most important priesthoods, the Zuni are descended from two parental stocks.² One originally came from the north and was later joined by the second from the country of lower Colorado. The latter resembled the Yuman and Piman people in culture.³

Although indefinite knowledge of an Indian province containing seven cities (Cibola) in the far north existed in Mexico

¹ Coolidge, op. cit., 23.

² Frank Hamilton Cushing, My Adventures in Zuni (Santa Fe: The Peripatetic Press, 1941), 1-178.

³ Swanton, op. cit., 347.

soon after the conquest, the first real information regarding the Zuni tribe and their seven pueblos was gained from Fray Marcos of Niza, who in 1539 went out with a Barbary Negro named Estevanico to explore the unknown region of the Northwest.¹

Fray Marcos sent the Negro and some Indian guides ahead to prepare the tribes for his coming, while he set out to explore the Northwest into Arizona, where he learned that Estevanico, the Negro, had been killed by the natives of Cibola. Consequently, Fray Marcos approached only to within sight of one of the Zuni Pueblos and returned to Mexico with such glowing accounts of the "Kingdom of Cibola" that the expedition of Coronado was fitted out and sent to Zuni in 1540. They met the first Zuni Indians near the mouth of the Zuni River. Although the first meeting was friendly, a dissension soon occurred, and after a sharp skirmish the Indians retreated to their villages. The Pueblo of Hawikuh was taken by storm but the Indians had already moved their women, children, and much of their property to their stronghold of Taaiyalone Mesa, to which the men also escaped. The invaders were bitterly disappointed in regard to the riches of the pueblos, so Coronado's army was removed

¹ Hodge, op. cit., 1015-1018.

to winter quarters on the Rio Grande, only to return later to subjugate the Zuni.¹

Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado visited the Zuni in 1580 and Antonio de Espejo followed in 1583, who for the first time called the place Zuni. By this time there were only six original pueblos. Onate, the Colonizer of New Mexico, came to Zuni in 1598 and the Franciscans established the first Zuni mission at Hawikuh in 1629, but in 1632 the missionaries were murdered and the Zuni again fled to Taaiyalone Mesa, where they remained until 1635. In 1670 the Apache or Navajo tribes raided Hawikuh, and burned the church.²

The Zuni Pueblos, now consisting of three, took part in the great Rebellion of 1680, fleeing to Taaiyalone Mesa where they were reconquered by Vargas in 1692. From then on the inhabitants were concentrated in a single village known as Zuni, where they erected a church in 1699 only to kill the missionary in 1703 and flee back to their stronghold, from which they returned in 1705, to accept another missionary. The Spanish kept a garrison at Zuni until 1713 because they were at enmity with

¹ Ibid., 1016-1017.

² Ibid.

the Hopi tribe periodically. Peace was finally restored. The mission continued into the nineteenth century, but the church was visited infrequently by priests and gradually fell into ruins. Following the war with Mexico, Zuni was abandoned by the white people.¹

In recent years the government of the United States has established a large day school for the Zuni people. Here the younger generation is being educated in the ways of civilization in close proximity of the old ceremonial rooms or kivas, the meeting place for the various orders of secret societies, which had been crowded into the innermost recesses during the Spanish occupation.²

Today the Zuni are peaceful agriculturalists. The houses in this pueblo rise like a pyramid from the level plain on the north bank of the Zuni River. Farming and the raising of stock on their communal lands provide a generous income. The construction of a government dam at Blackrock made irrigation possible for 6,000 acres of land.³

¹ Ibid., 1018.

² J. W. Powell, Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1886-1887 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1891), 97-99.

³ Coolidge, op. cit., 36.

The population still numbers 2,922 among which are found some of the finest artists, dramatists, poets, and story-tellers of the native American Race. They constitute a distinct linguistic stock calling themselves Ashivi.¹

The Zuni women make pottery of excellent design and workmanship in a variety of shapes such as large food bowls with animal figures and squash rosettes in black and dull red on ivory white backgrounds.²

The ceremonials consist of the rain dances in summer and the Shalako which is held in November.³

The Zuni seem to operate under the following framework of society: they are a ceremonious people who value sobriety and inoffensiveness above all other virtues; their religious practices are believed to be supernaturally powerful; they place a great reliance on imitative magic; they pray for an orderly life, pleasant days, and shelter from violence; and the purpose of their religious observances is for rain.⁴

¹ Hewett, op. cit., 331-332.

² Coolidge, op. cit., 36.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ruth Benedict, Patterns of Culture (New York: The New American Library, 1934), 1-272.

Navajo Indians

The name Navajo is applied to a former Tewa pueblo and to the Navajo known to the Spaniards of the seventeenth century as Apaches de Navajo, who intruded the Tewa domain or lived in the vicinity. This name distinguished them from other Apache bands. The people of the Navajo tribe call themselves Dine', which means "people."

The Navajo is an important Athapascan tribe occupying a large reservation of 9,503,763 acres in northeast Arizona and northwest New Mexico as well as southeast Utah. The average elevation of their land is about 6,000 feet above sea level. The region is arid and not well adapted to agriculture, but it is fair pasturage because the government has built storage reservoirs on the reservation and increased the facilities for irrigation.¹

The Navajos have been the subject of influence from other cultures ever since they entered the Southwest. Lack of evidence, historical or archaeological, to place them here before the seventeenth century would suggest that their entry may not have long preceded that of the

¹ Hodge, op. cit., 41-45.

Spanish in 1540. Spanish documents from this period contain no evidence of the Navajos, therefore it is assumed that they were a group of migratory hunters of mixed origin, of the Athapascon stock, who probably entered the area from the north, some of them splitting culturally from the others who came from the various Apache tribes, and became known historically as the Navajos. The traits which set them apart, are believed to be the result of cultural borrowings from the Pueblo groups they encountered as they entered the Southwest. This is evidenced by the following similarities: their basketry resembles that of the Utes and Plains tribes, their woven materials have Shoshonean characteristics, their hogans are more a Plains type of house than southwestern, their rituals and ceremonies, witchcraft and body painting resemble those of the southwest Pueblo Indians, and the masonry employed in their stone-walled hogans also bears a resemblance to that of the Pueblos.¹

According to the first meagre documentary references, the contact between the Navajo and Pueblo tribes seems to have been of a sporadic nature; however, it was

¹ Dorothy L. Kew, Big Bead Mesa, An Archaeological Study of the Navajo Acculturation, 1745-1812 (Menasha: Society for American Archaeology, 1949), 69.

widespread and sufficient to permit borrowing of the Pueblo traits even before post-Spanish days, at which time numerous refugee Puebloans lived temporarily with or were absorbed into the Navajo clans, intensifying the transfer of cultural components. In fact the first mention of them by the name of Navajo is by Zarate-Salmeron about 1629.¹ In 1634, Fray Alonso de Benevides told of going to the frontier of the Christian Indians of the Teoas (Tewa) nation, "where the Apache (de Navajo) killed people every day and waged war on them."²

Benevides also describes the Navajos as farmers, which bears out the supposition that having learned agriculture from the Pueblos, not yet having taken up their pastoral existence of the post-Spanish days, the Navajos were primarily a sedentary people. Hill also

¹ Fray Geromino de Zarate-Salmeron, Relating All the Things That Have Been Seen and Known in New Mexico as Well As by Sea as by Land, From the Year 1538 Till That of 1626, Part IV, Charles F. Lummis Translation in Pioneers of the Far West, The Land of Sunshine, XII, No. 3 (Los Angeles: 1900), 180-187.

² Fray Alonso de Benevides, Fray Alonso de Benevides' Revised Memorial of 1634, with Numerous Supplementary Documents Elaborately Annotated, Frederick Webb Hodge, George P. Hammond, and Agapito Rey, editors. IV, Coronado Curato Centennial Publications, 1540-1940, George P. Hammond, ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1945), 86.

pictures the people primarily agricultural, raising maize, beans, pumpkins, and watermelons.¹

The coming of the Spanish had several important effects upon the Navajo culture. The Conquistadores came mounted upon horses driving their livestock before them. Some Spanish equipment and arms fell into Navajo hands in Coronado's time, leading to raids upon horses and livestock, although at first horses seem to have been less significant than sheep and goats.² The horse increased in importance until in the nineteenth century, it was utilized as a transport animal and as an indispensable adjunct of guerrilla warfare as well as social prestige. Consequently the Navajos kept up an almost constant predatory war with the Pueblo Indians and white settlers for many years.

The introduction of sheep brought a revolution in the Navajo economy but treaties of peace made by them with the United States Government in 1846 and 1849 were not observed, so in 1863, Colonel "Kit" Carson invaded

¹ W. W. Hill, Some Navajo Culture Changes During Two Centuries (with translation of the early 18th century, Habel Manuscript) Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940), 395-415.

² Ibid., 397.

their country and tried to put a stop to their depredations by killing so many of their sheep that they were left without means of support.

Fort Sumner had been built to house the United States troops which tried to keep order among the Indian tribes as well as protect the white settlers. However, during the Civil War the officers had to be pulled out of the Fort to aid in this venture and the Navajos raided unmercifully. Finally a greater part of the tribe was captured and forced to make the "long walk" as prisoners to Bosque Rodondo, a reservation on the Pecos River with Fort Sumner at its center. This ended the Navajo raiding menace, but it fell short of resolving itself as originally planned by the American authorities so the Navajos were restored to their country in 1867. They were given farming tools and plots of land, and it was hoped that they would settle down on a new reservation, merge with the Mescalero Apaches, and become agriculturists. However, they failed to agree with the Mescalero tribe, and did not become reconciled to a sedentary farming economy or the loss of their homeland.

It was impossible to civilize the Navajos overnight. Consequently in 1868 a new treaty permitted them to return to the reservation which had been their old

home and provided agricultural implements as well as new flocks of sheep and goats to replace the ones which had been destroyed. This made their reversion to pastoralism possible and they remained at peace and therefore prospered.¹ The discovery of uranium on their land in the twentieth century has elevated their economical level so that today their standard of living has been raised somewhat.

With the Navajos, the mother is the center of the family. The children belong to her, and are members of her clan. Because it was taboo for a Navajo man to see his mother-in-law, or to talk with her, a woman and her husband do not ordinarily live with the wife's mother but they erect a hogan nearby so that the woman and her children frequent the maternal abode. Most of the property, crops, and livestock is owned by the women. The man represents the family in public and at ceremonials.²

The Navajo ceremonials are performed with the following aims in mind: restoring of health, securing of food, and insuring survival. There are two classes of personal forces in evidence in the Navajo universe, human beings and Holy People--holy in that they are powerful and mysterious. The Navajos fear death, which

¹ Swanton, op. cit., 334-336.

² Dutton, op. cit., 20.

stems from their fear of witches or ghosts. Disease and accidents are the result of an attack of the Holy People, and can be traced to some transgression on the part of the victim. Chants and sand paintings are a part of the ceremonials and all rites have a secondary social function, such as the squaw dance, which announces the marriageable age of the girls.¹

The Navajo tribe has acquired considerable fame for its early adoption of a shepherd life after the introduction of sheep and goats by the Spanish, from the blankets woven by the Navajo women, and the silver work produced by the men of the tribe.

There seems to be no evidence that the Navajos wove on any scale until they acquired sheep from the Spanish. There is a tradition that the Hopis and Zunis agreed to teach weaving to the Navajos in exchange for which the Navajos would give them cotton blankets and livestock as a guarantee of freedom from molestation.²

There seems to be authority in the above tradition because collectors find evidence of original Hopi design

¹ Ibid., 23-25.

² Coolidge, op. cit., 274-290.

and colors in the early Navajo weaving. Also at first the Navajos seem to have had only a crude loom, resembling that used by the other Athapascan people of the Northwest for making rabbit-skin or twisted blankets.

No doubt the early loom was not improved much by the Navajos for even today it consists only of two smooth poles lashed across two upright poles or trees. The warp is wound around these horizontal poles and the lower pole is weighted down with rocks to draw the warp threads taut. The batten, a thin, flat piece of hardwood with a blunt edge, about two inches wide and eighteen inches long, is placed edgewise between the warp threads to hold them apart while the filling threads are woven in. By turning the batten, the yarns are beat into place so that the closeness of the weave depends entirely on the energy with which the batten is being used.¹

From the time of the introduction of the Spanish sheep, only three natural colors were used in weaving, a rusty black, white, and a brownish gray plus the colors which could be made by mixing these colors. As the weavers' inventiveness was stimulated by the use of

¹ Ibid.

herbs and desert brush, livelier shades appeared. A dye of sumac, ochre, and pinon boiled together intensified the native black. A dark blue, several shades of yellow, and a reddish color soon appeared. The introduction of indigo from Mexico greatly improved the color combinations produced in the woven blankets.¹

The "bayeta," a Spanish term for an English baize with a nap on one side, dating back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, appeared in the Navajo blankets with the Spanish invasion. There is evidence that the Indian women unraveled and retwisted materials used in Spanish army uniforms--the scarlet of the infantry, the yellow of the cavalry, and the green of the medical staff--probably obtained from traders who sold discarded uniforms as second-hand goods or from the bodies of dead soldiers. The supply seems to have been limited for very few blankets now exist which were so made.²

The more common, but still rare bayetas include narrow stripes of red Spanish cloth rewoven, interspersed with wider stripes of natural-colored wool. "James traces the history of these red and green baizes, manufactured

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

in England for export to Spain, whence it was exported to Old Mexico, and thence brought by the Spaniards to New Mexico as an article to trade with the Indians.¹

Flannels, often called "Manchester cloth," similar to baize, were also traded to the Indians and found their way into their blankets. Since this material was without heavy nap, it was less desirable for weaving.²

While in concentration at Fort Sumner, the Navajos first saw the bright manufactured yarns of the Germantown wools. Once more they set up looms and produced a new type of blanket known as "Germantown." Because this wool, though pleasing in color, was not hard and tight-twisted enough to meet the Indian standards, Navajo women often split and retwisted it. The product of this weaving resulted in blankets as fine as the early bayetas with rich and stable colors due to the old tested commercial dyes of Europe.³

The principal figures found in Navajo blankets are mountains, rivers, trees, clouds, rain, arrows, whirlwind, lightning, squares, crosses, swastika (double bar, and others), zigzags, diamond, and rectilinear fret.

¹ George Wharton James, Indian Blankets and Their Makers (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company, 1914), 25-36.

² Coolidge, op. cit., 282.

³ Ibid., 283.

The Navajo weaver follows no visible pattern, yet the design, color, and proportion come out nearly perfect. She does not even seem to count stitches but, like the painter, she lays in the color and, like the etcher, she has to get it right the first time for it cannot be altered successfully once it is woven.¹

The Navajos have never adopted the spinning wheel. They still use the primitive distaff and respin the wool as many as four or five times to make the yarns hard and even, creating smooth even-textured blankets. The pattern produced is generally alike on both sides, made of single ply yarns. More intricate designs are produced by the more skillful weavers.²

Although Indian men engage in weaving in many of the tribes, the women have developed and controlled the industry among the Navajos. This is probably a result of the family system practiced among the Navajos, where the sheep as well as other property belong to the women. Although the men help at shearing time, women alone carry through every process from the washing of the fleece to the finished blanket. Upon completion of the blanket, the

¹ Ibid., 289.

² Ibid.

weaver scours it in clean sand, rolls it up in a pad, places it behind her saddle, and gallops to the nearest trader to exchange it for provisions and luxuries.¹

Like in the other Indian groups, turquoise is used in Navajo jewelry; however, it is silver that counts most with them, and the turquoise settings come second. Almost every piece of Navajo workmanship shows stamped designs.²

Like the weavers, the Navajo artists are gifted with a wonderful sense of balance. Their sand painters often start at opposite sides of a large picture and, without previous space markings, come together to make a complete design.³

The modern Navajo is caught in one of the most distressing dilemmas. Seventy thousand people with an increased birth rate of approximately one thousand a year, are limited to a reservation of about fifteen million acres of arid land in three states: Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah. They are citizens with every right except that of selling tribal lands, have every privilege under the law except that of buying a drink legally, and assume every obligation including that of military service.

¹ Ibid.

² Dutton, op. cit., 52.

³ Ibid., 47.

Nevertheless, they are imprisoned behind three barriers more unsurpassable than any concentration camp's electrified fence: ignorance, ill health, and poverty.

In the treaty of 1868, the United States promised schooling to every Navajo child between six and sixteen, with compulsory attendance and a teacher for every thirty pupils, but this promise was never kept. For many, the trading post remains the only contact with the outside world.¹

The discovery of uranium on their land has elevated the economic level of the Navajos to the point where today many of the younger generation are attending institutions of higher learning on government scholarships. Already they are realizing the services of their native doctors, nurses, and teachers, and the time is fast approaching when they will be integrated into the modern American way of life.

Apache Indians

Learned men do not agree as to when the Apache Indians first came to the state. Some say they were here

¹ Erna Fergusson, Pageant of Three People (New York: Alfred T. Knopf, 1951), 83-93.

when the Spanish came, while others claim they were still working their way down from Canada or Alaska some time after A.D. 1000 and occupied all of New Mexico, a large portion of West Texas, southern Arizona, and the states of Sonora and Chihuahua in Old Mexico by the middle of the seventeenth century.¹

The Apaches are divided into a number of tribal groups which have been so differently named and defined that it is often difficult to determine to which branch the writers refer. However, the Bureau of American Ethnology classifies them into the following branches:

(1) Querechos or Vaqueros, made up by the Mescaleros, Jicarillas, Faraones, Llaneros, and probably the Tipan; (2) Chiricahua; (3) Pinalenos; (4) Coyoteros, which include the White Mountain and Pinal tribes; (5) Arivaipa; (6) Gila Apache, made up of the Gilenos, Mimbrenos, and Mogollones; and (7) the Tontos.²

The name Apache was used in writings first by Castaneda, the writer of the Chronicles for Coronado in 1580,³ and again by ^vOnate in 1588.⁴ The Apaches call themselves

¹ Ross Santee, Apache Land (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947), 31.

² Hodge, op. cit., 66.

³ Santee, op. cit., 31.

⁴ Hodge, op. cit., 66.

Tinneh, Inde, or Dinneh, meaning "the people." However, the name "Apache" was of Spanish origin, probably a corruption of the Zuni word "enemy."

The Apaches were mountaineers and hunters, always on the move. Their economy was geared for war. They roamed over a vast territory, and when hunting proved poor they raided the peaceful Pueblo Indians whose economy was built on having provisions for the lean years by storing during the abundant years. Later the Spanish ranches became their objective.

Of all the Indians who occupied the Southwest, the Apache tribe proved to be the most wild, fierce, and cruel. Although they constantly raided the Pueblos, they aligned themselves with these tribes during the great Pueblo revolt in 1680 and again in 1745 and 1750 in an attempt to throw off the yoke of the Spaniards.¹

The coming of the Anglo in 1820 did not change the Apache's warring nature. However, the most serious hostile outbreaks at this time have been attributed to the mismanagement of civil authorities. At the close of the Mexican war the United States inherited the Apache by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, of 1848.

¹ Santee, op. cit., 31.

By the treaty we naively accepted responsibility for the Apaches in both United States and Mexico. Nor was the Apache, who controlled most of the land, consulted in any way. On the whole, we accepted a large order that was not entirely settled even when Geronimo was deported from Arizona and shipped east in 1886. Since our dual policy of civilian and military control was confounding to most Americans, it is small wonder the Apache was bewildered by it all. When the San Carlos Reservation was established in 1872 there were five successive agents, three civilians and two military, during a period of eighteen months.¹

During the Anglo period, the Chiricahua Apache, whose original home was southeastern Arizona but who spilled into New Mexico under Cochise and later Victorio, together with five hundred Mimbrenos, Mogollones, and Mes-caleros were assigned to the Old Caliente Reservation in western New Mexico. Repeatedly Cochise and his band fled and refused to be confined within the reservation limits.

At the time of the War Between the States, the Apaches reached their highest peak in warfare. Cochise had always been friendly to the Americans; however, in 1861 through a tactless blunder on the part of a young lieutenant just out of West Point, Cochise was compelled to restore cattle which he had not stolen. In retribution, he went on a warpath vowing that for every Apache killed in fighting, ten whites

¹ Ibid., 37.

would pay with their lives.¹ Mangas Coloradas, chief of the Warm Springs Band, joined him, and they raided far and wide. Finally the Americans defeated the Indians in Apache Pass, and Mangas Coloradas withdrew his band. In 1872 President Grant sent General O. O. Howard to make peace with Cochise and his band by giving them a reservation on which to live.

Since they were "caught between the Mexican on the south and the American on the north, the Apaches as a people were being slowly ground to bits."² So they returned to Ojo Caliente where they began to show some interest in agriculture. However, in 1876 Cochise again became restless and fled across the Mexican border and Geronimo and the other chiefs with a remnant of the band left on the reservation, began depredations in south Arizona. Here they were found by Victorio, now the successor to Mangas of the Warm Springs band, who finally surrendered to the Americans in the hope that his people might remain on the Ojo Caliente Reservation, but an attempt was made to force the Indians to go to Carlos instead. Marauding was again resumed until 1880,

¹ Ibid., 37-38.

² Ibid., 38.

when a thousand soldiers arrived and a bloody campaign ensued in which Victorio was killed. He was succeeded by Old Nana, his lieutenant, who made one final desperate raid but was driven to Mexico, leaving a trail of bloodshed while outwitting the troops which followed him.¹

In 1882, General Crook, who had been assigned to Arizona in the early seventies, enforced a policy which the Apache understood: "either come into the reservation and live in peace or be exterminated."² Crook was respected by the Apache because he always spoke the truth, counseled them in peace, and treated them as human beings. He, therefore, was able to induce them to return to the reservation and become self-supporting by raising livestock, feed, and grain and subsisting by their own exertions. However, about three-fourths of the tribe refused to settle down to reservation life and repeatedly went on a warpath. They were promptly followed by Crook, surrendered to him, and agreed to live in peace only to break that promise.³

In 1885, Crook's powers were curtailed because of a conflict of authority between the civil and military officers and before an adjustment could be made, half of the Indians, under Geronimo, son of Cochise, fled to their

¹ Hodge, op. cit., 64.

² Santee, op. cit., 38.

³ Ibid., 40-48.

favorite haunts. Finally in 1886 the Apaches became tired of war and Geronimo asked for parley, which Cook granted. However, before the time for actual surrender came, the Apaches changed their mind and fled again only to surrender a little later in the year.

The Chiricahua Apaches were the last to be subdued, and although a band of them attacked Mormon settlers as late as 1900 in Chihuahua, there were no major Apache wars after this. With their leader, Geronimo, they were sent to San Carlos Reservation in Arizona where they were held as prisoners.

The basic trouble for all these wars lay in Washington. It had become the mission of the white invaders to convince the free and proud Apache that the country did not belong to them and it was the duty of the Indians to submit, no matter how cruelly they were treated. The Indian, on the other hand, could not understand such a point of view and saw no reason why he should allow himself to be pushed around.

The main trouble was lack of comprehension. The Indians, not knowing about politics, expediency, and instructions from Washington, could not understand how a white man could say one thing on Sunday and reverse himself on Monday. Likewise, it seemed to them that any and all white men¹ were accountable for the misdeeds of one.

¹ C.L. Sonnichsen, The Mescalero Apaches (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 5-6.

Impossible as it was to reconcile the Apache and white points of view, there would have been less difficulty if the white man had known his own mind. Whenever the administration changed in Washington, whenever a new agent appeared on the reservation, the game had to be played by a new set of rules. The military insisted that the red men must be "civilized," which meant that they must stop being Indians and become second-class white men. One Indian Commissioner would recommend that all the tribes should be herded together as far from the settlements as possible with the army standing guard. The next man in office would be convinced that the only solution was to give every brave one hundred and sixty acres of land and turn him loose.¹

There was never a consistent policy.

Mescalero Apaches

The Mescalero subdivision of the eastern Apaches, is a people with a long history which epitomizes what the white man has done to the Indian, and vice versa. This Apache group has refused to be defeated by ignorance and lethargy, has held to a reasonable proportion of its traditional culture, and at the same time it has taken much of what the white man had to give. The tribe has been relatively poor but has made progress in working out an Indian destiny in a white man's world.

As stated before, the Apaches were small game Indians who lived in a wagwam or wickiup and sometimes

¹ Ibid., 7.

shelter of brush, easily erected by the women, well adapted to the arid environment and a population which was shifting constantly. They subsisted chiefly on products of the chase, roots, and berries. Fish and bear meat were tabooed foods. They were an honest people, protecting any property which was placed in their care. Originally, they were good talkers, not readily deceived.¹

The Apache women were considered experts at weaving and basket-making. They were exceptionally skillful in working with vines and the Aspen trees, producing watertight baskets from the bark.

The Mescalero Apaches today live on a reservation in the mountains of southern New Mexico, east of the Rio Grande and west of the Pecos River. They no longer live in wigwams or wickiups and eat small game. The name "Mescalero" comes from their habit of eating Mescal, a cactus plant. They have also learned to brew an intoxicating drink from the same plant, which has led to heavy drinking among the tribesmen. As a result this tribe has always been very susceptible to tuberculosis, so the United States government finally built a hospital at Fort Stanton and taught the tubercular Indians how to take care of themselves.

¹ Hodge, op. cit., 66.

The Mescaleros have done fairly well economically since they became possessors of their reservation.

Their raw material includes only two things: their reservation and themselves. The land comprises just under 500,000 acres. It is mostly timber and range, but there is enough farm acreage to support the present population--about one thousand people--and perhaps a few more.¹

The capital of the reservation is Mescalero, New Mexico, a three-tiered village on the north side of the Tularosa Valley. The Indian Agency, the nerve center of the town, is like any efficiently managed American business office, complete with files, secretarial machines, and telephones. Apache Summit, a tourist center at the top of the eight thousand-foot pass between Mescalero and the summer resort town of Huidoso, opened in September, 1956. This project demonstrated that the people can subsist by their own exertions if given a little help by the white man.

The Mescaleros of today are having growing pains. Like all Indians, they are in the grip of transition. The leaders know that education is the only solution for their difficulties. It is encouraging to note how constantly they hack away at the barriers that isolate them from the rest of the world.²

¹ Sonnichsen, op. cit., 258.

² Ibid., 258-270.

The chasm between the old life and the new has not been completely bridged, however, and it may not be bridged for a long time. The great granddaughters of old Geronimo make their bow to society in a Puberty Ceremony which takes place every July, within a stone's throw of Highway 70, in the jagged shadow of a cathedral, on the rise above the Mescalero fiesta ground. The ritual and dresses worn by the Apache "Debs" duplicate those of their mothers and grandmothers for many moons. The Apaches themselves have no name for this four-day "fiesta," but it is probably the strangest "coming-out party" in the United States.

The legend is that the grandfather of the gods spoke to Old Woman many years ago through the voice of the mountain spirits. This message, which is dramatized each July 1-4 as an established tribal custom, is probably the only Indian Ceremonial in New Mexico in which the fairer sex is actually the prominent actor.

According to the legend, Old Woman found it hard to keep pace with the tribe as it roved in bands to follow the tracks of the buffalo and big game. At last, too feeble and exhausted, she tottered over to the side, and the tribe, as was the custom, went on without her, leaving her to die alone. As she lay in a coma she was suddenly roused by an incessant jingling-jing-jing, and a spirit

voice which gave her the ritual for the "coming-out party" for the girls of the Apache Tribe.¹

When it becomes known to Apache parents that their daughter has reached the age of puberty, they approach the shaman (medicine man), who performs the adolescent ceremony for their child and others of the same age. In his songs "the shaman invokes the Giver of Life by songs and prayer, in supplication for the good fortune of the girls who are about to enter into a new life."²

Only parents who are financially able can afford to put their daughters through the ceremony, for last year's party must be outdone. There will be hundreds of relatives and tribesmen who must be fed four days. So the first week in July traditionally becomes "home-coming" in Apacheland.

The girls who go through this performance are involved in two ceremonies. The first ceremony involves the construction of a big tepee, in which the girls dance to a series of songs. The second ceremony might be called the Sun Greeting Ceremony for want of a better name, because

¹ Anne Pence Davis, "Apache Debs," New Mexico, XV (April 1937), 10-11.

² Dan Nicholas, "Mescalero Apache Girls' Puberty Ceremony," El Palacio, XLVI (September 1939), 193-204.

it takes place in the morning of the first day of the puberty rites, or on July 1, as well as early in the morning of the last day, July 4. The final ceremony, really a party to the first, consists of dismantling the tepee at the end of the puberty rite.

The poles of the big tepee are raised and lowered into position in clockwise order while the shaman chants three songs, and lashed together during the fourth song to complete the structure. Then a central pit is dug in the floor of the tepee, where the shaman and his assistant kneel to sing the songs which are to strengthen the maidens for whatever life may bring them.

As the maidens come to the front of the tepee for the Sun Greeting Ceremony, an unblemished buckskin is spread on the ground for each. They lie prone on it for a massage, which promises to give the girls graceful proportions. Following this they are painted by women who have been hired for this ritual. Thus a blessing is conferred upon the maidens. Next the moccasined feet are traced upon the unblemished buckskin with pollen taken from a sacred plant. The girls are led through the footprints accompanied by songs and after having taken four steps they are shoved off the buckskin to run in an easterly direction across the clearing in front of the tepee.

They circle a tray containing ceremonial paraphernalia used in this ritual. After four such runs are made, the girls shake the buckskins four times, toss fruits, nuts, and tobacco from baskets to the spectators, and retire until seven o'clock in the evening at which time they return to the tepee for a fire-drill ceremony.¹

Masked dancers, designated by the shaman, next take over and perform the Gahan Ceremony in which the dancers identify themselves with the supernatural spirits and become diety. While the Gahan Ceremony is in progress the girls, attended by women and the shaman, enter the big tepee and seat themselves on their respective buckskins which have been placed to the west of the central firepit, their faces turned to the east. The girls rise and dance on their buckskins from side to side as the head shaman and his assistant sing, keeping time with the fawn hoof rattles which they shake with their right hand. This dancing continues each of the first three nights of the ceremony until ten or ten-thirty o'clock, with intervals of rest, during which the girls sit on their buckskins.²

On the fourth night, the girls dance all night while the shaman erects a peg at the edge of the firepit

¹ Ibid., 197-198.

² Ibid., 200.

for each song sung, so that by morning fifty pegs encircle the pit. At the break of day the girls leave the tepee to rest, only to return when the sun comes up to sit facing the east again while the shaman sings more songs depicting the many seasons of life and the many years to come. In the songs the sun, rainbow, wind, lightning, and many elements in nature are called upon to bless the girls in order that they might receive the good life. Also the faces, arms, and legs of the girls are painted with white clay and the sun symbols which had been painted on the palms of the shaman's hand are now wiped off in their hair as he blesses each of the girls. At this point food is brought to the tepee after which the girls are led out in front of the tepee by the shaman, each holding on to either end of an eagle feather. They approach their buckskins, which the women have now placed on the ground for them, head ends to the east. As the shaman sings, the girls take a step forward with each chant. At the end of the fourth chant, the shaman pushes the leading girl off of her buckskin. She runs to the east to the basket of ceremonial paraphernalia, followed by the other girls. They circle the basket and return to the buckskin three times. Each time they return, the basket is placed nearer to the buckskin. During the fourth chant each girl takes a feather from the basket,

circles it clockwise, runs far to the east and returns to her own tepee. While the girls are making these four runs the ceremonial tepee is dismantled and thus the ceremony ends.¹

To the girls, the ceremony means that they are now old enough to marry should any young buck care to court them. However, since the honorees are seldom more than thirteen or fourteen years old, they generally return to their former position in the family and in the fall, enter school again. There is this difference; they can marry now with the full approval of their tribe.²

Jicarilla Apache

The reservation of the Jicarilla Apache tribe, which numbered 950, is located in northwestern New Mexico. They were poverty-stricken and have tried to eke out a living by herding sheep and goats and shipping lumber. The wild plant foods, hunting, and fishing have provided their meager fare.

Since the Jicarilla Apache lived on the plains, they were influenced by both the plains and pueblo cultures. The tribe was divided into two bands, the

¹ Ibid., 202-203.

² Davis, op. cit., 10-11.

eastern "plains people" and the "sand people" who lived west of the Rio Grande. They resemble the Navajo Indians in mythology, rites, supernaturals, and practices of agriculture, but their material culture is plains-oriented probably because they went to the plains to hunt buffalo.¹

Like the other Indians, the Jicarilla Apaches obtained horses from the Spanish very early and became hard and daring riders. They were well organized and powerful by the time of the pueblo revolt of 1680 and had begun a career of raiding, stealing, and murdering which lasted for two hundred years and kept the entire Southwest in terror.²

With the discovery of uranium and gas on the Jicarilla Apache reservation, the people have realized a good bit of money which is being used to set up scholarships for the advanced education of their youth. The lumber industry, made possible by the forest of the mountainous areas in the reservation, has developed into a specialty for the tribe today has a contract with Sears, Roebuck and Company for crating lumber.

¹ M. E. Opler, "A Summary of the Jicarilla Apache Culture," American Anthropologist, XXXVIII (1936), 202-223.

² Willena D. Cartwright and Frederic H. Douglas, The Apache Indians, Leaflet No. 16 (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1930), 1-3.

CHAPTER V

TWENTY THOUSAND YEARS OF WOMEN'S FASHIONS IN NEW MEXICO

Prehistoric Women's Fashions

Clothes form constant outlets for artistic urges, spiritual forces, and cultural patterns of people. They give information to those who wish to understand them. They tell us what is important to people.¹

Hodge reports that the prehistoric Indian tribes inhabiting the warmer regions of South United States belong, in general, to the semiclothed peoples; climate, environment, and elevation determining the material that was used.²

It is thought that the prehistoric women in the Southwest, and specifically New Mexico, wore no clothing most of the year. Martin and his colleagues, reporting

¹ Katharine Holtzclaw, "Costume and Culture," Journal of Home Economics, XLVIII, No. 7, June 1956, 401-404.

² Frederick Webb Hodge. (ed.), Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 30 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), 310-313.

on the Anasazi culture, say that findings dating to the Basket Maker Period A.D. 100-500 seem to prove that "women probably wore aprons only during menstruation periods." One apron they found was made of a hank of woody fiber (cedar bark or yucca fiber) which was passed through the crotch and fastened in front and back to a string belt. Aprons consisted of strings dangling from a band, as shown in Plate I, Figure 1,¹ and it is reported that one skirt or apron was woven of hair.²

Kent also mentions "aprons with 'fra-hanging' fringe for women, well made, on a tapestry waist band,"³ In her reports on Anasazi weaving. An important shred of cotton netting in the fashion of a breech cloth or fore-and-aft apron, dating back to about 500 B.C., was found in the cave at Tularosa, New Mexico.⁴

In the winter time a small fur blanket was probably thrown around the shoulders. Excavations of prehistoric caves produced such a blanket made of cords

¹ All figures appear in Appendix A.

² Paul S. Martin, George I. Quimby, Donald Collier, Indians Before Columbus, Twenty Thousand Years of North American History Revealed by Archeology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), 109.

³ Kate Peck Kent, The Cultivation and Weaving of Cotton in the Prehistoric Southwestern United States, New Series, Part III (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1957), 639.

⁴ Ibid.

wrapped with strips of fur woven into the open meshwork of the fabric belonging to the period before 700 A.D., but no other clothing was found in the Folsom excavations as explored by Martin and his colleagues.¹ Kidder had mentioned fur cloth and in addition some hair string in earlier findings of the ruined Indian pueblos of Pecos in San Miguel County, New Mexico. He described the cloth as having been made by winding split turkey feathers about yucca cords, which were laid side by side and turned together with strands of finer string at intervals. Three small rags found in the same excavation represented woven cotton cloth that belonged to prehistoric woman.²

Most of the year the prehistoric woman of New Mexico went barefooted.³ However, evidences have been found of basketry sandals. Martin reports four types of sandals which were cross-woven, not plaited, made either of whole or crushed yucca leaf, cedar bark, yucca cord, or hide. The Basket Maker wore a square-toed sandal with fringe extending beyond the toes, the modified Basket Maker had a

¹ Martin, Quimby, Collier, op. cit., 109.

² Alfred Vincent Kidder, The Artifacts of Pecos (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932), 314 pages.

³ Hodge, op. cit., 310-330.

V-notched sandal, the people of the Pueblo I age wore a sandal with a pointed toe, and the Anasazi culture seemed to prefer the gog-toed sandal.¹

Martin and his colleagues report that women wore their hair cropped short and it is thought that at times it was cut off to provide material for making the cordage and belts found in the graves.

Beads of shells, lignite, colored stones, wood, bone, and seeds furnished ornaments for the neck, and pendants and short strands of beads suspended from the lobes of the ears, while hair ornaments consisted of bone pins lashed together with feathers.²

In the paintings on the Mimbres pottery, women were sometimes represented wearing a fringed sash and sandals, with blankets which extended below the waist. The hair was put up in whorls on the sides, much like the head dress of the unmarried Hopi girls. There were many bracelets and carved pendants of shell which were worn as earlobes and turquoise was used in the manufacture of beads and inlay work.

All of this proves that the chief sources of material for the prehistoric woman's dress was scanty vegetation,

¹ Martin, Quimby, and Collier, op. cit., 109.

² Ibid.

fur from skinned animals, whose hide was probably used for other necessities, and feathers from wild fowl. The Southwest was no country for trees like the eastern woodland, or skins like the Plains, but somehow, New Mexican women managed to create fashion from materials found in existing surroundings.

Historic Fashions of Indian Women

Two types of culture existed side by side in New Mexico when the historic period began. They were the Pueblo Indians, who were the city dwellers, and the Navajo and Apache Indians, who were the herdsman. These groups experienced three centuries of Spanish rule, followed by a single century of Anglo-American administration. The Spaniards came from a cattle country, and soon adapted their native culture to the Southwest. The Anglo came from the North and East and interrupted this amalgamation by introducing the white man's culture, which in many ways was so alien that homogenization was a problem. The style changes in women's clothing of this period stand as a silent witness of these cultural impacts and their effects on those who lived in the Southwest.

Pueblo Women's Fashions

The Pueblo Indians were almost the only Indians in the United States who had garments made of cloth. While

other tribes were dressing in skins of animals, Pueblo farmers were growing cotton and spinning and weaving it into clothing. During the fifteen hundred years that they lived in the same general area, fashion changed only as new materials were introduced, for when people travel on foot, styles take two to three hundred years to change.¹

Since there were no scissors and needles as we know them, there was no sewing and fitting of garments. The weaver, therefore, simply wove a piece of cloth as wide or narrow as he wanted it and as long as the wearer needed it. To accessorize this costume, someone wove a three or five inch sash ending in several inches of fringe, which was wrapped around the waist several times to hold the garment in place, and the ensemble was complete.²

There was very little color in vogue among the Pueblo women. As a rule, garments were a yellowish white, the natural color of cotton turned brown and gray due to hard wear and scarcity of water for the laundering of the garment. Ruins show scraps of dresses patched and re-patched proving that the owners wore them as long as they

¹ Ruth Underhill, Work-a-Day Life of Pueblos (Phoenix: Phoenix Printing Company, 1946), 97.

² Ibid., 100.

would hold together. The mending was done with coarse cotton string or sinew, probably done with a bone needle. There was no attempt to match fabrics. It could be that the owner had but one cotton blanket in all her life and used it for a dress or shawl in the daytime and a cover or bed at night, but even then this was superior to the old-fashioned bark, skin, and string fore-and-aft aprons of the preceding generations.¹

Long after the Pueblos began to weave cotton, the fur and feather cloth blankets were popular as a shawl in cold weather. The production of these blankets ceased only when the Spanish introduced sheep about 1540, and the women found that the wool fibers, which were just as warm, could be woven on their looms.

Dame fashion took advantage of the new fiber innovation and the ordinary dress of the Pueblo woman was now fashioned from the natural colored fibers of the brown and black sheep of the Indian flocks, and later supplemented with indigo blue dyes supplied by the Spanish trader. This color was mixed with urine to make it permanent.²

¹ Ibid., 100

² Virginia More Roediger, Ceremonial Costumes of the Pueblo Indians (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1941), 121.

The blanket or manta as the Spanish called it, was generally a piece of woolen material four feet long and three and one-half feet wide, or a sufficient width to reach from the shoulder to the middle of the lower leg. It was woven by the Pueblo men on an up-right loom with the body of the manta of twill weave, supplemented with a diamond birdseye pattern for the two borders, which generally measured about seven inches wide at the top and the bottom. These borders were either both completed before the center was begun, or one border was woven and the body completed to the center of the manta and the loom inverted for the second border. Consequently the center section or body of the manta differed in weave and often also in color, being brown or black with either dark blue or black borders. The break between the borders and the body of the manta was often covered with a red and green cording supplying decoration.¹

To fashion this manta into a dress, it was wrapped around the body and joined in a seam, part way up the right side, first with yucca fibers, then with string or red yarn, and later with silver buttons or bar pins.

¹ Ibid., 122.

The upper edges were drawn over the right shoulder and fastened there, leaving an opening for the right arm suggesting a cap sleeve. The warp and filling threads at the corners of the blanket were fashioned into tassels for trim, symbolizing rain and fertility. The left arm and shoulder were left bare and free¹ (Plate II, Figure 1).

Since weaving in the Pueblos declined after 1300 A.D., these women traded for their blankets with the Hopi Indians in Arizona.² For this reason one often sees a special white ceremonial dress, woven of cotton, plain weave, decorated with wide bands of colored embroidery at the top and bottom worn in the Pueblo Ceremonials. This originated from the great white robe and the smaller robe, both of which were woven for each Hopi bride at the time of her marriage.³

The manta was confined at the waist of the Pueblo women with a woven sash or belt. Originally it was made of yucca, cedar bark, or cotton, but during the historic period it was woven of woolen yarns. It was three to

¹ Ibid., 122.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., 125.

five inches wide and long enough to go around a woman's waist twice, with part of the loose fringe tucked under the lap so that the rest fell down on the left side making it about five to seven feet in length. Brilliant reds and greens with white or black strands formed a standard geometric pattern, as is shown in Plate III, Figure 1. Since the Aztec and other women of Mexico tie up their skirts with a red and green belt of the same sort, woven in the same way, this was probably adopted from them.¹

Before the Spanish missionaries invaded New Mexico, the Pueblo women were satisfied to wear just the manta, and it is still the only garment worn in the Indian Ceremonials. However, the priests soon persuaded them to cover the shoulders for the purpose of concealing the upper part of the body. With no scissors, modern needles, and sewing machines, this must have presented a challenge. Nevertheless, the "New Look" came in the form of a Mother Hubbard sheath-type of garment, fashioned of plain or printed cotton material with a high neckline, a yoke, and set-in sleeves, trimmed with lace, ruffles, and fancy braid. Since all pattern pieces had to be torn, this style was one of straight lines and right angles, devoid

¹ Underhill, op. cit., 118.

of fit. It had to reach to just below the knee, and therefore the heavy or eyelet lace edged hem, trimmed in fancy braid, always showed below the manta.¹ (See Plate II, Figure 2.)

Pueblo women had a fine sense of art and invented ways of introducing surface design on garments as far back as the twelfth century.² However, embroidered dresses, as such, came more recently and date back to 1879. Before that time there were no needles as we know them, for it was not until 1880 that hand processes for drilling eyes into needles were replaced by processes of the stamping machine.³ The ruins of the period before then disclosed slivers of bone or jucca thorn, much larger than the modern darning needle, but they had no eye in the butt end. Ceremonial costumes in ancient Pueblo design embroidered with commercial yarns are evident today, but the origin of this art dates back to the invention of the needle.⁴

The Pueblo women, no doubt, learned to sew under the Spanish rule. The Indians had been fastening pieces

¹ Roediger, op. cit., 125.

² H. P. Mera, Pueblo Indian Embroidery, Memoirs of Laboratory Anthropology, IV (Santa Fe, 1943), 86.

³ "Needle," Encyclopedia Americana, 1953 ed., XX, 39.

⁴ Underhill, op. cit., 97.

of cloth or skin together by making holes with an awl and drawing string or leather thongs through the holes, but the importation of needles from Mexico improved their sewing skill considerably.¹

The back apron, a square piece of cloth tied in front at the neck and falling over the back, originally made of unbleached muslin, later became an item of high fashion when the brightly printed silk scarfs were introduced from Spain and Mexico. Several explanations were given to the writer for its adoption. Mr. Toyfoya, a Laguna Indian teacher in the Albuquerque Indian School, stated that it was an adaptation of the capes worn by the Spanish Officers who accompanied Coronado on his expedition to the Southwest.² Wissler thinks that the vestments of the priests may have suggested the mode.³ Mrs. Marmon of Old Laguna, said that the Pueblo woman was very sensitive about "that part of the body" and invented the back apron to cover it. In fact the omission of it was an invitation for men to treat the woman with disrespect.⁴

¹ Max L. Moorehead, New Mexico's Royal Road: Trade and Travel on Chihuahua Trail (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 81.

² Interview with Mr. Teofilo Toyfoya, March 8, 1961.

³ Clark Wissler, The Indian Costume in the United States, Guide Leaflet No. 63 (New York: National Museum of Art, 1931), 5.

⁴ Interview with Mrs. Walter Marmon, March 6, 1961.

The once bareheaded Pueblo woman chose a shawl for her head covering. Originally it was a rectangular piece of black cloth of either cotton or wool fibers loosely draped over the head, reaching to the shoulders. According to Mrs. Jones of Albuquerque, who dresses Indian dolls authentically, the Pueblo women got this fashion idea from the nuns who came to run the Spanish missions for the Indians.¹ Other colors eventually gained favor with the women until bright colored printed imports, with long bright colored fringe were in demand. With the establishment of the trading post by the Anglo in 1840, the Pendelton blanket, in plain colors or bright designs, became the acceptable head gear for most of the Pueblo women, especially in winter.

By 1300 A.D. the sandals had been replaced with the moccasins among the Pueblo women. They were made of buckskin fashioned in slightly different styles in the different Pueblos. Generally the Pueblo moccasin had a stiff sole turned up over the edge of the uppers and a legging wrap which was wrapped many times, spirally, around the leg with the ends reaching well above the knee, held in place by a well-tied thong of buckskin.

¹ Interview with Mrs. LeRoy Jones, March 8, 1961.

It was fashionable to stain the toes of the moccasins pink or red in some Pueblos but generally they were white. At Taos, Picuris, San Juan, and Santa Clara Pueblos, the boot shaped moccasin was in evidence. One large piece of buckskin was sewed together so that it formed a complete stocking with one continuous seam along the bottom of the foot and up the back of the leg, with some gathering at the toe. This stocking was stitched to an up-turned sole. The long wide leg part was turned down to just below the knee, and then turned up again to make a wide fold. A good moccasin maker tucked in three or four folds which served as pockets for the woman. This large flapping boot, probably copied from the Spanish Cavalier, was held up around the knees with leather draw strings tied around the legs under the folds and kept from flapping around the ankle by another draw string passed through slits in the buckskin from the heel to the instep where it was tied.¹

The general hair style for the Pueblo women of historic times consisted of a "terrace" bob with bangs reaching to the eyebrows in front, a long bob reaching to just below the earlobes on the sides with the back hair gathered into a cue and tied with a homespun string.²

¹ Underhill, op. cit., 123.

² Ibid., 124.

With the introduction of silver by the Spanish, the Pueblo women began to emulate their sisters by adding silver beads and squash blossom necklaces to the strings of shells, coral, teeth, bones, lignite, and turquoise already proclaiming their economic status. Silversmiths also produced ear rings, bracelets, and finger rings which were worn in such numbers as the woman could afford, the more, the wealthier. United States and Mexican coins were soldered to silver bar pins and used for legal tender upon occasion.¹

It is in the Pueblo woman's wardrobe that we today see one of the last stands of their native culture. No matter how decadent and Americanized a Pueblo village has become, it is still possible to find one or more of the original historic dresses, complete with accessories on some old grandmother or maiden aunt pattering about her daily work, or worn by some girl taking part in a ceremonial dance which has its roots deep in her native culture.

All women, no matter what culture they represent, share a deep common interest in fine clothing and achieve results which in many ways have remarkable similarity in

¹ Roediger, op. cit., 142.

purpose and function if not in the actual details of materials used. Like their White sister, the Indian dressmakers and couturiers are well aware of the modern engineered fibers and resulting new materials for construction and decoration, and have worked these new materials into their old and basic dress designs from time to time.

Except for slight deviations, the foregoing fashion characteristics are evident in the eighteen New Mexico Pueblos. The writer studied each one separately and arrived at the following individual descriptions through research in literature, interviews, photographs, personal letters, and on-the-spot coverage.

Taos. According to Curtis, the primitive dress of the women of Taos was the typical Plains costume. They wore the aboriginal one-piece garment of fringed deer skin fastened above the right shoulder, leaving the left shoulder and both arms exposed. Because of the scarcity of animals, this dress was replaced, sometime before the fifteen hundreds, by a cotton garment of similar style now known as the manta. This manta was placed over a white, sleeved undergarment and held in at the waist with a woven sash. Since weaving was never

practiced in Taos Pueblo, this sash was probably secured through trading with the Jemez, Zuni, or Hopi Pueblos.¹

For footwear, the Taos women combined the moccasins and leggings of the Plains women into a boot with a loosely fitting white upper which extended nearly to the knee. In more recent years this buckskin has become a wide, flapping boot, the upper part of which is long enough to reach well up the thigh. This section is folded down in two or three places so that it extends only to the knee when worn. It requires two deerskins of ordinary dimensions to make each boot, because it is so full that the wearer walks with the feet straddled wide apart.²

The actual photograph of a Taos Indian woman taken in 1925 by Curtis was reviewed by the writer. The dress of the woman who posed for the picture was a manta, probably cotton; dark in color, most likely black, which was draped over the right shoulder and under the left arm pit. It was held in at the waist by a woven sash several inches wide. The five-inch border at the hem of the manta

¹ Edward S. Curtis, The North American Indian, XVI (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1907-1930), 41.

² Ibid.

was set off by the insertion of a half-inch wide strip of some light colored material. Under this manta was a light colored, long sleeved garment, with a high neck, edged with lace. The set-in sleeve of this garment was gathered to form a four or five inch ruffle at the wrist.

The footwear of the woman posing for the picture, consisted of a white boot-type moccasin with an undecorated wide floppy cuff. The skirt hem reached to just above the top of the boot cuff. A Mexican shawl with long fringe, dark in color, loosely covered the head and hung down to almost the hem of the skirt.¹

Garrard, in his description of the head wear, says

...the women of Taos do not wear bonnets, using instead the reboza or mantilla-- a scarf of cotton and silk, five or six feet in length by two or more in width-- which serves as covering for the head and body. So dexterous are they in its management, that in cooking and walking it is retained, forming a graceful and pleasing contrast to the bonneted and hooded civilized lady.²

The dress, according to Garrard, was a scanty

¹ Ibid.

² Lewis H. Garrard, Wah-To-Yah and the Taos Trail (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1938), 241.

"chemise with short arms" and "low necked" which "to my unaccustomed eyes and taste was uncomely and, in fact, satiating."¹

The writer observed the women on the Taos Reservation in person in February of 1961, and found them wearing a dark cotton print manta-type dress over a light colored, long sleeved print undergarment. A multi-colored or plain Pendleton blanket covered the head and hung down to almost the hem of the skirt. In general, they were wearing either the wide flapping white Taos boot or American-made oxfords.

Picuris. The writer was unable to secure an accurate description of the traditional women's wear of Picuris, but it is postulated that the description of it would most probably duplicate that of the general fashions of the Pueblo women.

Sandia. Bandelier gives the following description of the costume of the women of Sandia Pueblo:

Women wear, in ceremonies, the typical black woven Pueblo dress, fastened over the shoulder, but in everyday life they

¹ Ibid.

wear bright prints, go barefooted, wear moccasins, or cheap store shoes and heavy store stockings. They wear their hair in typical Pueblo style. They are seldom seen without their bright store shawls. Jewelry is of a cheap sort and they wear little of the better silver work made by their neighbors and Navajos.¹

Isleta. Parsons writes that the women of Isleta dress very much like the inhabitants of the eastern pueblos. Many of them wear the manta, bartered from the Hopi, for everyday dress, and it is always worn for ceremonials.²

Curtis took a large photograph of an Isleta woman, in 1925, which shows her wearing a wool manta over the right shoulder and under the left arm pit; dark in color, probably black, with seven-inch borders set off from the body of the garment with cords of the same color as the manta. A woven sash is wrapped several times around the waist. Under this is a sheath-type dress with set-in sleeves ending at the wrist with two rows of braid and an inch wide ruffle. The neck is high, finished with a

¹ Adolph F. Bandelier and Edgar L. Hewett, Indians of the Rio Grande Valley (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1937), 78.

² Elsie Clews Parsons, The Isleta Indians, Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1929-30, 232.

mandarin collar and the skirt, which shows below the manta and falls to just below the knee, is finished with the same braid as is used on the sleeves. The footwear consists of white moccasins with attached leggings wrapped around the legs. She is carrying a piece of pottery on her head which is covered with a dark shawl.¹

In another photo made the same year by Curtis, titled "Woman in the Doorway," the same type of manta is worn as in the above picture; over the right shoulder and under the left arm pit. The garment under this manta is white and a bit more elaborate with two rows of heavy Mexican lace insertion above the elbow of a set-in sleeve, ending above the wrist with a four or five inch ruffle edged with lace harmonizing with the insertions. The shoulder seam has been replaced with a piece of similar lace insertion. Since great care has been demonstrated in pleating the manta in several diagonal pleats on either side of center front under a wide woven sash at the waist, this is probably the dress-up garment. A printed shawl with light figures on a dark background is loosely placed over the head. The photograph shows no footwear.²

¹ Curtis, op. cit., Photograph.

² Ibid.

The Wittick Collection has a photograph of an "Isleta Squaw" wearing a dark wool manta over the right shoulder and under the left arm pit. It has twelve-inch borders set off from the body of the manta by what looks like a colored, probably red, cording or piping. The undergarment appears to be a plain white sheath-like dress which reaches to a little below the knees while a back apron constructed from a white square of cotton, covers both shoulders and is tied at the neck just right of center front. The footwear consists of white moccasins with attached leggings wrapped around the legs.¹

A second photograph in the Wittick Collection was taken of an Isleta woman wearing the one piece manta over the right shoulder and under the left arm pit. The tassels of the blanket dress are in evidence on the corners at the shoulder and also on the bottom corners of the slit skirt on the right side. The material consists of black wool, held in at the waist with a woven sash wound several times around the body. Seven to ten inch borders are set off from the body of the manta by a dark cording or piping. A white cotton dress with long set-in

¹ Ben Wittick, Collection of Photographs Taken in New Mexico Between 1880-1903, Vol. I.

sleeves serves as the undergarment and shows below the manta reaching to just below the knees. A petticoat of striped material shows below the hem of the dress. A back apron of light material falls over both shoulders like a cape and is tied under the chin. A dark, probably black, shawl is thrown loosely over the head, and white moccasins with legging wraps cover the feet and legs. The accessories consist of a silver necklace with single bar crosses, ending just above the waist with a double cross pendant; silver bracelets on both wrists; and rings on the index and two other fingers of both hands.¹

Judging from these pictures the Isleta women between 1880 and 1925, generally wore a black manta draped over the right shoulder and under the left arm pit, held in place at the waist with a woven sash, a white or light undergarment which showed below the knee, a light colored back apron, a loose shawl over the head, white buckskin moccasins with wrap-around leggings, and a minimum amount of silver jewelry.

San Juan. A personal interview in her San Juan home with Mrs. Regina Cata, famous for her authentic costumed dolls, provided the following information about the

¹ Ibid.

dress of her husband's people. The characteristic black woven manta was standard women's wear in San Juan Pueblo. It was worn over the right shoulder and under the left arm pit and held in place with a woven sash which was secured by trading with other pueblos because they did not weave. They wore a back apron over the shoulders and commercial shawl on their heads. Their moccasins were distinct in that they had a toe "nose" similar to that of the White Mountain Apache moccasin and were white, with leg wrappings. Jewelry for ceremonial occasions consisted of many strands of silver beads, often with a crescent pendant for the neck, many silver bracelets, finger rings, and ear bobs.¹

Santa Clara. Teofilo Toyfoya, arts and crafts teacher at the Albuquerque Indian School, whose wife is a Santa Clara Indian, described the traditional dress of this pueblo as consisting of the manta and cotton undergarment. The white manta with a wide yarn embroidered strip at the hem predominates at the ceremonial and is worn without an undergarment. The designs having symbolic meanings consist of terraces, the evergreen, and other geometric designs. The manta is always worn fastened over the right

¹ Interview with Mrs. Regina Cata, February 1961.

shoulder and under the left arm pit when the woman is alive, because the Pueblo woman believes the heart is a little to the left of center and should be left bare to communicate with the spirit while the woman is alive, said Mr. Toyfoya.¹ After death, women are dressed for burial and the left shoulder and the heart are covered. This practice was also reported to the writer by Geraldine Vigil² and Mrs. Jack Rushing,³ two other Indians who were interviewed for this study.

Mrs. LeRoy Jones of Albuquerque, who assisted her doctor husband as a practical nurse in the T. B. Hospital on the Indian Reservation until they retired, and who now dresses authentic Indian dolls, reported that the Santa Clara women wound a woven sash of black, red, and green around the waist several times to hold the dress in. For everyday wear a calico undergarment, plain or printed, is worn, under which they wear a red or white petticoat without a ruffle but a white lace edge shows below the manta.⁴

¹ Interview with Mr. Teofilo Toyfoya, February 1961.

² Interview with Miss Geraldine Vigil, February 1961.

³ Interview with Mrs. Jack Rushing, February 1961.

⁴ Interview with Mrs. LeRoy Jones, February 1961.

According to Mr. Toyfoya, the Santa Clara women wear white buckskin moccasins with stiff cowhide soles and wrap leggings, and also boots with a cuff like the Taos women.¹

As in the other pueblos, the Santa Clara women display their wealth in jewelry, wearing many strings of beads, bracelets on both wrists, rings on fingers of both hands, and ear rings. The hair is cut in bangs reaching the eyebrows in front, with a longer bob on the sides, while the back is gathered into a bun tied with the traditional yarn or cord.²

San Ildefonso. Maria Martinez, famous for the black pottery which is exhibited throughout the nation, wears her traditional dress even today. It always includes the characteristic Pueblo manta of either plain or printed cotton or some man-made fiber, fastened on the right shoulder and pulled down below the left armpit leaving the left shoulder free. The right side seam has a slit at the hem and generally has a pair of tassels fastened to the corners. One or two narrow strips of material of colors in harmony with the manta, set off

¹ Interview with Mr. Toyfoya, February 1961.

² Interview with Mrs. Jones, February 1961.

the lower seven or ten inches to give the effect of the traditional border which was always woven into the woolen manta. A woven sash wound around the waist several times holds the garment in place. The fringe of the sash is allowed to hang down on the right side. The undergarment is a plain colored or print, sheath-like dress with three-quarter length set-in sleeves, generally trimmed with several stripes of braid a few inches apart just below the elbow, ending in an eyelet lace edge. The same eyelet lace appears at the lower edge of the garment and is allowed to show below the manta. A high, untrimmed neckline completes the garment. Most of the time Maria wears a light colored back apron over her shoulders. Her moccasins are white buckskin with leg wrappings. Mrs. Cata, who dresses dolls authentically, claims she has seen moccasins in the ceremonials at San Ildefonso with a "nose" or "lip" toe.¹

Maria most generally appears bare headed with her hair cut in bangs which reach the eyebrows. The sides are cut just below the ear and the back is arranged in the traditional knot held by a colored ribbon or braid. She is fond of coral, shell, and silver

¹ Interview with Mrs. Regina Cata, February 28, 1961.

beads and turquoise pendant necklaces, silver bracelets with turquoise sets, and dangling ear bobs, but seldom wears rings.

Eickmeyer and Westcott provide the following description of the woman's dress in the San Ildefonso Pueblo:

The dress was of black woolen material, and hung a little below the knee. It was gathered over the right shoulder and again under the left arm leaving the arms and one shoulder bare. A woolen belt of unique design and bright coloring offset the costume and relieved the blackness of the dress.¹

Nambe. In an interview with Geraldine Vigil from the Nambe Pueblo, now a student in Home Economics at Eastern New Mexico University, the writer got the following description of her late aunt's clothes. Her ceremonial dress was a black wool manta, the body of which was of diagonal weave. The seven-inch border, separated from the body with two cords of yard piping, one red and one green, was of a diamond or bird's eye weave. It was worn over the right shoulder and under the left arm pit during her life and reversed upon her death. Tassels

¹ Carl Eickmeyer and Lilian Westcott, Among the Pueblo Indians (New York: The Merriam Company, 1895), 41.

were fashioned from the warp and filling ends at the corners of the blanket on the shoulder and at the hem. A space was left open for the right arm and the right side seam was stitched to within several inches of the lower corners. There was always a slit left at the hem of the right side seam which was often decorated with silver buttons or pins. A sash woven of red, green, and black was wound around the waist several times with the fringe left hanging for a short space on the right hand side. For everyday wear the manta was made of printed or plain colored cotton.¹

Under the manta, Geraldine's aunt wore a chemise-type white garment with a high bound neckline, sometimes edged with white lace. The hem of this dress was edged with the same lace and reached to just below the knees showing under the manta. Often a half slip, also lace edged, showed below the skirt hem. The undergarment had set-in sleeves gathered into two to two and one-half inch self material cuffs at the wrist. Some sleeves were designed without cuffs.²

Geraldine recalls the very decorative and colorful

¹ Interview with Geraldine Vigil, March 14, 1961.

² Ibid.

back apron which was draped over the shoulders and tied under the chin made earlier of cotton but now of silk or rayon.¹

The ceremonial head wear consisted of a beaded band about an inch wide and "if the particular dance called for it, a feather in the back."²

The moccasins were made of white buckskin with a heavier sole which was brought up over the uppers, fashioned with a pointed toe, and wrap-around leggings.³

The accessories consisted of necklaces of beads made of shell, silver, and turquoise, many bracelets of the same material, and always more than one ring made of silver, often set with turquoise. Dangling on screw-on ear rings were worn sometimes.⁴

The hair was cut in bangs reaching to the eyebrows in front with the sides bobbed just below the ear. The rest was gathered into a bun in the back and tied with a home-spun string or yarn.⁵

1 Ibid.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

Tesuque. The only information the writer could get on the women's wear of Tesuque was a statement in which Roediger says that a red and green cord separated the body of the manta from the borders.¹ A personal visit to the Pueblo in March 1961 was unfruitful because the women manage to hide when strangers approach. Nevertheless, it is concluded that the general descriptions of the traditional Pueblo fashions were accepted here.

Cochiti. A 1925 photograph by Curtis, shows the Cochiti woman wearing a black woolen manta over the right shoulder and under the left arm pit. The garment has seven to ten inch borders of a woven design, separated from the body of the manta by a green and red corded piping. The right underarm seam is overcast with colored yarn. A woven sash confines the garment at the waist. The undergarment is made of plaid material on a light background, probably white, with a set-in sleeve gathered in at the wrist by two plain colored half-inch wide strips of material ending with a ruffle.²

A second picture shows the bust of a Cochiti woman in a pin striped cotton Mother Hubbard type dress

¹ Roediger, op. cit., 122

² Curtis, op. cit., Photograph.

without the manta. There is a fallen armscye seam, the sleeves are set into a yoke which extends across the front to the underarm seam reaching to the bust line. A skirt is gathered on to this yoke and held by a flat fell seam. The front opening appears to be a faced placket and a mandarin type collar completes the neck. A rectangular piece of cotton plaid material loosely covers the head.¹

Goldfrank reported the following observation on the Cochiti people:

A great deal of trading is done at feast time. Blankets, silver, and jewelry brought from Navajo, baskets from the Apache, and Pueblo Indians give bread, meal, and other food in exchange and a few strands of shell beads bought many a blanket. The beads may be made very cheaply and when money is used instead, the buying of a blanket becomes a much more expensive thing.²

Father Dumarest describes the wedding garment of the Cochiti maiden as follows:

A few days before the religious ceremony, the fiance has to add to the daily presents of corn, of meal, of meat, etc. a more valuable and indispensable present.

¹ Ibid.

² Ester Schiff Goldfrank, The Social Ceremonial Organization of Cochiti, Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, No. 33 (Menasha: American Anthropological Association, 1927), 83.

It consists of a tanned deerskin out of which the bride will make herself leggings, or a pair of new moccasins, and, if his means permit, of a piece of that dark blue cloth woven by the Hopi of which the women make their dresses, as well as a blanket and manta, i.e., one of those gaudy colored pieces of silk, trimmed with lace, which hang over the hips. If the bride is rich, she comes to the ceremony with her neck loaded with necklaces of shell beads and of turquoise and little silver crosses, besides a necklace made of silver balls with a pendant of a double cross of silver. Her fingers are also loaded with rings of brass and of silver.¹

Santo Domingo. Mrs. Juanita Lee, United States Indian School, Santa Fe, New Mexico, originally came from the Santo Domingo Pueblo. She supplied the information on the traditional dress of her people by means of a photograph taken of her daughter dressed in the manta. Originally, just the manta was worn without the undergarment and still is so worn for the ceremonials. This manta was of black wool, fastened on the right shoulder with a decorative ornament and fitted below the left arm pit. The traditional woven birdseye borders were separated from the body of the blanket by a red and green

¹ Father Noel Dumarest, Notes on Cochiti, New Mexico, VI (Lancaster, Pa.: American Anthropological Association, July to September 1919), 149.

corded piping about seven inches from the top and bottom. There was a seam on the right side only, with space left open for the right arm to go through. The seam was overcast with red yarn to a few inches from the hem where a slit was left. Tassels on the four corners of the blanket were fashioned from the warp and filling threads of the blanket and provided decoration for the garment. To give the lower edge a more finished look, Mrs. Lee had crocheted a scalloped edge but she assured the writer that this was not found on the original manta. A woven sash of red, green, and white held the manta confined to the waist. The reddish brown moccasins, resembling those of the Navajos, had a sort of tongue, which came up and fit over the top of the foot ending in thongs, which were tied around the ankle. The legs are not wrapped in Santo Domingo but sometimes long black stockings are worn to cover them.¹

Möllhausen's diary shows the following record of the dress worn in Santo Domingo:

Both men and women wore their hair long except that it was cut off over the eyebrows. The women wore dark-coloured petticoats reaching from

¹ Interview with Mrs. Juanita Lee, March 2, 1961.

the hips to the feet, and the upper part of the figure was covered with a sort of veil thrown in a picturesque manner round the shoulders, or hips; and both sexes wore moccasins most elegantly worked.¹

San Felipe. A correspondence from the Governor's office describes the traditional woman's garment of San Felipe Pueblo as follows: the manta was woven of black woolen yarns. It was unique in that it was worn to cover both shoulders. It was confined to the waist with a red, white, and green woven sash. The undergarment was made of whatever kind of material was available. It had a collar, three-quarter length sleeves, was decorated with colored rows of stitching, and showed below the manta. No back apron was worn here. Deer skin moccasins of a "red violet"² color resembling those of the other Pueblos, covered the feet, and a multi-colored shawl was thrown lightly over the head.

¹ Heinrich Baldwin Mollhausen, Diary of a Journey from Mississippi to the Coast of the Pacific With a United States Government Expedition, I (London: Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1858), 5.

² Correspondence from Governor's Office of San Felipe Pueblo.

Santa Ana. The everyday dress of the women in the Santa Ana Pueblo consists, as a rule,

...of a readymade dress bought from the store, and shoes and stockings of American make. They do not wear hats; they either go bareheaded or wear a shawl. Fiesta attire does not differ much from ordinary attire except that it is of finer quality and usually new. Moccasins are occasionally worn.¹

The old fashioned dark woven manta is seldom worn unless at the time of masked dances. Necklaces, beads, bracelets, and rings of silver and turquoise are worn on gala occasions. The hair is worn long in the back, bobbed on the sides, and banged on the forehead. Generally the long back hair is tied up in a "club."²

Zia. Stevenson reports that the Zia women generally wear the conventional dress of the Pueblo. They

...have their hair banged across the eyebrows, and the side locks cut even midway the cheek. The back of the hair is left long and done up in a cue, though some of the younger women have adopted the Mexican way of dividing the hair down the back and crossing it in a loop at the neck and wrapping it with yarn.³

¹ Leslie A. White, The Pueblo of Santa Ana, New Mexico, Memoirs, No. 60, XLIV (Menasha: American Anthropologist, 1942), 50.

² Ibid.

³ Matilda Coxé Stevenson, "The Sia," 11th Annual Report of Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), p. 157.

In a photograph made by Curtis in 1925, the old Zia woman making pottery is dressed in a black wool blanket dress fastened over the right shoulder and under the left arm pit, with a seven-inch border showing at the top, set off from the body of the manta with a cord piping. Since the woman is kneeling, the hem does not show but it is most likely the same as the top border. Her undergarment is a cotton dress with set-in sleeves pulled in at the wrist with one inch wide braid leaving an inch ruffle edged with lace. A large white back apron covers the shoulders. Her moccasins are dark in color, probably a reddish brown and dark colored soles are attached to the uppers. White leggings are wrapped around the legs.¹

Laguna. In speaking of the early Laguna women's dresses, Bourke writes that they used silver quarter dollars fastened to pins which held together the seams from the knee to the ankle. They had on petticoats and wore leggings of blue woolen yarn and necklaces of silver beads with pendants in the form of a cross terminating in a heart.²

¹ Curtis, op. cit., Photograph.

² Bourke, op. cit., 365.

The manta, usually black or brown with a dark blue border served as the everyday dress for the Laguna women. A deep band of embroidery often appeared along the lower edge in elaborate geometric designs in red, blue, and green with touches of yellow.¹

Mrs. Walter Marmon, a well-educated Laguna Indian, showed the writer a hand woven wool manta which her grandfather wove on a horizontal loom. She reported that he started at the bottom with a very dark indigo blue border of bird's eye design. A black cord-like ridge formed of several rows of the raised cording, separated the border from the body of the blanket, which was of twill weave. When the weaver reached the middle of the blanket, the loom was reversed and he again wove a border like the first. Mrs. Marmon reported that the top border was not always as wide as the bottom one.

The problem of batting the threads back became more complicated as the weaver neared the center of the blanket, so the grandfather used a wooden comb to force these threads back. This was so precisely done that the writer could not detect where the weaver had stopped. According to Mrs. Marmon, this blanket has been

¹ Ibid.

declared "the most perfect example of the best weaving in the Pueblos, by those who have analyzed it."¹

A greatly enlarged, colored photograph of Mrs. Marmon's beautiful daughter in native attire hung on the wall. She was dressed in the above described manta fastened over the right shoulder and under the left arm pit, held in at the waist by a woven sash of red, green, black, and white. A place was left unstitched for the arm to go through and the seam was stitched to within a few inches of the bottom edge. Tassels were fashioned from the warp and filling threads on each of the four corners. Two bar pins made of a half dozen or so American quarter dollars supplied the decoration for the underarm seam. Originally this seam was stitched up with yucca thread, then with colored yarn, generally red, and more recently it has been fastened with silver buttons or bar pins. If the wearer ran out of money she picked a quarter off the bar.²

The undergarment was a light blue sheath-like dress with a stand collar trimmed in gold braid with a harmonizing scalloped edge. A small gold tie scarf,

¹ Interview with Mrs. Walter Marmon, March 6, 1961.

² Ibid.

probably an adoption from the twentieth century cowgirl, completed the neckline. Mrs. Marmon called attention to the fact that in the beginning the cotton dresses had no collars. The three-quarter length sleeves were set in, and hung loose with matching gold braid trim on either edge of a four or five inch cuff. The hem of the skirt was edged in the same kind of gold braid as was used elsewhere on the dress and reached to just below the knees where it showed under the manta.

An imported printed commercial shawl, maroon in color with a blue, gold, and green floral design, loosely covered the head upon which was placed a water jar.¹

The Laguna women originally went barefooted according to Mrs. Marmon, and then adopted the white buckskin moccasin with the piece above the toes and the tongue dyed a reddish brown finished with a light colored cowhide, rather stiff, sole. "When commerce came, Laguna women substituted the black leather for the moccasin tops," said Mrs. Marmon. Attention was called to the fact that the daughter wore Isleta moccasins in the photograph on the wall, and not Laguna footwear.

¹ Ibid.

A back apron of purple and gold satin covered the shoulders. Mrs. Marmon said the first back aprons in Laguna had been made of unbleached muslin. She thought the back apron was introduced commercially from Spain in 1850.¹

A photograph in the Wittick collection was taken of a Laguna woman in a manta similar to the one described before; fastened on the right shoulder with the left one exposed, and confined at the waist by a woven sash on which were three groups of silver conchos spaced several inches apart. Her undergarment was a polka dot cotton sheath-like dress with a dropped armcye seam and a long set-in sleeve with either a four or five inch facing or cuff at the wrist. The skirt reached to just under the knees and the hem showed below the manta. The footwear consisted of moccasins with reddish brown uppers, white soles, and white buckskin leggings. A striped blanket was loosely thrown over the head. The accessories consisted of several strings of beads, while the hair was parted on the side and cut off under the ear.²

¹ Ibid.

² Wittick, op. cit.

Three other pictures by Wittick substantiated the facts presented by Mrs. Marmon regarding the manta, undergarment, back apron, and moccasins. The hair dress of these three women showed a side part, with a long bob over the ears almost to the shoulder, probably clubbed at the back.¹

Two of the three women in the photographs had a shawl thrown loosely over the head and wore many strands of silver beads and one chain ending with a pendant, as well as bracelets on both wrists, and rings on several fingers of both hands.²

Bourke described the women of Acoma and Laguna together, probably because they live in such close proximity.

In Acoma and Laguna too, there is considerable use of silver upon the dresses themselves, the seams from the knee to the ankle being held together by rows of silver quarter dollars fastened to pins, the effect is very pretty. . . . The women wear their hair cut short at the mouth, but not banged: it is parted at the right or left side and clubbed at the back. They wear petticoats and leggings of blue woolen yarn. The women wear necklaces of silver beads, with

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

pendants in the form of an archiepiscopal cross, terminating in a heart.¹

Acoma. The woolen blanket was originally worn as a manta by the women of Acoma. The blankets were woven in two patterns; the main part in a diagonal weave, and the wide border along each edge, in a diamond zigzag or plain weave. The main portion was generally black or dark brown and the borders were blue. The Acoma women used to re-dye their blue bordered dresses in black to freshen them, so the borders took on a misty blurred look. Red, blue, and green with touches of yellow embroidered patterns often formed a deep band along the lower edge of the manta. The designs were geometrical and often topped with a bird or two.²

The dress of the Acoma women differs in unimportant particulars from the ordinary raiment of the other pueblos. In Acoma

...there is considerable use of silver upon the dresses themselves, the seams from the knee to ankle are held together by rows of silver quarter dollars fastened to pins; the effect is very pretty. . . . The women wear

¹ Bourke, op. cit., 365.

² Underhill, op. cit., 118.

their hair cut short at the mouth, but not banged: it is parted at the right or left side and clubbed at the back. They wear petticoats and leggings of blue woolen yarn. The women wear necklaces of silver beads, with pendants in the form of an archiepiscopal cross, terminating in a heart.¹

Mrs. Sedgwick, who spent some time in the Acoma Pueblo, writes,

In the matter of dress the Indian is going through a transition period. His native costume is fast disappearing, since the children, after being put into American schools and given dreary American clothing, are apt to feel conspicuous and uncomfortable if they return to the dress of the pueblo. On ordinary days there is little ancient dress to be seen at Acoma. The women all wear on the head a shawl or kerchief that falls in soft flowing lines to the shoulder. From the shoulders hangs down the back a gay-colored square of silk (called utinat) generally made still more lively by a contrasting border. The dress may be of wool or of cotton in one piece worn over a blouse with rather full sleeves. A belt embroidered in red and white completes the costume. The older women wear footless stockings or a heavy white legging tucked into buckskin moccasins. The half grown girls usually prefer American shoes and stockings and cotton gowns of the simplest lines. The children go barefoot and are lightly clad in one garment.²

¹ Burke, op. cit., 365.

² Mrs. William T. Sedgwick, Acoma, The Sky City (Harvard University Press, 1926), 24-25.

Jemez. The traditional dress of the Jemez women is described as follows by Bandelier:

The women wear the characteristic Pueblo dress of woven black native cloth over the right shoulder and under the left, with a sash, woven of green and red yarn. Over the shoulders and back hangs a square of silk and cotton cloth. Moccasins with their usual leggings of deerskin are still worn more commonly than shoes and stockings. They wear the colored commercial shawls. Both men and women wear the belted braid of hair, with bangs and side-locks hanging loose, the bangs reaching to the eyebrows.¹

Upon graduation from Eastern New Mexico University, Mary Toya Dodge, a student from the Jemez Pueblo left her traditional costume in the Home Economics Department. The manta is missing because it has become a museum item today, but the undergarment is fashioned from a printed rayon material of a light blue background with red and white floral design, fashioned like a Mother Hubbard with its square yoke, fallen arms-eye line, wide three-quarter length sleeves, which end in a two and a half inch ruffle edged in fine narrow lace. A white braid with a red floral design of Jacquard weave, decorates the sleeve just below the

¹ Bandelier and Hewett, op. cit., 97.

elbow and is repeated about an inch above the hem line, which is edged with a heavy red and white lace.

The back apron consists of a colorful, printed silk head scarf edged with two rows of ribbon, one plain red and the outside one red with green, gold, navy, and white stripes, extending beyond two corners of the scarf to furnish the tie which is placed under the chin. A small white tea apron with two rows of eyelet insertion, an eyelet lace edge below the hem, and blue and white Jacquard braid trim on the pocket and above and below the eyelet insertions, completes the costume. Mary says her mother does not use a scissors to make this dress because all pieces are torn making the style one of straight lines and right angles. A woven fringed woolen sash of red, black, and green is wound around the waist several times to hold the dress in at the waist. Mary's mother attended her daughter's commencement exercises dressed in just such a dress as is described above, with a colorful shawl over her head, so this is most likely a dress-up garment.

Zuni. In the field notes of John G. Bourke, the following description is given of the Zuni women's clothing in 1881,

There were two squaws; one, grayhaired, old and wrinkled.--Her dress was made much like that of the Navaho women--of blankets fastened at the right shoulder, but exposing the left arm, shoulder and part of the bust. A girdle of red worsted confined at the waist. In front, she wore an apron of coarse white-manta, of which she also had a cloak, covering the shoulders. Around the neck was a collaret reaching to the waist made of silver balls and quarter dollars and terminating in a pendant. The younger squaw wore moccasins, made as are all those seen here, perfectly plain. She had no jewels.¹

In another description, Bourke says the women wore the blankets which they wove in "five colors; scarlet, black, deep blue, and light blue, with a stripe-twisted yellow cord on the longitudinal edges; the four main colors being run in horizontal stripes and bands; with pleasing effect."²

In describing the footwear, Bourke states:

The Zuni moccasin is thus made: sole of rawhide, following the plant of the foot and turned up while green to form the protection for the great toe, but not as a toe shield, such as the Apaches have to employ who live in a cactus and rock covered country. The legging attached to the moccasin of the women, is of buckskin and white in color,..... The moccasin of the Zuni resembles that of the Navajoes in being fastened by silver buttons on the outside of the instep like our low quarter

¹ Bourke, op. cit., 116.

² Ibid.

shoes. The buckskin leggings of the squaws are in two pieces, one a narrow tongue four inches wide and the other an ankle protector, both reaching to the knee, the pattern is something of an exaggeration of our style of winter overshoe known as the "artic snowexcluder." The Zunies use woolen leggings under the buckskin in the winter, overshoes of sheepskin with wool inside.¹

In another place Bourke says,

The Zuni women wear an underskirt of calico and over this a blanket dress made exactly like those of the Moquis-- extending from the shoulder and leaving the left arm, shoulder and upper half of the bust exposed. It is fastened again under the armpit (leaving room for nursing their babies from under the arms) and from the waist to extremities, much as the dress of the Shoshonee women. A red and yellow worsted girdle, four inches wide confines the dress at the waist and a pattern of herringbone stitch is darned in blue in the skirt at the hem and in red or yellow at the right shoulder. These dresses in color are black or dark blue and sometimes have scarlet bands woven at the upper and lower borders..... Women frequently wear aprons and while within doors a square blanket thrown around their neck; in the open air, this is used as a "tappalo"; it is at times replaced by a square piece of cloth whose ends are made to serve the double purpose of dish cloth and handkerchief.²

The hair style of the Zuni women differs from that of the other Pueblos in that they part their hair on one

¹ Ibid., 117.

² Ibid., 196.

side and brush it down flat on the sides. The ends are cut off square at the level of the mouth.¹

Bandelier, in his report of Espejo on Coronado's expedition, states that in Zuni country he saw "much flax like that of Castilla, that appears to grow wild." He also mentions mantles of cotton and linen. Espejo, whose quantities must always be taken with allowances, asserts that Zuni Indians presented the Spaniards with "more than 4000 mantles of cotton, white and dyed, and handkerchiefs with fringes at the ends."²

In his letter to Mendoza, Coronado stated that the Zuni "had cloaks made of hares and rabbits; that the women wore cloaks of maguey reaching down to the feet, with girdles; that they wore the hair gathered about the ears like wheels, in the same style followed by the Mexicans."³

Bandelier also reports material made out of hair of animals as large as greyhounds.

¹ Ibid., 197

² Adolph F. Bandelier, "Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos, New Mexico," New Mexico Historical Review, V (1930), 387.

³ Edgar L. Hewett, Bertie P. Dutton, The Pueblo Indian World, Handbook of Archaeological History (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1945), 130.

The cloth woven from the hair of quadrupels as large as small greyhounds,can be found today at Moqui. It is no cloth, but a heavy blanket, woven from strips of jack-rabbit hair wound around a core of Yucca fibre.

This garment seemed to be abundant at Cibola (Zuni) at Coronado's time.¹

Fray Marcos reported:

They told me that the fashion of clothing worn in Cibola is a cotton shirt reaching to the instep with a button at the throat and a long cord hanging down, the sleeves of the shirts being the same width throughout their length; it seems to me this would resemble the Bohemian style. They say that those people go girt with belts of turquoise and that over these shirts some wear excellent cloaks and other very well dressed cowhides, which are considered the best clothing, and of which they say there is a great quality in that country. The women likewise go clothed and covered to the feet in the same manner.²

Later he writes,

I was wearing a dark woolen cloth, of the kind called Saragossa, which was given to me by Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, Governor of New Galicia. The

¹ Adolph F. Bandelier, "The Discovery of New Mexico by Fray Marcos of Nizzo," New Mexico Historical Review, IV (January 1929), 42.

² Percy M. Baldwin, "Fray Marcos de Niza and His Discovery of the Seven Cities of Cibola," New Mexico Historical Review, I (1926), 207.

chief of the village and other Indians touched it with their hands and told me that there was plenty of that fabric in Totonteac and that the natives of that place were clothed with it. . . . know that in Cibola the houses are full of that material which we are wearing (cotton) but in Totonteac there are small animals from which they obtained that which they make fabric like yours. . . . They told me that the animals were castilian greyhounds.¹

Fray Marcos told about the women wearing much turquoise jewelry suspended from their noses and ears, and necklaces of three or four strands of turquoise.

In her "Notes on Zuni," Elsie Clews Parsons states:

Women seldom go out without their shawl or blanket. They are even more particular about wearing out of doors their "pitone," the square of cloth or silk which tied in front hangs across their shoulders and back. Without it, they say, they would feel naked and any men might speak to them without respect.²

It is also said that the children coming home from government schools wearing uniforms run into the house and put on the "pitone" before going out to play.³

¹ Ibid., 209.

² Elsie Clews Parsons, Notes on Zuni, Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, Part I, IV (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: American Anthropological Association, July-September, 1917), 151-225.

³ Ibid.

Probably the best description of the dress of Zuni women is given by Matilda Coxe Stevenson, who reports that women's dress is picturesque, and is donned when a girl is about four years old. Before that children wear little or no clothing.

The gown is of black cloth, woven in one piece, embroidered at the top and bottom in dark blue. The cloth is folded once and sewed up to within a short distance of the top, and again the top edges are caught together for a few inches, draping gracefully over the right shoulder. The arm passes through the opening while the gown is carried under the left arm. A long belt of Zuni or Hopi manufacture is wrapped several times around the waist. It is generally tightly drawn by the younger women and tucked under, with the ends falling a few inches, one end of the belt having a deep fringe. A cotton camis, similar in shape to the dress, is worn beneath and a highnecked and long-sleeved garment is also worn under the dress next to it; this is left off at the ceremonials. The neck and wrists of this garment are finished with bands, which are fastened with silver buttons. The pi'toni, which is a piece of white cotton or calico, tied in the front at the neck and falling over the back is an indispensable article of dress.¹

The Navajo and the Apache Tribes

The Navajo and Apache tribes, once a single people, roamed around on the Southwest frontiers subsisting on

¹ Matilda Coxe Stevenson, The Zuni Indians, Their Mythology, Esoteric Fraternities and Ceremonies, 23rd Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1904), 1-643.

such things as they could obtain from raiding the Pueblos and later the white settlements. Attempts to settle them down proved futile until Kit Carson forced them into concentration at Fort Sumner, New Mexico, by killing their sheep and cutting down their fruit trees. Here the captives were introduced to new materials and dress patterns and their style of clothing took on a new look which has survived to this day.

Navajo. According to Bourke, who began a systematic recording of field notes in 1870, when he was transferred to Camp Grant, Arizona,

Their (Navaho) dresses are generally of woolen goods woven by themselves, or of a buckskin which is generally stained black. Their moccasins are made without toe-shields and button over the instep like our low quarter gaiters. Their necklaces, bracelets, bangles and ear-rings of coral, chalchine, or silver, sea-shells and malachite are seen at times, but silver may be regarded as the typical Navaho ornament. The ear-ring is inserted at the lower extremity of the lobe only; is made in the form of a simple solid ring and is fashioned by a sliding button at the bottom.... They freely apply red ochre to the cheekbones and forehead.¹

On his second visit to the Navajos, Bourke gives the following description of the women's dress:

The dress of the women consists of moccasins, leggings (held up by garters);

¹ Bourke, op. cit., 86.

a blanket robe made of two blankets, sewed together at the top of both shoulders and from the waist to the bottom hem. This robe reaches to the knees. When a woman is wealthy, she fastens large, beautiful silver clasps at the shoulder seams..... The leggings and moccasins of the women are generally of one piece, reaching to the knees and here fastened by garters; a narrow strip of buckskin also winds about the legs to keep the legging tight.¹

Bourke describes the hairdress as follows: "The part on the back of the head is gathered in a knot and tied up with a string, while that in front and on the sides is worn loose."²

The Navajo dress has undergone a number of changes. The women of the earlier period wore clothing woven of yucca and grass fibers.

Yucca leaves were boiled, pounded with a stone, then twisted and braided with mountain grass into shoes (or sandals) and blankets, the latter sometimes braided with rabbit-fur and provided with loops to draw close to the body for warmth.³

Clothing made from dressed deerskin obtained from the Ute Indians was also used.

¹ Ibid., 224.

² Ibid.

³ Frances E. Watkins, The Navaho, Southwest Museum Leaflets, 1943.

A sharp change appeared in the Navajo women's garb after the introduction of weaving in the early part of the eighteenth century. Shirts, dresses, and shawls were fashioned from woolen blankets, woven on vertical Pueblo looms. Woman's dress consisted of two identical blankets, sewed up the sides, with openings left near the top for armholes (Plate IV, Figure 1). Slits left at the bottom of the skirt allowed for freedom of movement. This dress was belted at the waist with a woven sash or a leather belt ornamented with silver disks. A shoulder blanket of special shape and pattern offered protection from the weather. Ankle-length moccasins of deerskin with ocher-dyed uppers and rawhide soles made up the every day footwear, while for journeys or festive occasions, the moccasins had long uppers. Strips of hide served as leggings, which were wound in regular folds from the ankle to the knee.¹

The concentration camp at Fort Sumner, turned out to be the source of a new fashion motif adopted for coming generations of Navajo women. The traditional woman's dress woven of wool disappeared after the Bosque Rodondo episode because the sheep had been destroyed by

¹ Ibid.

Kit Carson. The separation of the Navajos from their sheep, inspired the costuming of the women and forced the creation of a mode that persists on that reservation to this day. As stated before, there are records of earlier infiltrations of machine woven textiles which were utilized as dress goods but in a very primitive conception of styling. At the Fort, the government provided standard material for clothing for the prisoners. The officers had wives and families. Navajo girls worked for them as maids and kitchen help. Surrounding army posts provided visitors so that the Navajo women witnessed the prevailing fashion in review. Army reports covering the Bosque Redondo period are replete with descriptions of the tattered condition of the captives' clothing prior to the introduction of supplies of calico dress materials. These new materials required a different construction technique from the native coarse blanket so the officers' wives lent a hand to instruct the more skilled Indian seamstresses. The only patterns obtainable were those of the prevailing fashions of the white women of that period, which dictated a flowing skirt and tight bodices.

The post Civil War epoch fashions decreed gay colors, silks and velvets, muttonleg sleeves, and

voluminous pleated and ruffled skirts. This mode gradually found favor among the Navajo women, and was consequently adapted to their own way of life. The plush and velvet blouses of rich colors became popular with the women who decorated the sleeves and necks with silver buttons or coins in a row along each sleeve and parallel to the neck openings. The original Navajo blanket was replaced with shawls and Pendelton blankets purchased at the trading post.

After the Dosque Rodondo episode the Navajos returned to widely scattered homes and seeded the interest for the newly acquired fashion over the entire reservation. Of course the transition from the blanket squaw dress to the Victorian style was not made in a few months or even years. Even today one finds some of the older women using the blanket in place of the white man's coat.¹

Although modifications came in later years in sleeve fashions, and the form fitting bodice was replaced with a jacket, as shown in Plate IV, Figure 2, the materials used date back to the first Anglo

¹ C. W. McCullough, "Modiste to Miss Navajo," Arizona Highways (Phoenix: Arizona Highway Department, July 1955), 8-15.

exposure. Silks were beyond the means of the Navajos so they settled for calicos and velveteens, replacing the plush and velvets, but the gay colors are still dear to the heart of the Navajo woman. When the tribal silversmith adds his touch with broaches, earrings, necklaces, bracelets, conchoed belts, and United States and Mexican coins, which can be removed and used as legal tender when necessary, the costume becomes truly Navajo, an authentic American innovation¹ (Plate V, Figure 1).

The moccasins worn by the Navajo women of today reach to the ankle, have deerskin uppers, dyed a dull reddish brown, which are attached to light colored rawhide soles. They fasten on the sides with one or more silver buttons.²

The traditional hair style is still much in vogue among the Navajos. Both men and women wear their hair long, brushed smooth and gathered into an hour-glass shape knot at the back of the neck.³

¹ Ibid.

² Watkins, op. cit., 8.

³ Ibid.

Mescalero Apache. Ralph Ogle in his report of the early Apache dress says,

The Apaches were satisfied with clothes of any variety, the more grotesque the better--buckskin skirts for women. A common buckskin skirt was composed of two buckskins hung over a belt, one in front and the other behind in the form of a kilt (Plate I, Figure 2). The edges of the skirt were cut in deep fringe.

The Apache moccasins were much like a boot. They reached nearly to the knees, and each was made of half a buckskin turned over in two or three folds, allowing them to be drawn up as a protection to the thighs; otherwise, the folds could be used as receptacles for implements, small arms, and trinkets. The soles were made of undressed cowhide with the hairy side out, and the toes were turned up two inches to protect the feet when running. This particular type of moccasin was a direct response to an environment of poisonous reptiles and xerophytic vegetation. Thus again is demonstrated that the Apaches in the world of material things were students of adaptation.¹

Another description of the early Apache woman's dress was noted by Coronado as follows:

The women's dress is likewise of skins; but it is distinguished by the use of a short skirt, tied at the waist, and loose about the knees; a skirt or coat which is drawn over the head and hangs to the waist covering the breast and shoulders and leaving the sides open.

.....

¹ Ralph H. Ogle, "Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886," New Mexico Historical Review, XIV (October 1936), 329.

The richest and most elegant families put borders of porcupine quills on their clothes and shoes, which they soften and smooth in order to use them thus; and many women add to their skirts an ornament of little tin-plated bells or small pieces of latten brass which makes a group of them extremely noisy.¹

Opler also describes the Apache woman's early attire as a two-piece garment of buckskin, high topped moccasins with a turned up toe. The ceremonial dress worn by the girls for the Puberty Rites required five skins, two for the upper garment, two for the skirt, and one for high moccasins. Doeskins or buckskins were used and the tail, suspended from the jacket, had to be that of a black-tailed doe. In the upper garment, the skin side faced outward while for the skirt the flesh side was out, as in Plate VII, Figure 1. The decorations included paintings of the morning star, crescent moon, a stepped design symbolizing a dwelling, circles for the sun, fringes for the sunbeam, and connected arcs for the rainbow. All parts had to be colored yellow, the hue of the pollen symbolizing fertility and the dress had to be blessed before it could be worn.. Little bells

¹ Daniel S. Matson and Albert H. Schroeder, "Coronado's Description of the Apache, 1796," New Mexico Historical Review, XXXII (October 1957), 340.

were attached to the fringes of the costume so the girl made music when she moved.¹

These garment descriptions are substantiated by the ceremonial garb that the Mescalero girls wear for the Puberty Rites even today. However, the everyday dress of the Apache women changed in pattern and style when the tribe stopped hunting wild game which provided skins for clothing.

With the coming of the trading post about 1840, woven dress materials became available to the Indians. This media provided for more intricate dress designs and the Apache women adopted a new fashion. The study of these dress stylings reveals such a difference from the former fashions that no one is tempted to ascribe the common origin. However, the Mexican influence is definitely evidenced by the loose unbelted blouses, and the voluminous skirt was most likely a part of the sharp change instituted by the year of forced concentration with the Navajos in Fort Sumner.²

¹ Morris Edward Opler, An Apache Life-Way, The Economic, Social, and Religious Institution of Chiricahua Indians (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), 21-22, 83.

² McCullough, op. cit., 8-15.

In contrast to the Navajo dress materials of plush, velvet, and satin, the Apaches used calico; percales; sateen, both prints and solids; but never velveteens. The style of the skirts were voluminous and full length with the bottoms carrying a wide flounce of contrasting or matching material and ornamental braid. The skirt and blouse were both made of the same material. The blouse hung to the hips from a smooth high-necked yoke, never belted (Plate VII, Figure 2). Jewelry was worn sparsely except for strings of coarse beads. The general effect of the costume was and still is one of plainness which is quite different from the Navajo fashion.

The Apache woman has preserved a great, full, sweeping skirt and loose blouse as her typical costume, a hangover from the days gone by. The dress is made of a bright print material as a rule, though in more recent years the gay shiny rayons have become favorites.¹

According to Mr. Don Nicholas, a White Mountain Apache from the Mescalero Reservation, who proudly calls himself "one of Geronimo's boys" because he was in captivity four years in Fort Stanton, described the dress of the Apache woman as a two-piece costume, made first

¹ Clara Lee Tanner, "Apache Debut," Arizona Highways, XXII (August 1946), 30-35.

of skins of animals but later from calico. He noted that the sleeves of the woven dresses were different from the dresses of other Indians in that they were long, either gathered or pleated into a dropped armscye with the under-arm seam not stitched, so that when the woman got hot she could throw the sleeves back over the shoulders. Her blouse was loose and flowing and she wore a floor-length fully gathered skirt. The blouse and skirt were of matching material,¹ as in Plate VI, Figure 2. This observation was substantiated by one of the photographs of the Wittick collection.

Mr. Nicholas as well as Mrs. McNatt, the postmistress of Mescalero, pointed out that the White Mountain and not the Mescalero Apache moccasins have a turned up "lip" or "nose" on the toes. Mrs. McNatt exhibited her traditional puberty costume and her moccasins, which were aiber in color, and had a little bead work and a pointed toe.² Five photographs of White Mountain women in the Wittick collection³ showed the turned up toe while only one Mescalero maiden had on this style of moccasin. In several of

¹ Interview with Mr. Don Nicholas, February 21, 1961.

² Interview with Mrs. McNatt, February 21, 1961.

³ Wittick, op. cit.

the photographs the feet did not show because the dresses covered them. However, one Mescalero woman wore dark colored moccasins with pointed toes.

One of the pictures of the Wittick collection gave evidence of the transition from skin to woven garments. The top was a poncho type of buckskin blouse, beaded across the chest, reaching to the hips, not stitched but fringed under the arms. A round yoke of a darker color, edged in fringe was evident. Under this was what appeared to be a blouse with full sleeves ending at the wrist with a narrow wrist band. With this top, the woman wore a full gathered, floor length, calico skirt, and moccasins with a turned up toe.¹

Jicarilla Apache. The basic female costume among the Jicarilla Apache in the north and east of New Mexico was a neck-shoulder to ankle dress of skin, usually deer. Two skins were laid on each other, tail ends at the top. The upper edges were stitched together from the outer edges to the center, leaving a neck hole in the center. The sides were stitched from the waist down leaving an opening for the arms on either side. The hind legs of the pelts formed cape-like sleeves. There were tribal

¹ Ibid.

variations and periodic changes in details, but this long skin dress is still worn on holiday and ceremonial occasions.¹

The Jicarilla Apache work dress was a long unornamented, perfectly plain buckskin costume which could be converted into a formal dress by adding an elaborate oblong cape or poncho of skin, such as is shown in Plate VI, Figure 1, colored with earth paints and trimmed with beads.² The high mountaineer's moccasins coming to the knee were practical for the Jicarilla way of life. The hair of the Jicarilla Apache women was worn long and flowing sometimes topped with a knot of feathers.

Following is a description of an early Jicarilla Apache woman's beaded cape which the writer examined in the Denver Art Museum, February 1961; the overall length was about sixty-six inches, with a double ten-inch fringe on either end. A ten-inch slit in the center provided an opening for the head to pass through. This slit was bordered with the conventional arrowhead beadwork design of blue and white. The sides were scalloped with a nine and

¹ Frederic H. Douglas, editor, and Richard G. Conn, curator, Indian Women's Clothing: Fashion and Function (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1951).

² Ibid.

one-half inch scallop, done in horizontal black and white stripes about one-fourth inch apart. The greatest width was twenty-four inches and the length seventeen and one-half inches. A third and a fourth bead strip of red, white, blue, and black paralleled the neckslit, down center front and back. A narrow blue bead stripe appeared two inches from the fringe. There were two red calico dangles tied to one side of the skin and beaded dangles on the opposite side. This cape was purchased from a Jicarilla woman in 1883.¹

Western Wear

Many of the white people who came to colonize the Southwest were squatters and homesteaders who acquired large sections of grazing land which became known as ranches. As was the case with the aborigines, their way of life was soon reflected by the functional out-door type of clothing, which was later termed Western Wear.

Today's trim-fitting, snap button western shirt and Levi-type pants are the result of a colorful evolution brought about by the men who lived in the open.

¹ Exhibits, Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado, 1961.

During the early part of the nineteenth century, when everything west of the Mississippi was still virgin territory as far as the white man was concerned, there began a small migration of rugged individualists whose appetite to see what lay over the next hill could not be satisfied. These were the bewhiskered, buckskin-clad gents--more Indian and wildman after they'd been in the wilderness a year than they were white men--members of a distinct class we came to know as Mountain Men! These were the men who initiated the change from conventional civilized dress to a style that took much from the Indian, and no little from the mode of life that was the Mountain Man's!

Usually these men wore outfits of conventional civilized clothing when they left the jumping-off places on the edge of the prairies. Before they finished their first winter though, most of them found parts of their attire a little frayed at the edges, for their existence was a wild, rough one, and not particularly suited for preserving garments made of woven fibers. By necessity, they were forced to adopt the buckskin garments of their red neighbors, and here is where the very beginning of our present western fashions had its start.¹

Because there were no buttons and thread, the Mountain Men improvised interesting fasteners from raw materials at hand such as leather laces, bones, and deer antler buttons. For thread, they used sinew from the spinal column of deer and buffalo.²

¹ Randy Steffen, "The Tale of the Cowboy's Shirt," Western Horseman, XX, No. 5, May 1955, 26.

² Ibid., 27.

It is said that the fringe on the buckskin shirts had a utilitarian rather than decorative purpose in that Mountain Man tore off and constantly used individual strands for holding things together, so that when he returned to more civilized quarters, sometimes all or a good share of the fringe on his shirt would be missing.¹

When the tide of westward moving civilization crowded the Mountain Man and the Indians from the mountains and plains, the Spanish cattlemen took their place. They were descendants of the Conquistadors who had come with Cortez in 1519 and settled in Mexico, "eventually drifting northward with their great herds of longhorn cattle and mustang horses"² crossing the Rio Grande River into New Mexico. The men who were employed to handle the range stock were commonly known as the vaqueros, meaning cowboys. When Texas finally gained her independence in 1836 the cowboy was given status in American history.³

The cowboy of the present day, while bearing some resemblance and having inherited some of the characteristics of his predecessor, is surrounded by different conditions. The present civilization has crowded in upon him, his associates and

¹ Ibid., 27.

² Fay E. Ward, The Cowboy at Work (New York: Hastings House, 1958), 3.

³ Ibid., 3.

environments are entirely changed, and he has been molded and recast into an almost different character.¹

Nevertheless, the peculiar class he was molded into, became one similar to no other in North America, never existing before, and most likely never will exist again.

The personal appearance of the cowboy represented a style all of his own, copied from no one. This style, like his daily habits, was an outgrowth of necessity or convenience.

Every article of clothes and equipment that a cowboy wears is for a purpose, and was originally adopted for reasons of efficiency. Many adjuncts have lost their true meaning, due to the lack of necessity, and in many cases have degenerated into just fancy gew gaws; but behind it all, there was a reason.²

There was nothing flashy or fancy in the cowboy's getup. At work, he wore a canvas or leather jacket. Levi Strauss introduced the copper-riveted Levis in 1872-1873 upon request from the prospectors and miners, who initiated the California Gold Rush; however, the cowboys at first considered them a low-caste innovation and did not

¹ Sam P. Ridings, The Chisholm Trail, A History of the World's Greatest Cattle Trail (Guthrie, Oklahoma: Co-operative Publishing Company, 1936), 276.

² Lawrence B. Smith, Dude Ranches and Ponies (New York: Coward-McCann, 1936), 197.

really adopt them until 1890. Vests of fringed buckskin or brown plush with black braid edging were common, because their pockets provided a receptacle for the cowboy's pencils and tobacco when he assumed the role of the business man in the cattle trade. Overcoats were knee length, made of canvas, often painted to render them wind proof. The hat, produced by the Stetson Company of Philadelphia about 1870, based on what Mr. Stetson knew of western life, was named "The Boss of the Plains."¹ It speaks for itself by its shape, for it is used as a head covering, water bucket, semaphore for signalling, fire extinguisher, pillow on the hard ground, or for fanning his bucking bronco.

The boots' tall and peglike heels prevented the wearer's feet from slipping through the stirrups on a bucking horse, forced the rider's thighs into a proper fitting with the saddle's curves, and gave him a sufficient anchorage when, dismounted and afoot, he threw his lariat.²

The chaps were necessary armor for the legs that were either riding amid cactus and thick bushes or amid

¹ Douglas Gorsline, What People Wore, A Visual History of Dress from Ancient Times to Twentieth-Century America (New York: The Viking Press, 1952), 230.

² Philip Ashton Rollins, "The Kuykendall Collection of Cowboy Equipment," The Colorado Magazine, IV, No. 5, Denver, December 1927, 191.

prodding cattle and kicking horses. The neckerchief, adopted from Aunt Dinah's southern kitchen,¹ served as a strainer over the nose and mouth and made breathing possible when alkali dust rose from beneath the hoofs of the cattle.

There was nothing peculiar about his shirt beyond that it was always cotton or wool, always was collarless and starchless; and, though of any checked or striped design or solid color, almost never was red. That latter ~~tone~~ was reputed to go badly among the cattle, and, in any event, belonged to the miner.²

It is the cowboy's shirt, however, that has captured the imaginations of modern clothing designers, who developed a style and pattern that suited anyone who relished the flavor of Western wear. It evolved from the homespun hickory shirt with bone buttons in 1850, through the shield front shirt copied from the military attire of the United States Cavalry in 1870, only to be replaced by the common men's workshirt, which was formally belated by patch pockets on either breast as vests withdrew from the cowboy's wardrobe.

¹ Philip Ashton Rollins, The Cowboy (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936, 107.

² Ibid., 108.

The cattle industry has always appealed to the American love for action, color, and romance. The seasonal cattle roundups or rodeos as the Spanish called them, eventually drew spectators and furnished an arena for the competition of skills among ranch hands, which were based on features that characterized the cowboy's daily work including bronco riding, roping, racing, and cutting contests.

By the very nature of his work, the cowpuncher had become pretty self-reliant and consequently a shade independent, and when he became the champion of a contest he also became the arbiter of a style so that even

...in days before "following the shows" became a profession, many cowboys had their girls make them up bright colored shirts to wear at "the doings" --I think maybe Tom Mix was at the bottom of it. In 1920 he had 'em put eight or ten buttons on each cuff, contrasting piping and fancy slash pockets. The contest rider and then the dude wrangler soon took it up.¹

In a telephone interview with Mr. Robert Friedman, Jr., Denver, who lectures periodically on the cowboy shirt to The Westernaires of Jefferson County Colorado riding club, the writer learned that the yoke in the back of the cowboy's shirt resulted from an economy measure.

¹ E. W. Thistlewaite, "Cowboy Styles," Western Horseman, XVI, No. 9, September 1951, Colorado Springs, 22.

As the cow hands, who attended the round-ups, leaned against the fence rails, they wore out their shirts across the shoulders and finally came to demand a reinforced piece of material for that area of their garment, which eventually took the shape of a yoke patterned after the buckskin jackets worn by the Mountain Men.¹

It used to be that only working cowhands and ranchers wore the snug fitting, practical clothing that was made for easy fit without looseness. Then Americans came from all sections of the country, took a look at the working Southwest, liked what they saw, and demanded similar clothing. Women, who had never worn snug shirts and pants, found out what comfort they could derive from this attire when at work or at play and began to demand it for their wardrobes.

At first the Western Wear ads featuring the jeans, saddle pants, and cowboy shirts carried the information "also in women's sizes."² The garments were purchased but they had no distinctive style until they were fashioned

¹ Interview with Mr. Robert Friedman, Jr., co-owner of the Frontier Western Shop, Denver, Colorado, February 13, 1961.

² Ruth Danielson Schoner, "Fashions for Women," The Western Horseman, XXV, No. 5 (May 1960), 50.

just for women. Basically, the popularity and acceptance of this fashion item by women in general, can be attributed to the improvement in fit.

The back yoke of the cowboy shirt has, in time, been extended over the shoulders to the front of the garment and has almost become a contest entry for home sewers and designers of Western Wear. The great variety of intricate yoke patterns constructed of matching and contrasting materials, decorated with ornate trimmings and embroidery stitches, makes the Western wear shirt of today a fashion item, which connotes trim fit, stylized cuffs, elaborate yokes, tailored welt pockets, and snap fastener buttons.

Although the Texas clothing manufacturers are credited with developing this thriving Western Wear industry on the assembly line, one designer, Mrs. Louise Richey of Lovington, New Mexico, emphasizes this fashion by designing and constructing custom-made Western Wear outfits on order, for the women of her state (Plate VIII, Figure 2). Mrs. Cecil Parks of Portales, New Mexico, topped this effort by introducing the McCall's Pattern Company to an adaptation from the cowboy shirt to the form of a leisure time dress pattern inspired by the

yucca plant, which is the New Mexico state flower, as is shown in Plate VIII, Figure 1. Thus another purely American fashion, commonly called Western Wear, has found a strategic place in the New Mexico women's clothing industry.

CHAPTER VI

THE CLOTHING AND TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN NEW MEXICO

Historic Background

Commerce, which was a part of the economic policy of Spain toward the American dependencies, was most unprogressive from the beginning when Coronado first invaded New Mexico in 1540.

Under the strict monopoly established from the conquest, it could only be carried on by definite persons, in a determined quantity and form, and through certain ports.¹

Merchants had to obtain a special privilege to send their goods to the new world and the cost of this permit was very high. So it was not until 1789 that free commerce was applied to all parts of Spanish America.²

The natives of New Mexico, on the other hand, had no choice about when their commodities would change hands for not long after his arrival in New Mexico in 1540, Coronado demanded three hundred pieces of cloth where-with to protect the bodies of his soldiers. Without an

¹ Lillian E. Fisher, "Commercial Conditions in Mexico at the End of the Colonial Period," New Mexico Historical Review, VII, 1932, 143.

² Ibid., 143.

alternative, the Indians had to take off their own garments and give them to the Spanish to complete the number of garments demanded.¹

If these details and if the number of pieces of cloth required are correctly stated by Castaneda it follows first: that the action was indeed reprehensible: second, that the textile industry among the Pueblos was not practiced on an extensive scale. That three hundred pieces of cloth, none of them larger than an ordinary blanket, should more than exhaust the supply of twelve villages, or twenty-five pieces per village on the average, shows that the Pueblos were not yet extensively engaged in weaving.²

That the Spanish explorers planned to barter with the Indians, is substantiated by the inventory of the property of Antonio de Espejo, who in 1582 led an expedition to rescue the friars of Rodriguez' party. The property, by the way, was taken by Constable Christobal Martinez and deposited with the Depository-General because Antonio had threatened the men who would not let him slaughter a certain herd of cattle sent to the slaughter house. The following clothing and textile items were included in the inventory:

¹ Adolph F. Bandelier, "Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos in New Mexico," New Mexico Historical Review, IV, No. 4, October 1929, 331.

² Ibid., 331.

- 1 bed, with green cloth counter pane
fringed with silk
- 2 mattresses
- 2 sheets
- 3 blankets
- 1 box with lock, containing velvet cap
- 2 pouches of rough cloth
- 1 tunic of rough cloth (worn)
- 1 woman's waist of black taffeta
- 1 piece of black satin about $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards
in length
- 1 waist of thin stuff, gold and crimson
in color
- 1 overskirt of Chinese damask
- 1 piece green satin about 2 yards in
length
- 1 black silk skirt
- 1 skirt of black taffeta trimmed with
velvet
- 1 embroidered towel (old)
- 1 underskirt of black satin
- 1 turban of black taffeta
- 1 skirt of black velvet
- 1 skirt of black satin
- 1 skirt trimmed with gold thread and silk
- 1 skirt of black velvet
- 1 turban of green taffeta trimmed with gold
- 1 turban of black satin, trimmed with velvet
- 1 piece of dark grey silk
- 1 red and green table cloth
- 1 chest with cloth cover, containing the
following:
 - 2 linen sheets (new)
 - 1 sheet (new)
 - 1 sheet
 - Several embroidered table cloths
 - 1 linen sheet (new)
 - 1 linen coverlet (new)
 - 2 damask table cloths
 - 1 sheet (old)
 - 3 cloths embroidered with silk
 - 2 drawn-work cloths
 - 1 bed spread embroidered in crimson
 - 3 white cloths
 - 1 white cloth embroidered in color
 - 1 cloth embroidered with silk of
different colors (new)
 - 1 pleated toque with gold trimming (worn)

- 1 pouch embroidered with gold
- 6 pillows embroidered in colors (new)
- 1 piece of drawn-work cloth
- 1 drawn-work sheet
- 2 sheets of Rouen linen
- 1 coif with its strings
- 6 damask kerchiefs
- 1 kerchief embroidered in red
- 1 chest with arched top, containing the following:
 - 1 white counterpane
 - 2 overskirts
 - 1 red quilted overskirt
 - 1 fiestran overskirt
 - 1 white muslin dress
 - 1 white muslin overskirt
 - 6 men's shirts
 - 2 women's chemises
 - 2 sheets
 - 2 white cambric waists
 - 2 pillows with cushions to correspond, embroidered in red
 - 2 chemises
 - 6 old cushions
 - 1 carpet
- 1 chest with arched top, containing the following:
 - 1 quilted overskirt
 - Several quilted bodices
 - 1 piece of Seville cloth for waist
 - 1 piece of common cambric
 - 5 pieces of different stuffs
 - 9 pieces of Rouen linen--1 extra large
 - 1 piece of ordinary linen--extra large.¹

Since no Spanish women accompanied the expedition, the feminine items of clothing were, no doubt, brought to

¹ G. H. G. Conway, "Antonio de Espejo, as a Familiar of the Mexican Inquisition, 1572-1578," New Mexico Historical Review, VI, No. 1, January 1931, 13-14.

use for legal tender or to court favors from the Indians. The inventory, however, shed some light on the existing fashion dictates of the Spanish clothing and textile industry of that day.

Shortly after the founding of Santa Fe in 1609, this city became a wagon-trail terminal, the destination of a supply caravan which traversed the fifteen thousand mile Camina Real from Mexico City to supply the friars with the necessities of life. Hodge provides the following bill of sales for such a transaction:

To Marcos Hernandez, 7,584 pesos, 5 grains in common gold, paid on account on the 18,084 pesos, 5 grains gold, for the goods and supplies detailed below in which, at the royal auction of July 12, 1624, he agreed to supply for equipping and dispatching the twelve Franciscan Friars who went to the province of New Mexico, and for fourteen others already there who are engaged in religious teaching and in administering the holy sacraments to the pacified Indians in those provinces, and in other divine services. This was in accordance with a decree of the royal audience of New Spain, dated May 25 of the said year. The bidding was made on the basis of prices of the goods shipped to the said friars in the year 1620 and was 500 pesos less than the total cost of the said goods at the prices paid in 1620, according to the certification furnished by the factor, Martin de Camargo, and was as follows:

(only items pertaining to clothing
and textiles will appear below)

Four hundred and thirty-nine
yards of Rouen linen, I.E.,
72 yards, namely, 6 for each
of the 12 friars; 55 yards of
Amices and purificators; and
of the remaining 312 yards,
12 yards for each of one of
the 26 friars, at 5 tomines
per yard 274 pesos,
3 ts.

Twelve cases of silk cords
and tools, consisting of knives,
scissors, and heavy needles
(for sewing sandals), at
5 pesos each 60 pesos

Eleven frontals of Chinese
damask, with the borders of
brocatel and fringes of silk,
lined with Anjou linen at
35 pesos each 385 pesos

Twelve albs of very fine
Rouen linen, with point lace,
the collar bands hemstitched
and embroidered, at 25 pesos
each 275 pesos
Eleven surplices, likewise
of Rouen linen, at 9 pesos,
4 tomines each 104 pesos,
4 ts.

Eleven pairs of Alter Cloth
of Rouen linen, each 6 yards
long, with 6 hemstitches each,
at 5 pesos 110 pesos
Twelve palls of Rouen linen,
with corporals, Chalice covers,
purificators, and small silk
cover for the host, at 12 pesos
per set 132 pesos

• • • Six pieces of Canton damask, at 18 pesos each	108 pesos
• • • One pound of twisted Mixtecan silk	16 pesos
• • • One pall of red damask with borders of brocade, gilded at the center, with hem and valance drips, for the holy sacrament ..	120 pesos
• • • Eleven bags with embroidered corporal cloth, at 4 pesos each	44 pesos
• • • Twenty-six hundred yards of fine monk's sackcloth, at 8 reales, less 12 maravedis, per yard ..	2,485 pesos, 2 ts., 5 gr.
Three hundred and twelve yards of light linen stuff, at $4\frac{1}{2}$ reals per yard	165 pesos, 6 ts.
• • • Twenty-six pounds of domestic thread, at 2 pesos per pound ...	52 pesos
Twenty-six dozen awls, at 3 pesos per dozen	78 pesos
Sixteen hundred needles, 312 of them for shoemakers, at 3 reales per dozen, and the remaining 1,288 for dressmaking, at 10 reales per hundred	26 pesos, 6 ts.
• • • Two pounds of soft Mixtecan silk, at 16 pesos per pound	32 pesos
One mozetta of Chinese damask, trimmed with cord and tassel, lined with taffeta	30 pesos

All of the above goods (only clothing and textile items recorded above) amounted to 18,084 pesos. They were received by Father

Fray Alonso de Benavides of the Franciscan order, as it is known by the receipts which he gave on November 14 and 28, 1624, before Luis Sanchez de Escobar, his Majesty's notary.¹

Although in theory the caravan service was designed to provide only for the missions of New Mexico, in practice some of the wagons were commandeered or chartered for purely secular purposes, first by governors and later by merchants of New Mexico. In fact, several of the Spanish governors of New Mexico augmented their salaries by engaging in commercial traffic.² One record of such a transaction was kept in 1638 by Governor Luis de Rosas and shows the consignment of

seventeen boxes and ten bales of goods:

2000 yards of coarse woolen dress fabric
 46 drapes
 70 other hangings
 408 blankets
 24 cushions
 8 overskirts
 76 assorted doublets and jackets
 124 painted buffalo hides
 207 antelope skins
 900 candles
 57 bushels of pine nuts³

¹ Frederick Webb Hodge, George P. Hammond, Agapito Rey, Fray Alonso de Benavides, Revised Memorial of 1934 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1945), 110.

² Max L. Moorhead, New Mexico Royal Road, Trade and Travel on Chihuahua Trail (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 34.

³ Ibid., 34.

The merchandise sent from New Mexico to Chihuahua, Mexico, in the annual caravans, was almost entirely the produce of the soil. In addition to sheep, raw wool, hides (buffalo, deer, antelope), pine nuts, salt, and El Paso brandy, there were a few Indian blankets. "In exchange for these goods the New Mexicans received iron ware, tools, arms, and domestic and imported fabrics, boots, shoes, and other articles of dress."¹

Another New Mexico governor, Bernardo Lopez, who was sent out from Spain 1659 to 1661, became the source of a controversy when the colonists accused him of profiteering and falsifying accounts. Many of the women, including Indians, were employed to weave cloth, make stockings, and do drawn work and embroidery on shirts and piece goods. The alleged Lopez shipment, in charge of Captain Francisco Xavier, was sent some time in 1660, and

...was worth 12,000 pesos. It included

1,350 deerskins
600 pairs of woolen stockings
Quantities of leather jackets,
shirts, breeches, etc.²

¹ Ibid., 49.

² France V. Scholes, "Troublous Times in New Mexico," New Mexico Historical Review, XII, No. 4, October 1937, 391.

The manufacture of the stockings for the governor's account was carried on in a number of the Indian villages.

The petitions presented in 1661 included the following claims:

Senecu,	100 pairs
Socorro,	30 pairs
San Ildefonso,	262 pairs
San Juan, Santa Clara, Jacone, Pojuaque, Nambe, and Cuyamungue, a total of	280 pairs
Alamillo,	46 pairs
Santo Domingo,	156 pairs
Jemez,	360 pairs ¹

Often real estate and other property was conveyed for textile and clothing items. Such a transaction took place in 1747 when a house of fourteen beams was traded in for

a dress pattern
a gentle horse
a mule which had been broken
a cow²

In some cases clothing would figure prominently in part payment for a purchase as

a cotton shawl
1 silk handkerchief
1 pocket handkerchief
12 pesos in reales³

¹ Ibid., 395.

² Louis H. Wagner, "Conveyance of Property, The Spanish and Mexican Way," New Mexico Historical Review, VI, No. 3, July 1931, 340.

³ Ibid., 351.

or

a silk rebosa or shawl
 an ox
 4 goats
 a serape
 1 burrow¹

or

a child's muslin shirt
 a cape
 a coat
 a vest²

There is one record of a ten-year-old Mexican boy who was captured by the Comanche Indians, who sold him to the Apaches, who in turn sold him to the Mexicans for

4 knives
 1 plug of tobacco
 2 fanegas of corn
 4 blankets
 6 yards of red Indian cloth³

Free commerce, after being allowed in the less important colonies, was finally granted to all parts of Spanish America by 1789.⁴ After free trade was inaugurated, the rich merchandise from the Orient was distributed

¹ Ibid., 351.

² Ibid., 351.

³ Ibid., 351.

⁴ Lillian E. Fisher, "Commercial Conditions in Mexico at the End of the Colonial Period," New Mexico Historical Review, VII, 1932, 151.

in the entire viceroyalty and all people, whom the Spanish laws compelled to wear clothes, were dressed in the fabrics of the Orient--in the silks of China, or cottons of Luzon and India.¹ This is probably where the New Mexico Indians became acquainted with the satin, plush, and velvet which the Navajo women of today still covet.

A new economic era was introduced into New Mexico early in the nineteenth century when the merchants from far-off Missouri crossed the Great Plains via Santa Fe and arrived in the state with competitively priced merchandise, bringing the first French ware. Zebulon Pike's notes made on his southwestern expedition in 1806 and 1807 on the economic situation in this area, revealed to the American public, for the first time, the significant imbalance of the trade of New Mexico, the cheapness of its own produce, and the dearness of her purchases from the south.² Consequently by 1824 the monopoly of the southern merchants was broken and a balance of trade established.

Invoices from Eastern wholesales and the manifests

¹ Ibid., 159.

² Milo M. Quaife, ed., Pike, Southwestern Expedition (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley and Sons, 1925), 53.

of the Santa Fe Customs house, list a bewildering variety of merchandise after 1821. Some of it was clothing and textiles, such as

...muslin, broadcloth, drills, prints, flannels, bandana, denim, cambric, lawn, linen, calico, nankeen, pongee, taffeta, velvet, velveteen, cashmere, alpaca, marino, and silk; clothing of all kinds; rings, necklaces, bracelets, earrings, crucifixes, beads, buttons, buckles, hairpins, ribbons, and handkerchiefs; knitting pins.¹

By 1840, the trading posts had been established in the Southwest and the women of New Mexico were beginning to ape the styles set by Paris. This relay of mode was encouraged by the fashion-conscious belles of the East, who daringly came to seek adventure in the Southwest via stagecoach in 1849,² as well as by Wells Fargo, who founded the first American express company in 1852 and thus provided a postal and freight system which furnished an avenue for the direct shipment of this commodity.³

While American women, in general, were trying to emancipate themselves from the dictatorship of the haute

¹ Ibid., 81.

² "Santa Fe Trail," The World Book Encyclopedia, XVI (1947), 8116.

³ Edward Hungerford, Wells Fargo, 1875-1948 (New York: Random House, 1948), 1-274.

couture of Paris, the designers of the Southwest conceived and, without fanfare, developed a truly original fashion, influenced by the American Indian and his conquerors, which was "Never in style but never out of style."¹ The women's wear industry in New Mexico, which had its conception among the actors chosen for the annual Fiesta performances, was born when the feminine audience of these gala occasions demanded garments fashioned like those of the performers.

Almost over night, New Mexico became the fountainhead for Southwest fashions and designers worked frantically in small quarters, first as seamstresses and later as company managers, to produce clothing for local clientele and the tourist trade which was now providing the second largest industry in the state.² Ultimately the 1958 Directory of New Mexico Manufacturing and Mining Bureau of Business Research listed eighteen clothing and textile factories. Since this was the latest material published on the subject, this list formed the basis for

¹ Interview with Mabel Morrow, retired federal Supervisor of Indian Arts and Crafts, February 24, 1961.

² Vincente T. Ximenes, The 1958 Directory of New Mexico Manufacturing and Mining Bureau of Business Research (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1958), 1-56.

the research for this dissertation. The writer found that six of the factories listed were no longer operating and nine others should have been included, which, for one reason or another, were omitted from the 1958 list. The writer was able to visit and interview either the designer or manager of twenty-one establishments now dedicated to the production of Southwestern women's wear.

Factors of Comparison

In general, the 1960 New Mexico clothing industry falls into four unique patterns:

1. The dressmaker, who is very sensitive to the native arts and crafts and personally creates adaptations in garments from surrounding influences for an exclusive clientele which does not need to know the price before deciding to buy.

2. The couturier, who creates original "custom-made" garments "on order" or for a limited sales rack in her shop.

3. The designer, who with a functional knowledge of mass production, fashions garments which can be produced with the machines possessed by the factory of which he or she is the owner or employee.

4. The pattern designer, whose product is purchased by the pattern company to promote the Southwest emphasis on patio and rodeo garments.

Consistent with the above patterns, some of the factors evident in the 1960 New Mexico women's wear industry which were found by the writer to be comparable are these:

1. All New Mexico designers of women's wear operate within the framework of organized business, either as managers or employees of some company and the majority of them advertise their product with an appropriate label. Following are the names of the designers, the company they represent, and the label under which their product is advertised:

Company	Designer	Label
Mrs. Richard Oakeley Taos, New Mexico	Mrs. Richard Oakeley	Casa Marie's Original Squaw & Fiesta Clothes
Miss Martha Reed Taos, New Mexico	Miss Martha Reed	Martha of Taos
Mrs. O. V. Archuletz Taos, New Mexico	Mrs. O. V. Archuletz	Taos Pueblo Original Fiesta Clothes
Miss Betty Roy Taos, New Mexico	Miss Betty Roy	Betty Roy
Mrs. Louise Ritchey Lovington, New Mexico	Mrs. Louise Ritchey	Louise Rit- chey's Western Wear
McCalls Pattern Company	Mrs. Cecil Parks	---

Company	Designer	Label
Desert Flower Albuquerque, N. M.	Mrs. Reba Light	Desert Flower Originals
Mahona Fiesta Wear Albuquerque, N. M.	Mr. C. B. Hale	Mahona Fiesta Wear
Pioneer Wear Inc. Albuquerque, N. M.	Mr. Marcel Masshar	Pioneer Wear
Mrs. Jack Rushing Albuquerque, N. M.	Mrs. Theda D. Rushing	Indian Dream Girl.
Jeanette's Originals Albuquerque, N. W.	Miss Jeanette Pave	Jeanette's Originals
Mrs. Emily Lindahl Albuquerque, N. W.	Mrs. Emily Lindahl	Emily Ann Originals
Craftware Albuquerque, N. M.	Mrs. Ruth Gallacher	Craftware
Mrs. Elita Wilson Galisteo, N. M.	Mrs. Elita Wilson	Elita Wilson's Santa Fe Dresses
Miss Diane Rutherford Santa Fe, N. M.	Miss Diane Rutherford	Country Clothes
Southwest Arts & Crafts Santa Fe, N. M.	Mrs. Ollie McKenzie	Ollie McKenzie
Pins and Needles Santa Fe, N. M.	Mrs. Agnes James	Pins and Needles
Kay Stephens Santa Fe Shirts Santa Fe, N. M.	Miss Kay Stephens	Kay Stephens Santa Fe
Rio Grande Weaver Wholesale and Mfg. in New Mexico Santa Fe, N. M.	Miss Lucille Chase	Loom and Leather

Company	Designer	Label
Miss Mabel Morrow Santa Fe, N. M	Miss Mabel Morrow	No label
Mrs. Juanita Lee Santa Fe, N. M.	Mrs. Juanita Lee	No label

2. The New Mexico designers are predominantly female; nineteen are women and two are men.

3. Most of the women's wear industry in New Mexico is controlled by women over forty years of age; sixteen women and one man said they were over forty, and three women and one man said they were in the twenty to forty year age bracket.

4. Most of the designers were not born in New Mexico. The birthplaces claimed were Texas, four; New Mexico, Ohio, and New York, two each; Oregon, Kentucky, Iowa, and Missouri, one each; France, Germany, and Poland, one each; and two were born on Indian reservations.

5. The New Mexico designers are thoroughly acquainted with the culture patterns of the Southwest. The majority of them had lived there for some time: six, over forty years; three, between thirty and forty years; two, between twenty and thirty years; seven, between ten and twenty years; one, only four months.

6. New Mexico designers have first hand knowledge of the problems connected with acculturation. The twenty-one of them represented nine different cultures: eleven said they were of American descent, two claimed Scotch parents on one or the other side of the house, two were native North American Indians, while there was one of each of the following origins: English, Irish, French, German, Spanish, and Polish.

7. Education, on the elementary and secondary levels, is a commonly accepted life necessity, important to successful designing in New Mexico. Only one designer (a Texan) boasted that he never attended school beyond the fifth grade.

8. Institutions of higher learning contributed to the education of New Mexico designers of women's wear. Over half of them had attended colleges or universities; two of them majoring in Home Economics. The following schools were represented: Oklahoma State, Texas Women's University, Purdue University, Abilene Christian College, North Texas State, Kentucky State, Barnard College, University of New Mexico, Boulder University, Southern Methodist University, University of Wisconsin, University of Kansas, University of Washington, and the University of Chicago.

9. Special schools augmented the education of New Mexico designers. Three of them reported that correspondence courses taken from Franklin Institute; Women's Institute of Scranton, Pennsylvania; and Mary Brooks Pickens aided their endeavors. Others took work in the following institutions: John Hopkins Field School; Special Art School, St. Louis; Haskell Institute, Topeka; Academy of Art, Chicago; Art League Institute, New York; Metropolitan School of Art, New York; Traphagen Fashion School, New York; Pattern School of Design, New York; and a School of Photography.

10. Travel complemented the education and at the same time provided inspiration for designing in New Mexico. All except two of the designers indicated that they had traveled extensively in the United States; eight had been to Europe, four of whom had lived for a period of time in France, England, Germany, or the Scandinavian countries; one had lived in Mexico; while Canada, Cuba, and the Latin American countries were travel destinations for a few.

11. Most of the formal education of New Mexico designers was considered helpful but not geared to the problems of their industry. All of the designers

reported that it had contributed to their general background of knowledge but seemed reluctant to credit the general educational system of their day with their success as designers. Those who had taken correspondence courses, or who had attended special schools, expressed appreciation for this opportunity. The designers who had taken Home Economics felt that their curricula had been too narrow, for they had acquired little more than skill in sewing with not much assistance in designing and almost no instruction in the business principles involved in the clothing industry. All attributed their success almost entirely to self-application, hard work, the trial and error method of learning, and "learning to do by doing."

12. The urge to design and the choice of a fashion career were induced by a variety of circumstances among New Mexico designers. Following are the reasons stated for their decisions: heredity; love for sewing; self-survival; the desire to create; lure of a business venture; preservation of native Indian art designs; introduction to the career through related professions, such as fashion editors of Vogue and Glamour magazines or an assistantship in the textile laboratory at Sears, Roebuck and Company in Chicago; encouragement from some

one in the trade, who admired the wardrobe personally designed and constructed by the should-be-designer; appreciation for fabrics; a hobby; an expression of craftsmanship; and the friendship of Tobe!

13. Inspiration for New Mexico designs is derived from many sources. The following is a representative list: nature; historical documents and books; Indian Ceremonials; fashion shows, books and magazines; Indian basketry, pottery, and pictographs; current events; local elements, such as rodeos, fairs, parades, architecture, and way of living; museums; dreams; art exhibits; collaboration with top American couturiers like Hattie Carnegie, Adrian, Tina Leser, Clare Potter, and Maurice Rentner; Indian embroidery; fibers and yarns used in weaving; printed designs on scarfs and yard goods produced by local artists; peasant clothes; men's shirts, Indians and cowboys; travel; trimmings such as rick-rack and braids; art research; Fiestas; Indian, Spanish, and Mexican friendships; a Caribbean cruise; and the work-a-day life of the people of the Southwest.

14. Several different types of women's wear are produced by the New Mexico designers in all sizes and

for all ages of girls and women. The terminology for identical garments varied with designers, so the writer took the liberty to set up the following standard classification:

<u>Types of Garments</u>	<u>Number of Designers Producing Each Type</u>
Coats	10
Suits	7
Three-piece suits	2
Dusters	1
Milk Maid's smocks	1
Cocktail jackets	2
Poncho cape	1
Separates	18
Western wear ensembles	2
Pants (denim or wool)	3
Resort line	1
Burlap skirts	1
Cruise package	1
Shirts (women's)	1
Aprons (children's)	1
Dresses	
Fiesta or squaw	18
Two piece	12
Flamingo	1
Southwest tailored one piece	4
Southwest cocktail or formal	2
Sheath Fiesta	1
Any garment on order	2
Pattern only	1

Two of the designers complemented their garments with matching tote bags and one made hats to accompany her dresses and suits.

15. The prevailing mode does not influence the fashions designed in New Mexico. Only standard, classic types of garments are produced. All of the designers,

however, stated that they were conscious of the trends in lengths of skirts and one was concerned with waist lengths. The two piece type of garment was declared to be so popular because it presented few fitting problems with the waist lengths, and skirt bands could be altered to fit quickly and easily on gathered or pleated skirts.

16. The three native cultures of New Mexico produce an impact on the women's wear industry. All of the designers except one, who had been in New Mexico only four months, reported some experience with them. Ten employed Indian and Spanish seamstresses and one had used a Mexican woman; one had a Spanish weaver; and only four said they had never employed them in the trade. Two of the designers frequented Indian ceremonials and bought materials and trimmings at trading posts; one, occasionally visited and ate with Indian friends in their homes; two were native Indians; one was a native Spaniard; and one had been a federal supervisor of Indian Arts and Crafts for thirty years.

17. The designers of New Mexico's women's wear without exception, are influenced by the pre-historic, historic, and modern culture of the area. This is evident in the design adaptations from Indian, Spanish,

and Mexican art and clothing as well as their reflection of the modern, casual, relaxed, practical, comfortable, leisure time, outdoor way of life identified with the Southwest.

18. New Mexico designers do not produce seasonal collections as the clothing industry defines them; therefore they are generally not concerned with a theme. One indicated that she kept the Jackie Kennedy Look in mind when she designed this year's dresses and hats, and one said she always designed for the girl on the horse.

19. Design ideas are generally communicated to employees by word of mouth and demonstration in the New Mexico clothing factories. Because most of them have employed the same seamstresses for so long and repeat the basic pattern from season to season, varying it only with details and trimmings, the designers indicated that all they had to do was to discuss their ideas with their employees and show them what they wanted. Thirteen make rough sketches, nine cut the original patterns themselves and make up a sample garment, one draped her pattern on the form and let the dressmaker take it from there, and one showed the order in which she wanted the braid and rick-rack placed by pinning inch-length samples in rows

to pieces of paper. One employed photography to transfer her ideas, and none of them used colored sketches.

20. The flat pattern method of designing, graded to the size and measurements desired, is preferred by the New Mexico designers. Only two said they draped on a live model, one used a basic commercial pattern; four combined several different commercial patterns to get the desired effect; two said they used the "European method" (about which they were very inarticulate); two, cut to measurements only; and all of them tried to give their client a final fitting. A few made the initial pattern up in muslin before launching it on its course, and one draped her first design in the actual material in which it would ultimately be constructed.

21. New Mexico designers have a working philosophy of designing but found it hard to define. Following are definite expressions which the writer was able to record:

- a) Clothes should be fun and exciting; give a lift; not overshadow but serve as the background for the personality.
--Martha Reed, Taos
- b) Simplicity and good taste are things that will last.
--Louise Ritchey, Lovington

- c) My show is an art exhibit, not a fashion show.
--Theda Rushing, Albuquerque
- d) I want to produce joyous, happy dresses, to be looked at and worn.
--Emily Lindahl
- e) Designing is the business of concentration, hard work, and elimination of ideas which won't work.
--Mr. Gallacher, speaking for his wife, designer of Craftwear, Albuquerque
- f) It is important that clothes not just do, but do something for the woman. --Elita Wilson, Galisteo
- g) I want to make wearable, adaptable clothes economically.
--Diane Rutherford
- h) Every design is an accomplishment to please or displease.
--Ollie McKenzie
- i) Satisfaction comes from a perfect thing of beauty. --Agnes James
- j) Comfort and smartness should be synonymous. --Kay Stephens
- k) It's the material that is important, the design must be kept simple.
--Lucille Chase
- l) A good dress is never in style and never out of style, intricately produced, artistically correct in small detail with much handwork and fine stitching. --Mabel Morrow
- m) I want people to say about my dresses, "Isn't that a beautiful dress! Oh, it is a Squaw dress," not just, "Isn't that a beautiful Squaw dress!"
--Betty Roy

22. The majority of the New Mexico designers produce custom made garments for the women's wear industry. Only four of the twenty factories use mass production methods and construct their garments on an assembly line.

23. The New Mexico women's wear factories are quite stable establishments. The designers are connected with houses which had been in operation for from four to forty-five years: one, forty-five years; three, over thirty years; two, between twenty and thirty years; six, between five and ten years; and one, four years.

24. Seasonal deadlines for collections are unimportant to New Mexico designers of women's wear. The survey disclosed that most designers had developed a specific basic pattern and new innovations were merely the result of variations in fabric, color, trimmings, details, and manipulation of techniques. Ten reported that they produced no seasonal collections other than to prepare in the winter for the three month tourist trade in the summer; four professed that their summer and winter collections were really identified by details only, such as the use of cotton and short sleeves for the summer garments and plush, velvet, or corduroy and long sleeves for

the winter line. Two said they made up a spring, summer, fall, and winter collection; while three reported a holiday (Christmas), a lounging, or a cruise collection in addition to the foregoing four; only one produced six collections a year namely spring, summer, winter, fall, holiday, and things for special shows such as centennials, etc.

25. Designers of New Mexico really do not design collections as defined by the women's wear industry. They were somewhat vague about the number of garments included in each collection. This is probably due to the fact that they think in terms of a line rather than a collection. One reported forty garments, saying she made every one of her garments different except re-orders; three reported from twenty to twenty-five; two, fifteen to twenty; two, six or seven; and one, eight to ten. The rest admitted that they really did no collection as understood by the garment trade.

26. New Mexico designers have no first showings of their collections that compare with the haute couture houses of Paris and New York. The designers are more interested in supplying regional souvenir items for the tourist trade than they are in the "New Look." The four

designers for the mass production houses reported that their customers advertised their wares in the stores which retailed their line. The Taos group seemed to work in close harmony with the civic and church organizations of their city and joined their efforts to put on benefit shows every year as well as entertain convention visitors. The Albuquerque and Santa Fe designers singly or collectively showed their new garments periodically at regional conventions such as Women's Clubs, educational groups, sorority meetings, art club gatherings, parades, square dances, and luncheons served in the various local hotels and motels.

27. The designers of New Mexico create an impact on the fashion market of the United States and a number of foreign countries. Eighteen of them claimed that they had sold their wares in all the large cities of all of the states of the Union including Hawaii; sixteen said they had sold to tourists from foreign countries such as Canada, Mexico, France, England, Netherlands, Siam, Peru, Spain, South America, Holland, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, and Sweden. One designer proudly showed photographs of herself with the Duke and Dutchess of Madrid, who attended the 250th Anniversary of the founding of Albuquerque, and purchased several Fiesta dresses to take back

home. A Santa Fe designer, who at first was reluctant about taking part in this survey, called the writer back to show a letter of appreciation from President Roosevelt for a smoking jacket she had designed and constructed for him out of denim.

28. The winning of awards did not seem to be the objective of New Mexico designers. A pleased customer and repeat orders were their marks of success. Seven said they had never been in competition for an award, one reported that she had won first prize among fifty entries in a New York fashion show of Southwest designs, and two had prizes awarded to them at state fairs and ceremonial exhibits. Fourteen reported that they had been covered by the press in one or more of the following publications: Tourist Guides of their cities, local daily papers, The New Mexico Magazine, Life Magazine, Christian Science Monitor, House Beautiful, New York Times, Horse Lovers Magazine, Western Horseman, Women's Wear Daily, and This Is Albuquerque. This distinction seemed to be a cherished one. Exhibits of designs in the Smithsonian Institute, Indian Art Center in Los Angeles, and the American Indian Exposition of Oklahoma were counted as awards by the native Indian designers.

29. Today's emphasis on reliving the historic experiences, factual and otherwise, of the Conquest of the American Southwest by the motion picture, radio, and television industries as well as magazine and book publications, has ushered in a hey-day for New Mexico designers. Following are some of the clientele who frequent the fashion houses included in the study: Dale Evans, the wife of Roy Rogers, and his daughters; Linda Darnell; Eleanor Powell; Irene Dunn; Maureen O'Hara; Elizabeth Arden; Ethel and Mabel of the "I Love Lucy" television show; Greer Garson; Olivia de Havilland; John Emery's wife, a ballet dancer; Jimmy Stewart's wife; and Zsa Zsa Gabor. The wives of wealthy cattle ranchers, oil magnets, uranium miners, and atomic scientists buy the fiesta and leisure time wear to emulate their sisters at Western parties, square dances, and general get-togethers.

30. Many of the designers admitted that they were, with few exceptions, producing much the same kind of garments which are always in style but each professed that his line could be identified through details. Following is the list of designers with each one's special identification as he or she stated it:

Designer	Identification
Mrs. Richard Oakeley	Imported linen fabric and lace, children's pastel colored dresses with white organcy aprons.
Miss Martha Reed	Plush Navajo blouse; historic Spanish influence; a plain garment designed as background for Indian jewelry.
Mrs. O. V. Archuleta	Cowl neckline, mandarin collar, drop armscye, perpendicular sleeve ruffles.
Miss Betty Roy	Form fitting Squaw dress produced by placing insertion in on curved lines; detailed workmanship, such as bound buttonholes; three dimensional applique.
Mrs. Louise Ritchey	Sun burst tucks in western wear to provide for action with a close fit.
Mrs. Cecil Parks	Use of yucca plant in an adaptation from a cowboy shirt.
Mrs. Reba Light	Pleated Fiesta skirts wide enough to make a complete circle on the flat.
Mr. C. B. Hale	Pleated Fiesta skirts with one or two horizontal matching lace inserts of matching colors.
Mr. Marcel Masshar	No information.
Mrs. Jack Rushing	Appliqued Indian designs adapted from pre-historic baskets, pottery, and pictographs; and modern sand-paintings.
Miss Jeanette Pave	Braid trimming;(designs her own and uses imported braids), has rick-rack dyed in special colors; uses special fabrics like burlap.

Designer	Identification
Mrs. Emily Lindahl	Simplicity; little trim; rick-rack on net; sheath Fiesta dress.
Mrs. Ruth Gallacher	Pocket details on Southwest tailored denim garments; arrow heads at end of curved pockets.
Mrs. Elita Wilson	Glamourizes casual Southwest clothes for formal wear with rows of rick-rack of all widths stitched so close together they touch.
Miss Diane Rutherford	Denim tailored suits lined with rayon and silk prints, special set-in sleeve to give comfort without fullness.
Mrs. Ollie McKenzie	Chimayo coat, Fiesta pleated skirt.
Mrs. Agnes James	Original Eagle Dance blouse, "tied spaghetti" buttons, creates own special vegetable and commercial dyes to match New Mexico colors such as pepper red and chamesia brush yellow.
Miss Kay Stephens	Form fitting shirts with lace edges and insets adapted from Isleta shirts.
Miss Lucille Chase	Triangular Poncho cape and tote bag to match of special, personally-designed fabrics.
Miss Mabel Morrow	Folk clothes, artistically correct in small detail and fine stitching.
Mrs. Junita Lee	Pueblo embroidery.

31. The price range varies for New Mexico designed women's clothing. Garments produced on the assembly line

in the mass production houses sell for as low as \$4.00 while custom made products start at \$12.95. Both types of factories quoted \$300.00 as their top price. The price variation depends upon the kind of material employed, how much trimming is used, whether the buttons are hammered silver or made of cheaper metal, and how much intricate hand work is incorporated. Five establishments sell garments for \$100.00 to \$150.00 apiece at the same time that they sell them for as little as \$14.95, \$19.95, \$35.00, \$59.95, or \$65.00, respectively.

32. New Mexico designers do not advertise extensively. Most of them have an established clientele, which reorders, or is a part of the tourist trade, which demands something unique to take home as proof of having visited far-away places. Seven reported that they did no advertising; seven ran ads in the monthly tourist guides of their local cities; five advertised in local daily newspapers; four ran ads in such magazines as Western Horseman, Vogue, New Yorker, Mademoiselle, and Horse Lovers Magazine. One used all the mediums of communication for advertising, including the radio and television.

33. Labor unions present no problem to the New Mexico women's clothing industry. All of the designers reported that none of their employees were members of these unions.

34. The women's garment industry in New Mexico employs relatively few people. Four houses reported a single worker; six employed fewer than five to nine people. The four mass production factories gave the following report: Mahona Fiesta Wear, six to ten workers; Jeanette's Originals, fifteen employees; Craftwear, forty laborers; and Pioneer Wear had a payroll of sixty. Southwest Arts and Crafts at one time employed forty-nine people, but were operating at an all-time low at the time of the survey.

Cultural Influences

In the preceding sections, an attempt has been made to summarize the present status of the women's wear industry in New Mexico. Through scattered clues, carefully assembled, painstakingly studied and correlated, it is possible to determine some of the influences, which have governed the growth and development of this industry.

Circumstantial evidence proves that the culture of the Southwest is reflected in the designs created for

the women's clothing industry. Its roots are anchored deep in the traditions of the native Indians and their conquerors, the Spanish, Mexicans, and Anglos. The Indian Ceremonial costumes and Spanish Fiesta wear found favor over the Parisian fashion dictates, when women performers and spectators of the gala Southwest Celebrations realized what contribution these practical clothes could make to their daily living.

In spite of the mad rush of the world around it, the Southwest still retains many of the practical, casual, leisurely characteristics of the past, that have always made it unique. The philosophy of the prehistoric inhabitants, which emphasized the creation of beautiful, as well as useful objects, in harmony with the great natural forces of the universe, is practiced today by the designers of women's clothing in that area. It is this concept that has led them to create a fashion which speaks formally of the proper way to live in this locality. With no apologies to dame fashion, the New Mexico clothing designers create a unique purely American fashion which is timeless and ageless (Plate III, Figure 2; Plate V, Figure 2; Plate VII, Figure 2).

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Hypotheses

It was hypothesized that (1) the style changes in women's clothing in New Mexico serve as an independent witness on the subject of the past, which has been incompletely recorded by observers or distorted by human memory, (2) twentieth-century dress designers in New Mexico reflect the Southwest culture of the past, creating a local impact on the fashion market of the entire nation as well as abroad, with their own particular design style of women's dresses.

The study involved two major aspects: (1) the assimilation of fashion elements which were imposed on native Indian groups of the American Southwest by invading cultures; (2) the incorporation, by modern designers, of fashion components characteristic of the native culture of New Mexico, into contemporary women's wear.

Research in libraries and museums, field trips, albums of collections of photographs, and personal

interviews supplied resource material and evidence for the ultimate conclusions reached by the writer.

Summary Statements

The following statements summarize and provide data which support the hypotheses which were basic to this study.

1. Women's fashions do tend to reflect the culture of a people.

The social, economic, political, and environmental conditions that prevail in any period are multiple forces, the combination of which stimulate the behavior of the people involved, who in turn mirror this conduct by the clothing which the women of that period create and wear.

2. Anthropological findings shed light on the style of clothing worn by women before the time of written records.

The Museum of New Mexico and the Denver Art Museum proved to be fruitful sources of information. The writer was introduced to artifacts that deal with man's rise from earliest times. The buried and fragmentary remains of civilization were utilized to formulate a history of people for whom no written records exist, and whose cultures and civilizations are now extinct. The

original American culture was reconstructed for the writer through analyses of clothing deposits made by archaeologists who were able to push the calendar back 20,000 years and produce evidence that (1) prehistoric women of North America wore no clothing most of the year; (2) the first evidence of women's wearing apparel appeared in the Anasazi culture in the form of crudely fringed fore-and-aft aprons made of cotton string, yucca, bark, or skins attached to a waist band in the fashion of a breech cloth; (3) the aprons were supplemented with small fur and feather blankets thrown over the shoulders when it was cold.

3. Very little thought has been given to the relation between women's clothing and the rest of the culture of any people, by the reporters of historic events.

The authors of historic accounts have, with few exceptions been men, who, in general, have ignored the women's role in the cultural pattern. The early explorers, missionaries, and conquistadors were more interested in recording the descriptions of the topography of the new land, the non-Christian religious practices of the aborigines and the possibility of obtaining personal wealth, than they were in relaying women's fashions of their time. Consequently the writer had to search

painstakingly through many sources of scattered bits of literature to obtain only limited information on women's wear among the pre-historic and historic inhabitants of the Southwest with very little reference to the cultural implications. Operating under the assumption that fashion is adapted to the changes that are taking place within the cultural framework, the writer took the liberty to point out the relation between the style changes in women's garments and the cultural innovations.

4. Change of style exists among Indian women but occurs more prominently in detail than in the basic design.

After the weaving of cotton was developed, the pre-historic fore-and-aft aprons became (1) fore-and-aft blanket dresses fastened on both shoulders, reaching to the knees for the Navajo women, and a single blanket dress of similar dimensions draped under the left arm pit and fastened over the right shoulder for the Pueblo women; (2) short buckskin skirts seamed at the sides reaching to just below the knees, with a loose flowing poncho style blouse made of the skin of one animal, for the Apache women.

5. In the Indian woman's wardrobe of the historic period, is seen one of the last stands of their native culture.

The Spanish invasion prompted, in part, by the Catholic missionary zeal to convert the savage Indians, was instrumental in introducing a style change among Indian women, which was designed to cover the nakedness of their bodies. A sheath-like undergarment, fashioned with a high neck, long set-in sleeves, reaching to just below the knee; a back apron, which covered the shoulders still more, and a head shawl became high fashion items for the Pueblo women.

The Apache and Navajo styles suffered a complete fashion change forced upon them by the Anglo impact, the resistance of which led to their imprisonment at Bosque Rodondo in 1870. The "New Look" resulted from the adoption of the Victorian fashion worn by the wives of the officers who held them prisoners. The wide gathered and pleated skirts of this impact have survived to this day, but the basque blouse has been replaced with a close fitting plush, velvet, velveteen, or corduroy shirt-type garment by the Navajo women, and a loose flowing calico blouse to match the gathered, tiered skirt by the Apache women.

The establishment of the trading post on Indian reservations in the early nineteenth century brought the

aborigines a step closer to civilization by making new fibers and fabrics available to them as well as serving as an outlet for their hand woven blankets, which often were exchanged for cheaper machine-made products to boost their meager economy.

Visits to Indian reservations, interviews with the native inhabitants, and general observations indicated that the time is fast approaching when the Indian will be amalgamated with his conquerors and the traditional blanket and buckskin dresses will be extinct except for museum exhibits.

6. The state of New Mexico was a logical setting for the study of cultural influences on the ready-to-wear industry.

New Mexico has some unique characteristics pertinent to the study, such as (1) climatic conditions favorable to the preservation of ancient artifacts which can shed light on the subject at hand; (2) the preponderance of anthropological studies made possible by the archaeological excavations of the Sandia, Folsom, Yuma, and Midland Caves; (3) the historic setting for three distinct cultures which are still pretty evident and although they mingle they hold apart; (4) the clothing industry is undefiled by Paris or other foreign dictation.

7. New Mexico designers of women's wear incorporate many of the traditional style ideas of the original inhabitants into contemporary fashions which are distributed far and wide through the annual tourist business.

The modern women's apparel industry in New Mexico was born and nurtured in the Spanish Fiesta celebrations and the Indian Ceremonials. When the spectators began to demand a style of garment similar to that worn by the performers in the productions which they were viewing, the New Mexico clothing retail business was launched into orbit. The construction of custom made garments on order, by individual dress makers, was soon followed by the assembly line production. The survey conducted by the writer disclosed twenty-one factories marketing Fiesta, squaw, and embroidered Indian dresses; poncho capes; and a great number of other garments adapted from the traditional Indian and Spanish styles as well as the Western Wear garments which fit into the rancher's way of life. It was established by managers of the above mentioned companies, that their product, boosted by the large tourist trade in New Mexico, found a ready market in all large cities of the United States and a number of foreign countries.

Conclusions

This study presents conclusive evidence that the cultural changes experienced by the native people of New Mexico, from prehistoric to modern times, can be identified in the style variations of the clothing worn by the women. There is also proof that the local designers of women's attire are cognizant of the changes in the past and present culture patterns of the people in that area, and incorporate evidence of this awareness into their designs of modern-day women's fashions.

It is hoped that the study (1) can be used to identify authentic period costumes; (2) will provide a source of biographical material on the cultural influences of women's fashions; (3) will shed greater light on the contributions of woman in her role as transmitter of a culture through the clothing that she wears; (4) will inspire further research based on the kinds of values and attitudes that are expressed by women through the style changes imposed by cultural variations; and (5) will promote greater understanding of the New Mexico clothing industry which is credited with initiating and fostering the only truly American fashions.

The information compiled for this study is evidence that the early New Mexico culture has a definite influence on the contemporary fashions of that area.

APPENDIX A

ILLUSTRATIONS--Plates I thru VIII

PLATE I
PREHISTORIC WOMAN'S DRESS

Fig. 1. Fore-and-Aft String Aprons

Fig. 2. Fore-and-Aft Skin Aprons

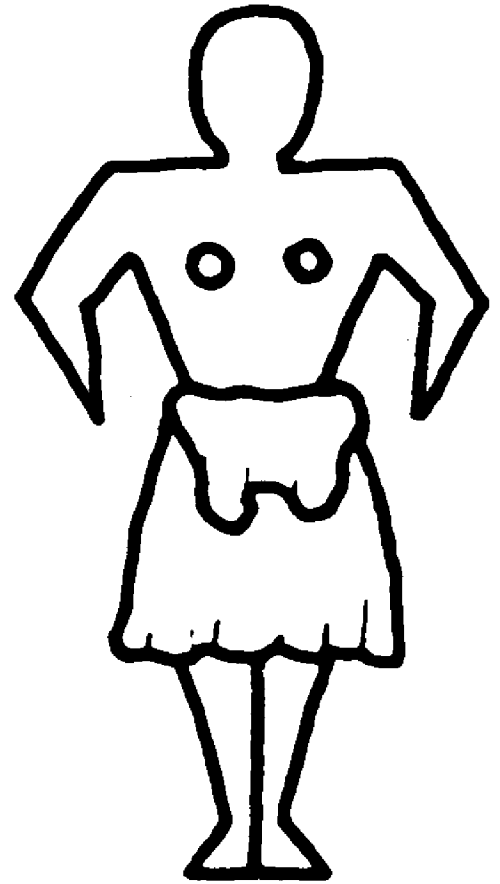
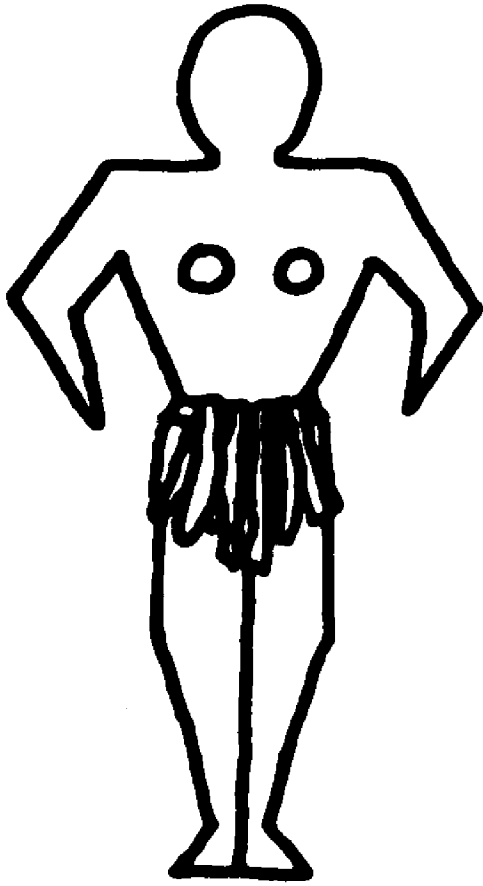


PLATE II
PUEBLO WOMAN'S DRESS

Fig. 1. Blanket Dress or Manta

Fig. 2. Undergarment and Manta

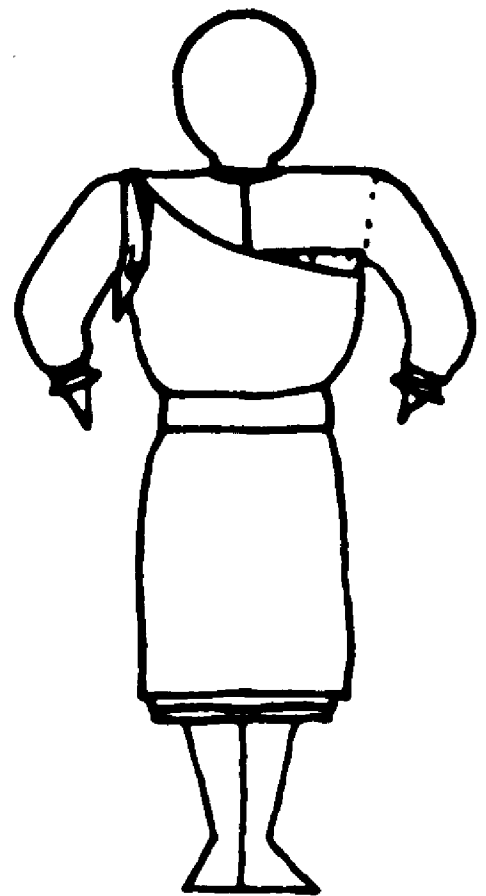
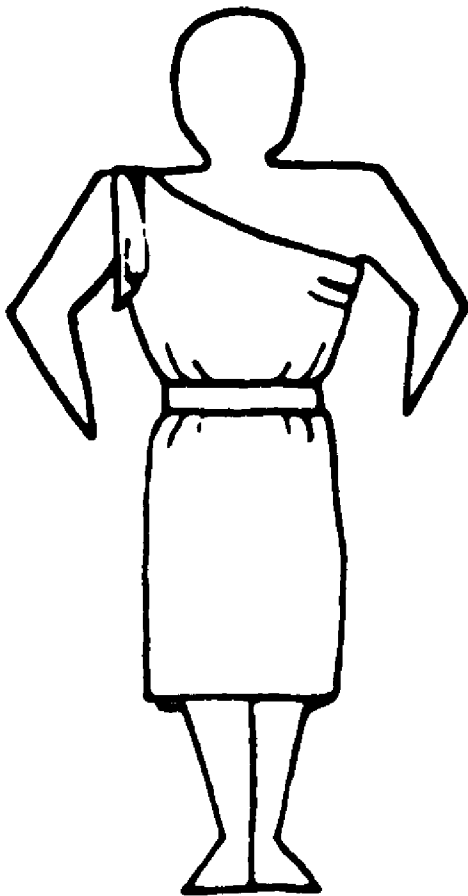


PLATE III
PUEBLO DRESS AND ADAPTATION

Fig. 1. Manta with Sash

Fig. 2. Modern Pueblo Adaptation



PLATE IV
NAVAJO WOMAN'S DRESS

Fig. 1. Fore-and-Aft Blankets

Fig. 2. Bosque Rodonda Attire

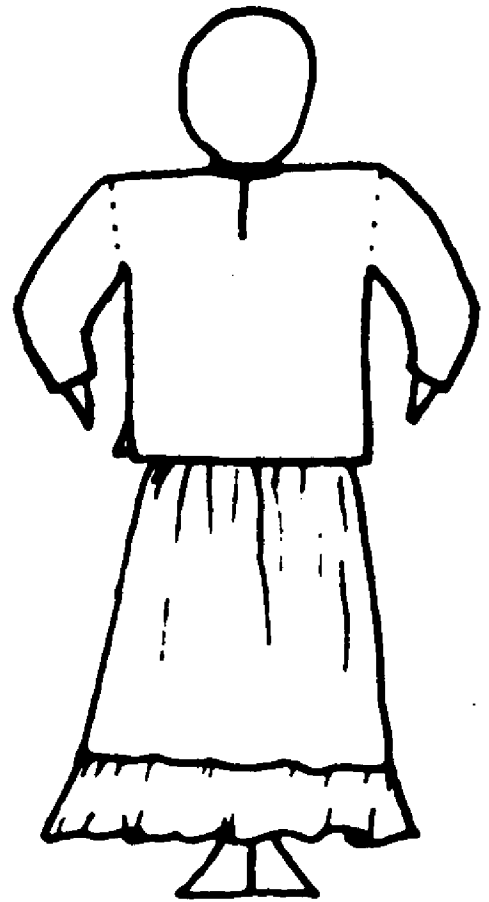
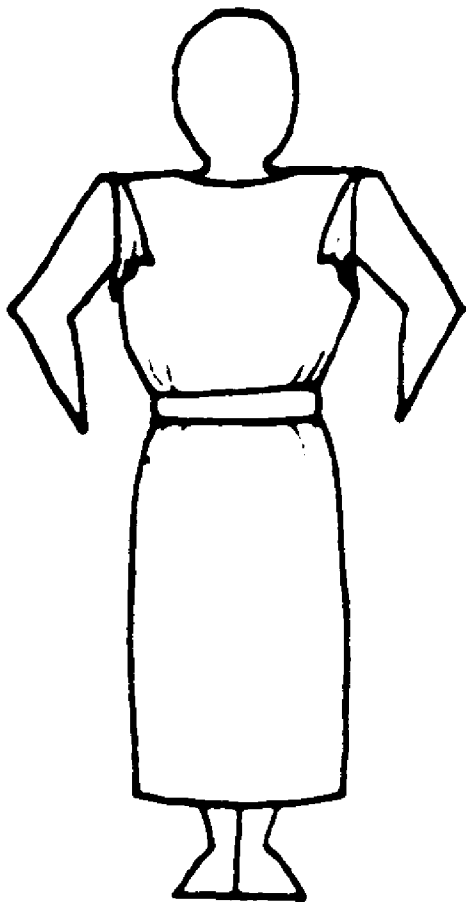


PLATE V
NAVAJO SQUAW DRESS AND ADAPTATION

Fig. 1. Squaw Dress

Fig. 2. Modern Adaptation of Squaw Dress



PLATE VI
APACHE WOMAN'S DRESS

Fig. 1. Apache Poncho Dress

Fig. 2. Apache Calico Dress

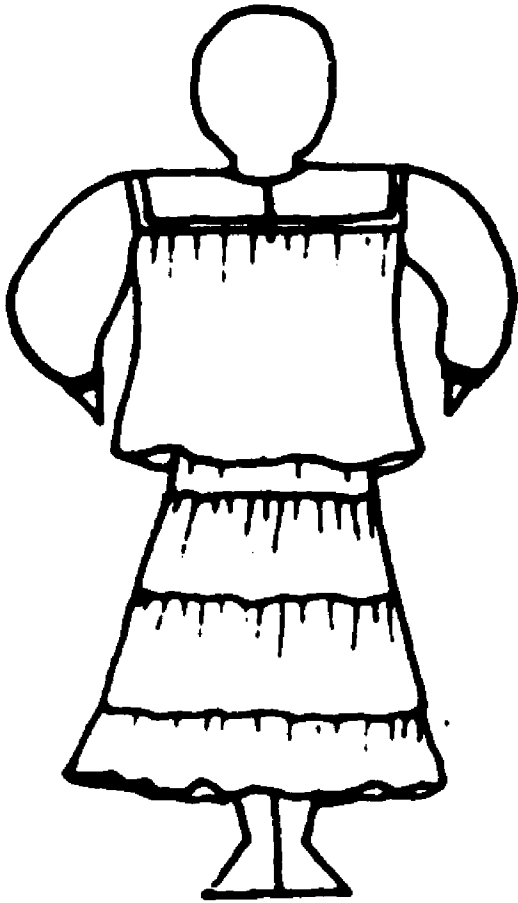




PLATE VIII
WESTERN WEAR

Fig. 1. Patio Dress

Fig. 2. Tailored Riding Suit



APPENDIX B

SAMPLE OF FORMS USED

IV. Technique of manufacture (how produced).

A. Media (skin, fiber, weave, fabric)

B. Construction.

**1. Size of pattern pieces
(blanket, skins, apron, etc.).**

2. Pattern.

a) Neckline.

b) Collar

c) Cuffs

d) Sleeves

e) Belt

f) Blouse

g) Skirt

h) One piece garment

3. Method of construction
(how put together).

4. Design (type or style).

5. **Technique of decoration**
(quills, beads, fringe).

6. **Symbolism.**

a) **Type**

b) **Meaning**

7. **Purpose of ornaments.**

8. Color.

a) Dye process

b) Typical color of garment

c) Typical colors of decorations

V. Added accessories to complete costume.

A. Head dress.

SURVEY SHEET ADMINISTERED TO NEW MEXICO DESIGNERS

I. Personal Life

A. What is your given or
married name and address?

B. Under what name are your
original designs advertised?

C. What is your nationality?

D. What is your age? (Check)

Below 20 _____

20-40 _____

Over 40 _____

E. Where were you born?

F. How long have you lived
in the Southwest?

II. Preparation and Training
for your Position

A. What preparatory training did
you have for your position?

1. Grade school

2. High school

3. College

4. Special school (art or design)

5. Travels

6. Other places

B. How has your education contributed
to what you are doing?

III. Career

A. To what do you attribute your original urge to design?

B. What prompted you to choose the fashion career?

C. Where do you get your inspiration and ideas for your designs?

IV. Style of Garments Designed

- A. What types of garments are included in your collection?
(Check)**

Coats _____

Suits _____

Dresses _____

Separates _____

Sports wear _____

Others _____

- B. For what age group do you design?**

- C. Does any particular style identify your collection of designs?**

- D. To what extent does the prevailing fashion influence your designs?**

E. What experience have you had with the natives of the Southwest?

1. Indians

2. Spanish

3. Mexicans

F. To what extent has their mode of dress influenced your designs?

G. How does today's manner of living in the Southwest influence your designs?

H. What theme, if any, do you follow in designing a collection?

I. Do you follow a theme consistently?

J. In what forms are your ideas passed on to your producer or seamstress?

1. Word of mouth?

2. Sketches

a) How detailed?

b) In color?

3. Other forms

K. Are your designs draped on live models?
If otherwise produced, describe.

V. Philosophy of Designing

A. What is your philosophy about designing.
(Example: "Every design is a decision."
--Luce Lee)

B. Are you influenced by the culture
of the Southwest?

VI. Production

A. Are your garments custom made or
produced on the line in a factory?

B. For what company or manufacturer do
you design?

C. How long has this establishment
been in operation?

D. How many collections do you
design each year?

E. What seasonal deadlines
do you meet?

Spring _____

Summer _____

Fall _____

Winter _____

Holiday

 Christmas _____

 Easter _____

 Other _____

F. How many garments do you design
for each collection?

VII. The Market

A. Where are your first showings
held each season?

B. In which markets can your designs be purchased?

1. Cities

2. States

3. Nations

C. Under what label or name are your designs sold?

D. For what price range do you design garments?

E. What publications advertise your designs?

F. Do your workers belong to a union?

1. International Ladies Garment
Workers Union

2. Other union?

3. Open shop?

VIII. Recognition

A. List any awards which you
have won for your designs

B. List fashion shows, motion pictures,
and television productions, dance
conventions, parades, etc. which
have featured your designs

APPENDIX C
SUMMARY CHART

SUMMARY CHART SHOWING WOMEN'S CLOTHING FASHIONS IN NEW MEXICO
PREHISTORIC PERIOD

<u>Period</u>	<u>Dress</u>	<u>Textile Fibers</u>	<u>Shawls</u>	<u>Hair Style</u>	<u>Ornaments</u>	<u>Footwear</u>
1500 B.C. A.D. 100	None--naked Indians	None	Robes of tanned deer skin in north Rabbit hair blanket	Hair cropped short, irregular in length	Skin painting	None--bare- footed
A.D. 100- 500 Basket- maker	Hanks of woody fiber, passed through crotch and fastened in front and back to string belt during menstruation period Fra-hanging fringe fore- and-aft aprons, shaped like breech cloth; one foot long, slightly less in width, hanging from waist band	Wild cotton (spun into string or woven into cloth) Cedar bark Yucca fibers Turkey feath- ers Rabbit hair Skin	Fur and feather- covered cotton or yucca cord blankets	Hair cropped short; cut to provide material for cordage and belts Mimbre women wore hair put up in whorls on sides like Hopi girls	<u>Neck:</u> Strings of shells, lignite, colored stones, wood, bone, seeds <u>Ears:</u> Short strands of beads <u>Hair:</u> Bone pins lashed together with feathers <u>Belt:</u> Braided	Sandals, square-toed with fringe extending beyond toes and rounded heel Material: yucca leaves cedar bark, grass
A.D. 500- 700 Modified Basket- maker	Elaborate fore- and-aft aprons woven of strips of yucca or cord, six inches long, two inches wide Decorated with painted or woven geometric fig- ures in red and black, fastened crosswise to a waist cord with loose dangling warp ends	Cotton Skin	Fur and feather- covered cord blankets	Hair cropped short, used for utility purposes as need arose	<u>Neck:</u> Strings of teeth, bone, seeds, shells, colored rock, wood <u>Ears:</u> Short strands of above materials <u>Hair:</u> Same as previous period <u>Belt:</u> Same as previous period	Sandals V-notched, ornamented with colored figures to match the aprons Soles constru- ted of an elaborate system of knots and overlaid strands to form a neat pattern

PREHISTORIC PERIOD (Continued)

<u>Period</u>	<u>Dress</u>	<u>Textile Fibers</u>	<u>Shawls</u>	<u>Hair Style</u>	<u>Ornaments</u>	<u>Footwear</u>
A.D. 700- 900 Pueblo I	Fore-and-aft aprons Squares of colored cloth woven on true loom after 800 A.D. Embroidery as decoration	Cotton Skin	Blankets of feather cloth and woven cotton	Hair cropped short; irregular length suggests that it was cropped off with sharp instrument for utili- tarian use	<u>Neck:</u> Carved pendants added to above ornaments <u>Ears:</u> Carved objects of natural shells and rocks <u>Wrists:</u> Bracelets of col- ored shale, turquoise, alabaster, glycymeris <u>Belt:</u> Braided	Sandals, pointed toe Material: fine cotton string, yucca, apocynum Braided and knotted
A.D. 900- 1050 Pueblo II	Fore-and-aft aprons as in Previous period	Cotton Tie-dye intro- duced into loom weaving Skin	Blankets of feather cloth and woven cotton	Cropped short, no general style, used for utilitarian purposes	<u>Neck:</u> Abalone shells and carved objects for pendants added to strings of beads worn in previous period <u>Ears:</u> Short strands of beads and carved objects of natural rocks and shells <u>Wrists:</u> Same as previous period <u>Belt:</u> Braided	Sandals, gog-toed Woven of string, yucca, or apocynum Braided and knotted

PREHISTORIC PERIOD (Continued)

<u>Period</u>	<u>Dress</u>	<u>Textile Fibers</u>	<u>Shawls</u>	<u>Hair Style</u>	<u>Ornaments</u>	<u>Footwear</u>
A.D. 1050- 1300 Pueblo III	Remains of skin poncho with slit for head Woven cotton breech cloths with patterned tapestry weave waist band Variations of weaving provide decoration on coarse cloth Colored yarns introduced in weaving Some painting evident on fabrics	Cotton Skin	Blankets of feather cloth and woven cotton	Hair cropped short for utilitarian purpose, no general style	<u>Neck:</u> Shell tinklers Stone, turquoise, and feather pendants carved in shapes of birds and animals Olivella shell beads Mosaics of turquoise <u>Ears:</u> Short strands of beads and carved objects <u>Wrists:</u> Bracelets of stone, shell, turquoise Beads of natural materials and shells <u>Fingers:</u> Rings to match above ornaments <u>Belt:</u> Flat, braided, fringed on ends	Sandals, gog-toed Knotted and braided of fine cotton cord Decorated with yucca leaves Net-like cotton socks and leggings
A.D. 1300- 1700 Pueblo IV	Blanket dress (manta): rectangular piece of cotton cloth wrapped around body, caught under left armpit fastened over right shoulder, stitched up on right side with yucca or cotton string	Cotton Yucca	Blankets of feather cloth and woven cotton	Hair cropped as in previous periods	Seed pods, acorn hulls, and bones of animals added to above materials	Buckskin moccasins

PUEBLO INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO

<u>Period</u>	<u>Dress</u>	<u>Textile Fibers</u>	<u>Shawls</u>	<u>Hair Style</u>	<u>Ornaments</u>	<u>Footwear</u>
1540-1840 Spanish Impact	<p>Manta: Fastened over right shoulder and caught under left armpit, natural color of cotton and wool Wool manta, white, black, often embroidered, woven with seven inch borders of bird's eye weave, separated from body of manta with red and green cording Body of manta of twill weave Indigo blue often used in borders</p> <p>Missionary Impact</p> <p>Undergarment: plain or print cotton, Mother Hubbard style, straight lines and right angles, set- in sleeves, yoke, lace and braid trim on sleeves and at hem edge Back apron: originally of unbleached muslin, later of bright printed silk or rayon</p>	<p>Cotton Wool</p>	<p>Black or brown cotton or wool draped loosely over head Plain or print cotton</p> <p>After 1821 Mexican</p> <p>Rebozo: bright- ly printed cotton or silk with long silk fringe</p>	<p>Banged in front to eyebrows, sides cut even with earlobe, back queued (doubled over itself and bound with band at nape of neck)</p>	<p><u>Neck:</u> Beads of shells, coral turquoise, lignite, dull pink quartz, abalone shell, silver beads and squash blossom design</p> <p><u>Ears:</u> Plain silver loop or mounted, shaped to resemble but- terflies or birds set with tur- quoise nuggets</p> <p><u>Wrists:</u> Narrow silver bands or wide inlay with channel work in silver, using turquoise and jet nuggets</p> <p><u>Fingers:</u> Silver with in- lay, turquoise sets to match bracelets and ear rings</p> <p><u>Belt:</u> Woven sash, three to five inches wide, seven feet long, ending in fringe with red, green, black, and white geometric figures</p>	<p>Buckskin moccasin with leg- gings, stiff sole turned up over edge of upper</p> <p>or</p> <p>Boot-shaped buckskin turned down just below knee in three or four folds to make cuff for Toe</p> <p>Toe turned up into two- inch "lip" or "nose" for White Mountain Apache, San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso</p>

NAVAJO INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO

<u>Period</u>	<u>Dress</u>	<u>Textile Fibers</u>	<u>Shawls</u>	<u>Hair Style</u>	<u>Ornaments</u>	<u>Footwear</u>
Before 1867	Blanket robe made of two blankets sewed together at top of both shoulders	Buckskin, generally stained black Wool	After 1840 Pendleton commer- cial blanket	Is worn long, rolled up, folded on itself several times, tied with heavy binding of white or colored yarn	<u>Neck:</u> Silver squash blossom, coral, chalchine, sea shells, malachite <u>Ears:</u> Solid silver ring inserted in lower extremity of lobe, fastened by sliding button <u>Wrists:</u> Bracelets, narrow silver bands, or wide band set with tur- quoise <u>Fingers:</u> Rings to match bracelets <u>Belt:</u> Red and white woven belt covered with large concha silver belt	Moccasins, brown buckskin without toe shields, button down outside like gaiters with one or more buttons, ankle height Light col- ored rawhide soles
After 1867	Squaw dresses: Close fitting velvet, middy style blouse, slit on sides, with open gussets under armpits decor- ated with silver buttons or sil- ver coins; wide gathered or pleated velvet, satin, or calico skirt with one or more tiers, reaching to ankle	<u>Blouse:</u> Plush Velvet Velveteen <u>Skirt:</u> Velvet Satin Calico	Pendleton commercial blanket	Is worn long, brushed back smoothly, and gathered in hour-glass shape knot at back of neck	Same as previous period--more silver than turquoise	Same as previous period

APACHE INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO

<u>Period</u>	<u>Dress</u>	<u>Textile Fibers</u>	<u>Shawls</u>	<u>Hair Style</u>	<u>Ornament</u>	<u>Footwear</u>
Before 1867	<p><u>Blouse:</u> Single deer skin cut into poncho-type shirt, fur side on inside Length of animal skin runs horizontal across shoulders with tail on left shoulder and four legs of animal forming four corners of poncho Round yoke painted gold and brownish red, with geometric beaded design of red, white, blue, and gold Yoke outlined with rope-like beaded edge</p> <p><u>Skirt:</u> Two skins, one for front, one for back, seamed at sides, fur side on outside fastened to waist band, fringed hem</p>	Buckskin	Pendleton commercial blanket (after 1840)	Hair is worn straight and long, cut below shoulder blade	Porcupine quills, latten brass and tin plated bells on fringe of dress Very little costume jewelry aside from coarse beads	Moccasins, buckskin shaped like a boot, reaching nearly to knee; Mescalero moccasins had pointed toes; White Mountain Apache had "lip" toe turned up about two inches Yellow gold in color, very little bead work
After 1867	<p><u>Blouse:</u> Loose, flowing; hangs to hips, gathered on to a high-necked yoke, never belted Material bright printed calico trimmed with harmonizing strips of plain material Set-in puffed sleeves, gathered with ruffle at elbow</p> <p><u>Skirt:</u> Full sweeping, many-tiered skirt of calico print to match blouse, ankle length</p>	Cotton (calico)	Same as previous period	Same as previous period	Strings of coarse beads	Moccasins, same as previous period

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AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I, Maria Selma Friesen, was born in Henderson, Nebraska, July 20, 1903. I received my elementary and secondary school education in the public schools of Henderson, Nebraska, and Bethel College, Newton, Kansas, which granted me the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1928. I did graduate work at Peru State Teacher's College, University of Wichita, University of Nebraska, Colorado State College, Syracuse University, Eastern New Mexico University, Columbia University, and Michigan State College. Kansas State College granted the Master of Science degree to me in 1946. While in residence there, I held the rank of Instructor in the Clothing and Textile Department of the School of Home Economics. I taught eight years in the elementary grades and twelve years on the secondary level in the Nebraska public schools. At present I hold the rank of Associate Professor at Eastern New Mexico University, where I have been co-ordinator of the Home Economics division and have taught Vocational Home Economics Education and Clothing and Textiles since 1946. I was granted a Sabbatical Leave for the spring semester to complete the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree.