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ELEVENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES.
ROBERT P. PORTER,
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EXTRA CENSUS BULLETIN.

INDIANS.

EASTERN BAND OF CHEROKEES

OF NORTH CAROLINA.

BY THOMAS DONALDSON.
SPECIAL AGENT.

WASHINGTON, D. C.:
UNITED STATES CENSUS PRINTING OFFICE.
1892.

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New York Engraving & Printing Co. EASTERN BAND OF NORTH CAROLINA CHEROKEES.

Principal Chief, NIMROD J. SMITH, "Cha-la-di-hih," "Charles the Killer."

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ELEVENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES.

ROBERT P. PORTER,

SUPERINTENDENT.

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EXTRA CENSUS BULLETIN.

INDIANS.

EASTERN BAND OF CHEROKEES

OF NORTH CAROLINA.

BY THOMAS DONALDSON,

EXPERT SPECIAL AGENT.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
UNITED STATES CENSUS PRINTING OFFICE.
1892.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
CENSUS OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., February 25, 1892.

SIR:

The statistics and condition of the Indians given in the present bulletin, as provided in the census law of March 1, 1889, show the status of the Eastern Band of Cherokees of North Carolina, with incidental mention of the Eastern Cherokees. These Indians are taxed, have developed into good citizens of the United States, and vote in North Carolina. They are almost entirely self-supporting, receiving only a small allowance from the United States for educational purposes. A few mechanics are found among them, but their chief occupations are farming, lumbering, and day labor. They are a moral, law-abiding, and industrious people, and the censuses from 1850 to 1890 show them to be increasing. The band, which has been incorporated by the general assembly of North Carolina as The Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, occupies the tract known as the Qualla boundary. The other Eastern Cherokees mentioned reside in the states of Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee, and are citizens of the United States and of the states named.

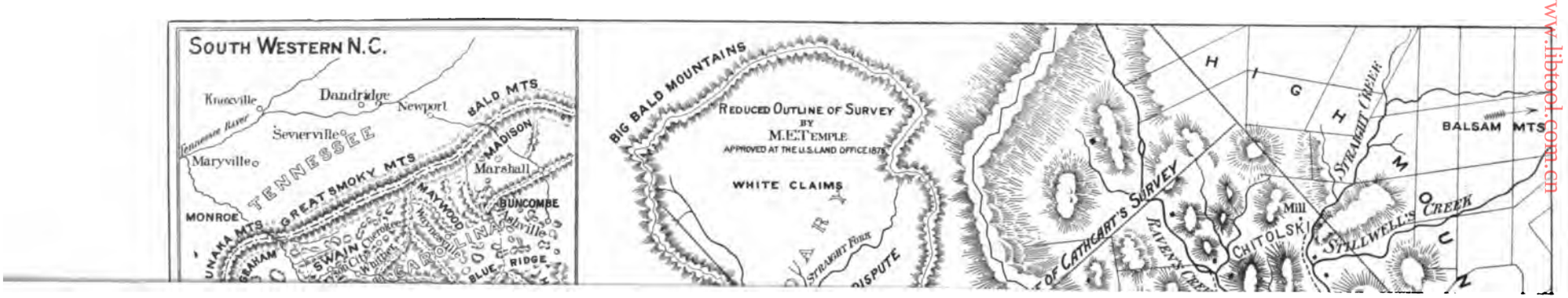
The bulletin was prepared by Mr. THOMAS DONALDSON, expert special agent of the Census Office, and the report on the condition of these Indians was made under his direction by General HENRY B. CARRINGTON, United States army (retired), special agent for the collection of statistics of the Eastern Band of Cherokees.

Very respectfully,

ROBERT P. PORTER,
Superintendent of Census.

The SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

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STATISTICS OF INDIANS.

BY THOMAS DONALDSON.

EASTERN BAND OF CHEROKEES OF NORTH CAROLINA AND EASTERN CHEROKEES.

(INDIANS TAXED.)

The report on the condition of the Eastern Band of Cherokees of southwestern North Carolina in 1890, with incidental mention of the Eastern Cherokees, shows that this band of Indians, with very little if any care or attention on the part of the national government, has become self-sustaining and self-reliant, and that the members thereof have developed into good citizens of the United States and the state of North Carolina. While nominally a tribe or band, so incorporated for certain purposes, with a chief and a council, these Indians are in fact as truly citizens of North Carolina as are any people within the borders of the state. They have never been considered reservation Indians, and therefore the Indian policy of the United States has not been applied to them. There is a United States Indian agent among them, who is a member of the band, as many of his predecessors have been. His duties are nominal, and his salary is $800 per year.

The different censuses show the Eastern Cherokees in North Carolina to be increasing in number. In 1850, when they were in Haywood county, they numbered 710; in 1890, still residing in the same locality, they are returned as numbering 1,520. In 1860, 1870, and 1880 they were enumerated as part of the population of the state.

The Eastern Band of Cherokees is now a body politic and corporate under the name, style, and title of The Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, with all the rights, privileges, franchises, and powers incident and belonging to corporations under the laws of the state of North Carolina. The band was incorporated by the general assembly of North Carolina March 11, 1889. (Laws of North Carolina, 1889, chapter 211, page 889.)

The Eastern Band of Cherokees of North Carolina, 1,520 in number, reside on lands in portions of Cherokee, Graham, Jackson, and Swain counties, in southwestern North Carolina. There is no reservation, but the tract occupied by these Indians, known as the Qualla boundary, contains about 65,000 acres, and is held in fee by the Eastern Band of Cherokees and the Eastern Cherokees once resident of this region, but who removed west, and are now one of the Five Civilized Tribes, occupying lands in Indian territory.

These Indians, although many are full-blood Cherokees, are citizens of the United States and are voters and taxpayers in North Carolina. They are Indians taxed, and are classed as enterprising, moral, and law-abiding. They are almost entirely self-supporting, receiving only a small allowance from the United States for educational purposes.

Farming, lumbering, and day labor are the chief occupations of these Indians, but some few mechanics are found among them. Many of them hire out as farmers and laborers. They have a written language, and while in many respects are progressive, seeking the knowledge best suited to their present condition, still they preserve some traditions and customs of their old Indian life.

The Indian farming tracts are small, as will be seen by the map.

THE EASTERN CHEROKEES.

The total number of Eastern Cherokees in 1890 is given as 2,885. Of this number 1,520 live in North Carolina, and are known as the Eastern Band of Cherokees of North Carolina; 936 are said to live in Georgia, 318 in Tennessee, and 111 in Alabama. In 1884 the number in North Carolina was given as 1,881. Since 1884 some of this band have moved into adjoining states and others have joined the Cherokees in Indian territory. The few living in Kentucky, Virginia, and other states have become incorporated into the white population.

The economic and social condition of the Eastern Cherokees residing in Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee is about the same as of those residing in North Carolina. They are entirely self-supporting and are citizens of the several states wherein they reside.

The Eastern Cherokees do not now receive any portion of the annuities given yearly to the Cherokees of Indian territory, the Supreme Court of the United States having decided that they were not entitled to participate in them. The Eastern Band of Cherokees of North Carolina receive only a small sum annually from the United States in aid of their schools.

In 1884 Hon. Hiram Price, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in his annual report, mentioned the several censuses of the Eastern Cherokees, as follows: (*a*)

In September, 1882, Joseph G. Hester was appointed agent to take a census and make a list of all the Cherokee Indians residing east of the Mississippi river, as required by an act approved August 7, 1882. To assist him in this work I furnished him with copies of 4 previous lists of this people: one taken by J. C. Mullay as early as 1848, containing the names of all who resided in the state of North Carolina at the time of the treaty of 1836, and who had not removed west, and one taken by D. W. Siler in pursuance of an act approved September 30, 1850, which, it is believed, includes all of these people then residing in North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama. This roll was used by Alfred Chapman, acting for this department, in the following year to make a per capita payment to the Eastern Cherokees, and in doing so he found it necessary from evidence presented to make a few changes, so that a copy of the pay roll made by him was also given to the agent, together with a copy of a list of these people taken by S. H. Swetland under an act approved July 27, 1868.

In consequence of the wide distribution of these Indians and their descendants over many states, a great majority living in localities remote from all usual routes of travel, the task proved to be of much greater magnitude, difficulty, and expense than was at first anticipated, and it was not until the 5th of last January that it could be completed and the list submitted. It contains the names of 1,881 members residing in North Carolina, 758 in Georgia, 213 in Tennessee, 71 in Alabama, 11 in Kentucky, 8 in New Jersey, 5 in Virginia, 3 each in Kansas (at present) and South Carolina, and 1 each in California, Colorado, and Illinois (at present), making a total membership of 2,956.

It gives the English and Indian names (when they have both), the age and sex of each, and the residence or post-office address of every family or single person, together with the relationship of each member of a family to the head thereof. Reference is also made to the numbers opposite their names or the names of their ancestors on the previous rolls above noted that they may be identified there, and there are such marginal references and explanatory notes as special cases seemed to require. Thus, no person's name was enrolled on this list whose name or the name of whose ancestor does not appear on some one of the previous lists, and all except 47 on the previous lists are accounted for, either as dead, as having gone west to reside with the nation in the Indian territory, or by enrollment as now residing east of the Mississippi river. These 47 persons, whose whereabouts could not be ascertained, are believed by their friends and relatives to have either died, gone west, or to be now known by different names from those under which they were previously enrolled. A list of the 47 names is given with this census. While the agent was engaged in the work various persons presented themselves to him, claiming to be Eastern Cherokees or their descendants, whom he declined to enroll, not believing the evidence they submitted sufficient to sustain their claims. He files with the census a list of their names, accompanied by all the papers and information he had received or could obtain in reference to them, which may be useful in case any of those so rejected in future claim that they have been wronged.

The census list, together with all evidence and information available pertaining to it, was laid before a council of the Eastern Cherokees at their request (due notice having been given to the Cherokee nation in the Indian territory to be present by delegates if they so desired), and after having been carefully scrutinized by said council was fully approved by them. A certificate signed by the council to that effect accompanies the list, which list, after having been carefully examined and compared with the previous rolls in this office, was, on my recommendation, approved by the department on the 4th of last February.

ENUMERATION: 1890.

The enumeration for the census of 1890 of the Eastern Band of Cherokees of North Carolina was made by the regular enumerators for the state of North Carolina. The United States Indian agent, James Blythe, a Cherokee (Dis-qua-ni, Chestnut Bread), furnishes the following data collected during personal visitations:

The total number of Cherokees is 1,520: males, 774; females, 746. All wear citizens' clothing. 365 over the age of 20 and 300 under the age of 20 can read, and 180 under the age of 20 can write English. This latter fact is attributable to the efficient school system. 620 Indians can use English enough for ordinary intercourse. The number of children of school age is given as 403, and there are school accommodations for 275. There are 5 schoolhouses owned by the Indians, valued at $600. They also own and occupy 256 one-story log or block houses.

HEALTH.—1 case of chronic paralysis and 2 of pneumonia are reported. 3 deaf and dumb, 2 blind, and 2 idiotic persons are also mentioned. The number of children under the age of 1 year is given as 38, but the number and causes of death must be supplied from the regular enumeration.

WHITE INTRUDERS.—Agent Blythe, who has had the special co-operation of the United States authorities in investigating violations of the laws relating to the lands of the Indians, reports 56 white families as unlawfully upon the tract, occupying and farming 6,000 acres, most of it good land.

LAND.—About 20,000 acres of land are classed as arable or tillable and 30,000 acres as only fit for grazing. The remainder, consisting of many mountain tracts, is valuable for timber.

The Indians cultivated 2,400 acres during the year, which, with the 6,000 acres unlawfully occupied and cultivated by white people, make 8,400 acres cultivated. The description of this land, together with the maps, is given elsewhere. 500 acres were broken during the year and 3,000 acres are fenced. 1,000 rods of fencing were built or rebuilt during the year. Special reference is made to this careful fencing.

CROPS.—Crops of the value of $3,859.50 were raised during the year, as follows: wheat, 300 bushels, $300; oats, 125 bushels, $62.50; barley and rye, 65 bushels, $32; corn, 6,000 bushels, $3,000; potatoes, 400 bushels, $200; turnips, 150 bushels, $15; onions, 50 bushels, $25; beans, 300 bushels, $225.

STOCK.—Horses, 38, $1,130; mules, 2, $150; cattle, 210, $2,420; swine, 300, $900; sheep, 160, $480; fowls, 1,800, $180.

a The Eastern Cherokees include those who are now known as the Eastern Band of Cherokees of North Carolina.

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New York Engraving & Printing Co.

"Eastern Cherokee Training School" and "Mt. Noble." From "Spray Ridge" and U. S. Indian Agency.

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EASTERN CHEROKEE LUMBERMEN, 1891.



DONALDSON RIDGE AND GAP FROM SPRAY RIDGE, 1891.



BRYSON CITY COURT HOUSE, SWAIN CO., N. C. POST OFFICE OF THE AGENCY.

New York Engraving & Printing Co.



JESSE REED AND ANDY STANDING DEER, CHEROKEE, N. C. 1891.

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The average earnings of the male Indians above 21 years of age is about $166 per year; this includes lumbermen. The wealth of the band is placed at an average of $217.25 per capita. Wages are very low in the mountains of North Carolina, but the cost of living is small, and the Cherokees earn as much and live as well as the white people about them.

The report of Special Agent Carrington is mainly as to the condition of these Indians in the census year 1890.

SCHOOLS.

The training school for the Eastern Band of Cherokees is also a boarding school, with 4 white teachers. It has had 84 boarders, the average daily attendance being 80, and 24 day scholars. The full details of the operation of this school are given elsewhere. The total cost in maintaining this school for 1890 was $11,264.47, expended as follows: for salaries of teachers and employés, $3,350; all other expenses, $7,914.47. The entire expense is paid by the United States from a special appropriation for the Eastern Cherokee training school. The buildings occupied, 11 in number, and also a barn, are owned jointly by the United States and the Cherokees. The school, while a government school, is under the charge of members of the Society of Friends, and its establishment and maintenance by the United States is in the nature of a gratuity.

The school statistics of the 3 Cherokee schools for the year 1890 are as follows:

STATISTICS OF CHEROKEE INDIAN SCHOOLS.

SCHOOLS.	Location.	TEACHERS.			RACES.			School accommodations.	Largest attendance at one time.	SCHOLARS ATTENDING 1 MONTH OR MORE DURING YEAR.			SCHOLARS BETWEEN 6 AND 18 YEARS.		Over 18 years of age.	Average age of pupils.
		Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Indian.	White.			Total.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		
Total		5	4	1	5	1	4	145	136	136	68	68	66	68	2	
Big Cove	10 miles northeast of agency.	2	2		2	1	1	60	54	54	28	26	28	26		9.019
Birdtown	2.11 miles southwest of agency.	1	1		1		1	30	30	30	13	17	13	17		11.118
Macedonia or Soco	4 miles southeast of agency.	2	1	1	2		2	55	52	52	27	25	25	25	2	10.800

SCHOOLS.	Number of months open.	Average attendance.	LARGEST AVERAGE ATTENDANCE DURING ANY MONTH.			NUMBER AND KIND OF BUILDINGS. (a)		COST.				
			January.	October.	December.	Log or block.	Block, weatherboarded.	Total.	Maintaining schools.	Salaries of teachers.	Repairs.	All other expenses.
Total			100	100	100	2	1	$2,103.04	$1,022.02	$910.00	$59.00	$112.02
Big Cove	7	26.429	36	36	36	1		819.84	395.42	350.00	29.00	45.42
Birdtown	7	16.429	30	30	30		1	466.92	233.46	210.00		23.46
Macedonia or Soco	7	30.143	34	34	34	1		816.28	393.14	350.00	30.00	43.14

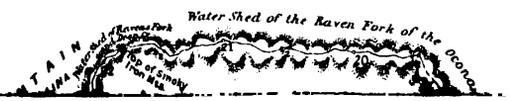
a The Cherokees own 5 schoolhouses, but only 3 are occupied.

The school buildings are all owned by the Eastern Band of Cherokees, and the expenses of the schools are paid with the interest from the Eastern Band of Cherokees' education fund, held in the treasury of the United States.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

The illustrations herein are from photographs made by General Henry B. Carrington, and show that the Eastern Cherokees, notwithstanding they are self-sustaining and good citizens, after more than 200 years of contact with white people retain the physical features of their race.

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EASTERN BAND OF CHEROKEES OF NORTH CAROLINA.

BY HENRY B. CARRINGTON.

No section of country in the United States combines a greater variety of inland scenery than that occupied by the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, embracing portions of the counties of Cherokee, Graham, Jackson, and Swain, in southwestern North Carolina. Nestled between the Blue Ridge on the east and the Smoky mountains on the west, partially sheltered by sharp ranges and lofty peaks exceeding Mount Washington in height, and more than 2,000 feet above sea level, the "Qualla boundary", as it is styled, represents the home locality of 1,520 Cherokee Indians. Swift streams, which abound in speckled trout, wind about all points of the compass for their final outlet, leaving at almost every change of course some fringing skirt of mellow land well suited for farm or garden purposes. Choice timber, ample for all uses for many years, is found throughout the entire region. Strawberries, blackberries, grapes, and wild fruits are abundant in their season, and the peach and apple generously respond to moderate care. The corn crop rarely fails. The potato is prolific in bearing and excellent in quality. Wheat, rye, and oats are cultivated with moderate returns, but sufficient, as a rule, for the population, while melons and all garden products do well. Creeks and small streams and springs are so numerous and ample in flow that the simplest diversion of the water is sufficient for the irrigation of the most reluctant soil. The hay crop is limited by the small meadow area, so that corn husks are the main reliance for stock fodder. The almost universal use of a single steer for plowing and general farming purposes is because of the character of the land, which is made up of steep hillsides and narrow valley strips. Agricultural implements are of the simplest kind. As a suggestive fact, it is to be noticed that the fences are well built and well maintained throughout the farming tracts, even where the most primitive methods of farming prevail. The principal roads, with easy grades, good drainage, and free from abrupt or dangerous inclines, skirt mountain sides or follow water courses. Single trails, that often diverge to cabins which lie among the mountains or on their slopes, are only accessible on foot or in the saddle; but the chief thoroughfares show good judgment and skillful engineering to meet the difficulties which had to be surmounted. Some of these roads are better within the Indian district than over the approaches to or through the settlements of the white people. The houses are nearly all "block houses", a few only being log houses, rarely having a second room, unless it be an attic room for sleeping or storage purposes, and are without windows. Corncribs, stock sheds, and tobacco barns are of material similar to the houses, except where, as with corncribs, logs are used for better ventilation. Hinges are mainly of wood, and the stairs are constructed of pin poles, ladders, or inclined, slatted planks. Fireplaces are often supplemented by stoves, but there is at all times an abundance of pine knots and similar fuel for light, heat, and cooking. The climate is invigorating and healthful, but cases of pneumonia are frequent, due to the rapid changes of temperature.

Surveys were made in 1875–1876 by M. S. Temple under the auspices of the United States land office. These were embodied in a map published as "Map of the Qualla Indian reserve". The term "reserve" is a misnomer, as the lands so described were purchased for or by the Indians, and were not in any sense "reserved" for them by the United States. The map, however, is recognized by the federal courts in the adjudication of the conflicting claims of Indian and white settlers as a general basis of demarcation, but not as an exact definition of specific titles. The lines, except those surrounding the entire tract, are so entangled as to form a labyrinth of conflicting courses, which are inexplicable by surveyor, court, or jury. The Temple survey located "entries". These, successively imposed, took slight notice of previous entries or, indeed, of occupation. The state of North Carolina received its fees and issued papers with littlé regard for records or files, a warning to those in search of permits to occupy lands within the country so inviting to incomers. A copy of the Temple map giving the numbers, as from time to time designated, is herewith furnished as a basis for the topographical map, which gives the present roads and the general occupation of the valleys. It also includes county lines. A new survey, already initiated, will be essential to the settlement of existing conflicts of title and any exact definition of title hereafter. Reference will be made elsewhere to the issues involved in the pending survey.

A marginal map, on a reduced scale, indicates the relations of the 11 southwestern counties of North Carolina to each other and to the adjoining states of Georgia, South Carolina, and Tennessee, in each of which states the Cherokees once had lands and homes.

The practical center of interest and divergence in a visitation or description of the Cherokee country is found at the site of the United States agency and the adjoining training school at Cherokee, formerly known as Yellow hill. It is about 6 miles from Whittier, the nearest railroad and telegraph station, and 10 miles from Bryson city, formerly Charleston, the county seat of Swain county. The Ocona Lufta river, which joins the Tuckasegee, a tributary of the Tennessee, less than 2 miles below Whittier, flows directly south along the school grounds, receiving its two principal tributary sources 2.5 miles to the north. The Bradley fork enters through white settlements near the house once the home of Abraham Enloe, which, by an absurd fiction, is associated with the old home of Abraham Lincoln. Ravens fork from the northeast is an impetuous stream, at times a torrent, flowing in its upper course through narrow valleys, coves or pockets, whose soil is rich, deep, and black, like that of the bottoms of the Miami and Scioto in Ohio. On Straight fork of this creek, at the very verge of the line of the Cathcart survey, in the last Indian house in that direction, lives Chitolski (Falling Blossom), a Cherokee of means and influence, whose name is expressive of the condition of the corn when the pollen, dropping into the silk, is supposed to bear some part in fertilizing the ear. His home is a new and spacious block house, very comfortable, with the usual piazza in front. Upon accepting an invitation to dine, the water was turned upon the wheel of the mill close by, and fresh meal was soon served in the shape of a hot "corndodger". "Long sweetening" of honey or molasses gave a peculiar sanction to a cup of good coffee, and this, with bacon and greens, supplemented with peaches grown on the farm, made a most excellent meal. This mill is one of many, alike simple in construction, where neighbors deposit their toll of grain, turn on the water, and grind their own meal. Some of these mills have only a slight roof over the hopper and are open at the sides. Chitolski's house is said to be one of the best in the country, and very few houses of the white people upon Indian lands or lands adjacent approach it in comfort. Some large peach trees were loaded with safely developed fruit, and a vigorous young orchard, carefully planted, gave promise of as prosperous a future as those of advanced growth, which bore the pledges of a good autumn product. A horse, several heifers, and chickens and ducks imparted life to the scene, and the host and his wife, whose grown children have sought independent homes, are preparing, with every indication of success, to spend their latter years in contentment and comfort. Chitolski is building a new path out from his snug valley "wide enough for wheels", so that visitors will not be compelled to unhitch and mount harnessed horses to share his hospitality. Specimens of quartz and varieties of spar having suspicious yellow specs were produced and information sought as to their value. The washings of the streams give "gold color", and some claim that they can net $1 a day when the water is low.

The whole trip to Big Cove, as this region is named, is attractive from its rich soil, its well-worked hillsides, its fertile coves between the mountain spurs, its excellent fences, and the universal indications of well-applied industry. A sudden turn in the road brought in sight a happy boy fishing. He had succeeded in landing two fine speckled trout. The supply of trout at the proper season is abundant for table use. Eastward from the agency, crossing the Ocona Lufta river, below a substantial, elevated foot bridge over the southern verge of Spray ridge and at the foot of Mount Hobbs, the panorama of the Soco valley, with its bright vista, is brought suddenly into view. Mountain spurs, carefully-fenced gardens, well-lined furrows, and gleaming streams are distributed for 10 miles, until closed by the lofty Mount Dorchester, which, at the end of this valley, presents to the view an area of at least 30 miles. Descending from this point of outlook, the valley distance is varied by careful cultivation, with wheat and rye most conspicuous, while several strips of nearly a quarter of a mile in breadth are fenced with stone and irrigated by ditches, showing how resolutely the open spaces are utilized for substantial crops. At a distance of 5 miles the old mission house, long since abandoned for church purposes, still affords a popular gathering place for political and other meetings. At one of these meetings, during the enumeration, more than 100 Cherokees assembled to consult as to a change of their principal chief at the election in 1891, and to protest against any change in the management of their admirably conducted training school. The old building, open and dilapidated in front, is furnished with benches and desk, and the proceedings at the meeting alluded to were characterized by formality and good order.

Less than 1 mile further east, across the creek, is the spacious Soco schoolhouse. Excellent desks and accommodations greatly superior to those of some schoolhouses outside the Indian lines distinguish this school, and the building is also used for church or Sunday-school work on the Sabbath. It is a block house, well hewn, closely jointed, and durable as well as convenient.

At the foot of Mount Dorchester, named in memory of a great admirer of the locality and warm supporter of the training school, and not more than 3 miles distant, one open tract of 30 acres is in good cultivation, while upon the hillsides, so steep that it seemed as if wings or ladders would be needed for tillage, several patches of from 5 to 10 acres were green with well-developed wheat, and on one of the slopes a "working bee" of 30 men, women, and children were uniting their forces to help a neighbor put in his corn. In places where even a single steer could not hold footing with the lightest plow a long line of willing workers hoed successive parallel seed trenches.

The Soco river enters this valley from the south at Oocomers mill, and at less than half a mile distant is the quaint, uncovered Washington mill, well patronized by the neighbors. Here Big Witch creek joins the Soco, and by a rocky road or trail the cabin of Big Witch is reached. Big Witch is a genial, white-haired Cherokee, who, at the age of 105, was prompt to supply a chair and proud to speak of his great-great-grandchildren.

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OCONA LUFTA VALLEY.



COUNCILMAN WESLEY CROW, AT HOME.



BIRD TOWN SCHOOL HOUSE.



"CHAPEL OAK." BIRD TOWN, CHEROKEE NATION, N. C.

New York Engraving & Printing Co.

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THE OLD MISSION HOUSE.



INDIAN TROUTING.



OLD BIG WITCH AT HOME.



SOCO SCHOOL HOUSE.

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The Soco valley road is joined at the old mission house by a road from Webster and Whittier. At less than a mile a wagon trail leads to the house of Wesley Crow, a leading Cherokee councilman, who is one of the strongest supporters of the public schools. Penned in by abrupt mountains, at the head of one of the forks of Shoal creek, comfortably supplied with farm conveniences, industriously tilling wheat, corn, rye, and potatoes, he points with great satisfaction to the loom and spinning wheel on his piazza as representing the industries of the household within. The absence of windows was no serious discomfort, as the inside comforts were all that he deemed desirable or necessary. He is a good representative man, steady, industrious, and interested in the welfare of the people. He has been one of the foremost of the Cherokee council in a movement to prevent the selection of Smith as principal chief at the election in 1891, maintaining that only a temperate man, of good moral character, and a friend of the public schools is fit for the place. Principal Chief Smith, a man of sufficient natural capacity to serve the people well, has borne the opposite character of late, although once very prominent. South from the trail leading to Crow's house, as soon as the Indian lands are left, to the bridge across the Tuckasegee, at Whittier, both houses and roads are inferior to those upon the Indian lands, and the fences are poor. Immediately upon crossing the ford below the agency, and without ascending the summit that overlooks Soco valley, a road leads under the ridge, along the Ocona Lufta river, past the comfortable house and well-arranged barns of Vice Principal Chief John Going Welch, until it crosses Shoal creek, just above its union with the river. It then bears away, past the old agency headquarters, the deserted trading house of Thomas, past the residence of Rev. John Bird, a venerable, retired missionary, who long labored successfully among the Cherokees, and is still enthusiastic in their welfare, past the old site marked "Qualla" on the map, and leads off to Webster, the county town of Jackson county, 14 miles distant. A second road from the Soco valley joins it at the old agency, where the broad, fertile tract of Enloe receives full sunlight and well repays culture. The road from the old mission also joins the Webster road near Qualla, and then turns southwest to Whittier. At the ford below the agency the Ocona Lufta river suddenly turns eastward for a short distance, then as abruptly southward and westward, almost encircling Donaldson ridge, which faces the agency. Without crossing the ford, but passing directly under this ridge, the shortest road for Whittier gradually rises, crossing the foot of Mount Noble, and presents at its summit a view of a portion of the Ocona Lufta valley, which is hardly surpassed by that of the Soco valley, the same principal peaks to the eastward having part in the landscape. This road descends westward, passing the old Ute Sherrill homestead and the house of William P. Hyde, a mile from the agency, where it soon rejoins the river, bearing westward toward Bryson city. At the distance of 1.25 miles another dilapidated church stands, and in the center of the highway is a mammoth oak, where in midsummer the Indians gather for church and Sunday-school services in preference to the old church or the schoolhouse a little beyond. The old church is not wholly abandoned, however, the open sides seeming to be no special objection to those who habitually live with doors open for most of the year. A few hundred yards beyond the oak is located the Birdtown Indian schoolhouse. This also is a block house, but has been weatherboarded, and only needs paint to give it a modern dress. The peculiar Indian fancy for suggestive names has devised one for this unpretentious little building: an Indian boy, Willie Muttonhead, after hearing his Sunday-school teacher read the Bible description of the pharisees, in the twenty-third chapter of Matthew, very promptly asked "if their schoolhouse wasn't a hypocrite house".

Less than a mile below the schoolhouse a rude road bears to the right, winds over and between hills near the source of Adams creek, passes the foot of the ascent upon which the new and spacious schoolhouse for the white people of Birdtown is located and the little Birdtown post office kept by Widow Keeler, and enters again the well-traveled road to Bryson city, about 4.5 miles from the agency, as indicated on the map. The most direct road to Whittier leaves this Bryson city road 3.5 miles from the agency, crosses the Ocona Lufta river and the Whittier summit, and then descends rapidly to the valley of the Tuckasegee. The home of William Ta-lah-lah, a prominent councilman, stands upon a hill to the right, shortly after passing Adams creek. All roads which border the numerous creeks are subject to rapid overflow in the rainy season or after heavy summer showers, and the streams become impassable. Simple bridges of hewn logs, often of great size, and guarded by hand rails, supply pedestrians the means of communication between the various settlements until the waters subside. In deep cuts, or where the Ocona Lufta river is thus crossed, substantial trestles or supports have been erected on each shore and in the stream, as no single tree would span the distance. Numerous short cuts or foot trails wind among the mountains and over very steep divides, but all the wagon roads for general travel have been indicated upon the map and described. Wagon trails for hauling timber to single cabins or hamlets are not infrequent.

This somewhat minute description of the map is necessary for a true conception of the character of this people and their neighborly intercourse as of one great family. Their wants are few. They are peaceable, sociable, and industrious, without marked ambition to acquire wealth, and without jealousy of their more prosperous neighbors.

CHEROKEE INDUSTRIES.

The main occupation of the Eastern Band of Cherokees of North Carolina is that of farming. The acreage is very limited in each tract, but crops more than sufficient for home necessities are generally realized. Seed sowing is mainly done by hand, because the use of machinery is impracticable on their hillside farms. Hand sowing is also practiced among the white people upon adjoining lands, and the growing crops indicate very sparse and unequal spread of the seed. The mountain soil and occasional sand levels need a fertilizer in order to replace the waste of annual tillage, but the steep declivities, where patience has secured a good planting, are often swept by storm torrents, so that fertilizers retain only a slight hold. It is impossible to visit the different sections without the conviction that the people of both sexes, children included, are domestic and industrious. With the exception of blacksmithing, some cobbling, and plain harness work, mechanical trades have few followers. The men are expert with the ax, however, hewing out thick planks for wagon beds, and the timber of the block houses is well shaped and well fitted. Ingenuity and skill are exhibited in pottery, but as a business it has ceased to be profitable. Plain ironwork is done by a few, and Sololah makes a good knife, with well-tempered blades. Davis Welch, a wagon maker, runs his forge bellows by convenient water power. Wooden spoons, both beautiful and useful, are made from the laurel, and there are those who can manufacture "ancient relics" as well as white men, and can at short notice produce the "genuine old furniture of colonial times". Baskets are also made from oak splints and the cane for household and farm uses, but this is no longer followed as a general industry. The material for an expansive industrial development of this people is at hand. Already, by their contact with the progressive civilization which is reconstructing society and all external home surroundings, they are hinting that frame houses with glass windows are better fitted for home comforts than those now in use; but the cost of lumber and hauling is an obstacle to the construction of this class of houses, for little returns in money come from the small farm surplus. The oak, pine, holly, laurel, walnut, chestnut, sourwood, service, mulberry, hemlock, spruce, and sassafras woods cost practically only the felling and hauling, and the supply, which is abundant, will continue for years. A single sawmill established near the government agency would soon revolutionize the building system and bring cash returns, which could be used in the cultivation of the freshly cleared lands. Trespassers have already commenced systematic robbery, and the federal courts are handling the offenders. The whole system of hitherto crude bridge making will be changed when heavy lumber is within reach, and ready communication, almost wholly suspended during several months by high waters, will break up the isolation of many farmers and stimulate the entire people to a higher plane of living. Access to schools and to neighboring markets will be quickened in proportion as the secluded trails for the foot traveler or single steer give place to good roads, which are only possible in that mountain region when bridges, well built above high-water mark, become frequent. Suitable clay for the manufacture of brick is accessible, as well as kaolin, which is rapidly making the village of Dillsboro a beautiful and flourishing commercial center.

RELIGION AND MORALS.

The superstitions and religious extravaganzas of ancient times have almost disappeared. Lingering fancies as to witches and witchcraft crop out from time to time among these Indians, but in no more unreasonable forms than among their neighbors. The church organizations are in a languishing condition. While the people as a whole are christian in theory and no pagan element remains, the early mission enterprises among the Cherokees have not advanced with the intelligence and physical prosperity of the people. Both Baptists and Methodists early occupied the field, and with marked success. At present the old church buildings, indicated on the map, and one adjoining the agency, all equally dilapidated, are uninviting and of no value in bad weather. Schoolhouses are used both for public worship and Sunday-school gatherings, as the population is neither numerous nor rich enough to erect and sustain independent churches. The erection by the government of a suitable building near the agency for public meetings and use upon the Sabbath by the different denominations in turn would meet the demand and prove a great benefit to the people. The Cherokees would contribute the lumber and labor necessary for its erection. Religious denominational jealousies and proselytism have had their part in this apparent religious declension, and the Indians are no less susceptible to such influences than white people. At present the rules adopted for the management of the common or district schools by Superintendent W. H. Spray, of the Cherokee training school, who has charge of all the schools as well, are decidedly in the direction of religious and moral progress throughout the territory. No teacher is employed who is not a christian man or woman, but no preference in the selection of teachers is shown as to the different evangelical denominations of the Protestant church. There are no Catholics among the Cherokees. The school buildings are also readily opened for religious meetings, and in addition to this the training school, while nominally under control of the Friends, is thoroughly catholic in spirit and wholly without bigotry or proselytism in its management. The attendance at this school habitually of about one-fourth of the children of school age, where religious training forms a cardinal feature of the work, has its wholesome effect elsewhere.

Rev. S. G. Owen, of the West North Carolina Baptist convention, preaches three times each month in some one of the districts, receiving a salary of $500 per annum. Connected with the Baptist church as Indian helpers

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Cherokee Training School, "Home," Swain, Co., N. C.

or ministers are John Jackson, of Graham county, and Suate Owl, John Kamut, and Armstrong Cornsilk, of Swain county. The contributions, as reported by Mr. Owen, average about $1 a Sabbath, which is applied to the allowance from the Baptist convention. The communicants, widely scattered, and consequently irregular in their attendance at church, are estimated at 100, many once active members being counted as backsliders or indifferent. Rev. J. A. Wiggins, of the Methodist church, visits the territory once a month, and Stamford George, a Cherokee minister, is one of the most consistent and active workers of that denomination. John Long also does ministerial work. Rev. Mr. Bird, already referred to, and worthy of special honor for a long life of self-sacrificing toil in this field, where he will spend his remaining years, considers a central place of worship of great importance, and, with Mr. Owen, regards the present a fit time for increased effort to reach the Cherokee families for good. Both denominations should increase their means of usefulness among the Cherokees, and they should receive a liberal support. The absence of the Cherokee from the criminal courts, the uniform observance of the marriage rite, the character and development of the schools, and the industry of the people are signs of real progress. Evidence on file at the Interior department shows that illegitimate births are less frequent than among the white people. The recent determination of the leading Cherokee councilmen and citizens to make morality, a fair education, and temperance the essential prerequisites of their candidate for principal chief at the fall election of 1891 is a true index to the purpose of this people as to their future. There are no formal temperance organizations among the Eastern Band of Cherokees, but intemperance is not common. Among those who have indulged to excess the principal chief has been the most prominent, but his influence, once paramount, has now little effect, and three-fourths of the council of the nation are opposed to his habits and policy. He declares his purpose, however, to reform and present a better example. Heretofore he has been a man of much pride and dignity, and he might still do much for this people if in full accord with educational, moral, and religious progress. At the training school, which is the center of interest, no employé is retained who is either intemperate or profane. This institution, with its many pupils and its liberal market arrangements with the Indians, exerts an elevating and wholesome influence in all directions.

EDUCATION.

There are at present among the Eastern Band of Cherokees 3 schools of a common-school grade in addition to the Cherokee training school, initiated by an eminent christian scholar, Barnabas Hobbs, of Indiana, a member of the Society of Friends. There was also a grammar school in Graham county, but it was abandoned because the children were few and scattered and several of them attended the training school.

Big Cove school is 10 miles northeast from the agency, on Ravens fork of the Ocona Lufta river. It has 2 teachers, both males, and is sustained at a cost of $819.84. There are accommodations for 60 pupils. The largest attendance during the year was 54, of whom 28 were males and 26 females, all between the ages of 6 and 18 years. The average age was 9.019; the average attendance for 1 year was 26.429; the highest average attendance for 1 month, that of January, was 36.

Birdtown school is 2.11 miles southwest from the agency, with 1 male teacher and accommodations for 30 pupils, and the whole number, viz, 13 males and 17 females, all between the ages of 6 and 18, attended, their average age being 11.118. The average attendance during 7 months was 16.429, and the highest average attendance any one month, that of December, was 30, the full number. Schega Wella missed but 2 days in 2 years.

Macedonia school, on Soco creek, above the old mission house, already mentioned in connection with the topographical outline of the Qualla boundary, is supported by the interest, payable annually, from an educational fund held in trust by the United States for the Eastern Band of Cherokees. The 2 other schools are also maintained from the same fund. The expense of the Macedonia school for the census year, including salaries, was $816.28. There are accommodations at this school for 55 pupils, and the largest attendance was 52. This number, viz, 27 males and 25 females, attended more than 1 of the 7 school months during the year. Of the scholars 2 were over 18 and none were under 6 years of age, their average ages being 10.8. The average attendance for 1 year was 30.14, and the largest monthly average attendance (October) was 34. 2 teachers, 1 male and 1 female, were employed. Stacy Johnson and Amy Johnson missed but 1 day each in 2 years.

SCHOOL STATISTICS.

Number over 20 years of age who can read	365
Number under 20 years of age who can read	300
Number under 20 years of age who can write English	180
Number who can speak ordinary English	620
Number who can not speak English	385
Children of school age	403
School accommodations	275

The Eastern Band of Cherokees have a written language, and this furnishes the basis for a rapid development in proportion as vigorous schools are maintained under interested and judicious instructors.

THE CHEROKEE TRAINING SCHOOL.

The Cherokee training school, established under the auspices of the Western Meeting of Friends of the state of Indiana, occupies for school and farm purposes nearly 50 acres of land along the Ocona Lufta river, at the foot of Mount Noble, as indicated on the map. 39 acres of this land were purchased by the Friends from the heirs of Longblanket, the Cherokee chief.

The inspiration of the enterprise from the first has been the earnest and intelligent purpose of Barnabas Hobbs (well known as former superintendent of schools for the state of Indiana, and well known also in Europe for his labors in behalf of general peace) to combine moral, educational, and industrial training for the Cherokee youth under a formal home system of management. This work, after many trials and much local opposition, has been most successfully developed.

This Cherokee training school was a natural result of a system initiated by General Grant whereby various religious bodies were encouraged to enter into contracts for the education and training of Indian youth. The council of the Eastern Band of Cherokees made such an agreement with the Friends for a term of 10 years, which term expired in May, 1890. The majority of the council favored its indefinite continuance. The principal chief, Nimrod J. Smith, interposed his veto, and, although nearly at the end of his term of office, obstinately opposed the general wish of the people, and left the matter unsettled.

The school is under the direction of 4 teachers, all female, and 9 other employés, 13 in all, of whom 10 are white and 3 are Indian. The number of pupils who can be properly and healthfully accommodated in the main building, the boarding house, is 90, including 20 day pupils. As many as 84 have been accommodated. 43 males and 41 females have attended the school more than 1 month, in addition to 15 male and 9 female day scholars, all between the ages of 6 and 18 years. The school was maintained 10 months, with an average attendance of 80 boarding pupils and 5.20 day pupils. The average age of the boarders is 9.071, and of day pupils 10.042. During the month of September, 1889, the average attendance of the boarders was 80, and of the day pupils 17.708. The cost of maintaining the school was $11,264.47, from the government appropriation of $12,000. Industrial work forms a marked feature of duty, and this includes farming, fruit culture, gardening, grazing stock, and some shop work. The general duties of the housewife are taught the girls, as well as plain sewing and other needlework. Scholars take their turn in laundering, cooking, and housework, so that all learn to make bread and qualify themselves for all kitchen duty. Practically 125 acres have been cultivated. 50 bushels of wheat, 500 bushels of corn, 75 bushels of oats, 600 pumpkins, 10 tons of hay, and 50 pounds of butter are among the products of the industry of the school. The boys and girls have acquired and take care of 33 swine and 150 domestic fowls. 5 horses and 56 cattle, including 25 milch cows, form the stock of the institution. 4 frame houses and 7 outbuildings are owned by the government or the Cherokee nation, of which one, a spacious, well-arranged barn, costing $400, was erected during the year. The salary of the superintendent and matron, besides board, is but $1,000 per annum, and the highest salary paid any teacher or employé is $30 per month. The week-day programme of exercises fitly illustrates the excellence of the superintendent's management, and explains the high order among schools which the Cherokee training school has attained. It is as follows: morning bell, 5 o'clock; breakfast, 5.30; industrial work, 6 to 9; school exercises, 9 to 11.15; dinner, 12 m.; industrial work, 12.30 p. m.; school exercises, 1.30 to 4; industrial work, 4 to 6; supper, 6; recreation, 6.30 to 7; evening study, 7; evening prayers, 8; retiring bell, 8.30.

According to age and necessity, a portion of the hours for industrial work and evening study is used for such occupations as partake of the character of recreation, and an excellent brass band among the boys is the result of one phase of this system. At the breakfast hour a few verses are read from the Bible, followed by a brief prayer, and the blessing upon the meal is either uttered by a teacher or the school in unison. The Sabbath exercises are varied by Sunday-school recitations, but no sectarian or dogmatic teaching has a place at any time. The familiar but proper forms of a large family are observed at all hours, and the handshaking "good night" is as pleasing and genial as if all were indeed one family in fact. Religious instruction is largely a matter of precept and example, without catechismal or other straight forms for the inculcation of principles of right and duty.

During the year the hostility of Chief Smith disturbed some of the friends of the school, and the overwork imposed upon the superintendent, with corresponding delay to keep the Friends, founders and patrons of the school, promptly advised of its monthly or quarterly condition, led them to propose a summary change. This would gratify the chief's spite and please jealous neighbors, who desire the Friends to lose control of the school, although such a change would prove signally disastrous to its best interests. The school had better be wholly under government control than undergo so sudden and revolutionary a change. A contract was drafted at the request of parties interested, Superintendent Spray and the Friends, and its execution in good faith will banish distrust and impart new life to the institution. The nation as a body has implicit confidence in the management, and its moral influence is great and increasing.

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Boys Dormitory. Eastern Cherokee Training School, Swain Co., N. C.

NEEDS OF THE CHEROKEE TRAINING SCHOOL.

Greater accommodations are needed, and the funds necessary for an increase of the pupilage to 125 should be appropriated. All buildings need painting. A shop for industrial trades is a necessity. The piping for water, near by, should be so enlarged and developed as to secure a fire cistern, and appliances for use against fire should be provided. A sawmill should be built, the water power being convenient and abundant. Already the superintendent buys produce largely from the Indians, and secures for them many articles of clothing at cost. This offends visiting merchants, who are not always free from the suspicion that ardent spirits reach the Indians through the carelessness of their employés, so that every local means promotive of self-reliance, independence, and industrial development should have government sanction and support.

The general management of the institution by the Friends and their representatives has been catholic in spirit, conciliatory toward all denominations, and liberal in its recognition of the demands of the times. Misrepresentations awakened anxiety, but an examination of the property, assets, and management resulted in the vindication of the general policy of the superintendent; but a more exact and responsible system for future development was formulated. The recognition of the personal integrity of Superintendent Spray and wife, and the extraordinary success of the school, with such limited resources, was not allowed to overcome the conviction that a more exact system of record and account was necessary to inspire full faith in future success. A capable and reliable assistant superintendent, responsible to the superintendent, is greatly needed, and salaries should be the same as in government schools proper. The proposed summary change was at a time when only injury could result, and against the wishes of the moral and reliable portion of the Cherokee nation.

The large building called the boarding house was erected by the United States. The Friends have made valuable investments, partly from trust funds, which should be fully reimbursed in case the school shall come under the formal management of the Interior department.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE.

The Eastern Band of Cherokees have been thus officially recognized to distinguish them from that portion of the nation which emigrated west, between 1809 and 1817, and located on the public domain at the headwaters of Arkansas and White rivers, now in Cherokee nation, Indian territory. The latter became known as the Cherokee nation west, while the general term, the Cherokee nation, included both. Between 1785, when certain boundaries were allotted to these Indians for hunting grounds, and 1809, when the movement westward was initiated of their own deliberate choice, annuities were from time to time granted by the United States in consideration of the successive sales to the United States of portions of their land.

By a treaty made in 1817 the Cherokee nation ceded to the United States certain land lying east of the Mississippi river, and in exchange for the same the United States ceded to that part of the nation on the Arkansas river as much land on said river, acre for acre, as the United States received from the Cherokee nation east of the Mississippi river, and provided that all treaties then in force should continue in full force with both parts of the nation.

As early as 1809 the aggregate of annuities due the nation on account of the sale of lands to the United States had reached the sum of $100,000, and it was provided by articles of the treaty of 1817 that a census should be taken of those east and of those west, and of those still intending to remove west, and also that a division of the annuities should be made ratably, according to numbers as ascertained by said census, between those who were east and those who were west. Thus the tribe or nation, although geographically separated, was treated as a unit, and all property owned by it was treated as common property.

By a treaty made in 1819 the formal census was dispensed with, and for the purposes of distribution it was assumed that one-third had removed west and that two-thirds were yet remaining east of the Mississippi river. At the same time the nation made a further cession to the United States of land lying east of the Mississippi. Upon the basis of this estimate of numbers, in lieu of a census, annuities were distributed until the year 1835.

By a treaty made in 1828 with the Cherokees west the United States guaranteed to them 7,000,000 acres, with a perpetual outlet west as far as the sovereignty and right of soil of the United States extended. This vast tract was in what is now known as Indian territory, and the Cherokees at the same time surrendered the lands occupied by them on the Arkansas and White rivers, to which they had removed between the years 1809 and 1817. By the same treaty special inducements were offered to those east to remove west, including a rifle, blanket, kettle, 5 pounds of tobacco, and cost of emigration, with a just compensation for the property which each might abandon.

The treaty of 1833 simply redefined the boundaries of the land mentioned in the treaty of 1828. In 1835 the Cherokees still held a quantity of land east of the Mississippi larger than the states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. It had been agreed that the United States Senate should fix the price that should be paid for these lands in contemplation of the cession of the same to the United States. The Senate fixed the price at $5,000,000. The original draft of the treaty of 1835 authorized such Cherokees as so desired to remain east, and in such event to set apart certain lands to them. By a supplemental treaty in 1836 the United States initiated the

policy of compelling the Eastern Cherokees to remove west. General Scott employed troops for the purpose. It was a fearful policy. The Indians were hunted over their native lands as if they were wild beasts. As many as escaped capture clung to their homes, and by the treaty of 1846 it was agreed that they might remain.

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Cross suits and conflicts between the two bands of Cherokees as to their rights to different funds have occupied the attention of the federal courts and the Court of Claims proper. Present litigation involves more especially their title to the lands now occupied by them, which were purchased for them by their agent, W. H. Thomas, as trustee for that purpose, from their share of funds held by the United States for their benefit. Encroachments upon these lands, plundering of timber, and all forms of aggression are still harassing their peace and antagonizing their efforts to be an industrious, contented, and prosperous portion of the people of North Carolina. The details of the litigation in progress and the failure of Mr. Thomas to secure or preserve the muniments of a perfect title to the lands he purchased in their behalf are not admissible in this brief outline of their condition in 1890. The looseness with which, for a small fee, the state of North Carolina permits entries upon lands known to fall within the territory embraced in the deeds by Mr. Thomas adds its uncertainty to aggravate the unrest which is everywhere visible among this people as to what they really own in consideration of the money with which they parted, they rightfully expecting valid and permanent titles. The Eastern Band of Cherokees are good citizens, moral and industrious, in spite of the jealousies of white people and the unworthy forms of moral constraint by which it is sought to force them from the homes they own.

In the year 1874, pursuant to act of Congress passed in 1870 (16 United States Statutes, page 139), which authorized these Indians to institute suit in the circuit court of the United States for the western district of North Carolina against Thomas, a reference of the subject-matter of conflict was made to an able commission, consisting of Rufus Barringer, John H. Dillard, and T. Ruffin. A decree of award was subsequently made in accordance with the findings of the commission, and since their approval in November, 1874, and a confirmatory act of Congress in 1876 proceedings have been in progress to define the exact boundaries of the various tracts set forth in said award and to discover the chain of title through which Thomas and his representatives derived the same. (See House Executive Document No. 196, Forty-seventh Congress, first session, for particulars respecting the conveyance of the Qualla boundary, stated as 50,000 acres, to the Eastern Band of Cherokees of North Carolina, October 9, 1876, and conveyance of August 14, 1880, of 15,211 acres to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and his successors of outlying lands in Cherokee and other counties, in trust for said band.) (*a*)

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS.

At a general council assembled at Cheoh, December 9, 1868, the Eastern Cherokees placed upon record the following declaration:

We, the Eastern Cherokees, being desirous of holding our general council in some organized form and established manner and under a like form as other tribes of Indians who are desirous of adopting a republican form of government, and restricting, controlling, and compensating our rulers, do hereby enact as follows:

That hereafter each Cherokee settlement or town shall be entitled to one delegate for each member of such settlement, who shall represent them in said general council, and that said general council shall meet once in each year on —— —— of ——; that said general council shall, from their number when convened, elect one of their number who shall be chairman or president of said council, and who shall be president or chief of said Eastern Cherokees for the term of time so directed by said council, not exceeding four years, and in case of choice each settlement may petition said council in writing upon any subject. Said council shall have power to elect a secretary and interpreter of the council and marshal of the nation, and fix the duties and compensation of the same. Said council shall have the power to prepare and adopt by-laws and rules for the general government of the people and the duties of each national officer, and also the compensation of said council, and assess the national funds and property to pay the same. Said council may prepare by-laws and police regulations and other rules, and submit the same to the nation in general council assembled, and a majority vote shall adopt or reject the same. They shall also prepare a system of schools in each settlement and provide for the election of a superintendent or board of trustees, who shall organize the same in accordance with said regulations. Said council may, in their discretion, fix a place and day or days for holding a national fair, where each person may present samples of grain, stock, weaving, knitting, spinning, needlework, butter, and any article of agricultural product or fruit, and domestic or mechanical product; and also a measure proving amount of crop per acre, and the number of acres cultivated in any crop, and fix committees to grant premiums thereon and name the same, and one premium for the best general system of farming to be shown by the general statement.

Signed in Cherokee: John Wayne-na, chairman; Long Bear, Allen Ratler, Tramper, William McElmore, John Ax, Sowanooka, Ken-ska-leskee, Tah-quah-tee, James Blythe, Skeegee, John Large, Wilson Ax, Mink.

Attest:

N. J. SMITH,
Clerk of the Committee and Council.

QUALLA TOWN, JACKSON COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA, November 26, 1870.

In conformity to previous appointment, and notice having been given previously to the different towns composing the Eastern Band of Cherokees, a grand council is this day organized by appointing Suate Owl and Corntassel, chairmen, and John Lige and Samuel W. Davidson, clerks.

The credentials of the delegates were presented and referred to a committee consisting of the following: Jackson Blythe, Will McElmore, Swimmer, Young Squirrel, Ah-mah-chu-ah, Wilson Wolf, Tom Skitty, Sam Wolf, Lewis Smith, Leander Hornbuckle, John Dobson, and

a The presence and assistance of George H. Smathers, esq., acting assistant United States attorney for the western district of North Carolina, and especially representing the Cherokees, greatly aided inquiry respecting their present legal status in the federal courts.

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RATTLESNAKE PEAK, ABOVE THE CLOUDS.



U. S. INDIAN AGENT. JAMES BLYTHE, Son-in-Law of Chief Smith, on the right.
SAMPSON GEORGE, on the left. Mt. Noble in back ground.



VALLEY OF THE SOCO.

New York Engraving & Printing Co.



COUNCILMAN, Yo-na Caley. "Climbing Bear."
Three daughters and grandson of Chief Smith.

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OPEN MILL.



CLOSED MILL.



EASTERN CHEROKEE PLOWING WITH 1 STEER.

New York Engraving & Printing Co.



MULBERRY TREE BAND STAND, EASTERN CHEROKEE AGENCY. NORTH CAROLINA.

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Willigeh, who, after examining the credentials, reported favorably, and the following delegates then presented themselves, to wit: From Long Ridge, Cherokee county, R. B. Smith, John Going, Will West; Hanging Dog, John Owl and Tecetеska; from Cheoh, Jacob Cheer and L. R. Welch; Buffalo, Standing Deer; John Jackson as proxy for Sand Town and Henry Smith for Notla.

The delegation then came forward and signed their names as follows:

Jackson county, N. C.: Black Fox, Wolf Town; Wilson Welsh, Wolf Town; George Wilnota, Paint Town; Joe Welch, Paint Town; Le-ya-nah, Lufta; Lewey Owl, Lufta; Jim Ross, Bird Town; Benj. Brown, Bird Town; Axe, Raven Fork; Oolenasseh, Raven Fork.

Cherokee county: R. B. Smith, Long Ridge; Will West, Long Ridge; John Going, Long Ridge; John Owl, Hanging Dog; Tecetеska, Hanging Dog; Jacob Cheer, Cheoh; Loyd R. Welch, Cheoh; Henry Smith, Notla; Standing Deer, Buffalo; John Jackson, Sand Town.

Will McElmore, Lower Hanging Dog, signed in presence of Samuel W. Davidson, clerk.

Ordered by the council that an election be held on Thursday, December 1, 1870, for principal chief, to serve until our next annual election in 1871.

December 1, 1870.—The council met pursuant to adjournment and proceeded to business. The election of principal and second chief was then opened and held and resulted in the election of Flying Squirrel, or Call-lee-high, as principal chief, and John Jackson, Oo-wah-lun-tee, as second chief.

The form of government referred to the committee was reported favorably.

It was then moved and seconded that the constitution be adopted by the council, which motion was carried unanimously, and the constitution as adopted is as follows:

1st. Whereas the legal representatives or councilmen of towns or settlements of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians have this day and date, at the place aforementioned, met according to general agreement and understanding.

2d. Said council be, and is hereby, duly authorized and empowered by representation, as the undersigned showeth, to provide for the common interest and enact measures by which the aforesaid band of Indians may be represented in prosecuting or defending all matters pertaining to or touching the interest of said band of Indians with the United States, or state or states, or individuals of the United States, in whatever relation said interest may be, provided that nothing herein be so construed as an abrogation of any rights, claim or claims, of any individual or individuals of said band to the legislation of said council in common property.

3d. All members constituting the aforesaid council shall be, and they are hereby, governed and bound by all acts passed in council of delegates and approved by the chief.

4th. All acts done, made, and confirmed in grand council, as aforesaid, shall be effectual and binding upon all members belonging to or constituting the aforesaid band, as a band, in all matters held in common or pertaining to the common interest of said band and not otherwise.

5th. Provided, further, that there be and the council is hereby authorized to appoint an annual session for holding grand councils at such place and time as they may designate and determine on, and no called or appointed council otherwise held shall be held valid or binding upon the aforesaid band or the subjects thereof unless the chief, in his judgment and reason, thinks the interest of said band demands or justifies such called or appointed council; also, that there be ordered a stated election to be held in each town and settlement for the purpose of electing first and second chiefs, whose power and right of governing shall extend over the whole band of Eastern Cherokees for and not exceeding the term of 2 years; also for the electing all subaltern officers to constitute the aforesaid annual council. The said subordinate term of office shall not exceed 1 year only by the annual election of the band. The right of vote by which said band shall be governed shall be exclusive and consist only of its male members of 16 years of age and upward. And the aforesaid officers so elected shall have the exclusive right to govern and rule, and all the acts done, made, or had by said officers for the term elected shall be binding, held binding, and in full force upon said band. The aforesaid chiefs so elected shall have no power nor hold any right of jurisdiction to enact or enforce laws within themselves over the band of which he presides as chief, but in all cases or interests conflicting or touching the common rights of said band the legal representatives shall be duly notified by the chief and the legislative body assembled.

Signed in Cherokee: Flying Squirrel, principal chief; John Jackson, assistant chief; Black Fox, Wilson Welsh, George Wilnota, Joe Welch, Le-ya-nah, Lewey Owl, Benj. Brown, Ax, Oolenasseh, Ross B. Smith, Will West, John Going, John Owl, Tecetеska.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE EASTERN BAND OF CHEROKEE INDIANS.

The Eastern Band of the Cherokees having again reunited and become one body politic under the style and title of the "Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indians"; therefore:

We, the people of the Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indians in annual council assembled, in order to establish justice, promote the common welfare, and to assure to ourselves and our posterity the blessings of freedom, acknowledging with humility and gratitude the goodness of the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe in permitting us so to do, and imploring His aid and guidance in its accomplishment, do ordain and establish these amendments to the constitution for the government of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1. The power of the Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indians shall be divided into two distinct departments, the executive and the legislative, the executive to consist of the principal and assistant chief, and the legislative of the council.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION 1. The legislative power shall be vested in a council, and all enactments of the council shall be signed by the chairman of the council and approved by the principal chief, and in all their deliberations the vote shall be taken by yeas and nays, unless otherwise directed by the council.

SECTION 2. Each member of the annual council, before he takes his seat to transact any business of the council, shall take the following oath (or affirmation):

"I, A B., do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I have not obtained my election or appointment as a member of this council by bribery or any undue or unlawful means or duress or fraud, used by myself or others, by my desire or approbation for that purpose; that I consider myself constitutionally qualified as a member of this council, and that on all questions and measures which may come before me I will give my vote and so conduct myself as in my judgment shall appear most conducive to the interest and prosperity of the Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indians, and that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same, and to the utmost of my ability and power observe, conform to, support, and defend the constitution thereof".

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1. No person shall ever be eligible to any office or appointment of honor, profit, or trust who shall have aided or abetted, counseled or encouraged any person or persons guilty of defrauding the Eastern Band of the Cherokees, or who may hereafter aid or abet, counsel or encourage any pretended agents or attorneys in defrauding the Eastern Band of Cherokees.

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ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the annual council to pass such rules and regulations as may be necessary and proper, and to decide differences by arbitrators to be appointed by the parties who may choose that summary mode of settlement.

(Abstract.)

Supreme executive, the principal chief, term 4 years; vice or assistant chief. By males of 18 years. Eligibility of either, age 35, and at least one-fourth Cherokee, of band. In case of death, resignation, or disability of both council appoint until removal of disability or successor be elected. Councilman must be 21. Compensation of chief and vice not changeable during term.

Oath of principal chief:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the duties of principal chief of the Eastern Band of Cherokees, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indians".

Principal chief may on extraordinary occasions convene the council at such place as the council shall designate as the seat of government.

Principal chief from time to time give information as to the state of affairs and recommend measures as he may think expedient. He shall take care that the rules and regulations be faithfully executed; shall visit the different towns and settlements at least once in 2 years.

All officers and members of council take oath, etc. Council for 2 years. Treasurer chosen by council for 2 years and give bond. No money drawn except by warrant from the president in consequence of appropriations by council. Treasurer receive and account for moneys at each session of the annual council.

ARTICLE V. (Abstract.)

No person eligible to any office who denies the existence of a God or a future state of rewards and punishments. Free exercise of religious worship and serving God forever enjoyed, but not construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness inconsistent with the peace and safety, etc. Council may decide the expediency and principal chief nominate to council when necessary to send a delegate to transact business with the United States, and he shall keep up a friendly correspondence through the medium of its proper officers. All commissions to be in the name and by the authority of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, sealed with the seal of the probate court of the county where the council is held, attested by clerk of council, and approved by the principal chief. Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government, the preservation of liberty, and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged and cherished by the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. Annual council may propose amendments as two-thirds deem expedient, the same not to be passed until the meeting of the next council.

ARTICLE VI.

Council shall consist of 2 from each town or settlement of 100 souls, of 1 extra on an excess of 200, and for less than 100 still 1. Council, at the annual session, shall appoint 2 judges of elections. In fault of election, a majority may send a delegate with certificate, with the names of those selecting the delegate. Election to be held on the first Thursday in September. Executive council to consist of principal chief, assistant chief, and 3 associates, nominated by the principal chief and confirmed by the council. The annual council shall be held on the first Monday of October at place designated by council, or, on emergency, by the principal chief. The annual council shall be called to order by the assistant chief, and a chairman and clerk be elected. In the absence or neglect of the assistant chief any member of the executive council may organize the council. The officers of the council shall be 1 first and 1 second clerk, an interpreter, marshal, messenger, and doorkeeper. The oath may be administered by any officer of the state or the United States authorized to administer an oath. Conviction of felony shall exclude from office. The annual council may, by a commission, provide for the purchase of land for the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians; provided, that any commission provided for under this ordinance may be nominated by the principal chief and confirmed by the annual council; provided further, that no act of such commission shall be construed to interfere with or in any manner impair the rights of individual members of said band. The annual council shall, by appropriate legislation, provide a public school system for the Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indians. The veto power exists except against a two-thirds vote. Style of enactment: "Be it enacted by the annual council of the Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indians", etc.

(Signed) J. W. HILDER, and
T. Z. P. ENOLA, Chairman.

Attest:
JOHN G. TATHAM, Secretary of Council.
HENRY SMITH, Interpreter.

Approved: LOYD R. WELCH, Principal Chief.

CHEOH COUNCIL GROUND, October 13, 1875.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL OF EASTERN BAND OF CHEROKEES: 1890–1891.

Principal Chief—Nimrod J. Smith (Cha-la-di-hih, Charles the Killer).
Assistant Chief—John Going Welch (Tsani, Always Going).
Chairman of Council—Jesse Reed.

Council—Stilwell Saunooka (Shawnee), Andy Standing Bear (Enidth Ahrwigadawga), Wesley Crow (Caw-daah-ry-eh-lig-is-ki, Crow Marker), Davis George (Dew-isi-ool-ay-oeh, Went Astray), Sampson Owl (Sah-mi-si-nih Oo-goo-coo, Hooting Owl), Bird Salolanita (Young Squirrels), Jessean Climbing Bear (Yo-no-ga-la-ki), Abraham Hill (O-quan-ih), Morgan Calhoun (Au-gan-aahf-to-dah, Ground Sausage Meat), Suate Martin (Suy-e-ta Tlu-tlu, Mixed Martin), Will (Ttah-lah-lah, Redheaded Woodpecker), John Mullethead (Tsis-da-qua-lun-na, Mullethead Fish), Armstrong Cornsilk (Ka-nau-tsi-da-wi Oo-ne-noo-di), and John Davis (Axe, no Indian name).

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New York Engraving & Printing Co. EASTERN BAND OF CHEROKEE COUNCILMEN OF 1891.

Rear Group. Rev. John Jackson Graham, Co., N. C. Morgan Calhoun, Big Cove.
Front Group. Wm. Ta-la-lah, Bird Town, Wesley Crow, Wolf Town.

INCORPORATION OF THE EASTERN BAND OF CHEROKEE INDIANS: 1889.

By an act of the general assembly of North Carolina, ratified the 11th day of March, 1889 (Laws of North Carolina, 1889, chapter 211, page 889), the North Carolina or Eastern Cherokee Indians, resident and domiciled in the counties of Cherokee, Graham, Jackson, and Swain, were created a body politic and corporate under the name, style, and title of "The Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, with all the rights, privileges, franchises, and powers incident and belonging to corporations under the laws of the state of North Carolina".

By section 2 said Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians was authorized to sue and implead, and might be sued and impleaded, touching and concerning all the property of whatever nature held in common by the said band in said counties.

By section 3 any grants to any person or persons for any of the land held by said Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, and under whom said Indians claimed title, as also all deeds made by commissioners of the state to any person or persons for what are known as Cherokee lands held by said Cherokee Indians in said counties and under whom said Cherokees claim, are held as valid.

By section 4 it was provided that in all cases where titles or deeds have been executed to the said Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, or any person or persons in trust for them under that name and style, by any person or persons, either collectively or personally, officially, or in any capacity whatever, such deeds or titles should be held as valid against the state and all persons or any person claiming by, through, or under the state by virtue of any grant dated or issued subsequent to the aforesaid deeds or titles to the said Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians.

By section 5 it was provided that in case any person or persons claiming any part of the lands described in the preceding sections adversely to the said Indians under colorable title or titles shall be sued by reason of such adverse claim, or any possession under such colorable title or titles, said act shall not be used in evidence on either side nor in any way prejudice the rights of either party, but such suit or suits shall be determined as if said act had not been passed.

By section 6 said act took effect from and after its ratification.

SOLDIERS.

The following are the surviving union soldiers of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians of North Carolina. The names are correct, but the spelling may differ from that on the muster roll.

John Going Welch, Thomas Otter, James Otter, John Brown, Owkwataga, Mason Ratley, Steve Johnson, John Taylor, John Canott, John Igotpa, David Patridge, James Walkingstick, and Thomas Canott, all of Company D, Third regiment North Carolina mounted infantry; R. B. Smith, company and regiment unknown.

The following are the surviving widows of union soldiers:

Nancy Brown, widow of Benj. Brown; no children. Ah-nu-yo-hi Walker, widow of John Walker; 1 child under 16 years of age; married since death of soldier, but her husband is dead. Wah-li-sah, widow of Thomas Oo-lay-i-way; no children. Stacy Taylor, widow of George Kanot; had 3 children by Kanot, all under 16 years of age; remarried since death of soldier. Nancy Mumblehead, widow; no children; is drawing a pension.

The following are the surviving confederate soldiers, those marked with a * indicating those who afterward entered the federal service:

Company A, Sixty-ninth North Carolina Regiment—Peter Greybeard, Iyo-ha-ne (Swimmer Fox), Swa-tah (Suate Owl), Toy-a-ne-teh, Chu-wa-lookeh, Coh-goh (Wesley Crow), Cah-hah (Wild Cat), Chlantees-teh (Pheasant), Ezekiel Greybeard, *How-ee-neo-ta (James Walkingstick), Jessan, John Lossih, *Keen-tis-kee (John Igotpa), *Oo-ste-na-coo (John Taylor), Oo-lassta-eh (Joe Lowin), Oo-teet-geeskih Wallaski, *Oolstooih (John Brown), *Otter Now-eyontieh (Tom Otter), *Mason Reckey (Mason Ratley), Jesse Reed, *Soo-quechee (in Cherokee nation west), Squenseh, San-to-neh (James Keg), Mickee Skittes (whereabouts unknown), *John Sanders, Suque-yeh, Samuel Needa, and Te-ses-kih.

Company B, Sixty-ninth North Carolina Regiment—N. J. Smith, alias Jarrett Smith, John Ross, John Wah-ye-neete, Danelah, Dick-a-geeskee, John Davis, *Echu-le-hah (Steve Johnson), Kooe-Skooe (Ross Cochran), Larchee, Lazy Bigmeat, David Murphy, Oo-chum-teh (Come-back Wolf), Okanieh, *Jim Otter, *David Patridge, Watteh Sell-alle-seh, Sequo-yo Sell-alle-seh, Segilleh Bigmeat, Tah-lee Casabsta (perhaps Ca-tol-ster), Tohesky, Wah-has-eh (Tom Skitty), Moses Wolf.

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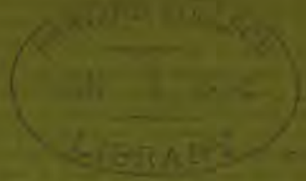
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EXTRA CENSUS BULLETIN.

MOQUI PUEBLO INDIANS OF ARIZONA

AND

PUEBLO INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO.

BY THOMAS DONALDSON,
EXPERT SPECIAL AGENT.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
UNITED STATES CENSUS PRINTING OFFICE.
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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
CENSUS OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 22, 1893.

SIR:

I have the honor to transmit herewith a bulletin upon the Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and the Pueblos of New Mexico for the Eleventh Census.

A special interest attaches to these people, as they have had fixed habitations and have maintained themselves by agricultural industry from a remote period, in contradistinction to the tribes that live largely upon game and fish.

The results of the enumeration and the social and economic condition of these Indians are given, along with historical data sufficient to show much of their eventful story.

The regions which the Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos inhabit have not been so tempting to modern immigrants as the arable fields of other regions, and they have continued their primitive life amid remarkable social changes, by which they have been gradually hemmed in and cramped by the pressure of people seeking lands, and who are now ready to utilize even the comparatively scanty water privileges of these Indians and deprive them of the fruits of their laborious modes of tillage, which they have practiced for centuries.

This bulletin is designed to show in detail their present condition, as provided by the census act of March 1, 1889.

By the treaties under which their homes became part of the United States they are citizens, and it is quite possible that hereafter they will all be enumerated in the general census of the country.

Mr. THOMAS DONALDSON, expert special agent in charge of the investigation, a gentleman of wide experience in Indian affairs, has given the subject the close and careful attention its importance deserves, and has prepared the comprehensive and authoritative statement of the special civilization and condition of these peculiar tribes, soon to be obscured or lost in the tide of modern occupation of their vicinity. The bulletin contains the report of Mr. E. S. Clark, notes by Mr. A. M. Stephen, and also reports of Special Agents Julian Scott, Henry R. Poore, and Peter Moran, who are artists of reputation. The illustrations were in many cases prepared expressly and without cost by the artists named, who carried kodaks with them, and also made data with pen and pencil as they passed along. This work was largely a labor of love, and they deserve commendation for their industry and zeal. Some notes from the works of Charles F. Lummis, esq., and illustrations from his photographs, are also given.

Very respectfully,

Robert P. Porter

Superintendent of Census.

The SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

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MOQUI PUEBLOS OF ARIZONA AND PUEBLOS OF NEW MEXICO.

BY THOMAS DONALDSON.

EARLY EXPLORATIONS.

After 1500 and to 1800 there were 11 nationalities (10 noted in detail) engaged in the discovery and exploration of the west coast and interior of the western country now part of the United States, and more than 150 expeditions of various kinds were made. Of these, 76 were Spanish, 23 English, 21 French, 6 Russian, 4 American, 3 German, 2 Italian, 2 Danish, 1 Portuguese, 1 Hungarian, and 15 or more by Jesuits and Franciscans of several nationalities. The Spaniard, however, was the great inland explorer, and led the wave of expectant discovery of much gold, along with conquered provinces containing vast wealth, which started northward under the direction of Cortez. The first expedition pushed onward north from Mexico under Marco de Niza, in 1539, followed by that of Coronado in 1540–1542. The latter expedition passed through Zuñi, visited some of the pueblos of New Mexico, and discovered the Moquis, and passing up the Rio Grande, reached Baxter Springs, Kansas, where the Spanish flag halted, and, as the result of an injury and the spell of a vision to the commanding general "that if he did not return at once to Spain he would never see his wife again", the tattered, starved, and worn legion dropped back toward the northern line of New Mexico, below which the Spanish flag remained in the middle basin, except when afterward carried further by a few mere exploring parties. The many known land expeditions which passed across the Moqui and Pueblo country during this period were for adventure, war, plunder, and discovery for scientific purposes.

The zeal of the early Spanish explorers was beyond all rivalry: zeal for church, zeal for state. The triumph of the church was the triumph of the state, because the cross and the flag were blended. No weather could check their march, and no story of countless peoples and vast treasures was too extravagant for them to believe. Their watchword was "The church and the king". When the map of their many expeditions is examined and the enormous area of country over which they marched noted, the privations suffered kept in mind, and the care with which much of the same was chronicled is considered, their industry, desire for adventure, and love for the cross and crown appear the more pronounced.

The desert of northern Arizona and that along the Rio Grande in New Mexico were terrors to the Spaniards. Crossing them was called the "jornado del muerto" (journey of death), but for church and king they readily undertook it. Mountain top and valley, desert and plain, walled town and deep river cañons, all felt their touch, heard the tramp of their mailed feet or the tread of their horses (the first of their kind on the continent) and the blasts of their bugles. No such field of adventure as the western continent had ever before allured man, and the Spaniards who pushed on to New Mexico, many of them fresh from Chile, Peru, and old Mexico, believed from the stories of De Vaca and the fabricator Stephen, or Estevanico, the Barbary negro, that a country far richer than any they had passed through would greet them.

Rivers usually trend from north to south within the present boundaries of the United States, and the longing eye of the expectant explorer or traveler always looks in the direction of "up the river", or, with the early Spaniards, "up north". Up the river was to be found the seat of aboriginal empires and stores of aboriginal wealth; but as the explorers progressed north from old Mexico the country became poorer, the resources scant and unprofitable, and the natives were found to be mere battlers with the elements for bread. Finally, with the illusion removed, Coronado reached the "cow plains" or "buffalo lands" of Arkansas, and finding nothing but a few nomadic Indians and wild beasts, disappointed and despondent, he retraced his steps.

In this almost constant exploration of Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Texas the Spaniards discovered and examined almost if not every present known point of interest, and it is amusing to notice the earnest efforts of some of the modern investigators to conceal, by not mentioning, the lights left by the early Spaniards, to which every modern traveler, explorer, or investigator has been indebted for guidance. The heroes of some ages are frequently forgotten by the imitators of another.

Latin and Spanish were used by the friars, monks, and chroniclers, but language was not as expansive then as now, and there were not so many words then used to express an idea; still, these early Spanish explorers, who carried with them both civil and military government, saw and noted about all there was to see and note. When established the army occupied the presidio or fort near the mission and made the military government. The church in the mission controlled both in ecclesiastical and civil matters. The rule of the church was often felt to be harsh by the natives, as it curtailed their liberties and brought them in a colony about the mission; and the fruits of their labor largely went to the church.

NOTE.—The names of the states and territories of the United States used in this bulletin are those recognized by law in 1890.

The mission usually consisted of church, school, and abode of the clergy. The mission was the central power and government for the whole establishment. The other incidents of a mission were the presidio, with a military governor for the protection of the church and its clergymen and the defense of the country about; the castillo, a covered battery near the presidio; the pueblo or village, usually composed of soldiers who had served out their time in the presidio, and either had Spanish or Mexican wives or were intermarried with Indian women.

When the Indians were found in towns or pueblos the Spaniards called them "naturales" or "pueblos", natives of towns, as, for illustration, the Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and the Pueblos of New Mexico; when in tribes, "salvajos" or barbarous Indians (Indios barbaros). The tribal Indians were gathered up by the military, brought to the mission, and turned over to the church. The pueblo or town of the Indian was frequently taken possession of by the church and a mission established, the native name of the town or pueblo disappearing in the name of a saint. As a singular fact, the Inquisition was established in New Mexico.

SPANISH INDIAN CIVILIZATION AND ITS FAILURE.

Spanish civilization failed in the new world, especially in Arizona and New Mexico, because it was not sufficiently flexible, and taught dependence rather than independence. It captured and attempted to govern with an iron rule many varieties of people. There was no change in its system for many years. The church had the mastery. Jealousy between orders of the church forced the crown to interfere, and finally the missions were partially secularized; under Mexican rule wholly so; besides, the avarice, ambition, or moods of the governors worked harshly with the people. The provinces of California and New Mexico, after 1803, were too near the colonies of the United States not to feel the breath of liberty which came from the north. Mexico felt this as well. Too feeble in number to make an earnest resistance or revolt, the Mexicans waited until the South American republics were free, and then (in 1821) threw off the Spanish yoke.

Spanish civilization was church and state. No country so poor in resources as California and New Mexico (including Arizona) could sustain its own people, a Spanish army, a horde of officials, and a state church. The exactions were too great on an independent and free people, whose habits of freedom and liberty, inborn, had been cultivated for centuries before the Spaniards came. The Pueblo Indians of New Mexico (including Arizona) were thrifty and provident. They were producers of food and clothing, traders and merchants. Along the coast range and western sierras of California are hundreds of trails, crossing and recrossing, showing a commerce of centuries. Over the mountains and barrens of Arizona and New Mexico and on to the "wild cow-herd grounds" in Colorado, Kansas, and Texas are well defined and worn ancient trails, roads over which Indian commerce passed to and fro. The continent was known to the Indian, and the shells and shellwork, feathers, and arrowheads of California, together with the turquoise, woolen and cotton fabrics, and pottery of Arizona and New Mexico, were found in the interior of the Mississippi valley and well up toward the Great Lakes.

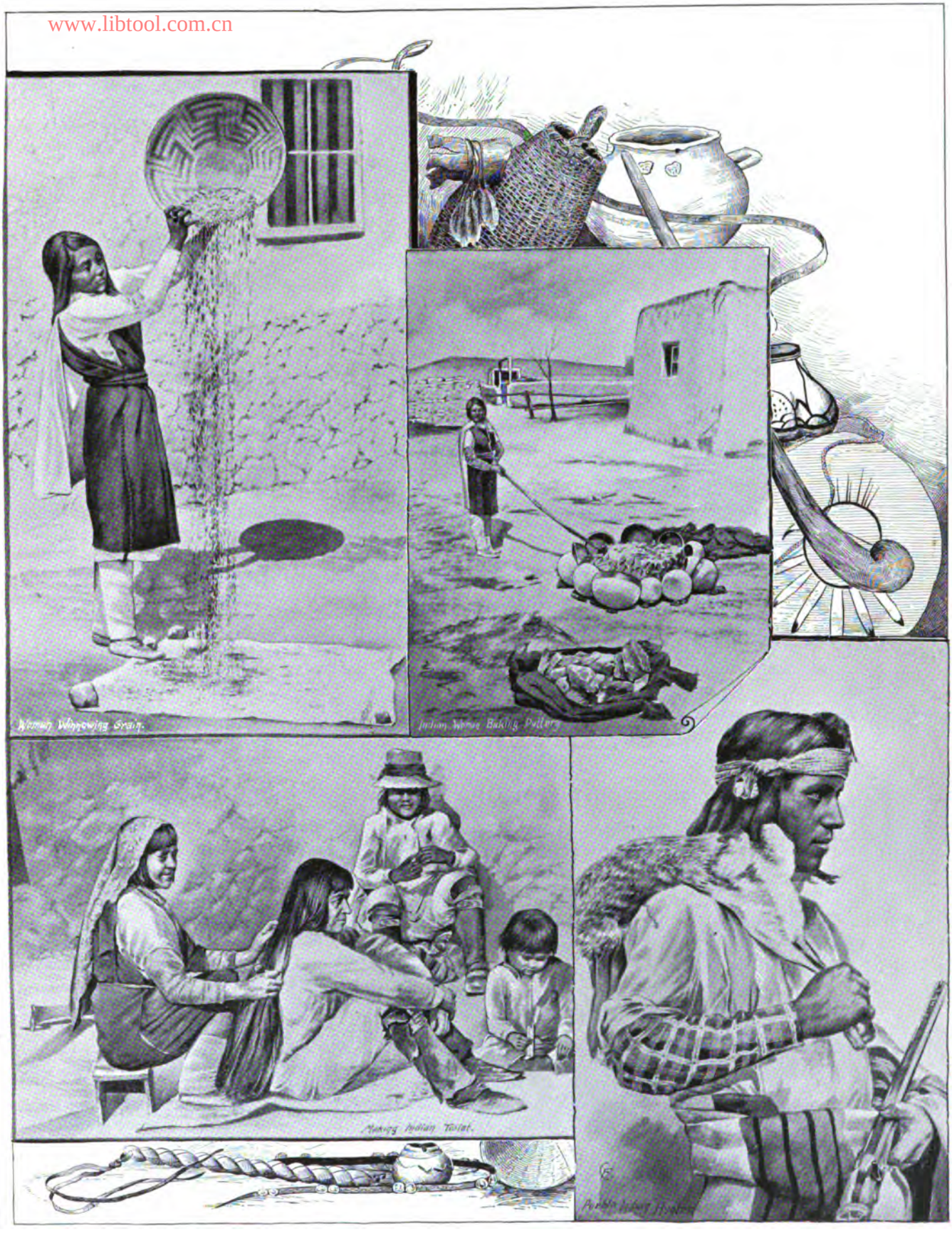
The Spaniard as he moved north from Mexico met the wild tribes of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah, as well as the Pueblos. The wild or tribal Indian he let alone, and the missions were in fact in many cases forts or points of defense against them.

The union of church and state was death to permanent control by the Spaniards. One or the other had to go, and the church and state, under their peculiar system, being inseparable, both fell together. Spanish occupancy would have been more successful had it been purely civic; it might have been permanent, and the colonies in America, with local government, remained as true to Spain as have many of the British colonies to England. Spain, which governed from Madrid, and from interested reports made to the crown, was then intolerant and forced creed along with her government. English civilization was free as to thought. The Spanish-American failure was, however, no more marked in some features than have been the efforts of the United States of America toward the civilization, when mixed with creed, of the wild or reservation Indians.

The Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and the Pueblos of New Mexico mark the northern line of the actual Spanish advance from 1540 to 1821 in the basin between the Sierra Nevada and the Rocky mountains, and were a buffer in the struggle for control of this portion of the American continent. These Indians, who will always excite interest, have, as shown by this bulletin, changed in a less degree, while surrounded by Latin and Anglo-Saxon civilization, from old habits and customs than any people on the American continent, and perhaps in the world. For self-reliance and persistence in a beaten path they are unrivaled.

The principal cause of the failure of the Spanish form of government and civilization in Arizona and New Mexico was, that the Spaniards found a more self-reliant and determined set of Indians there than in California, and also in the fact that almost all of the Pueblo Indians of Arizona and New Mexico, while tacitly accepting the enforced Spanish church rule, continued the practice of their ancient form of religion, as they do to this time. When the Spaniards were driven out and the Mexicans came or the Americans took charge, in succession, the Pueblo was not lost; he retained his religion and self-reliance. In California, when the Catholic missions were secularized, the coast Indians (Diggers), who had been reduced to a state of dependence, became almost tramps, and of those remaining nearly all are now destitute and homeless. The loss of church control broke their hearts, but when the

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Illustrations of Pueblo Indian life, New Mexico.

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church let go its grasp on the Moquis of Arizona and Pueblos of New Mexico they continued independent and self-reliant.

Spanish civilization in California, lower Arizona, and Texas, in a wide path along the coast of California from San Diego to the Mission Dolores, and then east from southern California in a broad band across southern Arizona through Texas to Galveston, but not as far north as Isleta, in New Mexico, built enormous missions of rich architectural designs, copied from Arabian, Moorish, Spanish, and Portuguese models. These in many cases were built of stone, and now remain almost permanent structures (for instance, San Zavier de Bac, near Tucson, Arizona, the last of importance until those in Texas are reached). The roofs, still remaining, were sometimes made of red clay tile, brought from Europe, as were often the altars, doors, images, pictures, decorations, windows, and bronze, brass, and iron railing, and other metal work. Along this latitudinal belt the country about furnished the bulk of the building material. Of course, the priests, friars, and monks were all imported. In the upper Rio Grande country of New Mexico the churches were built of adobe, and so were but temporary. The mission buildings of Spanish times now in Texas are monuments of energy, and splendidly picturesque.

Besides the Spanish crown, there were engaged in the effort of church civilization in the region named the Spanish and Portuguese Jesuits and the Franciscans. The Spaniard easily saw the parallel of his own country in the region of Alta California. The Sierra Nevada was his Sierra Madre. The climate was the same, and the desert country about reminded him of home. The climate was genial and the date palm planted matured, also lemons, oranges, olives, and the nuts of the tropics. The methods of agriculture of Spain and Portugal by irrigation were introduced, and the docile natives of the foothills and valleys along the seacoast became willing aids in most cases, and finally almost practically slaves. The modern horse, the donkey, the trees, vegetables, and grains of old Spain and Portugal were also introduced.

When the Spaniard, crossing the latitudinal belt along the lower Gila, began to reach the Indians of Arizona and New Mexico lying in the great interior basin between the Sierra Nevada and Rocky mountains, he met men of courage and intellect, and so he had not only to battle with nature but with the fierce Pueblo, whose every general feature, act, and method marked a race which must be unalterably considered as a portion of the red men of the United States.

Spanish Latin civilization was then incompatible with personal liberty, which the very air of the northern continent produced, and, besides, Drake and Raleigh made the tenure of the Spaniards on the Pacific side of North America uncertain and did much to break their control. It was a long distance from Madrid to the Pacific side of America.

Spanish civilization passed away in Arizona and New Mexico after a struggle of 280 years. It furled its banners and withdrew, after a fair trial and test, wrapped in the mantle of defeat. The Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos are to-day, in many things, almost as the Spaniards found them and about as they left them. As a study of the development and strength of institutions largely local and self-developed, their economics and habits are of great interest, and will repay investigation and force reflection. This alone would seem a warrant for an exhaustive bulletin to show their condition, as provided by the census act of 1890.

NAMES OF PUEBLOS OF ARIZONA AND NEW MEXICO AT SEVERAL PERIODS.

In the recent historical works of Hubert Howe Bancroft (volume 1, pages 526–528) is an abridged account of the expeditions of the Spaniards to Arizona and New Mexico, beginning with that of Marco de Niza in 1539 and with Coronado's expedition in 1540–1542 from Mexico, following the glowing reports from Cabeza de Vaca of the De Narvaez expedition, and giving the names of the pueblos in New Mexico. Some of the names given are of Mexican towns of quite recent origin, and in all 26 in number. The names of the present Moqui pueblos in Arizona as given are curious and rare. They are not known by such names, except Oraibi and Tewa, either by the Indians or people.

The non-nomadic, semicivilized town and agricultural peoples of New Mexico and Arizona, the second division of this group, I call the Pueblos, or "townspeople", from "pueblo" (town, population, people), a name given by the Spaniards to such inhabitants of this region as were found when first discovered permanently located in comparatively well-built towns.

The country of the townspeople, if we may credit Lieutenant Simpson, is one of "almost universal barrenness", yet interspersed with fertile spots; that of the agricultural nations, though dry, is more generally productive.

The fame of this so-called civilization reached Mexico at an early day, first through Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, who belonged to the expedition under the unfortunate Pamfilo de Narvaez, who traversed the continent from Florida to the shore of the Gulf of California. They brought in exaggerated rumors of great cities to the north, which promoted the expeditions of Marco de Niza in 1539, of Coronado in 1540, and of Espejo in 1586. These adventurers visited the north in quest of the fabulous kingdoms of Quivira, Tontonteac (Moqui), Marata, and others, in which great riches were said to exist. The name of Quivira was afterward applied by them to one or more of the Pueblo cities. The name Cibola, from "cibolo", Mexican bull, "bos bison", or wild ox of New Mexico, where the Spaniards first encountered buffalo, was given to 7 of the towns, which were afterward known as the "Seven Cities of Cibola"; but most of the villages known at the present day were mentioned in the reports of the early expeditions by their present names. The statements in regard to the number of their villages differed from the first. Castañeda speaks of 7 cities. The following list, according to Lieutenant Whipple's statement, appears to be the most complete, commencing north and following the southward course of the Rio Grande del Norte: Shipap, Acoti, Taos, Picuris, San Juan, Pojoaque, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambe, Tesuque, Cochite, Pecos, Santo Domingo, Cuyamanque, Silla, Jemez, San Felipe, Galisteo, Santa Aña, Zandia, Laguna, Acoma, Zuñi, Isleta, and Chilili. The Moquis, who speak a distinct language and who have many customs peculiar to themselves, inhabit 7 villages, named Oraibe, Shumuthpa, Mushaiina, Ahlelq, Gualpi, Siwinna, and Tegua.

MOQUI PUEBLOS AND PUEBLOS, 1890.

The Moqui pueblos now in Apache county, Arizona, are the Moqui pueblos (7 in number) in existence at the date of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848, and are in 1890 known as Mishongnavi, Oraibi, Shimopavi, Shipaulavi, Sichumnavi, Tewa, and Walpi.

The Indian pueblos now known to the laws of the United States and in existence in New Mexico in 1890, being the Indian pueblos known at the date of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848, are 19 in number, and are as follows: Acoma, Cochiti, Isleta, Jemez, Laguna, Nambe, Picuris, Pojoaque, Sandia, San Domingo, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Santa Afia, Santa Clara, Taos, Tesuque, Zia, and Zuñi.

GOVERNMENT OF THE MOQUI PUEBLOS AND PUEBLOS FROM 1540 TO 1890.

The Spanish occupation or control lasted, with varying success, from 1540 until 1821, or until Mexico threw off the government of Spain, and then the Mexican government assumed control. At the conclusion of the Mexican war by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848, the United States of America assumed jurisdiction of Arizona and New Mexico, and the Pueblo Indians of both became citizens of the United States. The action of the United States on assuming control of the Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and Pueblos of New Mexico and their government from 1540 to 1890 are given elsewhere.

ORIGIN OF THE MOQUI PUEBLOS AND PUEBLOS AND THEIR MYTHS.

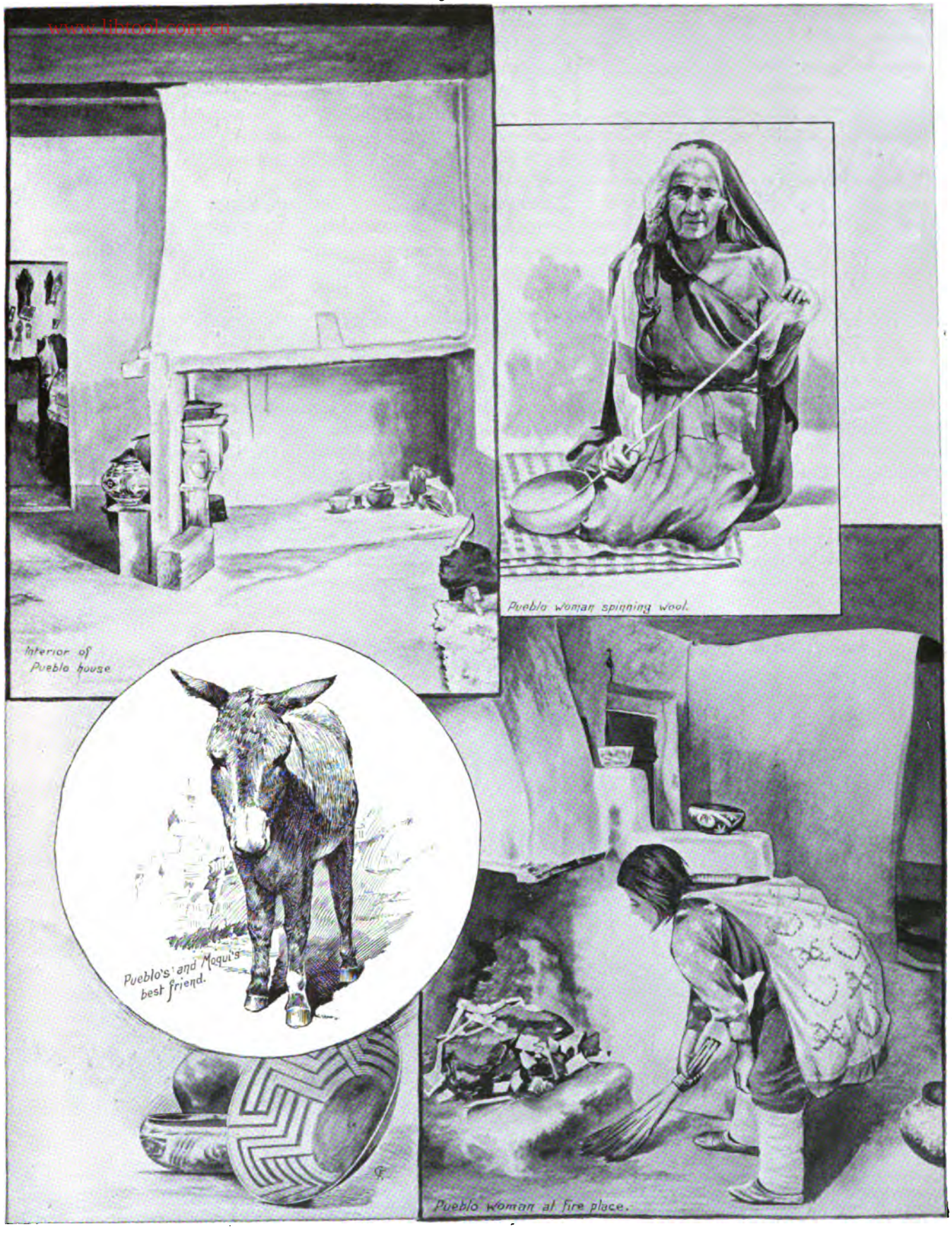
Whether the Moqui Pueblo and Pueblo Indians came from the north, south, east, or west is of but little practical moment now. They are probably all offshoots from wild tribes of the northern plains. They were undoubtedly stream dwellers in the far past, and moved south across Kansas to the headwaters of the Rio Grande, in Colorado and New Mexico, and established their towns along its banks or tributaries reaching out into Arizona. Thus, probably driven originally from some other tribe, or led by ambitious men, or captured in war, they moved into the present Pueblo country for homes, and, finding no plains with game or grass, clung to the streams, springs, and water holes and built their towns. It was the only thing to do. Jackals, wolves, and mountain lions abounded; so they built their homes without doors, with ladders to climb up into them, which they drew up and placed within at night. This also made their homes forts, because prior to the Spanish occupancy they had neither powder nor firearms, and the assaulting party would be armed with bows and arrows, spears of bone or stone, bowlders, and clubs. As an evidence of their being of the tribes of the north, the stone implements found in the pueblos of Arizona and New Mexico are of the same shape and character as those found with the tribes or in the other portions of the United States; besides, 6 of the 7 Moqui pueblos are of Shoshonean stock. They are probably a part of the down-south drift of the American aboriginal stone age. The influence of the Saxon is now easily seen at several pueblos, where, possessing firearms, the Indians have the doors of their houses on the ground floor.

Savage or wild tribes invent traditions and speculate concerning their beginning, and so does civilized man. The Greeks started man with the union of god and goddess from earth to heaven; their mythology came from the human form divine and from their surroundings. Surrounding conditions always develop man. The North American Indian mythology is one of encompassing conditions; the natural resources, the trees, game, fish, and fruits furnish him his heroes and heroines. Seldom, if ever, do they attempt to account for the origin of individual man. In almost all cases they speak of the origin of bands, tribes, and nations of Indians.

The Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and the Pueblos of New Mexico are comparatively the same people, the differences between them being those caused by location or surroundings. Probably all are of Shoshonean stock.

The myths of the Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and Pueblos of New Mexico are, of course, coupled with natural resources, and they can be enlarged at will; there is no limit to their scope. Around the neck of the male Pueblo Indian when he travels is his "mystery", or good medicine, sometimes a button, a bone, or piece of stone: any object that he may adore, entreat, or supplicate. It is his mystery. When Indians go out to steal horses they fasten their mystery around the neck and propitiate it that they may have great success in thieving, while the Indian who owns the horses to be stolen propitiates the charm or good medicine about his neck in order that he shall not be robbed. With the Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos localities are haunted, and friends or spirits, good or bad people, animals, gentle or ferocious, inhabit them. Nature's moods or results, which are plain to civilized peoples, are incomprehensible mysteries to the Indian. No people, no race, is free from superstitions. Thought breeds and develops them. The Indian fills the mountain cañon, the roaring, leaping river, the cave in the rock, the mountain top with its tall trees, and the distant valley with mysterious life, with strange people, giants, dwarfs, and witches. The Indians see effects and invent causes which in civilized eyes are most unreasonable. Their mythology is somewhat ingenious, but it is not beautiful, relating generally to commonplace objects and unimportant things. There is but little logic in it; it is generally mere chance, and depends largely upon individual vivid imagination. The continuance of a variety of languages among the Moqui Pueblo and Pueblo Indians can be accounted for by the fact that they live crowded together in small, widely-separated communities, and they thus

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Illustrations of Pueblo Indian life, New Mexico.

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cultivate and perpetuate distinct forms of speech. Many of the Pueblos speak Spanish, a relic of the priests, who, unable to master the Indian language, wisely forced them to use the Spanish.

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LAND OF THE PUEBLOS.

The Moqui Pueblos occupy, to them and the Navajos, the most ancient and mysterious land, for there, according to their mythology, man first appeared upon the earth. All that went on before was under the earth's surface, and they propitiated the elements of nature with offerings, dances, or ceremonials, not having the genius of other races to overcome or master them. According to geologists their country is one of the oldest. In the pre-Latin or pre-Saxon period of Pueblo life gentilism was usual, and it prevails somewhat now.

Indian traditions are full of legends and myths of violent eruptions of nature; especially so are those of the Pueblos, which are not, however, confined to any particular western tribe. The Laguna Pueblos have a past "year of light and fire", but when and how they can not tell. Lava flows are found in the valleys of northwest Arizona and southwest New Mexico, of how recent date it is hard to determine; still, it can be stated that during the past 4 centuries no volcanic flows have taken place in the above regions; had there been such flows they would have been noted.

Every condition of nature, present or past, of which there is evidence, precludes the possibility of the portions of Arizona and New Mexico now occupied by the Moqui Pueblo and Pueblo Indians from ever having been capable of sustaining a very much larger population (especially in a savage condition) than now. Root or nut crops were and are few and game scarce. In the past, occasionally a few stragglers from the great herds or bands from the game country to the north and east were found; the fish were not numerous. Streams depended for water then, as now, on springs or snows in the high mountains to the north or in the immediate region. The rainfall was nominal (more than usual if 3 inches a year in the valleys), with an alkali soil, sparse grass, in fact a desert condition, save where relieved by water courses, and then a mere fringe of vegetation as the result of habitation, with but 1 acre in 10,000 used for cultivation, no dews, and the really habitable lands at a great altitude in the mountains among the timber, where life was hardly worth living.

The interiors of all continents contain deserts, and the section occupied by the Moqui Pueblo and Pueblo Indians in the United States is the most desert portion of the vast silent land between the mountain walls running the length of the republic, and which rise on the east and west of it as natural barriers against the moisture which makes arable lands. Well might the Spaniards call the march across these deserts the "jornado del muerto" (journey of death).

From an elevation, the vast and colorless plains of Arizona and New Mexico resemble an ocean. Heat waves pass over them, and clouds, obscuring portions at times, give the impression of distant water; no life; all seems dead; so that one feels lost and hopeless while looking down upon them. Only the mountains and water therefrom make it possible for men to exist there.

WHY THE PUEBLOS WERE BUILT.

The Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos, finding it necessary for economical and defensive reasons, it also being natural, to live in communities, built their towns in community, the houses 1, 2, 3, and 4 stories high, of mud or stone, because timber was available only for joists and rafters, and because houses thus built (also common to early Mexico) were cooler in the climate of Arizona and New Mexico; besides, the housetops, covered with mud and solid, furnished lookouts in peace and war. In addition the people were forced to this community life by the scarcity of water and the lack of arable lands. In the morning the men went out into the fields to work, returning in the evening; in the meantime a portion of the people watched on the housetops, looking for enemies or game, and also, as now, from the housetops they watched their flocks and herds. They could see the country about for miles and give warning of threatened danger or approaching game. This method of building towns in community is an old one, as old almost as man, and is common in countries having much barren or waste land or intense heat. This community system continues in 1890. The governor of the pueblo still assigns men to the field and flocks, and the "crier" of each pueblo in the morning calls them to labor. They live in these communities self governed or controlled, and are practically free from vice and crime.

Water was and is the essential, and as the towns increased and the water supply did not, offshoots may have gone out and new towns been built, and so the number of pueblos spread and increased.

PUEBLO RUINS.

The great number of ruins, deserted pueblos, single houses, or small groups of houses has produced an unusually large crop, for even Indian lore, of myths, legends, and stories of decayed and passed away cities and people in the region now occupied by the Pueblos. Many of these ruins are adjacent to the existing Moqui pueblos, or at no great distance from them, and it will be observed that the greatest number are about Zuñi, to the west of

Acoma, and about the Moqui pueblos in Arizona, also along streams in southwestern Colorado, northwest New Mexico, and in southeastern Utah.

The fierce Navajo and other wild tribes of the plains were until a recent date the constant enemies of the usually quiet and peaceful Pueblos and their ancestors, and they, with the elements, are answerable for the well-built forts, watchtowers, and cliff houses above the ruins of the once peaceful homes of the valley and stream dwellers scattered along the rivers and valleys of upper Arizona, southwest Colorado, New Mexico, and lower Utah, and which attract investigators and adventurers. The people who inhabited the valley houses were undoubtedly the predecessors of the present Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos. The cliff houses were for the valley people, who, when attacked, or for other causes, temporarily occupied them. The pottery found in some of the ruins is similar in form and color to pottery now used or made by the Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos; nor can the ruins be so very ancient, as 10 feet below the surface of the soil in one of them remains of sheep have been found which do not belong to the American fauna anterior to the Columbian period; moreover, the Moqui Pueblos preserve traditions of their ancestors being driven away from those places, and it is known that during the Spanish occupancy many of the Moqui pueblos were rebuilt, though a number were removed and some died out. There is a fine opportunity for some imaginative investigator to gather up the chips of legends and probabilities and show that these ruins are the cradle of the human race on the upper American continent.

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There is evidence of a much greater water supply than that of to-day once existing in the region of the ruins, which failing, the pueblos became uninhabitable and were deserted for newly built houses. No article of moment of any description has been found in these ruins which can not be traced in a degree to a similar one in the handiwork of the present Pueblos, except that in their pottery art the influence of the Spanish invasion and settlement and the American succession is apparent. The pottery found in old pueblos or about these ruins differing from the present is simply the original Pueblo pottery prior to Spanish control. The Indian is essentially imitative, and so copies all that he sees unusual or peculiar, which is plainly seen in the modern Pueblo pottery.

PUEBLOS IN 1890.

The Moqui pueblos and many others are now generally a mass of filth and dirt, the accumulation of ages. The streets in some are many feet above the level of the town and houses, and you now "go down into" in entering a house, the "building up" being offal and vile refuse, since none of these pueblos have any sewerage system or places of deposit. Altitude with them takes the place of a board of health, and nature is their scavenger. The pure, dry air is their medical corps. At a much lower altitude entire pueblos would be depopulated in a short time by epidemics.

ANCIENT PUEBLOS AND CLIFF DWELLINGS.

After much personal investigation and the testimony of experts, the conclusion is warranted that many of the so-called prehistoric ruins in Arizona and New Mexico are either those of places of defense on high bluffs, in niches of the rocks, or in cañons, and occupied in time of danger (the Spaniards described such defenses at the pueblos of Jemez in 1541, and the ruins of the watchtowers of old Jemez are still on the bluffs or mesa above the old town) or they are the ruins of towns once occupied by the present Indians or by their ancestors, who evidently lived much like the present people. Pueblos come and go; their appearance or disappearance is not a matter of much moment to a Pueblo Indian. The pueblo of Acoma, the finest and cleanest of all, is probably the only pueblo in New Mexico which was seen by Coronado in 1540–1542, or even by Juan de Oñate, more than 50 years afterward, and of the Moqui pueblos Oraibi is probably the only one seen by Oñate. Awatubi was destroyed by war in 1700–1701. When a pueblo gets too filthy or too small for habitation, or the water supply gives out, the Indians remove and build a new town, the women with the Moqui Pueblos doing the work. The pueblo of San Domingo, New Mexico, has been destroyed by water and rebuilt on different sites 4 times within 200 years. Since the Mexican and American occupancy several pueblos have been rebuilt; others have gone out of existence, the people removing and joining another pueblo, as in the case of the pueblo of Pecos, which was abandoned by its people, who moved to the pueblo of Jemez on account of a fever.

BUILDING A PUEBLO.

Time is of but little value to the Moqui or Pueblo Indians, and a new town or pueblo is easily built. The women gather the stones, for it will be noted that when the Moquis and Pueblos build of stone (there are a few such) they do not use cut or hammered stone, but waterwashed or disintegrated stone, picked up in the beds of arroyos or from along the streams, frequently washed from a long distance. They also make adobes or sunburned bricks of mud and straw with which to build their towns. The women are considered the owners of the houses among the Moquis, probably because they build the principal portion of them.

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Illustrations of Pueblo Indian life, New Mexico.

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PUEBLO OF MISHONGNAVI (SECOND MESA), ARIZONA.

VIEW OF AN ENTIRE PUEBLO. SHIPAULAVI IN THE DISTANCE.

LARGE ABORIGINAL POPULATION QUESTIONABLE.

The possibility of an ancient or former very large aboriginal population in Arizona and New Mexico in the portion of the country adjacent to the present Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos disappears in the face of actual conditions. The prevalence of dirt and offal and the necessity for escape from such required the building of new towns; besides, some towns were located in the valleys or low lands, where death was speedy as a consequence of the living conditions, and so they were moved to the high plateaus or mesas, where the dry and pure air destroys the germs of disease. Such removals make ruins. Then again, war and capture and dispersal destroyed a pueblo, and the stone ruins alone remain, also some adobe, because this region is essentially a rainless one, and mud walls last almost as long as those of loosely laid stone. No bricks from the ruins of Babel have as yet been found here by investigators, and there is not sufficient evidence to warrant a theory that the ancestors of these Indians assisted in the building of that tower, and then, coming over the sea westward, and as a matter of choice, after leaving a land of flowers and beauty, settled in the barren region now occupied by their descendants. There is time enough, however, for this in the future.

PUEBLOS UTILIZE NATURAL ADVANTAGES.

The Pueblo Indians, like all others of the American race, always utilize the natural conditions about them when specific resources give out. They take advantage of nature in every way and utilize the raw material. Combination of the elements or natural resources they did not and do not understand, for this would be mathematics. They could not and do not now smelt iron or copper, nor in any way touch nature with combination. The present adobe bricks were probably copied from those used by the people of Mexico; the stones they found ready prepared for them by nature, except some which they chipped with a stone ax or a fellow stone, and the mud, or blue or black clay for brick or mortar, sticky and tenacious, they found in the vicinity of the springs or in the beds of streams, arroyos, and washes. The forms of their buildings are natural, as a house built square, or almost so, is more permanent than most others, because stronger. This the Pueblo Indian could easily determine for himself. The round form of building above ground is the exception with all peoples, and are seldom above 1 story high; their form is merely progressive.

ANCIENT APPEARANCE OF THE PUEBLOS AND COUNTRY.

The ancient appearance of the ruins of the pueblos proves nothing, because the occupied pueblos look as old as the decayed or deserted ones. The country adjacent to the Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos looks as if it had been created old. The artemisia, or sagebrush, is ancient. It may be called the flower of the deserts, as it covers them all. It resembles a giant oak tree of the middle states beaten down into a dwarf of 3 feet in height. Mankind here, too, seems to have been born old, as the adults have an aged and weird and the children a matured appearance. The entire country is as brown as Dante describes hades, "all brown, brown, brown", except where now and then water kisses the thirsty earth and the stream of abundance flows; in fact, but for the few settlements of people and the scant foliage and verdure along streams, water holes, and springs, the entire country adjacent to the Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos would resemble hades with the fires extinguished.

The heat of the country of the Moquis of Arizona and of the Pueblos of New Mexico is almost tropical, producing the fruits and flowers of the tropics, and nature insists in aiding the natural laziness of the natives and Indians. The native Mexicans make this a land of flowers, song, and supreme laziness; the quantity of food necessary to sustain life is small and easily obtained wherever water can be found. The growing of corn shows that the nights are warm; indeed, it is a semitropical country, in which you find all the cereals, cotton, grapes, peaches, vegetables, and melons growing in common.

SPECULATION AS TO THE PUEBLOS.

In view of the above, speculation is amusing, and the number of dissertations as to "who these people were" and "from whence they came" is met and fully answered by seeing for oneself and saying "these people are"; and so with all the American race in the United States, for just as they are now, with modifications easily seen, which have been brought about by nature and by contact with the Latin or Saxon race, they probably were for centuries before the Columbian period, always with the limitations of such changes as come to any and all peoples through natural evolution or progression by necessity or otherwise. Still, speculation will go on and learned pundits and newly fledged investigators in the future will see more than others did in the past or can in the present; so as long as one of these pueblos remains speculation will have a field. Meanwhile the Indian snickers in his sleeve, listens to the white man's questions, and, as he silently pockets the coin or bolts the food given him, hopes, for the sake of his descendants, that the thing will continue.

In June, 1864, John Ward, United States Indian agent for the Pueblos, a most careful and accurate observer, in his report accompanying the census of the Pueblos of New Mexico, has this to say of the care with which statements respecting Pueblo history and ceremonies should be received, and what he says is as true in 1890 as it was in 1864:

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Much has been written and a great deal more said about the Pueblo Indians, their origin, customs, religion, etc., a great portion of which is mere speculation. The Indians have few memorials, if any, to which they can refer for information, while their traditions, from all that can be learned, are rather limited; besides, they have a very imperfect knowledge of time, distance, or numbers, which renders them incapable of giving correct information in regard to important particulars relative to their history. Notwithstanding all this, however, the Pueblos (or village Indians) are certainly an interesting people.

SECRET ORDERS.

The existence of secret orders among the Moqui Pueblos and the Pueblos is cited as an evidence of the great antiquity of this people (remnants of a great extinct race, still preserving and caring for ancient rites and usages), and men and women, American and foreign, who have worked themselves into almost a frenzy over the mysteries of these orders, are constantly predicting important future discoveries in this line. If these investigators have time, money, and food, the red man will furnish them plenty of mysteries. It will be noted that in all discoveries among these Indians no aboriginal manuscripts, no carved or engraved tablets or plates of metal or stone are found; there is only tradition, transmitted by word of mouth, aided by vivid imagination. The secret societies among the Indians merely confirm their relation to other men and show intellectual capacity, for in proportion as intellect is developed the love of mystery deepens. The mind once awakened is never satisfied, and mystery incites to investigation, and thereby aids in the discovery of the facts sought for. Our civilized Americans to-day have a great variety of secret societies and mysterious orders, which occasion no great wonder. Why should there be such wonder as to those of the Indians?

COMMERCE.

Prior to the Spanish occupation and after, even till to-day, these people traveled much and kept up continual intercourse with each other. The Moquis peddled their tanned skins and rabbit-skin robes; also buffalo robes and horns, for the buffalo then ranged down to the Pecos pueblo, just east of Santa Fe. The Zuñians, always the assumptive Pueblo, aspired to lead and control the pueblos or Indians to the west of them and to the immediate east. Salt and pottery and cotton were obtained from the Moqui pueblos. The Moquis cultivated fields with a southern exposure, and thus raised cotton. Turquoise was brought from about San Domingo and Sandia pueblos, shells from many rivers, and the glistening shell of the abalone across the San Diego trail from southern California. There was a commerce among all these pueblos, limited, it is true, because of the few objects which could be wrought or utilized from nature. Sometimes the red pipe from Minnesota was brought to the pueblos. Of course, these Indians could not smelt ores or make iron, for these things come in a higher stage of development than they had reached. Obsidian and stone arrowheads and stone axes, with which they hewed timber, chipped stone, or fought battles, were also exchanged, and traditions also were carried along by word of mouth from trader to trader. This commerce was mostly on foot or on the streams in small boats, or dugouts, because at this time there were no horses, and to this day the Moqui prefers to travel on foot.

HANDIWORK.

The handiwork of this people is, generally speaking, as rude as are their buildings, but, though rough, it possesses some originality. The refinement and progress traceable is probably due to foreign influence. Their houses are built roughly; their clothing has neither form nor beauty; they can not handle a blanket with the grace shown by the wild Indians of the plains; their pottery is never glazed with silica, but is soft and brittle, and sometimes, as at Acoma and Zuñi, it is quaint in form and artistic in decoration, but it is usually primitive, as is general with wild or uncivilized races. With all this lack, they are, however, a strong and an individual people, necessarily so from their isolation, and their forms and manner of life are peculiar; but, being all this, they are not necessarily the remnant of a "vast and ancient people long since extinct".

POPULATION AND LAWS, 1890.

On June 1, 1890, at the Eleventh Census, the 7 Moqui pueblos in Arizona had a total of 1,996 people, the 19 pueblos in New Mexico a total population of 8,278; in all, 10,274; surely a small remnant for so great a people as some writers picture as having once resided in Arizona and New Mexico, and who were the ancestors of the present Pueblo Indians! At no time since 1540–1542 could the above pueblos have contained a greater population than 40,000. No graveyards or depositories of the dead in great numbers are found, and there are no ruins or remains of structures of a character to indicate a very large population; but, on the contrary, all evidences indicate a small number of people with constant removals and rebuildings and a never-ending struggle for food and life; in fact, a migratory people, although town dwellers.

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1. A Santa Domingo Hunter. 2. Moquis Women. 3. Women of San Dia. 4. San Domingo Woman. 5. Pueblo Man. 6. In Walpi Moqui. 7. The Men of Laguna. 8. Pueblo Pottery Peddlers. Isleta.

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For self-protection and development the Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos (like other people) invented and made laws and rules for their government. They would not be of service to the Latin or Anglo-Saxon, but they fit and serve these Indians, who hold to them with desperate tenacity. Their singular system of law and order, which originated from necessity and will fade and fall through necessity, shows hundreds of years of development, and furnishes a study of rare importance.

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UNCHANGEABLE CHARACTER OF THE PUEBLOS.

As a singular fact, intermarriage has not thus far changed the essential conditions of Moqui Pueblo and Pueblo life. The reason may be that they have thus far been surrounded with the influences of Mexicans or Spaniards (the Latin race). What the immediate future has in store for this people one can not predict. American civilization will soon entirely surround them, and change will surely come. As an amusing feature of this unchangeableness by intermarriage, one of the special agents found that in one pueblo the old Pueblo laws had been more rigorously administered than usual, and he presumed that the governor was a "mossback" Indian, a "Bourbon of the plains", immovable in his Indian pride. On introduction and inquiry he discovered that, as a result of marriage with a Pueblo woman, the rigorous governor was a German Hebrew.

LAND AND TOWN HOLDINGS, 1890.

The Moqui Pueblos live upon lands in Arizona which they were permitted to occupy by the Spanish and Mexican owners, and which became grants by reason of town occupation for a long period. These grants are not yet defined, but were tacitly recognized by President Arthur in his proclamation of December 16, 1882, when he threw about them the protection of a reservation to keep off white people and the Navajos. These Indians are citizens of the United States under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. 16 of the pueblos of New Mexico own their lands in fee (3 are reserved) and the inhabitants of all are citizens of the United States. The allotment of the lands of the Moqui Pueblos (which in the case of the Pueblos can only be done by themselves), compelling the holders to reside upon them, would abolish the villages and pueblos, disperse these Indians, and make them dependents.

SPAIN CARES FOR AND GRANTS LANDS TO THE PUEBLOS.

Spanish and Mexican authorities respected the Indian pueblos, and Spain protected them as early as 1546, when Charles V of Spain not only decreed their protection, but ordered that the prelates and officers should gather up wandering Indians and place them in towns or pueblos, and on March 21, 1554, the protection of the pueblos was again ordered.

June 4, 1687, the king of Spain, by proclamation confirming the above, gave instructions for founding Indian pueblos and registers, and in ordering "that there shall be given and assigned generally to all the Indian pueblos of New Spain for their farming lands" gave the area of land holdings for each pueblo for farming and grazing. These decrees on the basis of the grants have been confirmed by patent by the United States to 16 of the pueblos and reserved to the remaining 3 of the 19 in New Mexico. The same area as granted to a pueblo of New Mexico should be given to the Moqui pueblos of Arizona, as they were recognized pueblos in 1540–1541. From the Spanish authorities (never questioned by Mexico) the Moqui Pueblos received the right of occupancy of their lands and were protected in their possessions. Mexico did the same thing.

PUEBLOS CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES BY TREATY.

The Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and Pueblos of New Mexico are citizens of the United States by virtue of the laws of the Mexican republic.

So good an authority as Governor L. Bradford Prince, of New Mexico, ex-chief justice of the territory, in his History of New Mexico, page 327, says:

> By the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo all inhabitants of New Mexico, except those who chose formally to retain the character of Mexican citizens, became citizens of the United States, with the same rights and privileges as all other citizens.

The Moqui Pueblos were then inhabitants of New Mexico as well as the Pueblos. Neither formally, after the treaty, announced their intention to remain citizens of Mexico, but, on the contrary, have aided the United States with soldiers in war and by remaining good citizens in peace. The Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, in its inhibition of citizenship to Indians not taxed, does not apply to the Moqui Pueblo or Pueblo Indians (not taxed), because the same could not set aside the contract as to their citizenship made between the United States and the republic of Mexico by the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Neither the Moqui Pueblos nor the Pueblos have exercised the right of suffrage to any extent since they became citizens of the United States. This fact should have no weight against their right of citizenship, especially in the case of the Pueblos of New Mexico. Suffrage is not a natural right; it is a privilege, and is conferred by the

state. The citizen need not vote; there is no law to force him to vote; neither does he lose any rights or remedies for wrong by not voting. He can vote or not, as he likes. Thousands of American citizens do not vote, but they are citizens nevertheless.

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RULERS.

September 28, 1821, Mexico declared her independence of Spain, and New Mexico passed under the rule of Iturbide as emperor of Mexico, which country soon became a republic. A series of governors were appointed under the republic of Mexico, and their rule continued until August 19, 1846, when General S. W. Kearny, United States army, captured Santa Fe, and the American rule began. Charles Bent was appointed governor and was murdered in 1847 by the Mexicans, Pueblos, or other Indians. The United States, becoming the successor to the sovereignty by capture and by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of February, 1848, was and is compelled to deal with private land titles and the pueblos precisely as Mexico would have done had the sovereignty not changed. In the case of the 19 pueblos in New Mexico this has been done. In the case of the Moqui pueblos of Arizona this has not been done as yet.

PUEBLOS OVERDESCRIBED.

After reading the many descriptions of the Moqui pueblos of Arizona and of the pueblos of New Mexico, one, upon visiting them, feels great disappointment. Some, like San Domingo, Taos, and Tesuque, built of sun-dried bricks or adobes, are not pretty, but the contrary. The Moqui pueblos of Arizona, of stone, are dead looking, dreary, and but for the people in their bright costumes (including in this the New Mexico pueblos) the scene presented would be a dismal one. As matters of picturesque effect, the people, their methods, and institutions, however, never lose interest. Oraibi, of the Moquis, is the most picturesque, and the situation of Walpi the boldest and most striking. Acoma is the best built and probably the best ordered and neatest of all the pueblos of New Mexico. The pueblo of Zia, New Mexico, built of stone, on a rocky point above a small river, is quaint and interesting. Its people are clean and neat.

PUEBLO LIFE.

The Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and the Pueblos of New Mexico, being town dwellers, have much in common, and in many details of their daily life are virtually one people. Under the captions, "The Moqui Pueblos of Arizona" and "The Pueblos of New Mexico" (post), the points of similarity and difference are shown. Some reported myths and superstitions were either mere inventions, or the ceremonials and practices are dead, and much detail of former writers can not now be verified. The number of officeholders in some of the pueblos, even the list now shown to have existed, as supposed, in times past, would about equal the entire male inhabitants. In 1864 John Ward, United States Indian agent, gave the number of officeholders in the 19 pueblos as almost equal to all the able-bodied males in some of them. A happy condition! the evils of ambition stifled by giving every man an office! These people differ, however, in many ceremonies and customs. Their isolation easily accounts for this difference, together with the genius of the masters of ceremonies, although in some cases ceremonies and dances are entirely local.

THE MONTEZUMA LEGEND.

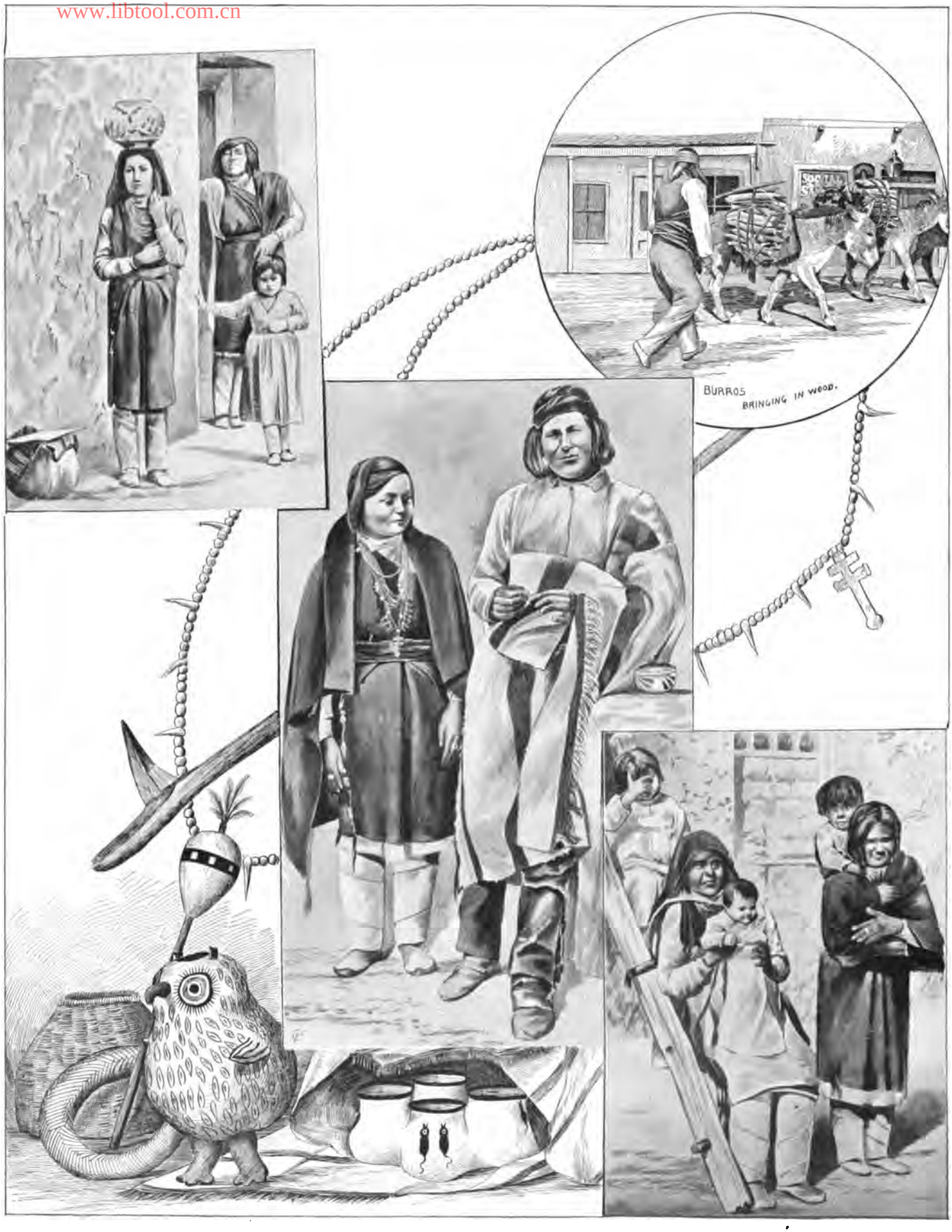
As shown by the reports of the special agents, the sacred fires of the Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos have gone out (were they ever lighted?); at least they can not now be found. The beautiful legend of the Pueblo looking from the roof of his house for the coming of Montezuma with the rising sun subsides upon investigation into the hungry Moqui or Pueblo on his housetop early in the morning, either driven out by unearthly smells (there is no practical ventilation in the pueblo houses) or scanning the horizon for his cows, goats, and donkeys, so that he, she, or it may have breakfast!

The voices heard in the pueblos early in the morning are not those of priests calling for Montezuma, but the voice of the pueblo crier calling out the orders of the day for the governor, as to who takes the herds, who gets the wood, etc. Not so beautiful as the Montezuma legend, perhaps, but much more practical.

Special Agent Scott was personally instructed to observe these alleged morning waitings and watchings. At Zuñi for several mornings he watched from 2 until 8 a. m., and the only Montezuma longers he saw were the town crier, men hurrying out to work, and some old citizens running around as if in search of food. At all events, Special Agent Scott kept his armory at hand and cannon in battery for fear the ancient prowlers might desire to remove some of his personal effects. He watched also at Acoma and Laguna, and with the same result.

Special Agent Poore saw neither sacred fires nor Montezuma hunters or watchers in the 16 other pueblos of New Mexico. At Moqui the absence of both were remarked and noted. The Moquis are the least changed by their surroundings and are the most primitive of the Pueblos, and would be the most likely to keep alive ancient customs and forms. Fires there are, but their continued existence or the sacred worship of them as such is not now observed in the pueblos of Arizona or New Mexico.

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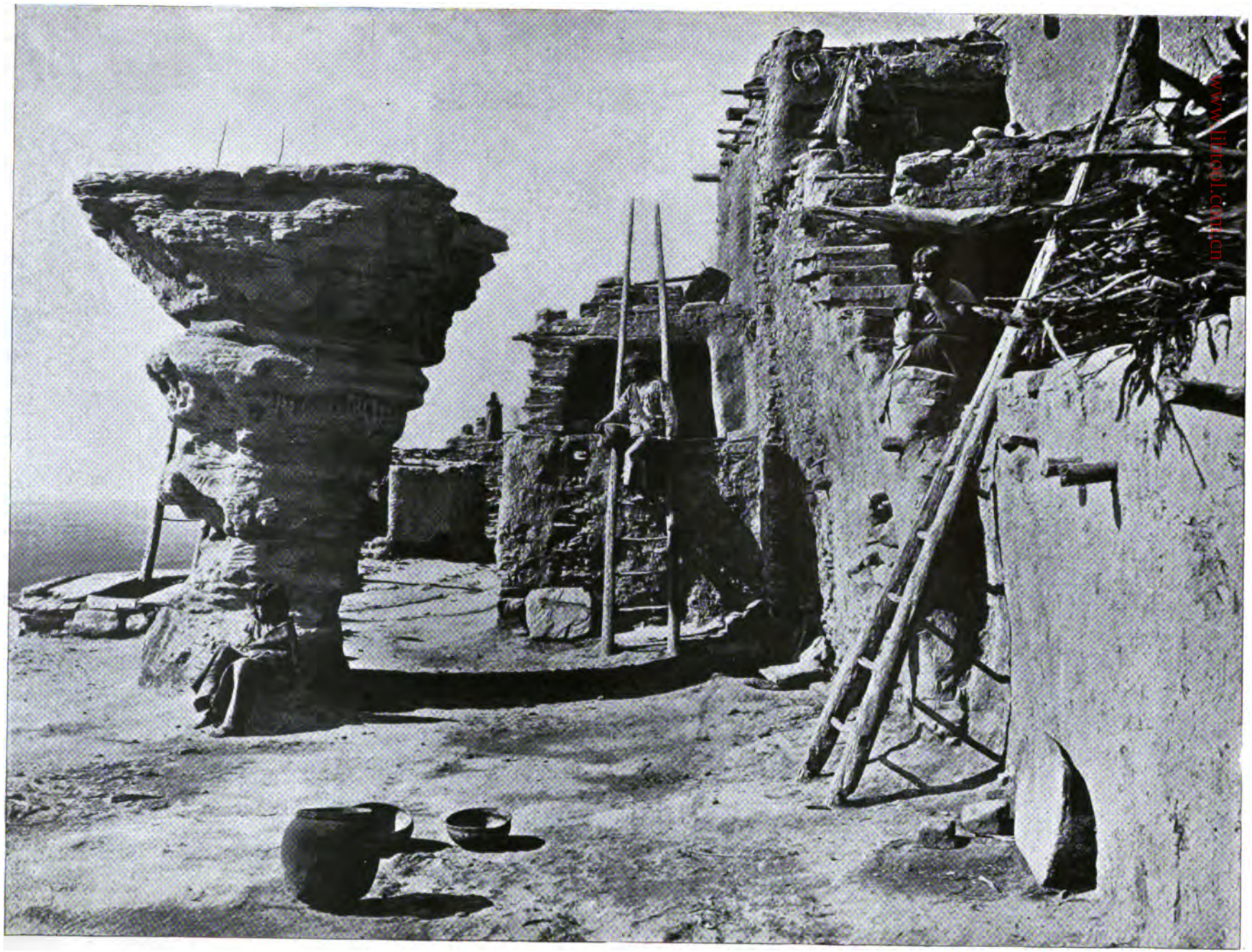


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Illustrations of Pueblo Indian life, New Mexico.

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J. K. Hillers, Photo.

DANCERS' ROCK, Walpi, Arizona.

SHOWING ENTRANCE TO AN ESTUFA ON THE LEFT, AND CITIZENS IN USUAL DRESS.

New York Engraving and Printing Co.

Both special agents, however, discovered that these so-called descendants of Montezuma had an ever-increasing hunger, and some had a lively thirst, and that, while poetic conceptions of myths might feed the minds of white people, these red brothers were more anxious about their present and future food and water supply than the coming of Montezuma.

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ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

It will be observed that the Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and the Pueblos of New Mexico all administer justice and punish crimes in their own way. No crimes are recorded against the Pueblos in the courts of New Mexico. The light might be turned on them with profit. Is it that the punishment is so terrible that crimes are not committed or is this a crimeless people? Either is an interesting fact to know.

AMUSEMENTS AND DANCES.

The Indian must have amusements, and he invents them. He has no opera, club, or theater. It will be noted that the dance always goes hand in hand with all mysteries and rites. Scarcely a year passes but a new dance is invented by some tribe of the American Indians, and sometimes the tribe originating it sells it to another. In these dances frequently the participants dress in the skins of animals or the feathers of birds or fowls. The wild turkey was a domestic with the Pueblos, as noted by the early Spaniards. They were kept for their plumage and not for their flesh for food. An illustration of a turkey dance at the pueblo of Jemez is given. It is a reproduction of an oil painting by Special Agent Peter Moran, of Philadelphia, who witnessed the dance.

The descriptions of the dances and ceremonies of the Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos, as given by various authorities, some of them running back more than 300 years, vary in many particulars, and at no time is the variance more marked than during the past 20 years. The reading of these accounts and recent observations impress one with the fact that these dances depend largely upon the imagination of the leading dancers or masters of ceremonies, and that they are enlarged upon or curtailed from year to year. The priests, medicine men, and leaders of these dances are in many ways similar to theatrical managers, and vie with each other in producing new features or in the revival of old ones brought down by tradition. As spectacles, the most of these dances are dismal failures. The country about does not afford the material for much display, and so mostly natural features and resources are brought into play. The music is wretched, the howling unbearable, and grace departs when the dance begins. It is really a poor show, but interesting, because, in many cases, of the earnest devotion manifested.

The Moqui snake dance is earnest and sincere, yet quite commonplace as to accessories, save in the matter of the rattlesnakes, and they are not dramatic, because they kill no one. The camera destroys much of the romance of this dance. The dance, however, pleases the Indians, is a part of their devotional ceremonies, and awakens the curiosity of white people. It does no harm, because it does not incite to war or to immorality. It is simply a curious survival, with no pernicious results, and to the Indians it is a religious duty. The snake dance is an invocation to the snake deity, a water god, "Ba-ho-la-con-gua" by name, and snakes, particularly the rattlesnake, as representative of this deity, are used in the dance. The date of this dance in 1891, which was obtained early by Mr. Thomas V. Keam, was fixed for August 17, but the priest afterward decided to have it August 21, and on that day it was held at Walpi. 2 special agents of the Eleventh Census were present, Mr. Julian Scott, the eminent artist, and Mr. John Donaldson, who was finishing work relating to the Navajo census. Mr. Scott's description of the dance, accompanied by his kodak views, removes the idea of immorality from this dance, with which romance has for so long a time surrounded it. It is a very solemn, religious ceremony of this people. The late hour at which the dance was held, 5 p. m., and the fact that it took place on the east side of the town and mesa, in the shade, will account for the dark outlines in the views given. An extract from a letter of July 16, 1891, from Mr. Keam, of Keams Cañon, 12 miles from Walpi, is of interest in connection with the method of fixing the time for the dance:

> Now for a matter which, if possible, you must not miss. After talking, explaining, and wigging, I have at last succeeded in getting the priest to name the day of the snake dance. It will take place on the 17th of August. This is the first time the date has ever been obtained from them so far ahead. A dance takes place in 11 days, and prior to this they would not appoint a day until I urged them, as I told them I had friends in Washington who were anxious to attend, and they must let me know at once. So after a long council, counts of fingers, corn, etc., they at last set the day, since changed to the 21st of August by request of the priest.

The Roman Catholic church in dealing with the Pueblos or other Indians never interferes with their harmless amusements, games, or dances. A harmless, entertaining, amusing, or devotional dance by Indians should not be called a crime or prohibited. At the pueblo of San Domingo, in the dance of the tablet, the ceremony began with a service by the priest in the church.

The Pueblos of New Mexico have as many dances and ceremonies as the Moquis, some of which are local. At Zuñi they have religious and semireligious observances, such as communal burning of pottery, planting prayer plumes for rain, rabbit hunts, and foot races, for much interesting matter as to which see "A Few Summer Ceremonies at Zuñi Pueblo", by J. Walter Fewkes, 1891. Rain and other dances are held from time to time, some of which are attended with many quaint preceding ceremonies and clowns. The clown is a humorous feature in many of the

Pueblo dances, including the tablet dance. Indians from the several pueblos attend these dances and return to their homes with notes of new features or of changes in old forms. The forms of these dances depend much upon the genius of the directors. Many ancient customs are now practiced in secret by the Pueblos, and some of their very old ceremonies are thus preserved. At the pueblo of Jemez in 1880 the expert special agent found that the men of that pueblo, while nominally Roman Catholic, desiring to practice their ancient rites in the estufa, picketed the padre out on the hillside with a guard over him until the ceremonies were over. Many of the dances last an entire day and the dancers gorge themselves with food. At San Domingo in 1881, at the tablet dance, it was common to see the men and women tickling their throats with turkey feathers to relieve themselves of the oppression caused by too much food.

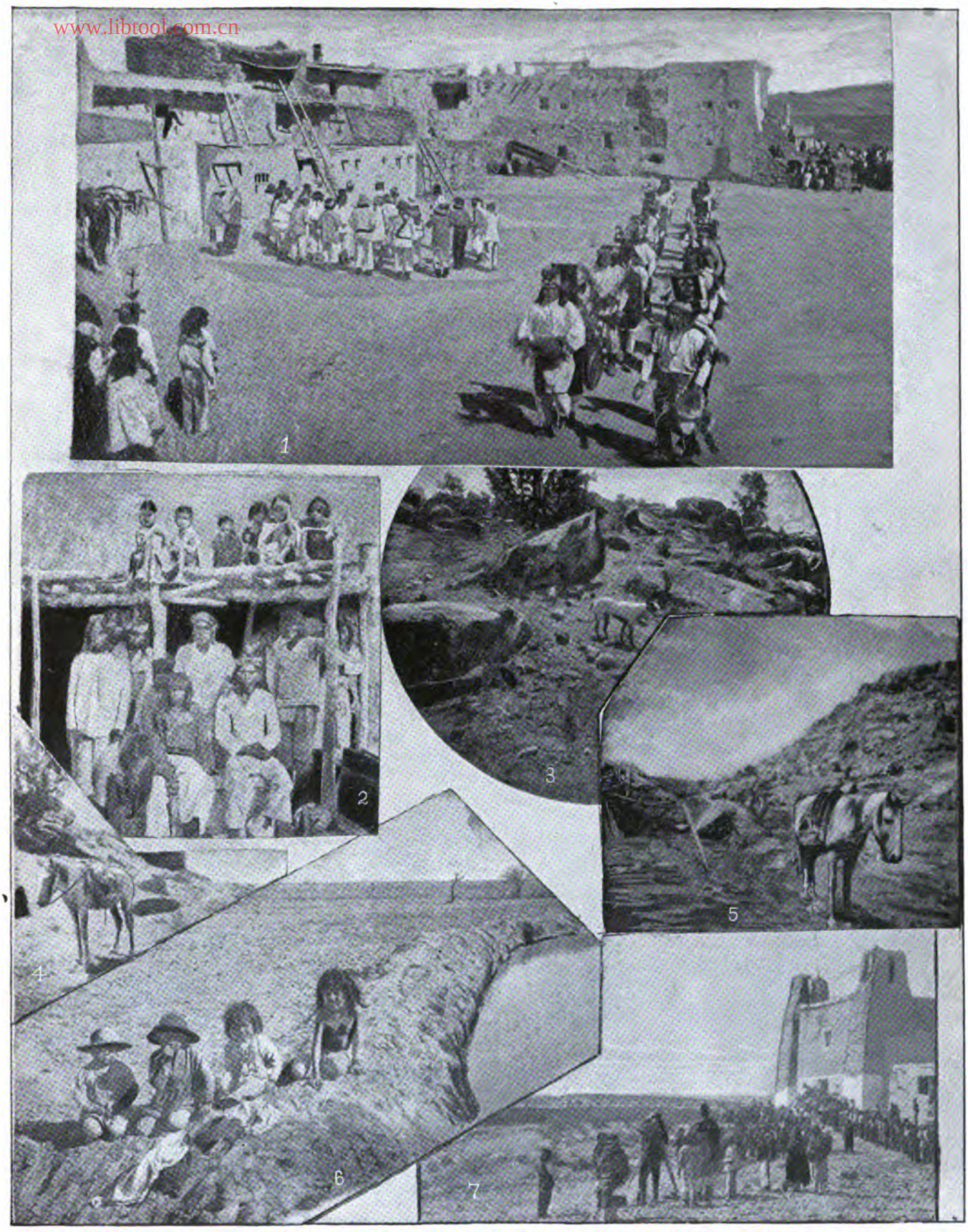
A special agent of the census at Laguna, September 12, 1891, was refused permission by the governor to see a dance (see "Pah-co-tse" at Laguna, illustrated elsewhere). When the special agent entered the pueblo (the pueblo of Laguna is on the Atlantic and Pacific railroad) the dancers would stop and retire to one of the houses. The governor said that Washington (the government) would pay no attention to the requests made by his people, and that he did not care to have a government official witness their dances; that the dances were engaged in merely for the amusement of the people or as a matter of duty; that the agent was at liberty to walk through the town and see his people, but not the dance. In the sections on the Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos much data as to Pueblo dances and ceremonies are given.

No one as yet has attempted to give a meaning to the many religious ceremonies of the Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and Pueblos of New Mexico. Many observations of them have been recorded by laymen and scientists, but the meaning of these ceremonies has never been arrived at. Whether they have any connected meaning making them a part of a religious system is yet a question.

Indians hold as mysteries many of their ceremonies. The questioning of Indians about any of their tribal or race traditions and ceremonies in most cases results in several versions of the traditions and various meanings of the ceremonies. The sight of money, food, or articles of wearing apparel, the ownership of which is expected to be soon transferred to them, will frequently unlock their memories and mouths. Whether they tell the truth is another question; besides, almost all investigators have to approach the Indians through interpreters and receive answers through the same source, and interpreters in many cases are ignorant and uneducated. The safest way in dealing with Indian mysteries, legends, or traditions received from Indians is to first put down what you see, then put down what you hear, expressing no decided opinions as to their purposes or results or truth of what you hear; let the specialists draw conclusions from the record of what was seen and make guesses, in 7 cases out of 10, on what was heard. In writing down what was heard, the fact of whether it was through an interpreter or the result of direct communication with the Indians or other persons should be stated.

Investigation shows that the Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and Pueblos of New Mexico are not a remnant of an effete people, that they are not Aztecs, that they are not the last of a great passed away civilization, that they are not the last of a distinct people or race living amid the ruins of the homes of their forefathers, but that they are a portion of the North American Indians of the present day. The Indians of 6 of the Moqui towns, or villages, are of Shoshonean stock, and the Indians of the seventh village and the Pueblos of New Mexico are probably of the same stock.

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1. Dance Pah-co-tse Pueblo of Laguna 2. Zuni Men and Boys in Cotton Dress. 3. A slope of the Mountain showing an Indian Dog. 4 and 5 Moqui Ponies. 6. Young Pueblos after Bathing. 7. Church at Pueblo of Acoma.

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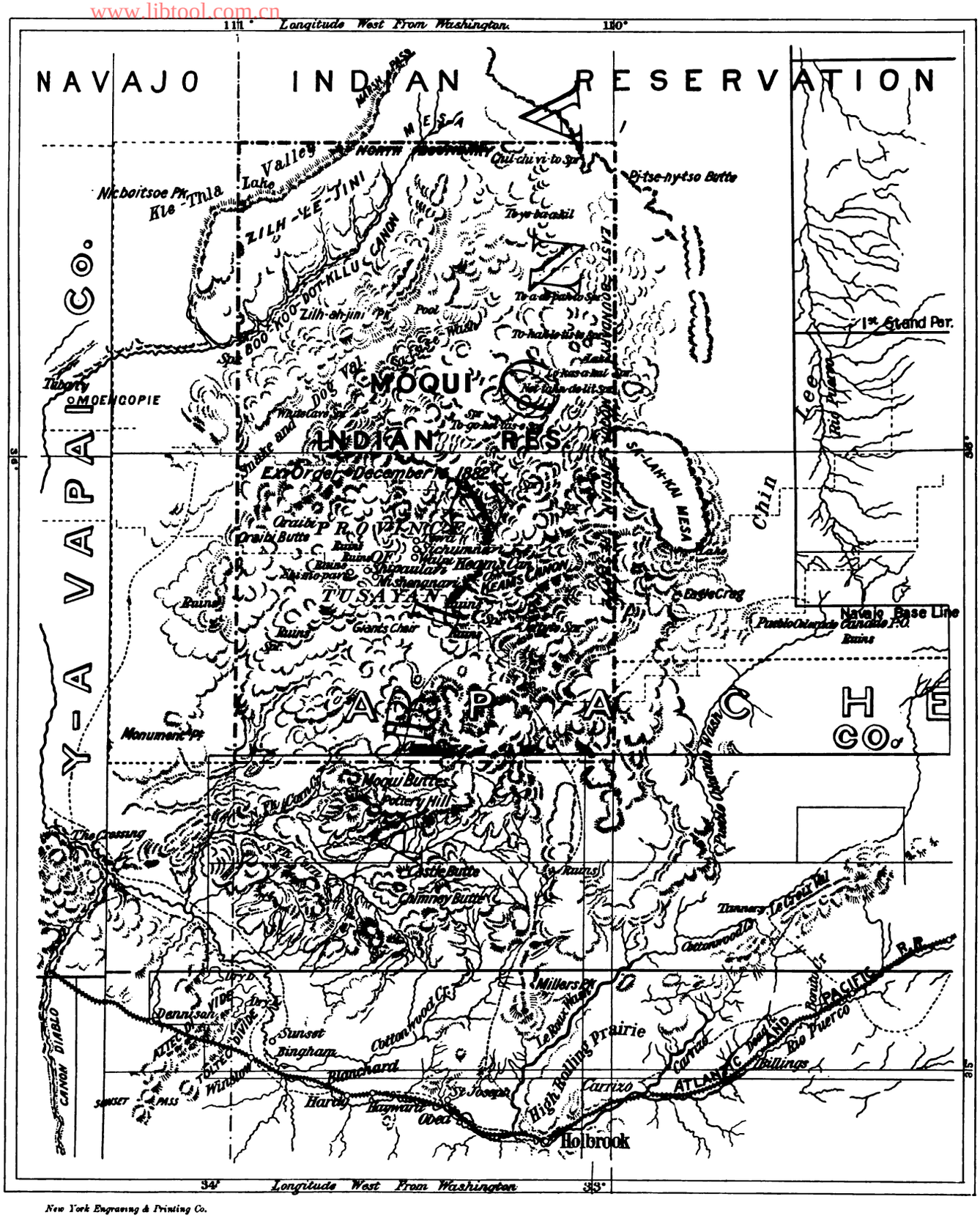
Illustrations of Pueblo Indian life, New Mexico.

From Paintings by JULIAN SCOTT, 1890-91.

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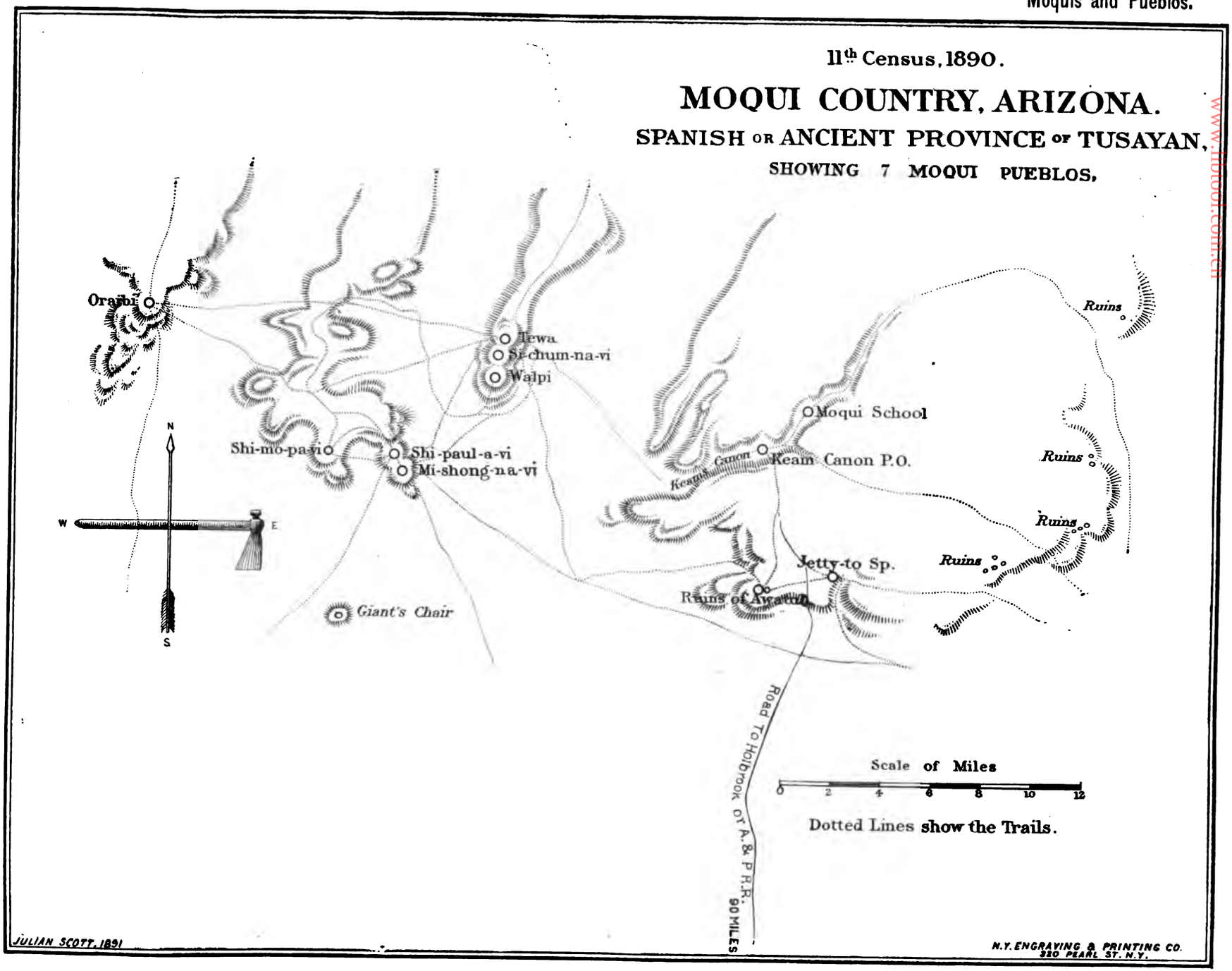
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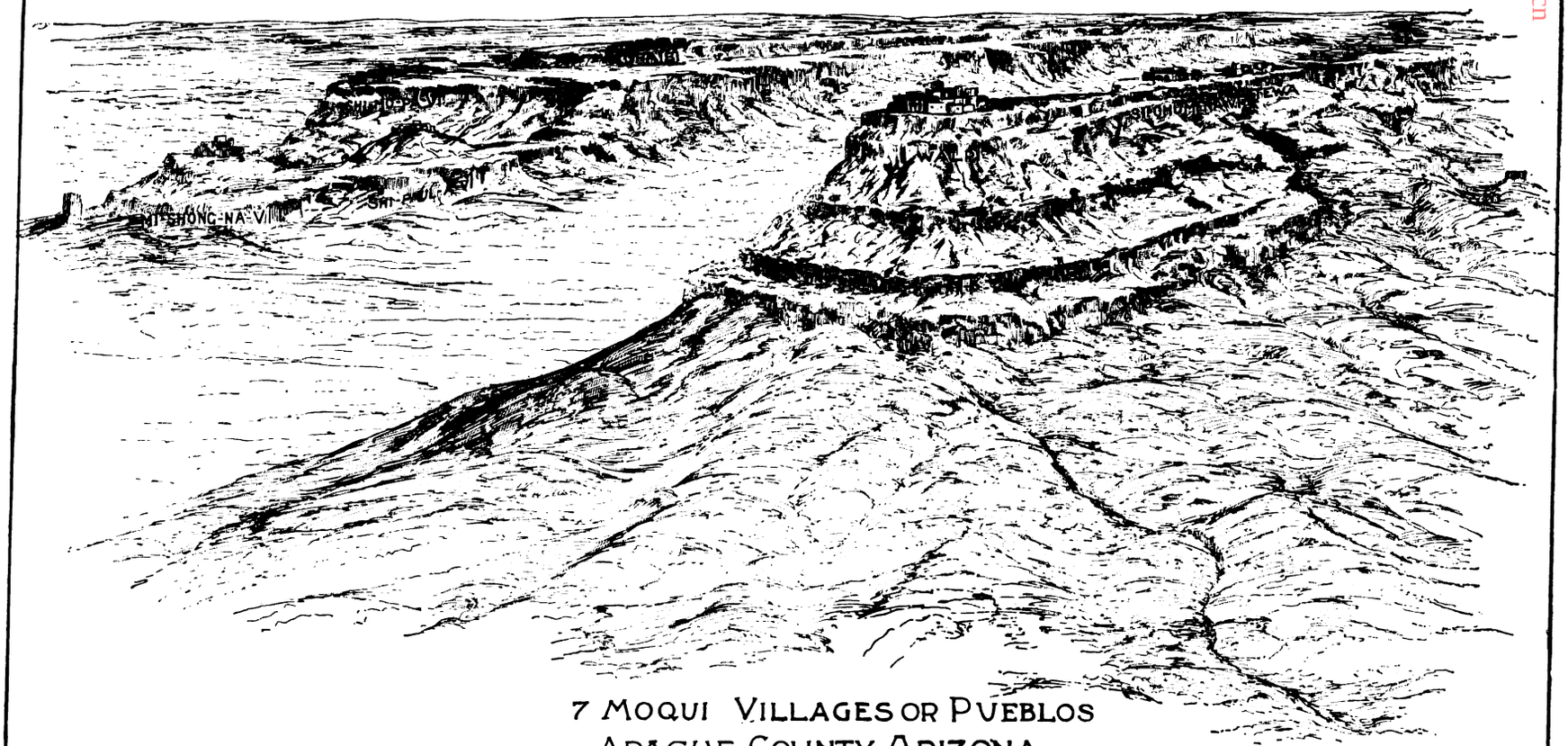
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Map Showing Moqui Indian Reservation and Pueblos, Also showing lines of the United States land surveys. The square red line shows the present boundary. The oval red line suggests the reservation or grant, which should be made. The Moqui Reservation was established by Executive Order of December 16th, 1882. It contains 2,508,800 acres or 3,920 square miles. Only 10,000 acres of this immense area are estimated to be fit for agriculture and these with irrigation from the water, the property of the Moquis.

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11th Census, 1890.
MOQUI COUNTRY, ARIZONA.
SPANISH OR ANCIENT PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN,
SHOWING 7 MOQUI PUEBLOS.
Oraibi
Ie-wa
Si-chum-na-vi
Walpi
Shi-mo-pa-vi
Shi-paul-a-vi
Mi-shong-na-vi
Giant's Chair
Moqui School
Ream Canon P.O.
Ruins
Ruins
Ruins
Ruins
Jetty-to Sp.
Ruins of Awatobi
Road To Holbrook AT. A. & P. R.R. 90 MILES
N
S
W
E
Scale of Miles
0 2 4 6 8 10 12
Dotted Lines show the Trails.
JULIAN SCOTT, 1891
N.Y. ENGRAVING & PRINTING CO. 320 PEARL ST. N.Y.

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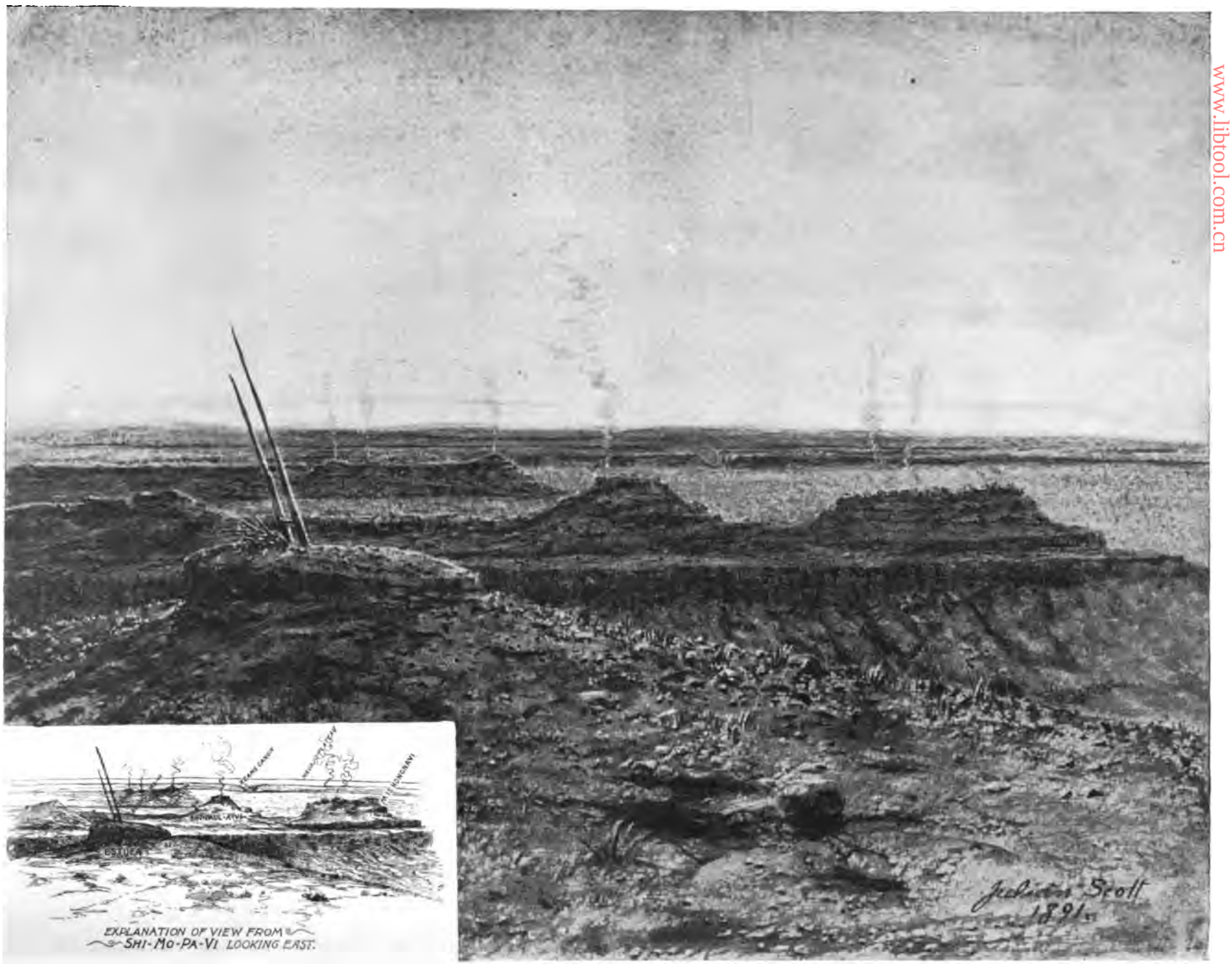
7 MOQUI VILLAGES OR PUEBLOS
APACHE COUNTY ARIZONA
SPANISH OR ANCIENT "PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN."

JULIAN SCOTT, 1891.
FOR ELEVATION AND DISTANCE SEE MAP HERE-IN.

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New York Engraving & Printing Co. MORNING. View from Pueblo House top in Shi-mo-pa-vi, Arizona. Looking East, five Villages shown. Oraibi not shown.

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THE MOQUI PUEBLOS OF ARIZONA.

The Moqui Pueblo Indians are in Apache county, northeastern Arizona, in the country called by the Spaniards "The Province of Tusayan", and from 95 to 100 miles north of the Atlantic and Pacific railroad. The station nearest to them is Holbrook. They are located on what is known as the Moqui reservation, their old lands in fact, which were set aside to them out of the Navajo reservation by the President by proclamation of December 16, 1882. It is said to contain 2,472,320 acres, or 3,863 square miles. (*a*) Of this enormous acreage only 10,000 are estimated to be tillable, and these only with irrigation, the water being entirely the property of the Moquis. This reservation is merely tentative and was to give the United States authority over the Moquis and to really protect them from white people and the Navajos. The name which they call themselves by is Ho-pi, or Ho-pi-tuh-lei-nyu-muh, meaning "peaceful peoole". The Zuñis knew them in 1540 and prior as the A-mo-kwi. The Spaniards changed this to Moqui, or Moki. In the Moqui language moki means "dead". The Moquis are pueblo or town Indians. Their homes, consisting of 7 pueblos, or villages, are situated at an elevation of from 700 to 800 feet above the valleys on the almost level tops of 3 long mesas or tables. (*b*) These 3 mesas project in a southwesterly direction from the main table-land into the desert south. On the first, or eastern, mesa, about 3 miles long and from 6 to 200 feet wide, are the pueblos of Sichumnavi, Tewa, and Walpi; on the second, or middle, 3.5 miles long and from 50 to 300 feet wide, those of Mishongnavi, Shimopavi, and Shipaulavi; on the third, or western, is Oraibi, which is the largest, and which contains almost as many inhabitants as all the rest combined, viz, 900. The altitude of Oraibi is 6,730 feet. At Walpi the mesa is hardly 200 feet wide on top and a short distance beyond, toward Sichumnavi, it narrows to 8 or 10 feet.

From Walpi, on the first, or eastern, mesa, all the other villages can be seen. Oraibi and Shimopavi appear to be the highest, while Mishongnavi and Shipaulavi appear to be the lowest. Their situation, upon these 3 narrow stone arms, or long fingers, that project from the main plateau into the desert, was selected for defensive purposes, no doubt, as a view of the country for 50 miles about is assured. There was plenty of timber about them when the villages were first built, and more water probably near the base of the mesa; but the timber has all disappeared for miles, and the appearance of the towns is that of decay and dreariness. They are remote from water, and still more remote from wood, from 7 to 10 miles. Their fields are scattered far away along the washes, below them in the valleys, where they depend upon the retained moisture after rains for a crop, and their orchards are interspersed among the sand hills at the foot of the mesas. Their flocks and herds are driven daily from the rock corrals, built on the sides of the mesas, into the distant valleys for grazing and water, and at night they are returned.

The life of the Moquis is one of great toil, yet they find time for their ceremonies, dancing, visiting, and other amusements. They are entirely self-sustaining. Their blankets, baskets, and pottery find a ready market, the proceeds from which and from the sale of some sheep and horses, with their crops, yield them support, the latter giving them in good seasons a food supply for emergencies.

The evidence of the position of the water supply about the Moqui pueblos and the deep worn walks in the stones from the water to the mesas, or rather the paths from the tops of the mesas down to the water, indicate an occupancy of the mesa tops for habitation for many centuries; besides, there are no ruins directly about the springs in the valleys and below the mesas, except those of Mishongnavi and old Shimopavi.

Indian time records are usually given by "snow flies" and minor events, and are not reliable. The Moquis' years are recorded by the sun's declination, which is observed by watching the shadows.

The ruins of Awatubi and those east of it are on the same mesa. As shown on the map, old Shimopavi was built about the springs, under the east side of the mesa. The town was destroyed during a war hundreds of years ago; its ruins indicate that it was much larger than Oraibi, and must have contained 2,500 or 3,000 people. From these ruins the mesa, where the present Shimopavi is, is very imposing. Near the springs, under Mishongnavi, are the ruins of the old town, which was destroyed during one of the wars. These are almost the only ruins of note around the Moqui country off the mesas.

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a Before correction in 1891 the area of the Moqui reservation was given at 2,508,800 acres, or 3,920 square miles.

b Although the basis of the plain abutting against the mountain regions on the east is mostly cretaceous and tertiary, volcanic flows have penetrated into it, and they form isolated videttes in the form of table mountains or mesas. The mesa is one of the distinctive traits of southwestern mountain scenery. Frequently a thin crust or layer of metamorphic trap or basalt covers a base of sedimentary rocks, and the difference in hardness between base and top has given a hold to erosion by water as well as by atmospheric currents: a hold that causes the sides to give way and leaves the surface as a projecting table, whence the Spanish popular term mesa, now universally accepted, is derived. Erosion has been exceedingly powerful; not only the mesa formation but the gigantic gorges or cañons are due to this agency. With their vertical walls incasing a narrow bottom, these deep ravines are a testimony of a slow corrosive and erosive force exerted through long periods of time.—A. F. BANDELIER.

NAMES OF MOQUI PUEBLOS BY VARIOUS AUTHORITIES.

The names of the 7 Moqui pueblos have been given by good authorities in a number of ways, viz:

E. S. Clark, supervisor, and F. M. Zuck, census enumerator, 1890: First mesa, Tegua, Sichumniva, and Walpi; second mesa, Mishonginivi, Shepauliva, and Shimopova; third mesa, Oriabe.

Thomas V. Keam, old resident, and Julian Scott, special agent: First mesa, Tewa, Sichum-navi, and Walpi; second mesa, Mishong-na-vi, Shi-paul-a-vi, and Shi-mo-pa-vi; third mesa, Oraibi or Orabi.

Major J. W. Powell: First mesa, Te-wa, Si-choan-avi, and Walpi; second mesa, Mi-shong-i-niv, Shi-pau-i-luv-i, and Shong-a-pa-vi; third mesa, Oraibi.

A. F. Bandelier: First mesa, Tehua, Sichomivi, and Gualpi; second mesa, Mishonginivi, Shipauilavi, and Shimopavi; third mesa, Oraybi.

Professor Otis T. Mason, Smithsonian Institution: First mesa, Tewa, Sechumavi, and Walpi; second mesa, Meshongnavi, Shepolavi, and Shemopavi; third mesa, Oraibi.

Captain John G. Bourke: Tegua, also called Hano; Suchongnewy, Hualpi, Mushanguewy, Shupowlewy, Sumopoy, and Shupowla.

A. M. Steven, old resident and observer: First mesa, Teh-wa, Si-tchom-ovi, and Walpi; second mesa, Mi-shong-in-ovi, Shi-powl-ovi, and Shung-op-ovi; third mesa, Oraibi.

The following are the names of the 7 Moqui pueblos given by Don Jose Cortez, an officer of the Spanish engineers in 1799, stationed in New Mexico: Oraibe, Taucos, Moszasnavi, Guipaulavi, Xongopavi, Gualpi, and a village which has no name, situated between the last town and Tanos (Taos). The unnamed village is undoubtedly Tewa.

Lieutenant A. W. Whipple, in 1853, while near Zuñi, noted the names and population of the Moqui pueblos. (Pacific Railroad, Whipple's Report, volume III, page 13.) The population is probably largely overestimated, as it was the period of the smallpox epidemic, and the figures were given him by Mr. Leroux, one of his party, who had visited the Moquis some years before. The Moquis refer to the smallpox year as the year of their decline.

MOQUI PUEBLOS.	In Zuñi language.	Number of warriors.	Total population.
O-rái-bè	U-lè-ò-wà	400	2,400
Shú-mŭth-pà	Shú-mŭth-pài-ò-wá	150	900
Mŭ-shài-i-nà	Mú-shài-è-nòw-à	150	900
Áh-le'-là	Áh-lè-lá	150	900
Quái-l-pi	Wathl-pi-e	150	900
Shi-wĭn-nà	Shi-wĭn-è-wà	20	120
Te'-quà (a)	Te'-é-wŭn-nà	100	600

a Probably should be Tigue, one of the ancient tribes of Rio del Norte.

Dr. P. S. G. Ten Broeck, assistant surgeon United States army, who visited the Moquis in 1852, gives the names of but 2 pueblos: Oraivaz, called Musquint by the Mexicans, and Harno.

Lieutenant Jones in 1857–1858, while stating that there were 7 Moqui pueblos, names but Oraybe (Oraibi), Mooshahneh (Mishongnavi), and Tegua (Tewa).

The caciques (governors) of the 7 Moqui pueblos visited Special Agent James S. Calhoun at Santa Fe, October 6, 1850, and gave the names of the 7 pueblos as follows: Oriva, Samoupavi, Inparavi, Mausand, Opquivi, Chemovi, Tanoquibi.

John Ward, United States Indian agent, who visited the Moquis in 1861, gives the names of the pueblos as follows: Oraiva, Sho-mon-pa-vi, Tano, Ci-cho-mo-oi, O-pi-ji-que, Mi-shan-qu-na-vi, Sha-pan-la-vi.

H. H. Bancroft thus writes of the Moquis:

The Moquis, who speak a distinct language, and who have many customs peculiar to themselves, inhabit 7 villages, named Oraibe, Shumuthpa, Mushaiina, Ahlela, Gualpi, Siwinna, and Tegua.

On a map of southwestern New Mexico, compiled and drawn by Seth Eastman, captain United States army, 1853, and found in Schoolcraft, volume IV, page 24, the names of the 7 Moqui pueblos are given as "towns": Harno, Sheeourkee, Hoepeekee, Shomoparvee, Sheepon-arleeve, Mooshongeenayvee, and Orayvee.

In 1872 J. H. Beadle, an experienced traveler and author, who spent much time with the Indians, gave the names of the 7 Moqui towns as follows: Moqui, pronounced Mokee; Moquina, pronounced Mokeenah; Tequa, pronounced Taywah; Hualpec, pronounced Wallpake; Shepalawa, pronounced Shapalawah; Oraybe, pronounced Orybay; Beowawe, pronounced Baowahay.

NAMES OF PUEBLOS, 1890, FOR CENSUS PURPOSES.

The purely Indian names of the Moqui pueblos, or villages, are not attempted, and for census purposes the following will be the names used:

First mesa, Sichumnavi, Tewa, and Walpi; second mesa, Mishongnavi, Shimopavi, and Shipaulavi; third mesa, Oraibi.

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From Map of North America by John Senex F.R.S. 1710 (Reduced.)

Julius Bien & Co. Photo Lith.

JOHN SENEX' MAP OF 1710

Map contains Taos and other now New Mexican Pueblos and the Moquis Pueblos.

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STOCK AND LANGUAGE.

The Indians of the pueblos of Mishongnavi, Oraibi, Sichumnavi, Shimopavi, Shipaulavi, and Walpi are of Shoshonean stock, or of the Numa group of American Indians, while the single Moqui pueblo of Tewa is of Tewan or Tanoan stock. The people of all the Moqui pueblos speak the same language, except those of Tewa, who speak the language of the Tewan or Tanoan family, which is also spoken by those of 11 of the 19 pueblos of New Mexico. Future investigation will probably show that all of the Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and the Pueblos of New Mexico are of Shoshonean stock.

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ANCIENT MAPS OF THE PUEBLOS OF ARIZONA AND NEW MEXICO AND THEIR NAMES.

On a map published by Bolognino Zaltieri at Venice in 1566, which was engraved on copper, can be found a pueblo called "Civola" (Cibola). This Civola is located on the map near the present Moqui pueblos and Zuñi. The information was, of course, obtained from the Spaniards, as the map was published 15 years after Coronado's march in 1541, the Spanish permanent occupation occurring in 1591.

On a map published in the third volume of Purchas' Pilgrims, London, 1625, is a picture of a castle with the legend, "Pueblos de Moqui", with no reference to Zuñi or other pueblos, or "Cibola". This castle is placed on the map near the present Moqui pueblos.

The John Senex map of North America, a reduced copy of which is given elsewhere, was published in London in 1710. Senex was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and an authority. His map purports to give data up to 1710, and from the observations communicated to the Royal Society of London and the Royal Academy at Paris. It will be observed that Taos and other pueblos are given, and Zuñi is marked as Zuñi or Cibola. To the west and north of Zuñi 10 Moqui pueblos are noted under the general title of "The Moqui", as follows: Quiana, Orawi, Macanabi, Iogopapi, Gualpi, Aguatubi, Aguico, Alona, Masaguia, and Quaguina. Aguatubi (Awatubi), which is now known and given on modern maps, is an extinct Moqui pueblo of 1700–1701; Gualpi is probably the present Walpi, and may have been removed to the site now occupied since 1710. From the present location (including the above), and comparing this map with the location of the Moqui pueblos in 1890, Iogopapi was near Shimopavi, Aguico was near Walpi, Alona near Sichumnavi, and Masaguia near Tewa. The country adjacent to the present Moqui pueblos contains numerous ruined and abandoned pueblos, covering a space of country 40 miles square. With so much unoccupied territory without a recorded history speculation has a vast field. Oraibi, as has been noted, is probably the ancient Orawi. It is the most ancient looking of the pueblos, and from the amount of dirt in its streets one would give it great antiquity. Many of the other towns were removed because they became so dirty as not to be habitable, or the water or fuel supply gave out; others were destroyed by war. It will be noted that the present names are those given the Moqui pueblos by white men, and in some cases subsequently changed to meet the views of new comers.

POPULATION, 1583-1890.

Espejo estimates the Moquis in 1583 at 50,000. They received him cordially, he writes, giving him feasts and dances. His imagination seems to have developed with their hospitality.

In 1745 two friars claimed to have counted the persons in the Moqui pueblos, and they numbered 10,846.

In 1775 Governor Anza gave them as 7,497.

Escalante, in 1775, gave the population of the Moqui pueblos at 7,494.

In September, 1780, Governor Anza gave the Moqui population as 798. No rain had fallen for 3 years, and in that time the Moqui deaths were given at 6,698.

Governor Charles Bent of New Mexico, November 10, 1846, gave the population of the Moquis as 350 families, or 2,450 persons.

In 1852, Surgeon P. S. G. Ten Broeck, who visited the Moquis, gave the population at 8,000.

Early in 1853 Lieutenant Whipple, United States army, in charge of an exploring party for surveying a railroad to the Pacific, gave the population of the Moquino (Moqui) pueblos at 6,720, and follows Governor Martinez in his estimate of the population of the 19 pueblos in New Mexico. This was prior to the smallpox of 1853–1854.

In 1861 John Ward, United States Indian agent, gave the population of the Moqui pueblos at 2,500.

In 1865 Mr. Ward stated the Moquis to be 3,000.

In 1869 Vincent Colyer gave their population as 4,000 (estimated, of course).

The various agents of the Moqui Pueblos in 1864 have made estimates of their number varying from 2,000 to 4,000.

The Eleventh Census gives the 7 pueblos a population of 1,996.

Agent Ward's estimate of 1861 was the nearest to the actual number at that time.

NUMBER FROM 1540 TO 1890.

The number of Moqui pueblos has been variously given, at one time as high as 11. 7 Tusayan Moqui pueblos are noted in 1541; in 1580 and 1583, 5; in 1590 and 1599, 7; in 1605, 7; in 1680, 5; in 1710 the names of 10 are given on the Senex map, but after 1700 in the surrounding country they were known as the "7 Moqui pueblos", and have so continued to be known, because there are only 7 pueblos.

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COUNTRY AND HOUSES.

While the country about the Moqui pueblos is desert and barren, there is much romance attached to it. The fabulous stories of the wealth and splendor of its villages aroused Spanish cupidity and desire for gain. Invading armies of Spaniards, for almost 300 years, tramped over the cactus-covered plains and vast deserts to reach small and illy-built villages, with hardly a perpendicular wall in them and poverty and crude architecture on all sides; the paths up to the mesas were lined with men charging for "God, holy church, and king", and in this cause the citizens of the rude villages were deliberately murdered. It is a country of fable and romance, peopled in story with spirits and giants, and filled with imaginary stores of gold and silver. The famous diamond fields of 1872 were in this region. Arnold, one of the "diamond field" sharps, claimed that the Arizona diamond fields were south of the Moqui towns, near the Chiquitos. Clarence King, the eminent geologist, visited the fields and discovered that the so-called diamond fields had been "salted" with rough diamonds, brought from Brazil and south Africa. The Moqui Indians have quantities of garnets, Arizona rubies, and pieces of turquoise, the latter from near Los Cerillos, uncut or in the rock, which they wear for ornaments.

The period at which the Moquis built their houses on the tops of the mesas must be very remote, long anterior to the advent of the Spaniard in 1539–1541. The footpaths, worn in the rock from the pueblos or from the mesas to the springs below by the almost constant procession of people going for water, indicate not 400 but several times 400 years of use, and destroys the idea that the Moquis were recently a valley people.

The Moqui pueblos are curious piles of primitive stone architecture. The houses are built from 2 to 4 stories high, in terrace shape, the roof of the front lower story being the balcony of the second story, and so on up, the upper story being but a small apartment. The lower story is generally from 8 to 10 feet high, the second about 8 feet, and each one above that slightly decreasing, but not to less than 6 feet. These terraced houses are built in rows, forming long streets, as at Oraibi, in a square, with a large center court or plaza, which is reached from the outside by narrow and low covered ways, as at Shipaulavi, or on 3 sides of several rectangles, as at Mishongnavi, or 3 sides of a square and long streets, as at Shimopavi. There is, however, little regularity at Walpi, the town having been built to conform to the uneven surface of the mesa at that point. Sichumnavi and Tewa are rectangular, with their houses facing the east. Entrance to these abodes were formerly made by ladders and through openings in the tops, these openings being covered with blankets or skins during a storm or when it was cold. With the advent of the Spaniard came doors, windows of gypsum, and the fireplace. The ladder has not yet gone out of use; every dwelling has 2 or more ladders, and by them the different stories are reached.

GOVERNMENT, ETC.

The chief priest of the Moquis is chosen by his predecessor and resides at Oraibi. He is at present (November, 1891) a prisoner at Fort Wingate. The principal or head chief, Shi-mo, of the Moquis resides at Walpi. He inherits his position, and Walpi may be said to be the governing or controlling town of the 7 Moqui pueblos. (*a*)

The governors of the several pueblos are elected from time to time by the priests or medicine men in council with the principal chief, and are chosen for an indefinite term and continued in office as long as they prove efficient and useful. Each of the Moqui pueblos have war captains, called by them "capitane" after the Spanish; they are in fact war chiefs. The priests of the different orders, called "medicine men", seem to have a greater power than the chiefs or governors. The chief god of the Moquis, whose name they never speak, is their Jehovah, and they at times supplicate him by raising both arms with extended hands and face upturned. Massau is their King of Death. In writing of the docile and industrious Moquis and their peculiarities, Mr. A. M. Steven says:

> The timid, unresisting Moquis cling closely to their old villages perched on the cliffs. They are of a stock long inured to toil, and delight in field labor, persistently cultivating their sandy valleys; they are prudent, and few of their houses contain sufficient provisions to last between harvests. The men weave and spin and make ornaments of shell and stone. The religious observances of the Moquis are celebrated by day, at prescribed times and places, and in strict order of sequence. Polygamy is unknown, and their bridal presents are ideal tokens, and free from the sordid taint of bargain and sale. The Moqui goes afoot, defenseless, and will trot a long distance out of his way to greet the American with a conciliatory handshake.

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a When Lieutenant Brett went to Oraibi (June 21, 1891) he found the fighting men congregated in one building, which they had pierced with loopholes for rifles. Tom Polaki, who had come with the military, held a parley with the Oraibis, and tried to induce them to come out and have peace. A row was going on inside between the Oraibis as to whether they should fight or not. The peace party seemed to prevail, still all outside expected those inside to open fire; finally the great medicine man of the Oraibis came out of the house streaming with blood, the blood of a lamb which had just been sacrificed, and which is the first act of the Moquis toward war. The medicine man held in his hand the red bow and arrows, the bow being held so as to send, at a certain signal, an arrow at the sun, which is the declaration of war. The Oraibis listened to advice, the arrow was not fired, and the few Americans escaped.

Careful investigation shows that the Moquis have an almost ideal form of government, administered on one side by the high priest, or, perhaps, priests, and on the other by the council. It works harmoniously and is fitted to the daily wants of this curious people. It is necessary to add that they have no lawyers living with them, and they further present the extraordinary spectacle of a people living in 7 pueblos or towns, and numbering about 2,000, who have no crimes and no punishments: no murders, no adultery, no vice. Such disputes as there are, about a donkey, a field, crops, or melons, are settled by the officers. Adultery and murder would be punished with death, probably secretly, under the direction of the high priest.

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PRESENT SOCIAL ORDERS, RELIGION, AND CUSTOMS.

Mr. A. M. Steven (*a*) wrote in 1890 of the social orders of the Moquis as follows:

Ancestry and inheritance are about on the same general lines as with the Navajo, but in their land property there are still traces that it was once divided on a communal basis for the use of the families composing the gentes and not as individual holdings. They still count many gentes, and there are about 26 of these extant, but some of them are only represented now by 1 or 2 persons. Their gentes are named after the sun, clouds, animals, plants, mythologic and common objects, deriving their names either from mythic ancestors or traditional incidents in their early history. The priests and chiefs are not privileged personages. The former are the leaders in all religious ceremonies and the latter preside at councils, decide matters of controversy, and to some extent conduct the affairs of the village. They are not hereditary, but most of them nominate their own successors. They engage in the same labors and lead precisely the same life as the other villagers, and no actual difference in social rank is recognized.

RELIGION.

Of the religion and ceremonies of the Moquis in 1890, Mr. A. M. Steven also writes:

Their thronged mythology has given rise to a very complex system of worship, which rests upon this theory: in early days certain superhuman beings, called Katcheenas [Cachinas], appeared at certain seasons, bringing blessings or reproofs from the gods, and, as indicated by their name, they listened to the people's prayers and carried back their desires to the gods. A long while ago they revealed certain mystic rites to a few good men of every clan, by means of which mortals could communicate directly with the gods, after which their visits ceased, and this, the Moquis say, was the origin of their numerous religious or Katcheena societies. To a limited extent certain women were also similarly endowed; hence, the membership of some of these societies consists entirely of men, others of women only, and in many both sexes bear a part. The public ceremonies of these societies are participated in by all the members, fancifully dressed in cotton tunics, kilts, and girdles, and wearing large masks decorated with the emblems pertaining to the Katcheena whose feast they celebrate. Emerging from the kiva, the maskers form in procession and march to the village court, where they stand in line, rattle in hand, and as they stamp their feet with measured cadence they sing their traditional hymns of petition. The surrounding house terraces are crowded with spectators, and some of these celebrations partake much of the nature of dramas. Feats of war are mimicked or the actions of wild animals and hunters, and many mythic incidents are commemorated, while interludes afford an opportunity for a few grotesquely arrayed buffoons to crack coarse jests for the amusement of the rude audience. Every moon witnesses some celebration.

Mr. J. H. Beadle, after visiting the Moquis in 1872, wrote of their religion as follows (The Undeveloped West, pages 582, 583):

All my endeavors failed to discover the slightest trace of any religion. The simplest form in which I could put questions on that point seemed to completely bewilder them The Spanish word Dios they had never heard, and the American word God only as an oath, and did not know what it implied. To my question, "Who made all these mountains"? Papa only smiled, then stared, and finally replied, "Nada; siempre son aqui (nothing; they are always here)". Fearing from this that my limited command of Spanish had caused him to misunderstand me, I entered into a very minute explanation, in the simplest possible words, of our belief, and had him repeat till I was sure he fully understood it, but apparently it roused no answering conceptions in his mind. Part of the talk struck me as so curious that I at once copied it:

Myself.—The Melicans and Mexicans have one they call God, or Dios. We think He made us; made this mesa; made these mountains; made all men and all things. We talk to and ask good things of this God. Papa.—Yes; I much hear Melican man say "G—d d—n (repeating an oath too blasphemous to be written)".

Myself.—No, no; that is bad. He was a bad Melican man who said that. We think this God all good. Have the Moquis a God like that? Papa.—Nothing (nada). The grandfathers said nothing of Dios, what you say Got—God (making several attempts at the word).

Myself.—But, say to me, who made this mesa; these mountains; all that you see there? Papa.—Nothing; it is here.

Myself.—Was it always here? Papa (with a short laugh).—Yes; certainly; always here. What would make it be away from here?

Myself.—But where do the dead Moquis go; where is the child I saw put in the sand yesterday; where does it go? Papa.—Not at all; nowhere; you saw it put in the sand; how can it go anywhere?

Myself.—Did you ever hear of Montezuma? Papa.—No; Monte—Montzoo (attempting the word). Melican man?

Myself.—No; one of your people, we think. What are these dances for, that you have sometimes? Papa.—The grandfathers always had them.

a Mr. A. M. Stephen (or Steven) was commissioned a special agent of the Eleventh Census on the recommendation of Governor L. Bradford Prince, of New Mexico, in 1890, as A. M. Steven. He has been the main reliance of many visitors to the Moquis for years past, and generally furnishes much of the substance of the reports written on them. He is proficient in the Moqui language, being one of the few white men understanding it. Having furnished many pages for numbers of books for other people, the wonder is that he does not make a book on the Moquis and put his name to it. Unfortunately, when Mr. Stephen's commission reached Arizona he was absent, and so failed to qualify. A special agent who was working in another field was at once dispatched to the Moqui Pueblos to make observations and report. The census of the Moquis was taken by Mr. F. M. Zuck under the direction of Supervisor Clark of Arizona, but many of the statistics are by Special Agent Scott. The expert special agent in charge of the division of Indian statistics of the Eleventh Census is under obligation to Mr. Stephen for the information he furnished, either in person or through Mr. Keam, to the special agents who visited the Moquis, and for matter prepared or written by him and used in this report in regard to the Navajos and Moqui Pueblos. It is understood that not only the substance of the report of the United States Indian agent of the Navajos and Moqui Pueblos for 1890 was furnished but much of the report was written by Mr. Stephen, and from this report some data has been taken.

As an evidence of how difficult it is to obtain a satisfactory answer from a Moqui as to his religion, Dr. Oscar Loew, chemist to the Wheeler surveying expedition in 1874, who was with the Moquis for a time, writes:

With regard to the religion of the Moquis, diligent investigation failed to develop anything definite. To the inquiry whether they worshiped Montezuma, the reply was, in broken Spanish, "No sabe (I don't know)". By Mesayamtiba (a Moqui man) we were informed that he believed the "sun to be the true God", but that the so-called "happy hunting ground" was, in his opinion, but a creation of the imagination. * * * The Moquis sometimes hold religious meetings in caves in the vicinity of their settlements.

Major J. W. Powell wrote in 1875 of the religion of the Moquis as follows:

The people seem to worship a great number of gods, many of whom are personified objects, powers, and phenomena of nature. They worship a god of the north, a god of the south, a god of the east, and a god of the west; a god of thunder, and a god of rain; the sun, the moon, and the stars; and, in addition, each town has its patron deity. There seems also to be ingrafted on their religion a branch of ancestral worship. Their notion of the form and construction of the world is architectural, that is, composed of many stories. We live in the second.

Special Agent Julian Scott, after 2 trips to the Moqui villages, wrote on May 20, 1891:

There is no use talking about their religious beliefs, of which little is known. Dr. [Washington] Matthews is probably the best informed man respecting their mythology.

Mr. J. Walter Fewkes (1891) writes:

The Ho-pi (Moquis) recognize that they have copied much from the Zuñis in their religious ceremonials. Many of their Kat-tci-na (Chiachuia) dances are said to be Zuñi Ka-tci-nas. It is perfectly natural that they should copy their neighbors, especially if they believe the ceremonials more effective, and, also, the Ho-pi observances have evidence of being copied from many sources.

It is a most baffling task to obtain from the Indians the proper names of their ceremonies. It is probable that for each celebration they have several names, which are mostly descriptive of some portions of a dramatic episode or some particular phase with more or less mystic elements.

Mr. A. F. Bandelier says the Moquis are Pueblo Indians to all intents and purposes, their language excepted. This probably includes their religion, Pueblo referring to the Pueblos of New Mexico.

It would seem from the authorities that the Moqui religion consists of "mythology" and a number of ceremonies of a devotional character; in fact, a highly developed materialism with ceremonial aids.

It will be recalled in this connection that there is no christian church in any of the 7 Moqui pueblos, and but little evidence of the remains of even a memory of the Catholic faith, whose clergymen were once with them, save, perhaps, in the rough shrines and altars now seen.

SACRED FIRES NOT PERPETUAL IN THE ESTUFAS.

With a view to placing the life and actual condition of this curious people (the Moquis) on record in the Eleventh Census, the special agents who visited the Moquis were instructed to observe closely as to their alleged mysteries. It is stated by several modern writers that the Moquis kept alive the sacred fires. Mr. Scott wrote in 1890 both as to this and the venerable pipes as follows:

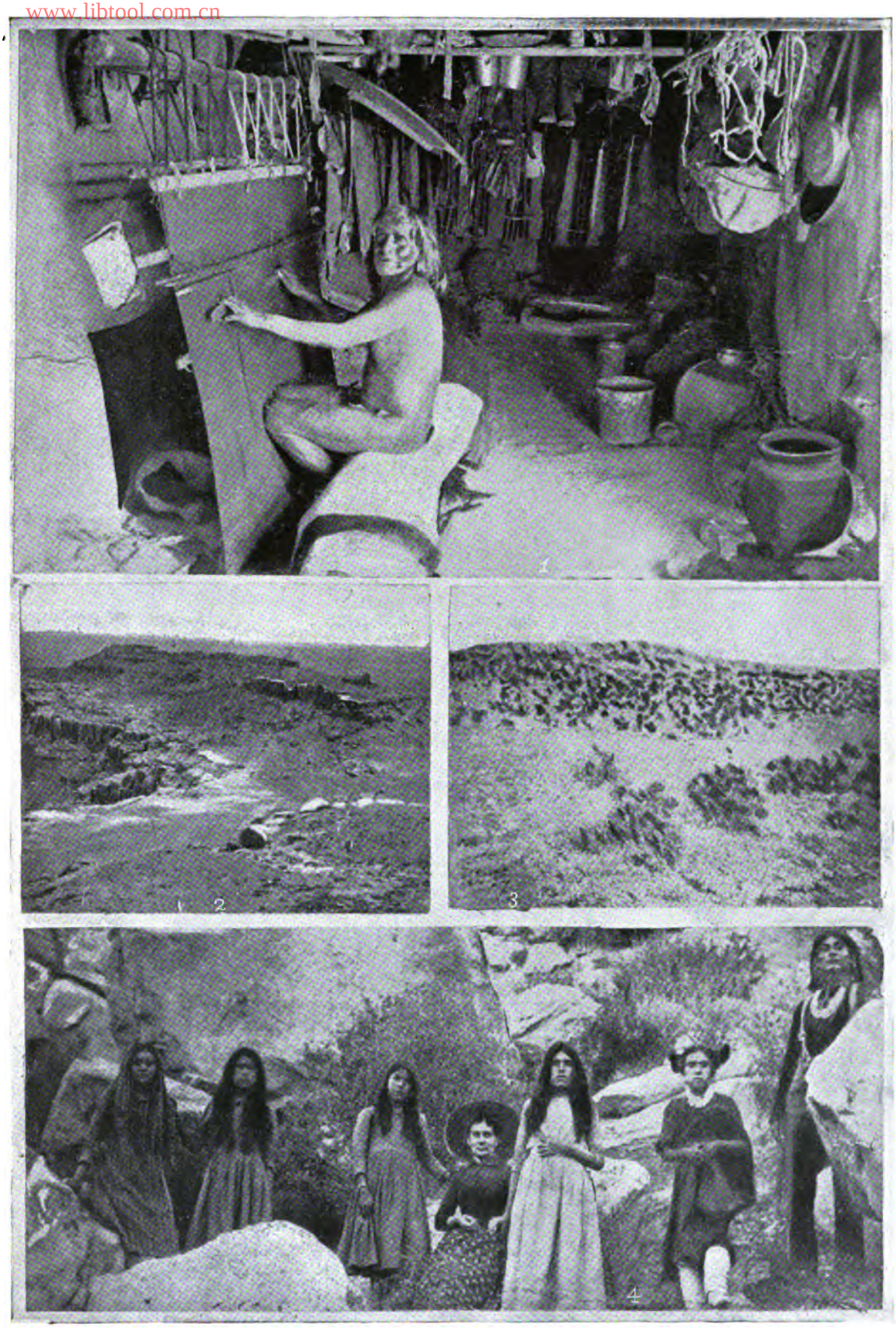
I have heard of the sacred fires that are ever kept burning in the kevas [or kivas] of the Moqui Pueblos, and naturally looked for them. But alas! like many other things I read about and was told of, they proved a myth. During ceremonies they always keep a little fire going, which may be properly called their altar. These fires are prepared by the priests who preside over the ceremonies, and who sit directly in front of them and go through their invocations addressed to the smoke, which, rising upward and through the hatch, disperses itself in the air and carries their entreaties to the deities; besides, the priests are usually naked and the fire protects them. They smoke tobacco during the ceremonies, which seems to form a part of the rites, and which is never omitted. It is the cigarette as a rule, and is there omnipresent. While they use to some extent the different kinds of modern pipes, I have never seen one about in the kevas; the cigarette is universally used. Now and then an ancient pipe is seen, but all my efforts failed to get one. Pipes are only used in their ceremonies, and the Moquis attach superior attributes to them, believing that they are charmed by the spirits of the dead who, in life, smoked them. The story of the sacred fire seems to have no truth in it. There has been a misunderstanding. It is true that in some of the kevas or estufas of the 7 pueblos there are always ceremonies going on, conducted by the priests. These ceremonies are also the schools of instruction for their young men when admitted into the different orders. It is in the estufa that the traditions and folklore of their race are told over and over again. They are the natural resorts of the old men who are unfit for labor, and it is from them that the Moqui youth obtain the traditional part of their education and all data as to the history of their people. This history is all oral, as they have no written language. The fire that is kindled in the keva is upon the flat stone floors and about in the center. About it are a few blocks of stone, which are used by the priests for seats. These stones are utilized, for practical use, as seats by being covered with blankets, rolled up, to make cushions of. The priests are perfectly naked while going through their religious performances, excepting, of course, the gee string (always worn around the waist of the male), which is not used at all as a covering, but as a suspensory.

Mr. J. Walter Fewkes (1891) says that "in none of the kib-vas (kivas, or estufas) in the Moqui pueblos is there a fire burning all the time".

CUSTOMS.

A noticeable trait of the Moquis, from their first mention by the Spaniards to this day, is their traveling on foot; one reason for this, stronger than any other, was and is the poverty of the country through which they move in the matter of forage and water for animals. The Moqui, when he starts out for a journey, always carries rations enough to last several days. They are not generally horsemen; the men of Tewa are the horsemen of the Moquis,

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1. Moqui man at Oraibi Weaving. 2. Walpi and the Mesa. 3. Characterisric Scene, Moqui Reservation, Sand, Sage Brush and Desert. 4. Moqui Children and Man "Adam."

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the cavalry. These Tewas are hired fighters, who were employed and settled by the 6 Moqui pueblos as soldiers to aid them against the Navajos after 1680 to 1700; they were in fact Hessians or Swiss soldiers, always to let.

In 1866 the Moquis sent a delegation of their chief men to Prescott, Arizona, to see the governor. In a talk it was suggested that the Moquis remove to a more favored locality; this was after the water famine of that year. As a curious sequel to this visit the members of the delegation were promptly arrested and put in the guardhouse. Explanations followed and they were released and sent home with presents. The humor of the matter was that the Moquis had always been the allies of the Americans. The Moquis finally concluded not to move, saying that the high mesa suited them best.

The Moquis cling to the high mesas. The fear of sudden floods and consequent danger to life and property keeps them out of the valleys or away from the low lands about the mesas. The altitude of the 7 Moqui villages can not be given, and that of Oraibi alone is noted, as reported on page 13. Shimopavi, isolated and standing clearly above the mesa, has the appearance of being the highest. An instrument only can settle this point.

The usual description of a Moqui wedding is a fiction. Mr. Scott fully describes one. With the newly married couple happiness reigns supreme; they deck themselves out with gaudy ribbons, the groom exceeding the bride; the ribbons are tied about their hats and in bows on their shoulders. To meet a newly wedded pair in the desert or on a mountain trail, both astride the same burro, the bride in the saddle and the groom behind, is a pleasure; donkey and all are arrayed in the bright colored flowing ribbons, and over all is a large red umbrella. They, including the donkey, seem happy and contented.

HABITS AND HEALTH.

The Moquis are a temperate people, rarely indulging in anything to excess. Very few of them use intoxicants, and such intoxicants as they have are brought to them by outsiders.

In relation to the health of the Moquis, Special Agent Scott, November 7, 1891, wrote:

> There are evidences of scrofula now and then, but as a rule the Moquis are healthy. The great elevation at which they live prevents many of the ordinary diseases. It has been "the survival of the fittest" for hundreds of years, and the generations now living are healthy, considering all things. The wonder is, considering their crowded state, that they are not more sickly than they are and the death rate greater. There is scarcely a home in the towns on the first mesa but what I have not entered. I don't remember seeing a sick person except a young woman just recovering from childbirth; she was lying on the ground or earth floor of her house, covered with blankets, with her head toward the fire. She was very proud of the new little Moqui stranger and showed it to us, as if it were the prettiest child ever born. I don't think a Moqui finds out he is sick until he is dead. In none of the 7 Moqui pueblos do you see any half-breeds; they are a pure stock of people, with no indications of intercourse with the whites, and have but little if any syphilis.

In illustration of how exclusive the Moquis have been as a people, Mr. Peter Moran, the artist, in visiting the 7 Moqui pueblos in 1883, found but one man who could or would speak a word of English; he was a mail carrier at Tewa, and all that he could say was, when asked the price of an article, "Una (one) dollar".

THE MOQUIS FROM THEIR DISCOVERY BY THE SPANIARDS IN 1540 TO 1891.

From the records, the Moqui Pueblo Indians are an ancient American people, of whom the early Spanish explorers made frequent notes. From 1540 to 1891 these Indians have held with desperate tenacity to their homes and beliefs.

Friar Marco de Niza, who, with the negro Estevanico (or Stephen, of Cabeza de Vaca's expedition, of whom the Pueblos still preserve traditions as the "black Stephen", the discoverer of Arizona), crossed, in April, 1539, what is now Arizona from the southwest to the northeast, was the first to mention the Moqui Pueblos, calling them the "Totonteac". The citizens of Cibola, who met Friar Marco at a small village early in 1539 and told him of the kingdom of Totonteac, said it was the greatest and most important kingdom in the world, thickly populated, and very rich; that the people dressed in woolen cloth like the dress of the friar, but much handsomer, and that there were accomplished people in Totonteac (Moqui), civilized, and different from others. This encouraged the friar to push on toward this wonderful region. He was crossing Arizona from southwest to northeast, and proposed approaching the Moqui pueblos from the Colorado river side. He got no further than Cibola (old Zuñi), however, and did not reach the Moquis. Stephen, or Estevanico or Estevan, was killed by the people of Cibola a few days before Friar Marco reached there.

The first visit of white men to the Moqui pueblos was made in August, 1540, by Don Pedro de Tobar, one of the officers of Vasquez de Coronado's expedition, who visited the 7 villages of "Tusayan", or Moqui villages. The people of 2 of the largest Moqui pueblos were called by the Zuñis "people of Usaya", hence "Tusayan"; the Spaniards called it the province of Tusayan.

Of the expedition to the Moquis by Tobar in August, 1540, after a 5 days' march from Zuñi, Governor L. Bradford Prince writes:

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While the whole army, thus reunited at old Zuñi, was resting after its desert march, Coronado endeavored to obtain information of the surrounding country. He was soon told of a province called Tusayan, 25 leagues distant, where there were 7 cities similar to those of Cibola. The inhabitants were said to be very brave, but the Cibolans could give no very exact information concerning them, because there was no intercourse between the 2 provinces. Coronado was unwilling to continue his march until this province had been visited, and consequently sent a small detachment under Don Pedro de Tobar, in whose bravery and address he had special confidence, to reconnoiter, and, if practicable, take possession of the country. With them was sent as an adviser, half spiritual and half military, Friar Juan de Padrila, a Franciscan monk, who had been a soldier in his younger days. The expedition marched so rapidly and secretly that it arrived in the province and up to the very walls of the houses of the first village without being discovered, and encamped after dark in the midst of the unsuspecting population. At dawn the Indians were astonished to see the strangers at their doors, and especially amazed at the sight of the horses, the like of which they had never seen before. An alarm was sounded, and the warriors quickly assembled with bows and clubs to drive away the invaders. The Spanish interpreter endeavored to explain that they came as friends, but the Indians, while hearing them politely, insisted that the strangers should withdraw, and, drawing a line on the ground, forbade any of the Spaniards to pass beyond it. One soldier rashly ventured to cross, when he was immediately attacked and driven back. At this the friar, who seemed to have been more aggressive even than the captain, urged a charge, exclaiming in vexation at the delay, "In truth, I do not understand why we have come here"! at which the Spaniards rushed forward and killed a great number of Indians, while the remainder fled to the houses for protection. These soon returned in the attitude of suppliants, bringing presents and offering their own submission and that of the whole province. During the day deputations came from the other towns to confirm their surrender and to invite the Spaniards to visit them and trade. In this province, which was then called Tusayan, but which is identical with the modern Moqui, were 7 villages, which were governed as were those of Cibola by a council of aged men, having also governors and captains. They raised large quantities of corn, some cotton, and had well-tanned leather; and among the presents which they brought to Tobar were poultry and turquoise. In a few days he returned to Cibola.

Cardenas, one of Coronado's officers, with a small force, also went through the Moqui towns in the latter part of 1540, to the Colorado river, in search of a race of giants, who were reported as living there.

In 1583 Antonio Espejo, with a small force, marched from the Rio Grande valley to the east of the Moqui villages, and reached them by way of Zuñi. H. H. Bancroft, in volume XVII, page 27 of his works, writes of the Espejo expedition as follows:

With 9 soldiers, the 3 Mexican Indians, and 150 friendly Cibolans, Espejo marched westward from Zuñi, and in a journey of 4 days, or 28 leagues, reached the province of Mohoce, or Mohace, with 5 large pueblos and over 50,000 inhabitants. One of the towns was Aguato, or Zaguato. There can be little doubt that the Mohoce province was identical with the Moqui towns. The people, though they sent messengers to warn the strangers not to approach on pain of death, were easily convinced of the strangers' friendly intentions, and gave them a most enthusiastic welcome, loading them with cotton mantas and food, besides delighting their ears with confirmation of the tales respecting wealth in the far west. The horses inspired more fear than the men, and Espejo humored the terror of the natives by admitting the animals' ferocity, thus inducing the chief to build a kind of stone fort to hold the monsters: a fort which, in case of trouble, might be useful to the small Spanish force. Hakluyt notes this as "a witty policie, to be used by the English in like cases". Here they remained 6 days, visiting all the pueblos, and being so firmly convinced of the natives' friendship that the leader left in the province 5 of his men to return to Zuñi with the luggage.

In illustration of the misrepresentations given by natives to some of the early Spanish explorers, an additional account of Espejo's march to and occupation of the Moqui pueblos, condensed from the original by Hon. L. Bradford Prince, in his History of New Mexico, is given. The estimates of population are interesting when the character of the country and its resources at that time are considered. The reason the Spaniards usually left the Moqui country so quickly after entering it was because of the prospects of starvation.

In 1583, Espejo marched directly west to Zuñi, where he found still living 3 of the Mexican Indians who had accompanied Coronado, and who, on the return march, had concluded to remain at Cibola. Their names were Andrew, of Culiacan; Gaspar, of Mexico, and Antonio, of Guadalajara. They had been so long (40 years) among the Cibolans that they had nearly forgotten their original language, but their meeting with the new expedition of Spaniards was a most interesting one. Among other things, they gave Espejo information of a rich and populous country to the westward, which bordered on a great lake, and in which the precious metals abounded. They said that Coronado had endeavored to reach it, but had been forced to turn back for want of water. Espejo was not to be deterred by the ill-success of his predecessor, and so, taking but 9 soldiers with him and leaving the remainder of the army at Cibola, he started on the march. At a distance of 28 leagues he came to the most populous province which he had yet visited, as he estimated its inhabitants at 50,000, and which was no doubt the modern Moqui. Here the chiefs, pursuing somewhat the same course which they adopted in the time of Coronado, warned the Spaniards not to approach their towns under penalty of death, but, after being assured that the visit was altogether friendly and pacific, this policy was entirely changed, and they were not only allowed to enter, but received with special honor. No less than 2,000 natives came out from the first town to welcome the strangers, and exchange of presents of all kinds took place, the festivities continuing a number of days.

Permanent occupation of New Mexico was made by a large number of Spaniards in 1591, and from that time to 1630 missionary priests came to Tusayan. They were escorted by Spanish troops to assert authority, and perhaps to show the peaceful intent of their mission! They brought sheep, oxen, horses, and fruit trees as gifts to the Moquis. This mission epoch is held in great contempt by the Moquis, for, although they admit that the Spaniards taught them to plant peach orchards and brought them other benefits, yet they claim to have suffered many severities at the hands of the priests, who also held many of the Moquis as peons at the mission stations, besides the Inquisition was established by them in New Mexico.

In 1598 Don Juan de Oñate, the conqueror of New Mexico, after receiving its submission, moved westward in October or November in search of the South sea. He moved west via Zuñi, conquering it, and then on to the

Mohoquis (Moquis), whose chiefs surrendered the pueblos, November 9 and 15, 1598. He remained there until about December 20, 1598. He was hospitably received and generously treated. The Moquis organized hunting parties for his entertainment, and made feasts of the game secured. They also guided the Spaniards through the country on their exploring expeditions. Oñate's men found silver mines 30 leagues to the west of the Moqui pueblos and also large salt deposits.

In 1604 Oñate passed through the Moqui pueblos again on an expedition westward in search of the South sea. Having started on October 7, 1604, from San Juan, now New Mexico, with 30 men, accompanied by Padres Francisco Escobar (comisario) and San Buenaventura, he passed through the Zuñi provinces, which, he says, were "more thickly settled by hares and rabbits than by Indians", and "where the chief town of the 6 is now called Cibola or, in the native tongue, Havico or Ha Huico," and on to the "5 Moqui towns with their 450 houses and people clad in cotton", reaching the Pacific ocean in January, 1605.

Between 1598 and 1604 it is believed that the Moqui Pueblos nominally accepted christianity. Of the period between 1600 and 1700 H. H. Bancroft, volume XVII, page 349 of his works, writes:

> At the beginning of the century [1600] the Moquis, like the other Pueblos [probably], accepted christianity, were often visited by friars from the first, and probably were under resident missionaries almost continuously for 80 years; yet of all this period [1600 to 1680] we know only that Fray Francisco Porras, who worked long in this field, converting some 800 souls at Aguatuvi [Awatubi], was killed by poison at his post in 1633; that Governor Penalosa is said to have visited the pueblos in 1661–1664, and that in 1680 4 Franciscans were serving the 5 towns or 3 missions. These were José Figueroa at San Bernardino de Aguatuvi, José Trujillo at San Bartolome de Jougopavi, with the visita of Moxainavi, and José Espeleta, with Agustin de Santa Maria, at San Francisco de Oraibe and Gualpi, all of whom lost their lives in the great revolt of 1680. From 1680 to this day the valiant Moquis maintained their independence of all Spanish or christian control. It is not clear that they sent their warriors to take part in the wars of 1680–1696 in New Mexico, but they probably did, and certainly afforded protection to fugitives from the other pueblos. * * *
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> In 1692 they had, like the other nations, professed their willingness to submit to Governor Vargas; but in the following years no attempt to compel their submission is recorded. In 1700, however, fearing an invasion, they affected penitence, permitted a friar to baptize a few children, and negotiated in vain with the Spaniards for a treaty that should permit each nation to retain its own religion.

Of the revolt of the Indians from Spanish rule, Mr. A. M. Steven wrote in 1890:

> In 1680 there was a general revolt of all the village Indians, in which the Moquis participated by slaying all the Spaniards who were then among them. Fearing lest a Spanish force might be sent against them, shortly after the massacre they evacuated their villages and rebuilt them higher up, on the mesa points they now occupy.

RECAPTURE OF THE MOQUI PUEBLOS, 1692.

Governor Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan in 1692 began the reconquest of New Mexico. On the 12th of September he was at Santa Fe. He moved rapidly over the country and recaptured the missions. At Jemez he sent a messenger to the Moqui pueblos. The Navajo Indians passed on before Vargas and warned both the Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos to place no faith in him. Vargas was as much interested in the discovery of certain mines of cinnabar and red ocher, reported to lie to the west of the Moqui pueblos, as he was in the recapture of the pueblos. From Zuñi he sent a second message to the Moquis, asking them to give him a friendly interview at their pueblos, where he would soon arrive, and assuring them that they were pardoned for their participation in the revolt of 1680.

Governor L. Bradford Prince, in his History of New Mexico, page 211, writes of the Vargas expedition as follows:

> Having allowed a little time for this message to have an effect, he started from Zuñi, with 63 soldiers and 2 priests, on November 15. The first of the pueblos reached was Aguatubi, 5 days distant, where the Spaniards were at first met with apparent hostility, 700 or 800 Indians, well armed, surrounding the little band and singing their war songs. The tact of Vargas, however, extricated him from this difficulty, as it had from many previous dangers, and the chief, named Miguel, directed his people to lay aside their weapons and receive the Spaniards as brothers. It afterward appeared that when the letter of Vargas from Zuñi was received at this pueblo word was sent to the other towns of the Moquis (Gualpi, Jongopabi, Monsonabi, and Oraybi) and a great council of the natives was held, at which a chief of Gualpi, named Antonio, was the leading spirit, and where it was determined to resist the Spanish invasion by every available means. Miguel claimed to have opposed this course of action, and urged that a friendly reception be accorded to Vargas, who had come a long distance on a mission of peace. The hostility at first manifested was attributable to the decision of that council, but afterward the more pacific policy of Miguel and his friends prevailed. Had the attitude of the Indians not been changed, it would certainly have been impossible for the Spaniards to have entered the town, as the passage was only sufficiently wide for one man to pass at a time, and it was well defended by fortifications. Even as it was, Vargas was continually fearful of treachery, and declined to enter the houses to eat, or even to encamp at night in the plaza; but nothing occurred to justify his apprehensions. The people erected the cross as usual in the center of the plaza, 122 were baptized, and Vargas acted as sponsor for 2 children of Miguel, whom he confirmed in his authority as governor of the pueblo.
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> Leaving 15 men in charge of the animals, the governor, with 45 soldiers, pressed on to Gualpi, the next town of the Moqui nation, where he was well received and entertained by the same Antonio whose feelings had been so hostile a few days before. Here, as at Monsonabi and Jongopabi (in the former of which Pedro, the messenger who had been sent from Jemez, was found), in the midst of the people in the plaza, holding aloft a large cross, Vargas made the usual address explanatory of his peaceful intentions toward all who respected the authority of the king and the church, and the people were absolved and baptized, nothing unusual occurring to mar the ceremonies. Vargas then left for Zuñi.

After Vargas left in 1692, and until 1700, the Moquis were unmolested by the Spanish. From 1701 to 1745 the church was incessant in its demands for their conversion. The following history of the period 1680–1745 is from

H. H. Bancroft's works, volume XVII, pages 363, 364. It is made up of translations by officials and priests from the original documents and reports, which were in Spanish and Latin.

Meanwhile, in 1680 to 1700, the Moquis of the northeast maintained their independence of all Spanish or christian control. The proud chieftains of the cliff towns were willing to make a treaty of peace with the king of Spain, but they would not become his subjects, and they would not give up their aboriginal faith. At intervals of a few years from 1700 there were visits of Franciscan friars to explore the field for a spiritual reconquest or of military detachments with threats of war, but nothing could be effected. At the first town of Aguatuvi the Spaniards generally received some encouragement; but Oraibe, the most distant and largest of the pueblos, was always closed to them. The refugees (Tehuas, Tanos, and Tiguas) of the new pueblos were even more hostile than the Moquis proper, and by reason of their intrigues even Zuñi had more than once to be abandoned by the Spaniards. In 1701 Governor Cubero in a raid killed and captured a few of the Moquis. In 1706 Captain Holguin attacked and defeated the Tehua pueblo, but was in turn attacked by the Moquis and driven out of the country. In 1715 several soi-disant ambassadors came to Santa Fe with offers of submission, and negotiations made most favorable progress until Spanish messengers were sent, and then the truth came out that all had been a hoax, devised by cunning Moqui traders, seeking only a safe pretext for commercial visits to New Mexico. The governor thereupon made a campaign, but in 2 battles effected nothing. From about 1719 the Franciscans understood that the Jesuits were intriguing for the Moqui field, but beyond visiting Aguatuvi and obtaining some favorable assurances for the future, they did nothing (except, perhaps, with their pens in Europe) in self-defense until 1742, when, the danger becoming somewhat more imminent, 2 friars went to the far northwest and brought out 441 apostate Tiguas, with whom they shortly re-established the old pueblo of Sandia. Again, in 1745, they visited and preached to the Moquis, counting 10,846 natives, obtaining satisfactory indications of aversion to the Jesuits, and, above all, reporting what had been achieved, with mention of the Sierra Azul and Teguayo and the riches there to be found. Their efforts were entirely successful, and the king, convinced that he had been deceived (that a people from among whom 2 lone friars could bring out 441 converts could be neither so far away nor so hostile to the Franciscans as had been represented), revoked all he had conceded to the Jesuits. With the danger of rivalry ended the new-born zeal of the padres azules, and for 30 years, or in 1774–1775, no more attention was given to the Moquis.

From 1745 to 1774 the Moquis were free from Spanish invasion or attempt at control, but in 1776 religious zeal again insisted upon their control. Of this period, H. H. Bancroft (volume XVII, pages 260–263) writes as follows:

The conquest or conversion of the Moquis was a matter still kept in view, though for about 20 years no practical efforts in that direction are recorded down to 1774–1776, when the project was revived in connection with the California expeditions from Sonora. Captain Juan Bautista de Anza made an experimental or exploring trip by way of the Gila to California in 1774, and it was desired that, in connection with his second expedition, the region between Gila and Moqui towns should be explored. This region had not been traversed since the time of Coronado, in 1540–1543, except by Oñate, whose journey was practically forgotten. The country and its people were wrapped in mystery, and were the objects of much curiosity and theorizing. To find a way to Moqui was deemed important, especially as it was proposed, if possible, to occupy the Gila valley and some of its branches. The New Mexican friars were called upon for their views, and Padre Escalante developed much enthusiasm on the subject. In June 1775, or possibly 1774, he spent 8 days in the Moqui towns, trying in vain to reach the Rio Grande de Cosninas beyond. In a report to the governor he gave a description of the pueblos (where he found 7,494 souls, two-thirds of them at Oraibe, in 7 pueblos on 3 separate mesas) and his ideas of what should be done. He earnestly recommended (subsequently writing to his superior a long argument in support of his position) that the Moquis should be reduced by force of arms and a presidio established there. The Moquinos [Moquis], he said, were well disposed, but their chiefs had determined not to give up their power, not only keeping their own people from submission, but the Cosninas as well, who were eager to be christians. As to the routes, Escalante thought from what he could learn by Indian reports that the way from Terrenate by the Gila and thence north to Zuñi would not be very difficult; that the central route from the Colorado to Moqui would probably be found impracticable, but that the best of all was one leading from Monterey eastward in a nearly direct line to Santa Fe.

Alas for the good padre's geographical theories! In 1776, with a party of 9, including Padre Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, he attempted to reach Monterey from Santa Fe by the northern route. This tour belongs mainly to the annals of Utah and Colorado, as recorded in other volumes. The explorers reached Utah lake, and thus accomplished results that should make their names famous; but fortunately (else they would not have lived to tell the story), when on the approach of winter provisions became scarce and the natives showed no knowledge of Spaniards in the west, lots were cast, and fate decided that the journey to Monterey should be postponed. Accordingly they returned southeastward, forded the Colorado, came to the Moqui towns, and returned to Santa Fe. The Moquinos, though furnishing food and shelter, would not receive presents. A meeting was held to discuss submission, but, while willing to be friends of the Spaniards, the people proudly refused to be subjects or christians, preferring to "go with the majority" and be gentiles, as the traditions of their fathers directed them. Not only did Escalante fail to demonstrate the merits of his favorite northern route, but earlier in the same year the central one was proved to be practicable; and this, so far as the Moqui question was concerned, was the only result of Anza's California expedition. Padre Francisco Garces, leaving Anza at the Gila junction, went up the Colorado to the Mojave region with a few Indian servants, and after making important explorations in California, started eastward for Moqui, which he reached without any special difficulty in July. The Moquis, however, would not admit him to their houses or receive his gifts, cared not for his painting of heaven and hell, and refused to kiss the image of Christ. After passing 2 nights in the courtyard he wrote a letter for the padre at Zuñi, returned in sorrow to the Yamajabes, or Mojaves, and went down the Colorado, finding his way to Bac in September. His was a wonderful trip, though not very effective, in respect of Moqui salvation.

It was in 1776 that Lieutenant Colonel Antonio Bonilla, of Coahuila, embodied in a formal report not only a résumé of New Mexico's past history, but his views as to what should be done to avert impending ruin. He believed that as a frontier outpost among gentile tribes who had now lost all the fear and respect inspired by the first conqueror, and who themselves used firearms and horses, the holding of the province had an importance far beyond its direct value as a Spanish possession, since if it were lost the savage hordes would direct their whole force against Nueva, Vizcaya, and Sonora. Therefore a vigorous warfare should be waged by veteran troops from New Mexico as a center.

It was also in 1776–1777 that the northern provinces of Mexico were organized as the provincias internas, under the Caballero de Croix as commandante general, independent of the viceroy. This change and the following complications of the military and civil status of the various districts had but slight direct bearing on New Mexico, simply depriving the governor of his title of captain general, and making him subordinate at times to the commandante general instead of the viceroy.

EXPEDITION OF FATHER GARCES TO THE MOQUI PUEBLOS, JUNE, 1776.

Father Garces' expedition to the Moqui Pueblos in June, 1776, is detailed at length in the Spanish chronicles and given by H. H. Bancroft (volume XVII, pages 394–396) as follows:

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Left by Anza on the Colorado river, Father Garces immediately set out on his exploring tours, leaving his companion at Palma's rancheria to prepare the Yumas for mission life. In December, 1775, he went down to the mouth of the Colorado, and in February, 1776, up the river to the country of the Yamajabes, or Mojaves, crossed the country westward to San Gabriel in March, explored the great Tulare valley in April and May, and returned to the Colorado. Details of these Californian wanderings do not belong here. Though in receipt of Anza's letter, the explorer resolved to visit the Moqui towns, and set out from the Mojave region on the 4th of June. This journey, as the second through this region, and the first of which we have a detailed account, is a most interesting and important one, to which nothing like justice can be done in the appended résumé of the diary, which, however, as a record can not be omitted. The starting point was probably in the region of the later Fort Mojave, or latitude 35°, and the winding and complicated route corresponded in a general sense with that of Oñate in 1604–1605 and the line of the modern Atlantic and Pacific railroad. Garces was most kindly treated everywhere on the way, but on the Moquis even he could make no impression. They would have nothing to do with him, and took no interest in his picture of hell and heaven. Some visiting Zuñis offered to guide him to New Mexico, but he deemed it unsafe to make the trip, fearing also that his coming might be deemed by the authorities an intrusion, and so, having passed 2 nights in a corner of the courtyard at Oraibe, and having written a letter to the padre at Zuñi, he left this inhospitable tribe and found his way back to the Colorado, down that river to the Yumas, and thence back to his mission of San Xavier del Bac in September.

EFFORTS OF GOVERNOR ANZA TO CONVERT THE MOQUIS, 1780.

Father Garces reported to Governor Anza his failure at the Moqui pueblos, and the governor at once took steps to convert them. H. H. Bancroft (volume XVII, pages 265, 266) gives the following details, translated from the original documents, of the efforts of Governor Anza to convert the Moquis:

Back from this campaign [in 1778] Governor Anza gave his attention to the Moquis. A failure of crops had reduced that people to such straits that the time was deemed most favorable for their conversion, even christianity being perhaps preferable to starvation. Many of them were said to have abandoned their towns to seek food in the mountains and among the Navajos, and these fugitives were reported as disposed to submit, though the others still preferred death. It was feared that if something were not done now all the Moquis might quit pueblo life and join the hostile gentiles. Anza wrote repeatedly to Croix on the prospects, inclosing letters from the padres, and advising that an effort should be made either to establish missionaries at the towns, which would require some additional force, or to induce the natives to migrate en masse and settle in new pueblos nearer Spanish centers. In reply, the commandante general did not favor the use of force, but advised that Anza on some pretext, as of an Apache campaign, should visit the Moquis, give them some food, and persuade them, if possible, to settle in New Mexico; otherwise the foundation might be laid for future conversion. The governor continued his efforts, and in August, 1780, a message came that 40 families were ready to migrate if he would come in person to bring them. He started in September with Padres Fernandez and Garcia, visiting all the towns, 2 of which were completely abandoned. The 40 families had been forced by hunger 15 days ago to go to the Navajo country, where the men had been killed and the women and children seized as slaves. Moqui affairs were indeed in a sad condition. Escalante in 1775 had found 7,494 souls; now there were but 798; no rain had fallen in 3 years, and in that time deaths had numbered 6,698. Of 30,000 sheep 300 remained, and there were but 5 horses and no cattle. Only 500 fanegas of maize and beans could be expected from the coming crop. Pestilence had aided famine in the deadly work; raids from the Yutas and Navajos had never ceased. There were those who believed their misfortunes a judgment for their treatment of Padre Garces in 1776. The chief at Oraibe was offered a load of provisions to relieve immediate wants, but he proudly declined the gift, as he had nothing to offer in return. He refused to listen to the friars, and, in reply to Anza's exhortations, declared that, as his nation was apparently doomed to annihilation, the few who remained were resolved to die in their homes and in their own faith. Yet his subjects were free to go and become christians if they chose to do so; and finally 30 families were induced to depart with the Spaniards, including the chief of Gualpi [Walpi]. I find no record as to what became of these converts, but I have an idea that with them and others, a little later, the pueblo of Moquino, in the Laguna region, may have been founded.

Not only among the Moquis did pestilence rage, but smallpox carried off 5,025 Indians of the mission pueblos in 1780–1781, and in consequence of this loss of population Governor Anza, by consolidation, reduced the number of missions, or of sinodos, to 20, a change which for the next decade provoked much protest on the part of the friars.

After 1780 the Moquis seem to have been let alone in their faith.

THE MOQUI PUEBLOS IN 1799.

A translation by Buckingham Smith, secretary of the American legation at Madrid, prior to 1853, of a manuscript report by Don José Cortez, an officer of the Spanish royal engineers, who was stationed in the northern provinces of New Spain in 1799, gives the following as to the Moquis:

1. The province or territory of the Moqui (or Moquino) Indians lies to the westward of the capital of New Mexico. The nation revolted toward the close of the seventeenth century, driving out the Spaniards from the towns, and from that time no formal attempt has been made to reduce them to submission by force of arms; nor does a hope exist of its being accomplished by means of kindness, which on several occasions has already been unavailingly practiced. The towns in which they reside and are established are 7 in number: Oraibe, Taucos, Moszasnavi, Guipaulavi, Xongopavi, Gualpi, and there is also a village, which has no name, situated between the last town and Tanos, the inhabitants of which are subordinate colonists to the people of Gualpi.

2. The Moquinos are the most industrious of the many Indian nations that inhabit and have been discovered in that portion of America. They till the earth with great care, and apply to all their fields the manures proper to each crop. The same cereals and pulse (semillas) are raised by them that are everywhere produced by the civilized population in our provinces. They are attentive to their kitchen gardens, and have all the varieties of fruit-bearing trees it has been in their power to procure. The peach tree yields abundantly. The coarse clothing worn by them they make in their looms. They are a people jealous of their freedom, but they do no injury to the Spaniards who travel to their towns, although they are ever careful that they soon pass out from them.

3. The towns are built with great regularity, the streets are wide and the dwellings 1 or 2 stories high. In the construction of them they raise a wall about a yard and a half above the pave of the street, on a level with the top of which is the terrace and floor of the lower

story, to which the owners ascend by a wooden ladder, which they rest thereon and remove as often as they desire to go up or down. On the terrace, upon which all the doors of the lower story open, is a ladder whereby to ascend to the upper story, which is divided into a hall and 2 or 3 rooms, and on that terrace is another ladder with which to ascend to the roof or to another story, should there be one.

4. Each town is governed by a cacique, and for the defense of it the inhabitants make common cause. The people are of a lighter complexion than other Indians. Their dress differs but little from that worn by the Spanish-Americans of those remote provinces, and the fashion of their horse trappings is the same. They use the lance and the bow and arrows.

5. The women dress in a woven tunic without sleeves, and in a black, white, or colored shawl, formed like a mantilla. The tunic is confined by a sash that is usually of many tints. They make no use of beads or earrings. The aged women wear the hair divided into 2 braids and the young in a knot over each ear. They are fond of dancing, which is their frequent diversion; for it there is no other music than that produced by striking with 2 little sticks on a hollowed block and from a kind of small pastoral flute. At the assemblages, which are the occasions of the greatest display, there is not a Moqui of either sex whose head is not ornamented with beautiful feathers.

THE MOQUIS IN 1818–1819.

The Moquis appear in history again as objecting to the Navajos settling around 5 of their pueblos. On this subject Mr. H. H. Bancroft (volume XVII, page 287) writes as follows:

In 1818–1819 the Navajos renewed their hostilities. It was reported in Mexico in January, 1819, that Governor Melgares had in December forced them to sue for peace; but it appears that they had to be defeated twice more, in February and March, and that the treaty was finally signed on August 21. A notable feature of this affair is the fact that the Navajos, being hard pressed, settled near the Moqui towns, and the Moquis sent 5 of their number to ask aid from the Spaniards. This was deemed a most important occurrence, opening the way to the submission of this nation after an apostacy of 139 years. It was resolved to take advantage of the opportunity, but of the practical result nothing is known, since this is the only mention of this remnant of a valiant and independent people that I have been able to find in the records of the period.

THE MOQUIS IN 1834.

In Victor's River of the West, page 153, it is noted that in 1834 a trapping party of 200 men of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company went from Bill Williams fork to the Moqui towns, where several trappers plundered the gardens and shot 15 or 20 peaceful Moquis. In Spanish, Mexican, and American annals the Moquis are found complaining of the Navajos, who were almost constantly robbing them, and who would drive them away from the water now, so as to use it for their herds, but for fear of the law and soldiers.

The Moquis do not appear again in history until 1846 and after the occupation of New Mexico by General Kearny. They were so merged in history and tradition with the New Mexican Pueblos up to 1866 that they are only heard of as Moquis at long intervals. They were surrounded by deserts and the fierce Navajos, and these were sufficient to stop visitors or adventurers; only armies could reach them. Prior to 1846 and to 1866 the United States authorities were ignorant both of the condition of the Moquis and the names of their pueblos.

THE MOQUI PUEBLOS, 1846–1891.

The Moqui Pueblos in New Mexico in 1846 (under Mexican control from and after 1822 and citizens of the republic of Mexico the same as the Pueblos along the Rio Grande and adjacent country) came under the control of the United States authorities by the capture of New Mexico in 1846.

Governor Charles Bent, appointed by General S. W. Kearny, August, 1846, in a report to Hon. William Medill, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated November 10, 1846, wrote of the Moquis:

The Moques (Moquis) are neighbors of the Navajos and live in permanent villages, cultivate grain and fruits, and raise all the varieties of stock. They were formerly a very numerous people, the possessors of large flocks and herds, but have been reduced in numbers and possessions by their more warlike neighbors and enemies, the Navajos. The Moques (Moquis) are an intelligent and industrious people.

The Mormons pushed their settlements down toward them after 1846 and tried to convert them to Mormonism. The Moquis received the missionaries, accepted their presents, and then sent them home. Tuba city, a Mormon settlement, is about 70 miles to the northwest of Oraibi. The Mormons and Moquis constantly visit one another and trade together. At one time the Moquis let some of their farming lands on shares to the Mormons or other white people.

In March, 1850, Mr. Calhoun made the following report as to the Moqui Pueblos. In this report he says "the Pueblo Indians are all alike entitled to the favorable and early consideration of the government", showing that the Moqui Pueblos were considered to be the same as the other Pueblos.

INDIAN AGENCY, SANTA FE,
NEW MEXICO, March 29, 1850.

SIR:

Herewith I return the section of a map of New Mexico which you inclosed to me on the 28th day of last December.

You will find marked in this (o) the various Indian pueblos located in this territory upon the section of country which the map represents. It may be well to remember that there are 2 Indian pueblos below El Paso, Isletta and Socorro, and Zuñi, an Indian pueblo 88.30 miles northwest of Laguna. Of course, neither of these 3 pueblos could be marked upon the map. Beyond Zuñi, west perhaps 150 miles, the Moqui country is reached. These Indians live in pueblos, cultivate the soil to a limited extent, and raise horses, mules, sheep, and goats, and, I am informed, manufacture various articles.

I am extremely anxious to visit these Indians, but it would be unsafe to do so without a sufficient escort, as the Apaches are upon the left and the Navajos on the right in traveling from Zuñi to the Moquis.

The Pueblo Indians are all alike entitled to the favorable and early consideration of the government of the United States. My information concerning the Moqui Indians is not of a character to justify me in making suggestions in reference to an agent or agents further than to say, without an absolute examination by some one deputed for that purpose, information precise and reliable may not be looked for.

J. S. CALHOUN.

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VISIT OF MOQUIS TO SANTA FE, 1850.

October 6, 1850, a delegation from the 7 Moqui pueblos came to Santa Fe to visit Mr. Calhoun, and of this visit he wrote:

SANTA FE, October 6, 1850.

The 7 Moqui pueblos sent to me a deputation, who presented themselves on the 6th day of this month. Their object, as announced, was to ascertain the purposes and views of the government of the United States toward them. They complained bitterly of the depredations of the Navajos. The deputation consisted of the cacique of all the pueblos, and a chief of the largest pueblo, accompanied by 2 who were not officials. From what I could learn from the cacique, I came to the conclusion that each of the 7 pueblos was an independent republic, having confederated for mutual protection.

One of the popular errors of the day is, there are but 5 of these pueblos remaining; another is, that 1 of the pueblos speaks a different language from the other 6. I understood the cacique to say the 7 [pueblos] spoke the same language; but the pueblo in which he resided, Tanoquibi, spoke also the language of the pueblo of Santo Domingo, hence the error first mentioned. These pueblos may be all visited in 1 day. They are supposed to be located about due west from Santa Fe, and from 3 to 4 days' travel northwest from Zuñi.

The following was given to me as the names of their 7 pueblos: Oriva, Samoupavi, Inparavi, Mausand, Opquivi, Chemovi, and Tanoquibi. I understood further they regarded as a small pueblo Zuñi, as compared with Oriva. The other pueblos were very much like Zuñi and Santo Domingo. They supposed Oriva could turn out 1,000 warriors.

I desired, and believed it to be important, to visit these Indians, and would have done so if Colonel Munroe had not, in reply to my application for an escort, replied that he could not furnish me with one at that time. They left me apparently highly gratified at the reception and presents given to them.

It will be observed that the Moquis gave Mr. Calhoun the Indian names of their 7 pueblos. The United States took no further notice of the Moqui Pueblos until 1863. They cared for themselves and were in nowise a charge on the national treasury.

VISIT OF DR. TEN BROECK TO THE MOQUIS IN 1852.

In 1851–1852, Dr. P. S. G. Ten Broeck, assistant surgeon United States army, stationed in New Mexico, made several journeys among the Moqui Pueblos and Navajos. In March, 1852, he visited the Moquis, of which visit he writes as follows:

WALPI, March 31, 1852.

Between 11 and 12 o'clock to-day we arrived at the first towns of Magui [Moqui]. All the inhabitants turned out, crowding the streets and house tops to have a view of the white men. All the old men pressed forward to shake hands with us, and we were most hospitably received and conducted to the governor's house, where we were at once feasted upon guavas and a leg of mutton broiled upon the coals. After the feast we smoked with them and they then said that we should move our camp in, and that they would give us a room and plenty of wood for the men and sell us corn for the animals. Accordingly a Magui [Moqui] Indian was dispatched with a note to the sergeant, ordering him to break up camp and move up town. The Indian left on foot at 12.30 p. m., and although it took an hour to catch the mules and pack up, the men arrived and were in their quarters by 6 p. m. The camp was about 8.5 miles from the village. He could not have been more than an hour in going there, but they were accustomed to running from their infancy, and have great bottom. This evening we bought sufficient corn for the mules at $5 per faneja (2.5 bushels), paying in bayjeta, or red cloth, and they are now enjoying their first hearty meal for many days. The 3 villages here [Walpi, Sichumnavi, and Tewa] are situated on a strong bluff, about 300 feet high, and from 30 to 150 feet wide, which is approached by a trail passable for horses at only one point. This is very steep, and an hour's work in throwing down the stones with which it is in many places built up could render it utterly inaccessible to horsemen. At all other points they have constructed footpaths, steps, etc., by which they pass up and down. The side of the rock is not perfectly perpendicular, but after a sheer descent of 60 or 70 feet there are ledges from 5 to 8 yards wide, on which they have established their sheepfolds. The bluff is about 800 yards long, and the towns are some 150 yards apart. That upon the southern part contains fully as many inhabitants as both the others, and the houses are larger and higher; horses can not reach it, as the rock is much broken up between it and the second town.

The houses are built of stone, laid in mud (which must have been brought from the plain below, as there is not a particle of soil upon the rock), and in the same form as those of the other pueblos. They are, however, by far the poorest I have seen. The stories are but little over 6 feet high, and scarcely any of the houses can boast of doors or windows. The rafters are small poles of piñon, 7 feet, with center pole, and supporting posts running lengthwise through the building. Over these, and at right angles with smaller ones, poles covered with rushes are placed, and a coating of mud over all forms the roof. They are whitewashed inside with white clay. Hanging by strings from the rafters I saw some curious and rather horrible little Aztec images made of wood or clay, and decorated with paint and feathers, which the guide told me were "saints"; but I have seen the children playing with them in the most irreverent manner. The houses are entered by means of ladders, as in the other pueblos. The bluff runs nearly north and south, inclining a very little to the northwest. When a quarter of a mile from its foot, it is impossible for a stranger to distinguish the town, as, from the little wood used, there is no smoke perceptible, and the houses look exactly like the piles of rocks to be seen on any of the neighboring mesas, and I did not know where the Moqui was until fairly on the top of the ridge and just entering Harno [Tewa], the first town, which is situated on the north end. * * *

There is a mountain in the plain southwest from Moqui, which is covered with perpetual snow, and called by the Navajos, Cierra Natary, the "chief mountain". * * *

When there is great drought in the valley the Moquis go in procession to a large spring in the mountain for water, and they affirm that after doing so they always have plenty of rain. * * *

There is no running stream near here, and they obtain all their water from a small spring near the eastern base of the mountain, or rather bluff. They do not irrigate, nor do they plow, as they have no cattle, and I have not seen 10 horses or mules about the place. The valley is most miserably poor, but there are thousands of acres in it. They plant in the sand.

SICKMUNARI, April 1.

At Sickmunari [Sichumnavi], the middle town of the first mesa, I was awakened at midnight by the Indians, who were singing and dancing in the plaza for some hours, doubtless in preparation for to-day. I have been trading to-day with Moquis, Navajos, and Payoches [Pai Utes], and going now and then to look at the dancing in the plaza just behind us, which they tell me is a religious ceremony to bring on rain. * * *

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The dance to-day has been a most singular one, and differs from any I have ever seen among the Pueblo Indians, the dresses of the performers being more quaint and rich. There were 20 men and as many women, ranged in 2 files. The dresses of the men were similar to those I have described at Laguna during the Christmas holidays, except that they wear on their heads large pasteboard [wooden] towers, painted typically and curiously decorated with feathers, and each man has his face entirely covered by a visor made of small willows with the bark peeled off, and dyed a deep brown. They all carry in their hands gourds filled with small pebbles, which are rattled to keep time with the dancing. The women all have their hair put up in the manner peculiar to virgins, and immediately in the center, where the hair is parted, a long, straight eagle feather is fixed. They are also adorned with turkey and eagle feathers, in much the same way as the malinchi of the Lagunians. But by far the most beautiful part of their dress is a talma of some 3.5 feet square, which is thrown over the shoulders, fastened in front, and, hanging down behind, reaches halfway below the knee. This talma is pure white; its materials I should suppose to be cotton or wool; its texture is very fine and has one or more wide borders of beautiful colors, exceedingly well wrought in, and of curious patterns. The women also wear visors of willow sticks, which are colored a bright yellow, and arranged in parallel rows, like pandean pipes. On each side of the files is placed a small boy, who dances or capers up and down the line, and is most accurately modeled after the popular representation of his satanic majesty's imps. With the exception of a very short, fringed tunic, reaching just below the hip joint, and a broad sash fastened around the waist, the boy is entirely naked. On his head he wears a thing like a sugar loaf, painted black, which passes over the whole head and rests upon his shoulders. Around the bottom of this, encircling his neck, is a wreath made of twigs from the spruce tree, and on the top are fixed 2 long feathers which much resemble horns, and are kept in their places by a connecting string. The whole body is painted black, relieved by white rings placed at regular intervals over the whole person. The appearance of these little imps as they gamboled along the line of dancers was most amusing. They had neither a tombe accompaniment nor a band of singers; but the dancers furnished their own music, and a most strange sound it was, resembling very much the noise, on a large scale, of a swarm of bluebottle flies in an empty hogshead.

Each one was rolling out an aw, aw, aw, aw in a deep bass tone, and the sound coming through a hollow visor produced the effect described. The dance was a most monotonous one, the dancers remaining in the same place, and alternately lifting their feet in time to the song and gourds. The only change of position was an occasional "about face". When they first came in, 2 old men, who acted as masters of ceremonies, went along the whole line, and with a powder, held between the thumb and forefinger, anointed each dancer on the shoulder. After dancing a while in the mode described above, the ranks were opened, and rugs and blankets being brought and spread upon the ground, the virgins squatted on them, while the men kept up a kind of mumming dance in front. Every third or fourth female had at this time a large hollow gourd placed before her, on which rested a grooved piece of wood, shaped like an old-fashioned washboard; and, by drawing the dry shoulder blade of a sheep rapidly across this, a sound was produced similar to that of a watchman's rattle. After performing the same dance on each side of the plaza they left to return again in about 15 minutes, and thus they kept it up from sunrise till dark, when the dancing ceased.

As appendages to the feast, they had clowns who served as messengers and waiters and also to amuse the spectators while the dancers were away. The first batch consisted of 6 or 8 young men, in breechclouts, having some comical daubs of paint on their faces and persons, with wigs made of black sheepskins. Some wore rams' horns on their heads, and were amusing themselves by attempts at dancing, singing, and running races, when they were attacked by a huge grizzly bear (or rather a fellow in the skin of one), which, after a long pursuit and many hard fights, they brought to bay and killed. They then immmediately opened him and took from out his body a quantity of guavas, green corn, etc., which his bearship had undoubtedly appropriated from the refreshments provided for the clowns; but no sooner had they disposed of bruin than a new trouble came upon them in the shape of 2 ugly little imps, who, prowling about, took every opportunity to annoy them, and when, by dint of great perseverance, they succeeded in freeing themselves from these misshapen brats, in rushed 8 or 10 most horrible looking figures (in masks), all armed with whips, which they did not for a moment hesitate to apply most liberally to any of the poor clowns who were so unlucky as to fall into their clutches. They even tied some hand and foot, and laid them out in the plaza.

It seemed they were of the same race as the imps, and came to avenge the treatment they had received at the hands of the clowns; for the "limbs of satan" returned almost immediately and took an active part in their capture and in superintending the flagellating operations. Such horrible masks I never saw before, noses 6 inches long, mouths from ear to ear, and great goggle eyes, as big as half a hen's egg, hanging by a string partly out of the socket. They came and vanished like a dream, and only staying long enough to inflict a signal chastisement on the unfortunate clowns, who, however, soon regained their wonted spirits, after their tormentors left, and for the rest of the day had the field to themselves. The simple Indians appeared highly delighted by these performances, and I must avow having had many a hearty laugh at their whimsicalities.

While the dances were going on large baskets, filled with guavas of different forms and colors, roasted ears of corn, bread, meat, and other eatables were brought in and distributed by the virgins among the spectators. The old governor tells me this evening that it is contrary to their usages to permit the females to dance, and that those whom I supposed to be young virgins were in fact young men dressed in female apparel for the occasion. This is a custom peculiar to the Moquis, I think, for in all the other pueblos I visited the women danced. * * *

We seated ourselves with the governor and other principal men, smoked and had our "big talk", obtaining from them as much information as possible relative to their history, customs, origin, religion, crops, etc. The principal ruler was present.

This government is hereditary, but does not necessarily descend to the sons of the incumbent, for if the people prefer any other blood relation he is chosen.

The population of the 7 villages I should estimate at 8,000, of which one-half is found in the first 3. (*a*) They say that of late years wars and disease have greatly decreased their numbers. They spoke of fevers and disease which I supposed to be phthisic and pertussis. They observe no particular burial rites. They believe in the existence of a Great Father, who lives where the sun rises, and a Great Mother, who lives where the sun sets. The first is the author of all the evils that befall them, as war, pestilence, famine, etc., and the Great Mother is the very reverse of this, and from her are derived the blessings they enjoy: fertilizing showers, etc.

In the course of the "talk" the principal governor made a speech, in which he said: "Now, we all know that it is good the Americans have come among us, for our Great Father, who lives where the sun rises, is pacified, and our Great Mother, who lives where the sun sets, is smiling, and in token of her approbation sends fertilizing showers (it was snowing at the time), which will enrich our fields and enable us to raise the harvest whereby we subsist". They say it generally rains this time of the year. Of their origin they give the following account:

"Many, many years ago their Great Mother brought from her home in the west 9 races of men, in the following forms: first, the deer race; second, the sand race; third, the water race; fourth, the bear race; fifth, the hare race; sixth, the prairie wolf race; seventh, the

a This estimate was made prior to the smallpox epidemic of 1853–1854.

rattlesnake race; eighth, the tobacco plant race; ninth, the reed grass race. Having placed them on the spot where their villages now stand, she transformed them into men, who built the present pueblos, and the distinction of races is still kept up. One told me he was of the sand race, another the deer, etc. They are firm believers in metempsychosis, and they say that when they die they will resolve into their original forms and become bears, deer, etc., again. The chief governor is of the deer race. Shortly after the pueblos were built the Great Mother came in person and brought them all the domestic animals they now have, which are principally sheep and goats and a few very large donkeys."

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They have scarcely any horses and mules, as there is no grass nearer than 6 miles from the rock, and their frequent wars with the Navajos render it almost impossible to keep them. The sacred fire is kept constantly burning by the old men, and all I could glean from them was that some great misfortune would befall their people if they allowed it to be extinguished. They know nothing of Montezuma and have never had any Spanish or other missionaries among them. All the seeds they possess were brought from where the morning star rises. They plant in May or June and harvest in October and November. They do not plow or irrigate, but put their seeds in the sand and depend upon the rains for water. They raise corn, melons, pumpkins, beans, and onions, also cotton, of which I procured a specimen, and a species of mongrel tobacco.

They have also a few peach trees, and are the only Pueblo Indians who raise cotton. They have no small grain of any kind. They say they have known the Spaniards ever since they can remember. About 20 years ago a party of about 15 Americans, the first they ever saw, came over the mountains and took the Zuñi trail; 6 years afterward another party, with 4 females, passed through. Their crop last year was very small, and sometimes fails them entirely on account of the drought. For this reason they hoard up their corn, and that sold us was 4 years old. Roasting ears hanging around the room are of the same age.

Their mode of marriage might well be introduced into the United States, with the bloomer costume. Here, instead of the swain asking the hand of the fair one, she selects the young man who is to her fancy and then her father proposes the match to the sire of the lucky youth. This proposition is never refused. The preliminaries being arranged, the young man on his part furnishes 2 pairs of moccasins, 2 fine blankets, 2 mattresses, and 2 of the sashes used at the feast, while the maiden for her share provides an abundance of eatables, when the marriage is celebrated by feasting and dancing. Polygamy is unknown among them, but at any time either party, if dissatisfied, can be divorced and marry with another. If there are children they are taken care of by their respective grandparents. They are a simple, happy, and most hospitable people. The vice of intoxication is unknown among them, as they have no kind of fermented liquors. When a stranger visits one of their houses the first act is to set food before him, and nothing is done "till he has eaten".

In every village is one or more edifices (estufas) underground, which one reaches by descending a ladder. They answer to our village groceries, being a place of general resort for the male population. I went into one of them and found it stifling hot, all the light and air coming through the scuttle above. In the center was a small, square box, of stone, in which was a fire of guava bushes, and around this a few old men were smoking. All about the room were Indians (men) naked to the "breechclout"; some were engaged in sewing and others spinning and knitting. On a bench in the background sat a warrior, most extravagantly painted, who was undoubtedly undergoing some ordeal, as I was not allowed to approach him. They knit, weave, and spin, as in the other pueblos, also make cotton fabrics.

Pipes belonging to the chief men are of peculiar shape and made of smooth, polished stone. These pipes have been handed down from generation to generation, and they say their pipes were found in their present form by their forefathers centuries ago in the water of a very deep ravine in a mountain to the west.

Their year is reckoned by 12 lunar months. They wear necklaces of very small seashells, ground flat (doubtless procured from California), which they say were brought to them by other Indians who lived over the western mountains, who claim that they obtained them from 3 old men who never die. Several Navajos, who were present at the conversation, appeared perfectly friendly. I saw to-day a Navajo chief, named Cavallada, who has a paper from Governor Calhoun, making him a chief.

The villages of the Moquis are 7 in number, and more nearly correspond to the 7 cities of Cibolal (spoken of by Mr. Gallatin in his letter to Lieutenant Emory, United States army, than any which have yet been discovered. They are situated in the same valley; they are upon the bluff. Oraivaz [Oraibi], called Musquin by the Mexicans, is about 30 miles distant, and almost due west from the bluff. There is another town at 20 miles west by south, and 2 others about south southwest, and some 8 or 10 miles distant from the first three. Of these, the 2 at the southern extremity of the bluff are the largest, containing probably 2,000 inhabitants. Oraivaz [Oraibi] is the second in size. The inhabitants all speak the same language except those of Harno [Tewa], the most northern town of the 3, which has a different language and some customs peculiar to itself. It is, however, considered one of the towns of the confederation, and joins in all the feasts. It seems a very singular fact that, being within 150 yards of the middle town, Harno [Tewa] should have preserved for so long a period its own language and customs. The other Moquis say the inhabitants of this town have a great advantage over them, as they perfectly understand the common language, and none but the people of Harno [Tewa] understand their dialect. It is the smallest town of the 3. The dress of the men when abroad is similar to that of the other Pueblos, but when at home they have a great fancy for going in "puris naturalibus", wearing nothing but the breechclout and moccasins. If they slip out for a moment, they perhaps throw a blanket over their shoulders. They dress their hair like the Lagunians. I was much amused with one fellow who had a kind of full dress on. The coat was made of alternate pieces of red and blue cloth, with large bright buttons, shoulder knots and tops of horsehair, and with it buttoned up to the chin, and naught else on, he would strut about with as much self-satisfaction as any Broadway dandy. He had obtained the coat from the Eutaws [Utes] of the Great Salt lake, who were here last fall. (The governor showed me a letter signed by one Day, an Indian agent, and Brigham Young, the Mormon governor, which the Eutaws [Utes] had with them. This was their first visit, but they are to return next fall.) The women are the prettiest squaws I have yet seen, and very industrious. Their manner of dressing the hair is very pretty. While virgins, it is done up on each side of the head in 2 inverse rolls, which bear some resemblance to the horns of the mountain sheep. After marriage they wear it in 2 large knots or braids on each side of the face. In the northern town they dress their hair differently, the unmarried wearing all the hair long and in 2 large knots on each side of the face, and after marriage parting it transversely from ear to ear, and cutting off the front hair in a line with the eyebrows. These people make the same kind of pottery as the Zuñians and Lagunians. * * *

We started on our return to the Navajo country at 9 a. m., and were truly an hour getting down the trail, so slippery was it from the melting snow. We have had a very fair sample of the hospitality of these kind people to-day. As it was known that we were to depart this morning, woman after woman came to the house where we were stopping, each bringing us a basket either of corn meal or guavas that we might not suffer for food while on the road home. The governor killed a sheep and presented it to us. When we were fairly started, and passing through the towns, the women stood at the tops of the ladders with little baskets of corn meal, urging us to take them.

THE MOQUIS IN 1853.

In 1853 the Moquis appear again in a report by Lieutenant Whipple, who writes, in his Pacific Railroad Report, volume III, as follows:

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CAMP 77, December 4, 1853.

This has been a day of rest. Lieutenant Tidball, with the additional escort from Fort Defiance, not having yet overtaken us, it seems proper to move slowly. Mr. Campbell discovered upon the lowlands near camp traces of ruins quite similar to those on Rio Gila. Among them he found an arrowhead of jasper, and a sort of earthen amulet. The buildings must have been of adobes, differing in that respect from the walled pueblos previously seen upon mesa heights. Those of Moqui are said to be upon hills more than a thousand feet above the surrounding plains. Barricaded passes, like those at old Zuñi, lead to the top. It was probably a powerful enemy that drove the people from watered valleys to arid heights, notwithstanding their strange tradition of a flood.

SMALLPOX VISITATION OF 1853-1854.

The Moquis have been frequently scourged with epidemics; the one accompanied by famine in 1775 was frightful. The severe modern smallpox scourge among the Moquis (which came from Zuñi) was in 1853–1854. Lieutenant Whipple refers to it in his Pacific Railroad Survey Report. He was en route from Zuñi to explore, as a side trip, the Colorado chiquito, and needed guides. He sent some Zuñians to the Moqui Pueblos for them. In an account of his itineracy he writes:

NOVEMBER 28, 1853.

We had sent to Moqui hoping to obtain Indian guides through this country also, but the messengers returned unsuccessful. They brought tidings that by hundreds the Moquis were dying by smallpox; only 3 men could be found in health, and they were insufficient to throw the dead over the walls.

Lieutenant Whipple, in his journal, under the same date, continues:

José Maria, Juan Septimo, and José Hacha were the guides sent to us by the caciques of Zuñi. They described the country to the Colorado chiquito as being nearly a level plain, with springs of permanent water at convenient distances. This is their hunting ground. Of the country west of that river they know nothing. Moqui Indians are, however, supposed to have a knowledge of the region, and we intend to seek among them for a guide. José and Juan are to go as bearers of dispatches to the Moqui nation, with the understanding that, after having accomplished their mission, they will report to us upon the Colorado chiquito.

NOVEMBER 29, 1853.

To-morrow José Maria and Juan Septimo leave our trail and proceed to Moqui. At our request they traced a sketch of the Moqui country and the route they propose to travel. They say that the population of the 7 towns of Moqui has been greatly diminished lately, and now is about the same as that of Zuñi, that is, according to our previous estimate, 2,000 persons. But it is a difficult matter to determine satisfactorily the population of an Indian pueblo without an examination more minute than would have been agreeable to us in Zuñi during the prevalence of the smallpox. The houses are so piled upon each other that they can not be counted, nor does any one seem to know how many families occupy the same dwelling. Different authors therefore vary in their estimates for this place [Moqui] from 1,000 to 6,000 persons. Mexicans say that in joining them in expeditions against the Navajos, there have been known to turn out 1,000 warriors. Leroux agrees with me that this is doubtless an exaggeration.

DECEMBER 5, 1853.

José Hacha took leave of us this morning to return to Zuñi. He had despaired of meeting those sent to Moqui, but this evening they came prancing into camp. Every one was glad to see them, and their arrival created quite an excitement. Their mission had been performed, but no Moqui guide could be obtained. The smallpox had swept off nearly every male adult from 3 pueblos. In 1 remained only the cacique and a single man from 100 warriors. They were dying by fifties per day, and the living, unable to bury the dead, had thrown them down the steep sides of the lofty mesa upon which the pueblos are built. There wolves and ravens had congregated in myriads to devour them. The decaying bodies had even infected the streams, and the Zuñians were obliged to have recourse to melons both for food and drink. The young of the tribe had suffered less, few cases among them having proved mortal. Juan Septimo brought for us several excellent robes of wild cat or tiger skin, such as the Moquis wear in the winter.

VISIT OF LIEUTENANT J. C. IVES TO THE MOQUI PUEBLOS, 1858.

In 1857–1858 Lieutenant J. C. Ives, Topographical Engineers, United States army, made a survey of the river Colorado of the west (Colorado river) from its mouth on the Pacific coast up and to the Moqui villages. In May, 1858, he crossed from Colorado river to Fort Defiance via the Moqui pueblos or villages, a desperate journey, through a country which he called "the deserted and ghastly region". The men and mules were almost famished with thirst, so he had to go back to the river for water. May 8 he resumed his march and passed several salt springs, near an Indian trail, and afterward found that there the Moquis obtained their salt. Again, on May 8 and 9 his water supply was nearly gone, but new hope came as he saw the "Blue Peak mountains".

The description of the country and the Moqui pueblos which Lieutenant Ives gives is so accurate and correct that it might have been written in 1890. Reading this account, and the reports of Special Agents Scott and Clarke, also the notes of late Special Agent Steven of the Eleventh Census, a vivid picture of the condition of these people is given in 1858 and in 1890–1891, leaving a gap of 33 years. Especially interesting is the description of the country adjacent to the Moqui pueblos. If anything, the country is in a worse condition now than in 1858. Lieutenant Ives and party, on approaching the Moqui pueblos, were famishing for water and in a desert, with no signs whatever of being near a supply, and yet they were only 3 miles from the spring at the base of Mishongnavi. Of the journey and visit to the Moqui pueblos, Lieutenant Ives writes:

MAY 7, 1858.

The night spent upon the desert showed that this condemned region was not entirely devoid of life, as the sun declined, and a pleasanter atmosphere succeeded to the oppressive heat, scorpions, spiders, rattlesnakes, and centipedes emerged from their retreats to enjoy the evening air.

MAY 9, 1858.

The supposed position of the Moqui towns turns out to have been erroneous. We should already, according to the maps, be in sight of them, but a view from the top of the hill by which we are encamped discloses no signs of habitations. The blue peaks in the direction of the trail are nearly passed, and the country northward looks arid and unpromising.

CAMP 92, LIMESTONE SPRING, May 10, 1858.

It was resolved to make a long march should no water be reached, and we started at an early hour. 3 miles from camp, while passing through some hills that exhibited every indication of utter dryness and sterility, we found at the bottom of a ravine a growth of young willows surrounding some springs and a patch of fresh, green grass. The packs were removed. A trench was dug across the ravine, which filled slowly, but in a few hours had enabled all the mules to drink. It did not take them long to eat up the grass, and an hour before noon the packs were replaced and the march resumed. The path had again become hard, and 13 miles were accomplished without trouble. This brought us to a rough ravine that led through a limestone ridge to the edge of a broad valley. Some tolerable grass and a little spring of water offered sufficient inducement to camp.

FIRST VIEW OF MOQUI PUEBLOS.

As the sun went down and the confused glare of the mirage disappeared I discovered with a spyglass 2 of the Moqui towns, 8 or 10 miles distant, upon the summit of a high bluff overhanging the opposite side of the valley. They were built close to the edge of the precipice, and being of the same color as the mesa it would have been difficult to distinguish them, even with a glass, but for the vertical and horizontal lines of the walls and buildings. The outlines of the closely packed structures looked in the distance like the towers and battlements of a castle, and their commanding position enhanced the picturesque effect.

LIEUTENANT IVES MEETS MOQUI GUIDES.

MOQUI PUEBLOS, May 11, 1858.

The trail crossed the valley, making straight for the pueblos. For 6 miles not a sign of life was perceived, but while ascending a hill near the base of the bluff 2 Indians mounted on 1 small horse charged suddenly upon us, the riders shouting vociferous welcomes and both insisting upon shaking hands with the whole company. One was respectably dressed, wearing a blue coat, cotton pants, a hat, a belt of circular brass plates, and a variety of ornaments, and armed with a flintlock musket of ancient pattern. The little horse was nearly as thin as our mules, but garnished with red trimmings and a Mexican saddle and bridle. The most remarkable feature about both men was their neatness. Their hair was finer than is usual with the race and carefully combed. They were arrayed, to be sure, in their best attire, but cleanliness is seldom considered by Indians as forming any part of the most elaborate toilet.

I asked the leader to be directed to water, and he pointed to a gap where a ravine appeared to run up the bluff, rather behind the pueblos, and signified that there we would find an abundance. He further informed me that there was an excellent grass camp at the same place. A great deal of pantomime brought about this understanding, and then he signified that we must leave the trail and follow him, which we accordingly did, diverging a little to the left from our former course. * * * Our new friend had a pleasant, intelligent face, which expressed, however, misgivings as to our character and object in coming into that unvisited region; but he rode along humming to himself, with a palpable affectation of being cool and unconcerned, occasionally glancing back with a dubious air to see what was going on behind. The 2, who had been selected to bear the brunt of the first interview, had, I suppose, brought the horse as a means of escape, for soon others of the tribe, satisfied of our pacific intentions, came up on foot. All were running at the top of their speed. They approached to the very sides of the mules, greatly to the alarm of those animals, and suddenly brought up to shake hands, commencing with me and continuing through the train. They were clean and nice looking, but no particular costume prevailed. Every available article acquired by trading with other Indians (for they have no communication with whites) had been converted into raiment or material for personal adornment. Their figures were of medium size and indifferently proportioned, their features strongly marked and homely, with an expression generally bright and good-natured. 30 or 40 joined us, and the cortege in a little while became of considerable length.

The face of the bluff, upon the summit of which the town was perched, was cut up and irregular. We were led through a passage that wound among some low hillocks of sand and rock, extending halfway to the top. Large flocks of sheep were passed. All but 1 or 2 were jet black, presenting when together a singular appearance. It did not seem possible, while ascending through the sand hills, that a spring could be found in such a dry looking place, but presently a crowd was seen upon a mound before a small plateau, in the center of which was a circular reservoir 50 feet in diameter, lined with masonry and filled with pure, cold water. The basin was fed from a pipe connecting with some source of supply upon the summit of the mesa. The Moquis looked amiably on while the mules were quenching their thirst, and then my guide informed me that he would conduct us to a grazing camp. Continuing to ascend, we came to another reservoir, smaller but of more elaborate construction and finish. From this the guide said they got their drinking water, the other reservoir being intended for animals. Between the two the face of the bluff had been ingeniously converted into terraces. These were faced with neat masonry and contained gardens, each surrounded with raised edge so as to retain water upon the surface. Pipes from the reservoirs permitted them at any time to be irrigated.

Peach trees were growing upon the terraces and in the hollows below. A long flight of stone steps, with sharp turns that could easily be defended, was built into the face of the precipice, and led from the upper reservoir to the foot of the town. The scene, rendered animated by the throngs of Indians in their gaily colored dresses, was one of the most remarkable I had ever witnessed. My state of admiration was interrupted by the guide, who told me, to my astonishment, that we had reached the camp ground. Besides the danger of the mules trampling upon and ruining the garden, it was no place to stop, inasmuch as there was not a blade of grass. I called the attention of the Indian to the latter fact, which he did not appear to have considered. While he was reflecting upon the matter we were joined by a pleasant looking, middle aged man, with a handsome shell suspended from his neck and a kind of baton in his hand, whom I supposed to be a chief. Like the rest, he shook hands all around and held a consultation with the guide and with the crowd generally about the grass. They finally concluded that there was plenty a little further ahead, and we proceeded around the ascent by a side trail that led away from the pueblo. In 10 minutes a spot was reached which all agreed was the best grazing camp the country afforded. I no longer wondered that their 1 horse looked thin. A single animal could scarcely have existed for 3 days upon all the grass in the neighborhood. Some distance back in the valley I had seen a small patch of grass, and now signified to the troubled looking Indians that I would send the train back and let the mules be driven to the reservoir when they needed water. I also told him that Dr. Newberry, Mr. Egloffstein, and myself would visit the houses before following the rest of the party to the camp. This arrangement seemed satisfactory, and the chief accompanied by several friends led the way with an inconvenient alacrity, considering the steepness of the ascent. The stone steps being surmounted, we came upon a level summit, and had the walls of the pueblo upon one side and an extensive and beautiful view upon the other. Without giving us time to admire the scene, the

Indians led us to a ladder planted against the center of the front face of the pueblo. The town is nearly square and surrounded by a stone wall 15 feet high, the top of which forms a landing extending around the whole. Flights of stone steps led from the first to a second landing, upon which the houses open. Mounting the stairway opposite to the ladder, the chief crossed to the nearest door and ushered us into a low apartment, from which 2 or 3 others opened toward the interior of the dwelling. Our host courteously asked us to be seated upon some skins spread along the floor against the wall, and presently his wife brought in a vase of water and a tray filled with a singular substance that looked more like sheets of thin, blue wrapping paper rolled up into bundles than anything else that I had ever seen. I learned afterward that it was made from corn meal, ground very fine, made into a gruel, and poured over a heated stone to be baked. When dry it has a surface slightly polished, like paper. The sheets are folded and rolled together and form the staple article of food with the Moqui Indians.

As the dish was intended for our entertainment and looked clean we all partook of it. It has a delicate fresh-bread flavor, and was not at all unpalatable, particularly when eaten with salt. After eating and drinking, Mr. Egloffstein took a pipe from his pocket, which was filled and passed around. I noticed then and afterward that the Moquis when commencing to smoke bow with solemnity toward each point of the compass. While they were engaged with the pipe we had a chance to examine the contents of the apartment. The room was 15 by 10 feet, the walls were made of adobes, the partitions of substantial beams, and the floor laid with clay; in one corner a fireplace and chimney. Everything was clean and tidy. Skins, bows and arrows, quivers, antlers, blankets, articles of clothing, and ornaments were hanging from the walls or arranged upon shelves. Vases, flat dishes, and gourds filled with meal or water were standing along one side of the room. At the other end was a trough divided into compartments, in each of which was a sloping stone slab, 2 or 3 feet square, for grinding corn upon. In a recess of an inner room was piled a goodly store of corn in the ear. I noticed among other things a reed musical instrument, with a bell-shaped end like a clarionet, and a pair of painted drumsticks tipped with gaudy feathers. Another inner room appeared to be a sleeping apartment, but this being occupied by females we did not enter, though the Indians seemed to be pleased rather than otherwise at the curiosity evinced during the close inspection of their dwelling and furniture.

While Mr. Egloffstein was making a sketch of the place and its owners I had a talk with the latter. Spreading a map of the country we had been exploring, I pointed out our route and the place with which I supposed they were familiar. They seemed to comprehend, and the chief designated upon the map the position of the other 6 Moqui pueblos. I told him that we wished to go further to the north, and he signified that 4 days' travel in that direction would bring us to a large river. Whether there were watering places between it was difficult from his signs to determine. I then asked for a guide, promising a mule to any one that would accompany me, whereupon he said that he would be ready to go himself early the next morning. A bargain was likewise made for some sheep, which they agreed to send to camp, receiving a blanket in exchange for each animal.

We learned that there were 7 towns; that the name of that which we were visiting was Mooshahneh [Mishongnavi]. A second and smaller town was half a mile distant, 2 miles westward was a third, which had been seen from camp the evening before. 5 or 6 miles to the northeast a bluff was pointed out as the location of 3 others, and we were informed that the last of the 7, Oraybe [Oraibi], was still further distant, on the trail toward the great river.

From the heights, the ascent to which is so difficult and so easily descended, the Moquis can overlook the surrounding country and descry at a vast distance the approach of strangers. The towns themselves would be almost impregnable to an Indian assault. Each pueblo is built around a rectangular court, in which we suppose are the springs that furnish the supply to the reservoirs. The exterior walls, which are of stone, have no openings, and would have to be scaled or battered down before access could be gained to the interior.

The successive stories are set back, one behind the other. The lower rooms are reached through trapdoors from the first landing. The houses are 3 rooms deep and open upon the interior court. The arrangement is as strong and compact as could well be devised, but as the court is common and the landings are separated by no partitions it involves a certain community of residence. The strength of the position unfortunately does not protect the animals upon the plains below, and our friends informed us, with rueful faces, that the Comanches and Navajos had driven off a great deal of their stock during the previous year. The Moquis do not look warlike, and but for their natural and artificial defenses would doubtless long ago have been exterminated by their powerful and aggressive neighbors.

Curious faces were peering at us from the openings and landings during these observations. Many of the women and girls made their appearance, all but 1 or 2 having previously kept out of sight. The hair of the young girls is gathered into large knots, or rather knobs, one at each corner of the forehead, which gives them an odd appearance, but their skins are rather fair and their faces pretty. They are quiet and retiring, neat in appearance, and prepossessing in expression and manner. The members of the tribe are of a much lighter hue than any Indians met upon our route.

Having made a long visit we descended to camp, inviting the chief and 2 of his friends to go with us, which they did, taking us down by a more direct route than that by which we had ascended. The sheep were soon forthcoming to agreement, and several brought bags of corn and little packages of dried peaches to trade. Some beautiful and really valuable Navajo blankets were also offered and readily exchanged for a woolen shirt or some common article of apparel.

The 3 who accompanied us down I invited into my tent and regaled with bread and molasses, which they ate greedily. They had scarcely commenced eating when suddenly as many Indians as the tent could hold entered without invitation and joined in the repast.

Like the Zuñi Indians, the Moquis have albinos among them. A woman with a fair, light complexion and hair has been in camp this evening. It seemed incredible that she could be of Indian parentage, but such cases are by no means rare in the pueblos of New Mexico.

Satisfied with the conduct of the chief, I gave him a red sash, which excited great admiration. He then departed, promising to be in camp early in the morning, ready to accompany us as guide.

The day has been still and clear and the heat intense. It is hard to realize that the region about us was covered with snow but 48 hours ago, and that we were nearly frozen by the cold wind and pelting sleet.

CAMP 94, ORAYBE [ORAIBI], May 12, 1858.

This morning the Moquis were in camp exhibiting an insatiable curiosity to see everything that was going on. Our promised guide did not come with the others, and I suppose he was preparing himself for the journey. Corn meal was brought in for trade, and one individual opening his blanket disclosed a dozen fresh eggs, for which he found a ready sale.

Starting for Oraybe it was difficult to decide, being without a guide, which direction to take. I inquired of the Indians for the trail to Oraybe, but they could or would not understand, and no one would consent to lead the way. Concluding to pursue a northwest course we started through the sand hills, following, as nearly as possible, that direction, but had scarcely ridden a hundred yards when the chief appeared over the brow of a hill, running as the Indians had done on the day before, at full speed. He rushed to the head of the train, shook hands, told me that he had to go back to his house, but would soon overtake us by a short cut, ordered a boy near by to guide us meanwhile, and disappeared as rapidly as he had approached.

Under the guidance of the lad we followed a sinuous and difficult road through the hills that form the slope from the bluffs to the plain below. The trail led close to a second town whose inhabitants were gathered on the walls and housetops to gaze at us as we passed.

Two more reservoirs and several gardens and peach orchards were seen. A few miles of tedious traveling brought us to the edge of the valley. The chief overtook us here, and a mule was furnished to him, upon which he mounted and led the way.

The country now traversed was the most promising looking for agricultural purposes than any yet seen. It had nearly all been under cultivation. Immense fields were passed, and our guide stopped constantly to gossip with his neighbors, who were busy planting corn. Their method of doing this was very primitive. With a sharp stick a hole was punched in the ground a foot deep, and the corn dropped in and covered up. No women were engaged in the labor. Unlike other tribes of Indians the men do the out-door work, leaving to the females the care of the households, the spinning, weaving [the men do the weaving], sewing, etc. At the end of a few miles Oraybe [Oraibi] came in sight. It was larger than the other pueblos. Though we had made but a short march several mules gave out and could not be driven even without their packs. The scanty grass of the 3 preceding days had taken away the remnant of strength left to them. We had to camp, though the pasturage was neither good nor abundant.

The Oraybe reservoirs are a mile or two distant, but we shall pass one to-morrow and be able to water the animals and fill the kegs as we go by. A large number of citizens came to see us. I subsequently learned that one of them was the chief, but he did not accost any one nor seem desirous of making acquaintances. It was apparent that he was out of humor, and the chief [from Mishongnavi] who had guided us informed me that the other, who seems to be the senior of all, had objected to any of the tribe accompanying the expedition north on the ground that there was no water; that the country was bad; that we would have to travel several days before coming to a river, and that if we did reach it the mules could not get to the bank. Arguments and promises were vain. The Oraybe continued to express disapproval, and his influence seemed to be all-powerful. His ill temper increased as the discussion proceeded, and at last he left in a sulk and went home. I then had a talk with the other. He was friendly in his manner, but said that he could not go while his superior objected, and intimated, if I understood him aright, that the Oraybe captain had some reason for not being well disposed toward Americans. He said that there was a water hole a long day's journey off, where we could get a small supply; that to this point he would guide us, and that there was a trail beyond, which could be followed as well without guidance as with it. He persisted that there would be a march of 3 or 4 days without water before reaching the river. As nearly as I have been able to judge they consider a day's march 30 miles. If his statement is true, the question of crossing this desert in the present condition of the mules may be considered as settled.

The Oraybe Indians are more quiet than their brethren of Mooshahneh [Mishongnavi]. They collect in a circle to witness anything that may be going on, but are almost silent, and when they speak or laugh do so in a suppressed tone, like children under restraint. There is much uniformity of dress. All were wrapped in Navajo blankets, with broad white and dark stripes, and a crowd at a distance looks like the face of a stratified rock.

The external and internal arrangements of the houses are like those of the other town, but there is generally less neatness and thrift in the appearance both of the place and its inhabitants.

CAMP 95, ORAYBE GARDENS, May 13, 1858.

Neither of the chiefs nor many of their tribe appeared in camp this morning. They are late risers and we were off soon after sunrise, but had proceeded only a mile when an Indian came running after us. He said that he had been dispatched by the Oraybe chief to conduct us to the next water, and we began to think the old fellow less churlish than he had appeared, and gladly availed ourselves of his civility and of the newcomer's knowledge.

Selecting a course among numerous intersecting trails that would have puzzled a stranger considerably, he led the way to the east of the bluff on which Oraybe stands. 8 or 9 miles brought the train to an angle formed by 2 faces of the precipice. At the foot was a reservoir, and a broad road wound up the steep ascent. On either side the bluffs were cut into terraces and laid out into gardens similar to those seen at Mooshahneh [Mishongnavi], and, like them, irrigated from an upper reservoir. The whole reflected great credit upon Moqui ingenuity and skill in the department of engineering. The walls of the terraces and reservoirs were of partially dressed stone, well and strongly built, and the irrigating pipes conveniently arranged. The little gardens were neatly laid out; 2 or 3 men and as many women were working in them as we passed. * * *

While on the road to-day the guide pointed out a place where the Navajos had recently made a descent upon the Moqui flocks. He had himself been herding at the time and showed me 2 scars upon his sides from wounds received at the hands of the conquerors, who made off with their stock. * * *

CAMP 97, ORAYBE GARDENS, May 15, 1858.

No Indians came again to camp. The guide before leaving had told a Mexican that the distance to the river was more than 100 miles, and that the only watering place was about 25 miles from Oraybe. Preferring to see for ourselves the condition of the country, we pursued the same general course as before, toward the northwest. The top of the mesa on which we had been encamped proved to be very narrow, and before we had traveled a mile we came to its northern edge, where there were the usual precipice and foothills, forming the descent to a broad valley. Here also the bluffs had been formed into terraced gardens and reservoirs. The descent was steep and difficult. The valley furnished better grass than any seen since leaving Flax river, but the soil was soft and the traveling laborious. We crossed the lowland and ascended the opposite mesa. The trail was found and its course followed for 10 or 11 miles, when most of the mules again gave out and became unable to proceed; though the weather was cloudy and cool and they had rested and had had tolerable grazing and water during the previous day and night it was evident that their strength was gone. * * *

To fully test the practicability of proceeding further, * * * 2 experienced water hunters, mounted on the least broken down mules, rode ahead to explore. If they found water they were to send up a smoke as a signal for the train to advance. They traveled about 20 miles, finding a deserted Indian encampment where water had been at some seasons, but which was then perfectly dry. From the point where they halted, on the summit of a lofty plateau, the country could be overlooked for 50 or 60 miles, and there was every indication that it was a waterless desert. There was no alternative but to return, and the next morning we retraced our way and encamped near the northern Oraybe gardens at the edge of the large valley. We remained here for a day to let the mules rest and graze before undertaking the trip to Fort Defiance. As it is we half anticipate reaching that place on foot.

The Oraybe chief, gratified at the fulfillment of his prediction in regard to the impracticability of the trip northward, has been to visit us and comported himself with much amiability. He told me that he would send a guide to show us the best route to Fort Defiance, and I accordingly regaled him with the best the camp afforded. He ate till he could eat no more and then stowed away what was left in the folds of his blanket.

Several of the tribe have been working in the gardens and tending the sheep during the day. In the former labor here the women as well as the men assist. The walls of the terraces and the gardens themselves are kept in good order and preservation; the stone and earth

for construction and repairs they carry in blankets upon their shoulders from the valley below. The soil is of a poor character, and the amount which they extract from it speaks well for their perseverance and industry. Both turkeys and chickens have been seen in the pueblos. They have the material for excellent subsistence if they choose to avail themselves of it. In the neighborhood are beds of coal, which Dr. Newberry thinks of a character to burn well, but they appear to have no idea of the value of these deposits, although wood for culinary and other purposes has to be transported from a distance of several miles. We have tried to make them comprehend the worth of the fuel close at hand, but with doubtful success.

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CAMP 98, NEAR TEGUA [TEWA], May 17, 1858.

Climbing the bluff south of camp and descending the opposite side of the mesa, we were joined by the promised Moqui guide, who came up, according to what appears an invariable custom, at the last moment and in a great hurry.

When the place was reached where the trail turned west to go to Oraybe I asked the guide if he could not take a short cut to Tegua [Tewa], the most eastern pueblo, which the Moqui chief said was on the trail to Fort Defiance. He said that he could, and struck off toward the east. In ascending a mesa 5 or 6 miles beyond an almost impassable precipice was encountered, but the mules, after sundry falls, succeeded in reaching the summit. Beyond was a valley 9 or 10 miles wide, and upon the opposite side a plateau with 3 Moqui towns [Tewa, Sichumnavi, and Walpi] standing in a line upon the top. We camped 3 miles from them, sending the mules to their reservoir for water. The valley was well covered with grass, and large flocks of sheep attested the wealth of the citizens of this department of the Moquis. Almost the entire population came out to see us, evincing the greatest curiosity at everything they witnessed. In dress and general appearance they have a smarter look than the citizens of the other towns and seem to be more well to do in the world. All the Moquis have small hands and feet but ordinary figures. Their hair is fine and glossy. Many have an Italian physiognomy. The men wear loose, cotton trousers, and frequently a kind of blouse for an upper garment, over which they throw a blanket. The dress of the women is invariably a loose, black woolen gown, with a gold colored stripe around the waist and the bottom of the skirt. The stripe is of cotton, which they grow in small quantities. The material of the dress is of their own weaving.

They seem to be a harmless, well meaning people, industrious at times, though always ready for a lounge and gossip. They are honest so far that they do not steal, but their promises are not to be relied upon. They lack force of character and the courageous qualities which the Zuñians and some other Pueblo Indians have the credit of possessing. Their chiefs exercise a good deal of authority, but by what tenure they hold their power or how many there are we could not learn.

A singular statement made by the Moquis is that they do not all speak the same language. At Oraybe [Oraibi] some of the Indians actually professed to be unable to understand what was said by the Mooshahneh [Mishongnavi], and the latter told me that the language of the 2 towns was different. At Tegua [Tewa] they say that a third distinct tongue is spoken.

These Indians are identical in race, manners, habits, and mode of living. They reside within a circuit of 10 miles and, save the occasional visit of a member of some other tribe, have been for centuries isolated from the rest of the world, and it would seem almost incredible that the inhabitants of the different pueblos should not preserve a system of intercourse. If what they say is true, it would appear that this is not done. Tegua [Tewa] and the 2 adjacent towns are separated by a few miles from Mooshahneh [Mishongnavi] and another pair [of towns]. Oraybe [Oraibi] is a little greater distance from both. Each place, depending upon its internal strength, is independent as regards defense. The people are indolent and apathetic and have abandoned the habit of visiting each other till the languages, which with all Indian tribes are subject to great mutations, have gradually become dissimilar.

CAMP 99, PEACH ORCHARD SPRING, May 18, 1858.

Passing by the reservoir to water the mules and fill the kegs we were joined by the Teguan [Tewain] chief and several of his friends. The guide having disappeared during the night I asked for him, and was told by the chief that it would be unsafe for 1 or 2 of them to take the trip alone, but that he himself and 9 others were going to the fort as soon as they could have some corn ground and make other preparations, and that they would join us at the first watering place, which we would reach about noon. There was little doubt in the minds of any who heard this statement that it was a wholesale fiction, but he pointed out the direction of the best route to Fort Defiance, and, bidding the Moquis good-by, we followed the course that had been designated. The chief accompanied us a short distance, and at parting renewed the assurance that 10 of his people would overtake us before night. Crossing the valley in a nearly easterly direction, at the foot of the bluff upon the opposite side we reached a large and excellent spring about the time our friend had indicated.

The ravine is the prettiest spot seen for many a day, covered with rich turf, shaded by peach trees, and surrounded by large gooseberry bushes. The water is clear and cold. The trail from Tegua has been plainly and deeply cut, showing constant travel. After reaching camp 2 Navajos rode in upon horses that we had seen yesterday hobbled near the Moqui pueblo. I supposed at first that they had stolen them, but a soldier told me that he had seen one of the men at Mooshahneh, and that the Moquis had told him that there were 2 or 3 Navajos there on a visit.

That the latter should have the face to go to the Moquis so soon after the recent foray speaks well for their boldness, but does not indicate much spirit on the part of the others. The 2 that came to see us were merry, impudent looking knaves; they ate and smoked and laughed, and finally asked for a glass of liquor as independently as though they were at a tavern. It was impossible to put them down; favors or rebuffs made the same or rather no impression; they received all with a grinning indifference that would have been good-natured had it not been so impertinent. A third joined them after a while, also from the direction of the Moquis, and the first 2, after a rest, saddled their ponies and departed, informing me that the other would stay and accompany us. They perpetrated one act of civility, however, before leaving, presenting me with a cheese of dirty exterior but almost white inside, and very good. 2 Moqui Indians came into camp at sunset and told us that they were going on with us.

CAMP 100, WHITE ROCK SPRING, May 19, 1858.

We had proceeded but a few miles this morning when a shouting was heard behind, and looking back we saw the Moqui chief and 8 of his followers running to overtake us. They left Tegua before daylight, with the Navajo leading off upon his pony, and the company of Indians formed a respectable looking retinue, doubling the size of the party. I was glad to see that each had brought his own provisions tied up in the corner of a blanket and swung over the shoulder. We had made 24 miles to-day when the Indians signified that it was the place to camp. * * *

We are now in the Navajo region; a little way back of camp, in a broad valley where herds of horses and flocks of sheep were. A great many Indians have come into camp, both male and female, all mounted, the women riding astride like the men, there being little to distinguish them apart excepting that the former wear a blanket and carry the luggage when there is anything to be transported. They are rather a fine looking race, with bold features, but look like rascals, and undoubtedly are such. Fortunately our camp and grazing ground are inclosed on 3 sides by the walls of the ravine. The camp is pitched near the mouth, the mules are inside, and can not be taken out without passing by us.

The Moquis and the Navajos have the semblance of being on good terms, and have been talking and laughing together in the most friendly manner; but the Tegua [Tewa] chief privately informed me during the evening that these same men had stolen their stock, and that they were a bad set.

The spring is beneath a projecting rock of white sandstone that almost forms a cave. It is in a recess at the extreme end of the ravine, and the ravine itself is a mile from the trail and surrounded by so many similar formations that we should have probably missed the place but for the Moqui guides.

CAMP 101, PUEBLO CREEK, May 20, 1858.

Several Moquis who have been visiting the Navajos swelled the train to-day. There are now 23 accompanying us, and as we proceed mounted Navajos fall into the ranks till we find ourselves moving in great force. * * *

Countless herds of horses and flocks of sheep were grazing upon the plain. The Moquis said that we were entering one of the most thickly populated sections of the Navajo territory.

Hundreds of Navajos have come into camp and, considering their natural impudence and the weakness of our party, have astonished me by the correctness of their behavior.

One old fellow was pointed out by a companion who spoke pretty good Spanish as the chief. They were curious and a little concerned to know why we had come from the west. No party of whites had ever entered their country from that direction. The chief said that we must have just left the country of the Apaches, who had lately stolen the Moquis' horses, of which act the Navajos had been wrongfully accused; that the Apaches had plundered them also, and that, as our animals were safe, we must be friends to the Apaches, which proved that the Apaches, the Moquis, and the Americans were all leagued against "the poor little Navajos", to use his own expression. The reasoning was logical, but the throng of saucy vagabonds that were listening to the speech with grins that they took no pains to conceal were not calculated to enlist much sympathy, and we concluded that the pitiful harangue was intended for the benefit of the Moquis, to disarm them of their suspicions in regard to the perpetrators of the late theft.

I perceived, however, that the Moquis were as unconvinced as ourselves by the plausible reasoning. We asked how far we had still to travel before reaching Fort Defiance, and they said that a single day's march would take us there. * * *

The Navajos displayed one trait of character which I had never seen exhibited by Indians: they paid for what they got. A crowd of women surrounded the place where the doctor and myself were sitting, and were amusing themselves by inspecting the remnant of the Indian goods and trinkets that had been brought along. Having no further occasion for the articles, as the expedition was now so nearly ended, and pleased with the unexpected civility we had experienced, I distributed most of the things to those standing about. The women were highly delighted, and not long after some of the men, whom I supposed to be their husbands, brought into camp a quantity of cheese and joints of mutton, enough to have lasted our company a week. I offered to pay for what we required, but they insisted upon my accepting all as a gift.

May 22, 1858, Lieutenant Ives reached Fort Defiance.

It will be observed that in the intercourse of Lieutenant Ives with the Moqui Indians they were hospitable and generous, and at all times aided and welcomed him. This is the universal testimony of all white people who have come in contact with them.

THE MOQUIS, 1859–1864.

During the period of the fearful and bloody Navajo war in Arizona and New Mexico, 1859–1865, the Moquis aided the United States troops when necessary, but most of the time they remained peacefully at home tilling the soil. They also went on the warpath against the Navajos under the command of Colonel Kit Carson, an extract from whose report is given elsewhere.

Some idea may be formed of the knowledge the United States authorities charged with the conduct of Indian affairs had of the Moqui Pueblos of Arizona from the report, in October, 1862, of J. L. Collins, superintendent of Indian affairs for New Mexico (Arizona was not then organized into a territory), that "the Pueblos of western Arizona are known by the names Pimos, Papagas, and Maricopas". The tribes named never have been Pueblos.

The territory of Arizona was organized from New Mexico in 1863, and the Moqui Pueblos became a part of the population of Arizona April 1, 1863. Charles D. Posten, who had been appointed superintendent of Indian affairs for Arizona, made the following statement in regard to the Moqui Pueblos to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from New York in 1864. It will be observed that Mr. Posten calls these Indians Moquins.

The Moquins are one of the most interesting tribes of Indians in Arizona. They have almost a classical reputation from the extravagant stories that were told about them by the early Spanish explorers and the interest they excited in Europe. A romancing friar, called Marco de Nica [Niza], first gave the governor, Muno de Guzman, such marvelous accounts of the 7 cities inhabited by these Indians, then called the Seven Cities of Civola [Cibola] (buffalo), that he attempted an expedition to them, which failed (1538). He afterward induced the viceroy, Mendoza, to order an expedition, which was successfully conducted by Caronado [Coronado], the governor of New Gallicia, in 1540, but without finding the golden treasures and magnificent cities so enthusiastically described by the romancing friar. They found, however, very interesting aborigines living in good stone houses, cultivating fields of maize, beans, peas, melons, and pumpkins, and tending their flocks and herds. They wove blankets from the wool of their sheep and made cotton cloth from the indigenous staple, which was fine enough for a canvas on which to paint the pictures of their beasts and birds.

The expedition of Caronado did not satisfy the expectations which had been raised in Europe about the golden treasures and magnificent cities of Civola, and in 1742 we find an order from Philip V to the viceroy, ordering the reduction of the province of Moquin.

The Moquins have continued to live in their mountain homes, cultivate the maize, tend their flocks and herds, and make themselves comfortable blankets for the winter and cotton for the summer. Their numbers are variously estimated at from 4,000 to 7,000.

It may be only necessary to preserve friendly relations with them, and make them a few presents as an earnest of our good will.

Mr. Posten, under date of September 30, 1864, again wrote of the Moquis:

In passing to my field of labor, I stopped a few days in Salt Lake city to confer with Governor Doty, ex officio superintendent of Indian affairs in Utah. 3 Moqui chiefs from my superintendency had recently visited his excellency to ask for protection against the Navajos, who were continually committing depredations on their stock, which induced them to seek a closer alliance with the Americans. The Moquins are

peaceable and friendly, and from their isolated positions and the romantic tradition of their Welsh origin and the curiosity their stone cities excited among the early Spanish explorers are Indians of more than ordinary interest. I was told by some intelligent Welsh Mormons that the Moqui chiefs could pronounce any word in the Welsh language with facility, but not the dialect now in use. The 3 chiefs left their photographs in the city of the saints and returned home, accompanied by some Mormon traders and preachers, who express great zeal for the conversion of the descendants of Medoc.

It was not possible for me to visit this interesting tribe in their mountain homes for reasons hereafter explained. I take the liberty of appending a report of Colonel Christopher Carson, commanding First cavalry, New Mexico volunteers, in which he speaks of these lost and forgotten people in terms of truthful simplicity that ought to excite an interest in their favor in the Indian bureau.

[EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF COLONEL KIT CARSON REFERRED TO BY MR. POSTEN.]

DECEMBER 6, 1863.

On the 21st of October, 1863, arrived at Moqui villages. I found on my arrival that the inhabitants of all the villages, except the Oribis [Oraibis] had a misunderstanding with the Navajos, owing to some injustice perpetrated by the latter. I took advantage of this feeling, and succeeded in obtaining representatives from all the villages, Oribi [Oraibi] excepted, to accompany me on the warpath. My object in insisting upon parties of these people accompanying me was simply to involve them so far that they could not retract; to bind them to us and place them in antagonism to the Navajos. They were of some service and manifested a great desire to aid in every respect. While on this subject I would respectfully represent that these people, numbering some 4,000 souls, are in a most deplorable condition, from the fact that the country for several miles around their village is quite barren and is entirely destitute of vegetation.

They have no water for purposes of irrigation, and their only dependence for subsistence is on the little corn they raise when the weather is propitious, which is not always the case in this latitude. They are a peaceful people, have never robbed or murdered the people of New Mexico, and are in every way worthy of the fostering care of the government. Of the bounty so unsparingly bestowed by it on other Pueblo Indians, even on the marauding bands, they have never tasted, and I earnestly recommend that the attention of the Indian bureau be called to this matter. I understand that a couple of years' annuities for the Navajos, not distributed, are in the possession of the superintendent of Indian affairs at Santa Fe, and I consider that, if such an arrangement would be legal, these goods would be well bestowed on these people.

C. CARSON,
Colonel First Cavalry, New Mexico Volunteers.

Here it will again be noted that the Moquis were the friends and allies of the United States.

Colonel Carson's recommendation that the Navajo supplies at Santa Fe be turned over to the Moquis was partially carried out in 1864–1865.

THE MOQUIS, 1865.

During 1864 the Moquis were confined to their homes by the hostile Navajos, and their crops failing for want of water, a famine ensued. United States Indian Agent John Ward, who visited the Moquis at this time, reported on them as follows:

PUEBLO AGENCY, NEW MEXICO,
PENA BLANCO, NEW MEXICO, April, 1865.

You will perceive that the accounts for provisions and fuel exceed in amount those of previous quarters for the same items, but this could not be otherwise. In addition to the unavoidable expenses incurred by the almost daily visits of the Indians under my charge, and the high rates of prices to be paid for everything, in consequence of the depreciated state of our present currency, the agency, during the greater part of the quarter, has been completely overrun with destitute Zuñi and Moqui Indians; the failure of their crops for the past 2 years has reduced them to a state of beggary.

Although the Moquis do not now properly appertain to this superintendency, yet they seem to know no other rallying point in time of distress than our settlements. This is owing to their mutual relations and extensive acquaintance with our Pueblo Indians, and the fact that they consider themselves as belonging to this country. I have endeavored by every possible means to explain to them that they no longer appertain to this superintendency, but to that of Arizona, to which they must go hereafter to transact all their business and make their wants known. They can not comprehend the reason of this transfer, and think strange that we should try to put them off.

The corn and implements turned over by you for distribution to these people have all been issued, and I can assure you that it was a great blessing to them; there never was a more timely and charitable issue made, and had it not been for your assistance I should have been entirely at a loss to know how to act with them.

The very fact that most of them, men, women, and children, have come on foot a distance of at least 300 miles, through deep snow, during one of the most severe winters for many years, for the purpose of procuring something to eat and what little they can pack to their homes, is of itself sufficient evidence of their deplorable condition, and fully warrants the charity which has been extended to them.

In connection with the foregoing, it may not be out of place to state, for your information, that one of my first official acts, after receiving the appointment of Indian agent in 1861, was to make a trip to the Moqui Pueblos, at which time I visited every one of the 7 pueblos. I found them very poor and badly in need of assistance; they had scarcely any implements worthy of the name; they had no hoes, no spades, that I could see; the corn, which is usually their main crop, they planted by the aid of sticks, by digging holes in the ground, into which they dropped the seed. They principally depend on the rain for their crops, having no permanent running water in their vicinity; thus they are, comparatively speaking, at the mercy of the seasons. A short time previous to my visit to them they had been attacked and robbed by the hostile Navajos; and to make their condition worse the independent campaigns from this territory against the Navajos had also gone to their village and taken from them even the very corn they had in store for their subsistence. This was done, as I afterward learned, under the plea that the Moquis were in league with the Navajos against us.

All these facts, as well as their true condition, I reported on my return to the then superintendent, and did all in my power to impress upon him the necessity of relieving their wants; but, strange to say, my honest appeal in their behalf had no effect whatever, and nothing was done toward it.

The only succor worthy of notice which these people have received from this superintendency, so far as I am aware, is that which has been extended to them during this winter. I can safely say that there never was a tribe of Indians so completely neglected and so little cared for as these same Moqui Indians; indeed, for some time they seem to have belonged nowhere. For several years previous to the creation of Arizona territory they were not mentioned in the annual reports of my predecessor.

From personal observation and the best of my judgment, the aggregate population of these Indians does not exceed 3,000 souls. Their location and circumstances make them an easy prey for their more formidable and warlike foes, Navajos and southern Apaches, by which they are surrounded. As these Indians no longer appertain to this superintendency, I would respectfully suggest (through you to the department) that the Arizona superintendency be instructed to take the entire charge of the same, and to extend to them the relief and protection to which they may be entitled, and thereby free this superintendency from a burden for which no allowance whatever is made. The responsibility, care, and expense should be attached wherever they properly belong.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN WARD, Indian Agent.

April 21, 1865, M. Steck, superintendent of Indian affairs for New Mexico, in a communication to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, forwarding a report by John Ward, United States Indian agent, writes from Santa Fe:

I have the honor herewith to inclose copy of communication from John Ward, Pueblo agent, relative to the Moqui Indians. There has heretofore been but little known of these Indians. A few travelers have visited them in passing hurriedly through the country. Their description and the fabulous accounts of the Spanish conquerors savor more of fiction than reality.

John Ward, under instructions from my predecessor, Colonel Collins, visited these villages in 1861, and reports the names and population of each, viz:

Oraiva (Oraibi)	800
Sho-mon-pa-vi	600
Tano	250
Ci-cho-mo-ci	100
O-pi-ji-que	300
Mi-shan-qu-na-vi	250
Sha-pan-la-vi	200
Total	2,500

Major Kendrick, who visited the Moqui Pueblos previous to 1865, and who also gives the population of the 7 villages at about 2,500, wrote as follows:

The towns are all within an area of about 15 miles, and built upon an elevated plateau or table land. The idea of great stone edifices among the Moqui villages is fiction. The houses are built of adobe (stone) and inferior to those of the pueblos of New Mexico, mostly 2 stories high, and entered by ladders, and bear evidence of great antiquity. The Province of Moqui, as it was termed by the early Spanish historians, was at that time, no doubt, a prosperous and powerful division of the Pueblo or village Indians, and the fact of Montezuma having gone from his birthplace, near Santa Fe, to Moqui, when on his way to the city of Mexico, and the further fact that the people of Tanos, one of the villages, at present speak the Tequa language, which is also spoken by several of the New Mexican pueblos, leaves but little doubt as to their common origin with all the village Indians of this country.

THE MOQUIS, 1866.

Hon. D. N. Cooley, Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1866, in his annual report for 1865–1866, wrote of the Moquis as follows:

In regard to the Moquis, the interesting village Indians living in the northeastern part of Arizona, near the borders of New Mexico, and very similar in character to the Pueblos of that territory, but little is known in addition to that presented in former reports. They are, however, peaceable and self-sustaining, costing the government nothing except in cases of extreme necessity resulting from failure of crops.

THE MOQUIS, 1869.

Lieutenant Colonel Rodger Jones, assistant inspector general of the United States army, in a report to Inspector General Marcy, from San Francisco, July 21, 1869, in speaking of the Indians of Arizona, wrote of the Moquis:

This tribe live in pueblos or villages north and east of the Little Colorado and west of the Navajo reservation at Fort Defiance. It is not known that any reservation has ever been assigned to them, nor is there any definite knowledge as to their numbers, though they live in 2 villages, Moqui and Oriba, each of which is said to contain from 2,000 to 2,500 souls. They subsist by the chase, the culture of fruits, such as peaches and apricots, and cultivate the soil sufficiently to supply their own wants. They also make blankets, inferior, however, to those made by the Navajos in fineness and closeness of texture. At certain seasons of the year they range as far south as Prescott and in a southeasterly direction to Zuñi, on the borders of New Mexico, but these expeditions are mostly for the purpose of trading. * * * Although they have been for years plundered by the Navajos and occasionally by the Apaches, who, however, rarely venture so far north, they still own a number of horses and cattle and extensive herds of sheep. They are not a warlike race, but claim they can defend themselves from attack and punish the aggressors. Their proximity to the powerful tribe of Navajos compels them to keep at home for the protection of their families and property. They possess a few muzzle-loading guns, and procure their ammunition at Zuñi. They are at peace with the whites, and, it is believed, with all other tribes except the Navajos and Apaches.

Vincent Colyer, special agent of the Indian office, who visited the Moquis in 1869, journeying from Fort Defiance to the Moqui pueblos, wrote of the country and Indians as follows:

There is a good trail, and there could easily be made a good wagon road, from Fort Defiance, west through the Navajo country, to the villages of the Moquis, 100 miles. The country is well wooded, and with the aid of irrigation much of it could be made productive.

The scarcity of water is the greatest drawback. The Moquis are particularly interesting as being the descendants of the ancient Aztecs, with whom the white people, since the days of Columbus, have had but very little to do. As they are in nearly all respects as far advanced in civilization as their brother Pueblos of the Rio Grande valley, the boast put forth by the Spaniards that these Pueblos owe their present orderly condition to them is completely disproved. Their pottery, blankets, dresses, ornaments, and the construction of their houses are similar and equally as good.

They received us with great rejoicing, 1,000 or 2,000 of them, men, women, and children, turning out of their houses and welcoming us with cheers as we mounted the rocky cliffs, on the top of which their villages are constructed. They have large flocks of sheep and goats, which they drive up to their pens for safety on the top of the cliffs by the side of their own habitations nightly. They cultivate many acres of corn wheat, beans, and have peach orchards in the valley below. Having no other weapons than bows and arrows and the wooden boomerangs, they live in constant fear of the better armed Apaches and Navajos, their neighbors. There are 7 villages of them, and they number about 4,000. They ought to receive more attention from our government, and I am happy to learn that the honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs has sent an agent, Major Palmer, to see to their wants.

I received a letter from this gentleman a few days since, in which he asks for a few needful articles for the Moquis, which I trust will be forwarded to them. They asked me, with the same earnestness as their brother Pueblos of the Rio Grande, for schools.

THE SEVERAL UNITED STATES AGENTS FOR THE MOQUI PUEBLOS, 1864–1891.

The Moqui Pueblos were in New Mexico after the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of February, 1848, and until the territory of Arizona was organized in 1863. August 1, 1864, Charles D. Posten, superintendent of Indian affairs for Arizona, recommended the appointment of John H. Moss as agent of the Moquis, at a salary of $1,000 per year.

In 1868 Major A. D. Palmer was appointed special agent for the Moquis and went to Arizona in pursuance of his appointment in 1869. He served during 1869–1870. W. D. Crothers was agent in 1871–1872.

The Moqui Pueblo agency was really established in 1870. In 1873–1874 W. S. Defrees was agent for the Moqui Pueblos, as they were called, and erected the first agency building at what is now Keams Cañon, Arizona. In 1875–1876 W. B. Truax was the agent. The separate agency was abandoned between October, 1876, and February, 1878. After this time the agency was continued with the Navajo agency. William R. Mateer was agent in 1878–1879, John H. Sullivan in 1880–1881, J. D. Fleming in 1882, F. W Vanderer in 1889–1890, and A. D. Shipley in 1891. The reports of the various agents can be found in the annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1866 to 1890. The agent's report for 1890 is very full and interesting. It is understood that it was written by A. M. Stephen.

MOQUI BOARDING SCHOOL.

The government school at Keams Cañon, which is on the Moqui reservation, was opened in July, 1887. The buildings for the school, which were purchased from Mr. T. V. Keam (*a*), were formerly used for a trading post. The old Moqui agency was on the site of these buildings, which were sold by the United States. The establishment of this school is due to the efforts of Mrs. Harriet R. Hawley, wife of Senator Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut. It is a government boarding school with a capacity for 50 children. During the year ended June 30, 1890, it cost the government $11,716.46. The enrollment of pupils was 45. The average attendance was 27. The session was 10 months. The average cost to the government per capita per month was $36.16, or at the rate of $361.60 per pupil for the 10 months, or $433.92 per year. The pupils cultivated 25 acres of ground. In all cases board and lodging were furnished.

The school was managed by 8 white and 5 Indian employés, 10 males and 3 females (position and salary of 3 not given), as follows:

	SALARY.
Superintendent and principal teacher	$1,200
Clerk and physician	1,000
Teacher	600
Industrial teacher	840
Matron	600
Seamstress	480
2 laundresses (each, $480)	960
Herder	180
Carpenter	840

Brevet Major General A. D. McCook, commanding the department of Arizona, in his report for 1890–1891, wrote of this school:

The school established at Keams Cañon for the education of children from the Moqui villages (12 miles from the first one) is in successful operation. I visited there during the day and evening of the 19th of August of this year, 1891. I was kindly received by Mr. and Mrs. Collins, who have charge of the school. The children looked neat and clean, and are well fed and cared for by the principal and employés of

a Mr. Thomas V. Keam, proprietor of the Tusayan trading post, near the old United States Moqui agency, now Keams Cañon, Arizona, 12 miles from Walpi, on the first mesa, is well known in the southwest as an old soldier and experienced prospector, who speaks Navajo and the Moqui language. He has visited the various Moqui pueblos for years, and has made several collections of their pottery and other articles. His home is an interesting stopping place for travelers to the villages, and his store, which is a post office, with a stage running to it from Holbrook, is the only point to find Americans and secure accommodations in the immediate vicinity of the Moqui pueblos. At his store conveyances to the Moqui villages can also be procured. For this reason Keams Cañon is quite noted, and is a rallying point for visitors to the Moqui pueblos, but there are other routes than from Keams Cañon to the pueblos, among them: from Flagstaff and Prescott, Arizona, keeping to the left of Keams; from Fillmore city and St. George, Utah; from Moankopi and Tuba city, all from the northwest; from Gallup, and from Fort Wingate, bearing north of Keams when some miles west of Wingate, following a trail from and through Washington pass over the Canby route. Many railroad surveying and prospecting parties have in recent years traveled over these routes, one of which is an old Indian trail sometimes used by the army in early days, and by the Indians of northern New Mexico to reach San Diego and the seacoast for shells. Mr. Keam has been of great assistance to all who have written about the Indians of Arizona and New Mexico since 1878. He was of great service to the Eleventh Census in furnishing information and aiding the special agents who visited the Moqui country. The expert special agent takes this method of expressing his thanks for the courtesy, information, and transportation extended by Mr. Keam to these gentlemen.

the school. The children are nearly of an age; consequently they will leave the school at the same time, carrying with them an education and habits of life far superior to any they had heretofore enjoyed, and no one can fail to believe, or to hope at least, that the 103 children now present in the school, returning to their homes imbued with another and better civilization, will produce much good. To the casual visitor the efforts made by these handsome children to speak our language is pathetic.

Mr. and Mrs. Collins should be encouraged in their good work, and the school should be liberally supported by the proper department. The location is a good one; the parents and relatives can visit the school and meet their children during the term, which is humane and proper. The children take great interest in their work, with their practical lessons as well as with their books.

I have assured Mr. and Mrs. Collins that they have my moral support all the time, and will have physical support when necessary to protect the school from the interference of obdurate Areibes. Nothing but good can come from this school. The dormitories are too small; they are now crowded. The mess room is one-half too small.

If an object lesson is to be learned by these interesting children the government should place proper buildings for this purpose. The sooner this is done the better. If there were greater facilities of accommodations there would be a greater number of children in the school. I am glad to report that 44 of the pupils are from the Areibe [Oraibi] village and not the least comely of the pupils gathered there.

THE ORAIBI CAMPAIGN OF 1891.

Dissatisfaction existed for some time prior to and during 1890–1891 among the Moquis in regard to sending their children to the government school at Keams Cañon. They urged that they loved their children and wanted them about them, and to this end desired schools at the pueblos.

Special Agent Scott's report detailing the experience of Commissioner Morgan and party on their visit to the Moquis in 1890 in relation to the Keams Cañon school and a supplemental report on the proposed school at Weepo and proposed allotment of land in 1891 are of much interest.

Soldiers were sent to Keams Cañon, under Lieutenant Grierson, as early as December, 1890. They went to Oraibi and released Lolami, the chief, from the estufa where some of his people held him prisoner. In June, 1891, the opposition of the Moquis to the Keams Cañon school continued, and it was reported that the Oraibis would fight before permitting their children to be taken to it. It was given out that they were tearing up the surveyor's stakes, destroying survey monuments, and threatening to raid the school. They objected to their children being taken from them by force and placed at the school at Keams Cañon, so many miles away from them, but they did not object to day schools or a school near where they could see their children. Much of the trouble arose from the fact that a scheme of allotment was about being applied to them, and they could not understand why United States surveyors should come to their farms and lands and proceed to survey them under orders of the department without their first having it fully explained to them; they could not comprehend why they should be dispossessed of land owned and occupied for homes by their ancestors and themselves for certainly 350 years, and perhaps thousands of years. In fact, being citizens of the United States, they could not understand why they should not be treated as other citizens and their property respected. On application of the Indian office a small detachment of soldiers from Keams Cañon, under Lieutenant Brett, was sent to Oraibi, June 21, 1891, and the result is shown in the following dispatch to the assistant adjutant general at Los Angeles, California:

Came to Oraibi to arrest several Oraibis, who have destroyed the surveyor's marks and threatened to destroy the school. When we entered the village we were confronted by about 50 hostiles armed and stationed behind a barricade. They openly declared hostility to the government, and a fight was barely averted. A strong force should be sent here with Hotchkiss guns, as I anticipate serious trouble if the hostiles are not summarily dealt with.

Lieutenant Brett returned to Keams Cañon, reported, and waited for the arrival of more troops. On the strength of Lieutenant Brett's report and dispatch an expedition was organized against the Oraibis by command of General A. D. McCook, commanding department of Arizona. Colonel H. C. Corbin, who accompanied the expedition, reported on it as follows:

To ADJUTANT GENERAL UNITED STATES ARMY, Washington, D. C.:

Following just received and repeated for information of War Department:

IN CAMP NEAR CLIPALINES VILLAGE, ARIZONA, July 1 (via Holbrook, July 2).

COMMANDING GENERAL DEPARTMENT OF ARIZONA, Los Angeles, Cal.:

Happily we have been able to carry out your instructions to completed success without the loss of a single man. We left this camp at 3 o'clock this a. m. and after 4 hours' hard marching were in front of the Areibe village. After some 2 hours' parley we secured the arrest of all the medicine men, privates, and soldiers. We afterward marched through the streets of the pueblo and saw every evidence of a great preparation for defense. They were only persuaded to surrender peacefully by the presence of the large command so wisely ordered for this duty.

They openly admit that our numbers only deterred them from making that fight for which they had made so much preparation. Pursuant to your general instructions, I have ordered the prisoners to Fort Wingate via Holbrook, and the command, after a 4 days' needed rest in Keams Cañon, to return to their respective posts. The presence of this command has done much good in this part of the territory, and for some time to come little concern need be had on account of further troubles here. These men arrested are all very bad Indians, with two exceptions the hardest looking Indians I have ever seen.

Without exception the conduct of every officer and soldier has been of the finest, this under conditions that have been very trying. All the good things you predicted on the part of Major McLellan have been more than realized. I shall leave for home to-morrow.

H. C. CORBIN, Assistant Adjutant General.

I have ordered the Indians taken prisoners at the Areibe village to Fort Wingate, New Mexico, to be held subject to the orders of the Interior Department.

McCOOK, Commanding.

A letter of Mr. Thomas V. Keam, of date July 16, 1891, gives the details of the march and the expedition, from a civilian's standpoint, as follows:

I think in my last I wrote of the arrival of Colonel H. C. Corbin with 4 troops of cavalry and 2 Hotchkiss guns. On their arrival, June 30, they called down to see me, and asked me to accompany them to Oraibi, which I could not refuse. Of course, all kinds of questions

were then asked in regard to the resistance the Oraibis would make, and my idea of the whole matter, and last, but not least, their dependence on my knowledge of the water supply for the whole command. This you know, owing to the scarcity of that article, was a very important matter, as I had learned there was none to be had at the first mesa.

After consultation we decided to get an early start on July 1 and go to the west side of the village of Mishongnavi, where the large spring is, and camp midway between it and a large spring at the foot of the village of Shimopavi. We got an early start and reached camp in good season under a broiling hot sun, and fortunately found sufficient water in the first spring for our whole command. Here we met a courier from Oraibi, who informed us that the bad Oraibis had threatened to kill La-lo-la-my on sight of the troops and were prepared to fight. In the evening we decided to leave all baggage, food, etc., except a lunch, in camp, and start for Oraibi at 3 a. m., July 2, so as to be near the village shortly after daylight. After a cup of coffee, promptly at 3 a. m., on the 2d of July, with Eone and I leading, we moved up the sides of the Shimopavi mesa, over it and into the Oraibi valley, and on and to within 3 miles of the village. Here a halt was made, and after consultation with those in command I volunteered to go to the mesa, send for the hostiles, and, if possible, get them to come back with me to where the troops had halted. I rode up close to the village and sent "Honani" of Shimopavi to inform the leaders I desired to see them. He returned saying they would not come. I again sent him back to tell them that serious trouble would result if they did not meet me at once. This brought 6 of the leaders down, and prominent among them was your old captive, as ugly and sullen as ever. After saying a few words to them, I escorted them to the troops, where they were made prisoners and heard some good advice from Colonel Corbin. They were quite sullen and refused to answer questions. The order was now given to mount, and we rode up into the village, taking the whole command, with the 2 Hotchkiss guns. Here we took the war chief and his son prisoners. Both were finer and better looking men than any of the others. The son, on being asked what he had to say, replied: "I was prepared to fight the few soldiers that were here some days ago, because I thought we could kill them and drive them away; now, however, it would be useless. I never saw so many Americans before. You have my friends prisoners and I am not able to fight all these soldiers; take me, as I am in your power." The troops were then arranged in front of the village, and after Colonel Corbin had explained to the people what was to be done with the prisoners, and impressed them with obedience to their chief La-lo-la-my, he said he would show them what would have been done with the Hotchkiss guns if they had offered resistance. I had started toward the guns to witness the firing, when I heard loud shouting, yelling, and screaming from the Indians, and as I turned saw an Indian pursued by a soldier jump off the mesa. It was one of the prisoners escaped, and the excitement was great for awhile. He succeeded in getting away, and has not yet been caught. A strict guard was kept on the others, who were brought safely to camp and well guarded that night. Next day we reached the cañon. The troops proceeded to their different stations, the 11 prisoners being taken to Wingate. A small detachment with an officer remains here until everything is quiet.

The following is from the annual report of Brigadier General A. McD. McCook, commanding department of Arizona:

SEPTEMBER 1, 1891.

The Moqui Indians are Pueblos, or "remnant of the Aztec Indians". (*a*) They are a peculiar people, living in 6 [7] villages located upon table rocks averaging 600 feet above the plain.

These Indians have been heretofore friendly to the whites, with the exception of the most distant village of the Areibes [Oraibis]. The people of this pueblo resisted the census enumerators and did not desire to have anything to do with the white men, calling them dogs and coyotes. The people of this pueblo refused to furnish their quota of children for the school established by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Keams Cañon, Arizona. Lolami, the governor of the village, with a few followers, favored the school, but the medicine man and the majority of the people resisted; because obdurate, arrested the governor and imprisoned him in an estufa.

Upon application of the Interior Department, Lolami was released by a detachment of troops under First Lieutenant C. H. Grierson, Tenth cavalry, who was stationed at Keams Cañon from December 18, 1890, to March 22, 1891. Lieutenant Grierson performed his duties there with intelligence and good judgment.

In May last the inhabitants of this village again became rebellious, defying the orders of the acting agent, and troops were called for, when First Lieutenant L. M. Brett, Second cavalry, was ordered, with 30 enlisted men, to proceed at once to the Areibe [Oraibi] village, with orders to arrest the medicine man and the principal supporters of the rebellion. On June 21, 1891, Lieutenant Brett was met near this village by Lolami, the governor, warning him not to enter the village with his small detachment, as most of the men, under the influence and direction of their medicine man, were in arms and fortified to resist his command, notifying him that should he enter the village he and his men would be killed. Lieutenant Brett, with proper foresight, arrested some of the recalcitrants on the plain at the foot of the mesa, and placing one of these prisoners alongside of each of his men ascended the mesa, but soon found himself confronted by at least 50 rifles in the hands of men securely placed behind loopholed walls.

The medicine man came out dressed for war, telling Lieutenant Brett if he did not leave the village he and his men would be killed. Having but 10 enlisted men with him, this officer very properly withdrew from the unequal contest and returned to Keams Cañon, near the school located there. He sent dispatches to these headquarters giving an account of the situation, when orders at once issued for 2 troops of the Tenth cavalry from Fort Apache, under Major C. B. McLellan, to march at once to Keams Cañon, also 2 troops of the Second cavalry from Fort Wingate, with 2 Hotchkiss mountain guns, to march upon the same point.

Lieutenant Colonel H. C. Corbin, assistant adjutant general of the department, was directed by me to proceed to Keams Cañon, joining the command from Fort Apache at Holbrook, Arizona, marching with these troops to point of concentration.

Lieutenant Colonel Corbin was charged to deliver in person the commands and instructions of the department commander to Major McLellan, Tenth cavalry, the senior officer in command. The united commands from Forts Apache and Wingate moved upon the Areibe [Oraibi] village. The presence of these troops had the desired effect; the arrest of the medicine man, with his principal followers, was made, and they are now prisoners at Fort Wingate, New Mexico. The troops returned to Keams Cañon, where orders were issued for their return to their stations, leaving Lieutenant J. T. Nance, Second cavalry, with 20 men, to remain as guard to the school. During the march of the troops the heat was intense, water was scarce, and the roads dusty upon both routes, causing suffering to men and animals.

The officers and soldiers composing these expeditions performed their duties with intelligence and cheerfulness. My commendations were expressed to them by telegraph previous to their leaving Keams Cañon. Lieutenant L. M. Brett, Second cavalry, deserves special mention for his conduct and the good judgment exercised by him in the performance of his duties at the Areibe [Oraibi] village on June 21, 1891.

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a The gallant general is speculative in this.—T. D.

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1. Oraibi Prisoner taken July 1, 1891. 2. Oraibi Prisoners in a Wagon. 3. Oraibi Prisoners. 4. Great Medicine Man of the Moquis, an Oraibi Prisoner. 5. Prisoners taken at Oraibi. 6. Oraibi Prisoners at Fort Wingate. 7. Oraibi Prisoners captured July 1st, at Oraibi, at Fort Wingate digging ditches. 8. Same with Navajo Indian Soldier Guard over them. 9. Two Moqui Women Traveling.

THE MOQUI PRISONERS IN 1892.

Mr. R. P. Collins, superintendent of the Indian school at Keams Cañon, who almost constantly visited the Moquis for the Indian office, knew the names of the objecting Oraibis. As shown, 7 of the Oraibis were made prisoners and taken to Fort Wingate, where 5 of them now are (October, 1892). A series of views of these prisoners is given elsewhere.

It may be well to mention here that these prisoners are citizens of the United States and that no court has ordered their commitment. Judge Green, of the United States district court, Oklahoma, September 28, 1891, decided in a similar case that there was no authority of law to arrest and imprison Indians who refused to send their children to school, and in the matter of Indians and schools no instructions or regulations, under the act of March 3, 1891, giving extraordinary powers, had been issued to agents at the time of the arrest of the Oraibis.

The following is an extract from a letter from an officer at Fort Wingate, January 17, 1892, relating to the Moqui prisoners:

> I see the Moquis are attracting considerable attention in archæological circles, with a prospect of some thorough researches being made into their antiquities. We still have the captured war chief and associates here as "prisoners of war". They are paving the way to a better future by breaking rocks on the post thoroughfares. You see we have improved a little in the Spanish treatment of captured warriors. I hope you will some day get at your picture of the capture of the Moqui children and make this outrage of national fame.

It may be well to mention that the grievance of these Indians in 1890–1891 was not, as formerly, against the settlers in their neighborhood, but against the government of the United States.

History repeats itself. Lieutenant A. W. Whipple visited the Moquis in 1854, and in writing of the white man's tendency to drive the Indian from the fertile and useful lands, said:

> The rude, untutored savage without doubt believes that he has a right to the spot where his wigwam stands, to the fields where his maize (corn) and melons grow, to the land which has been cultivated by his forefathers since time immemorial. He can see no reason why he should yield up his home and the graves of his ancestors to the first grasping white man who covets the spot.

Are the lessons of history worthless? Are we to read of events between the lines or of facts? The shadows of murdered and poisoned priests and Spaniards hover around and about the Moqui country. They were killed because they attempted to civilize the Moquis in Spanish fashion. Why should we be more fortunate than the Spaniards, or shall we be compelled to keep a garrison of 250 to 300 men at the Moqui pueblos in order to educate 100 to 200 children at a distance from their homes? We began with soldiers and Hotchkiss guns. Are we to end in the same way? Such civilizing has not heretofore been a pronounced success.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE MOQUIS.

The Moquis were considered the same as other pueblo Indians by all Spanish, Mexican, and early American officials.

In 1849, after the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848, James S. Calhoun, special United States Indian agent, in a report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, notes the pueblos of New Mexico as far west as Zuñi, and the Commissioner of the General Land Office, of date August 24, 1849, in giving William Pelham, surveyor general of the territory of New Mexico, instructions and a form of procedure in cases of proof and proceedings in private land claims in said territory (New Mexico then embraced the present territory of Arizona) cited Calhoun's report and copied the census of the pueblos from Taos on the north to Zuñi on the west, saying "this statement has no reference to pueblos west of Zuñi", thus conceding that there were such pueblos, and of course they were the Moqui pueblos.

The act of Congress of July 22, 1853, made it incumbent on the surveyor general of New Mexico to "make a report in regard to all pueblos existing in the territory, showing the extent and locality of each, stating the number of inhabitants in the said pueblos, respectively, and the nature of their titles to the land".

When the agent, Mr. Calhoun, reported on the pueblos of New Mexico (October 4, 1849) he omitted the 7 Moqui pueblos then in New Mexico, but in October, 1850, he reported them and advised that they receive the same treatment as the pueblos on the Rio Grande. Arizona was not erected into a territory until 1863. In the case of the Moqui pueblos then in New Mexico (now in Arizona), they were not reported on in 1849 because they were in the country of the fierce Navajo, where Mr. Calhoun dared not venture to make an examination. They were not reported by him in either of his reports of October 4 and October 15, 1849, from Santa Fe, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Commissioner Wilson, of the General Land Office, knew of this omission when he instructed Surveyor General Pelham that "this statement has no reference to pueblos west of Zuñi".

The claim of the Moquis to their pueblo sites and the land adjacent, used for agriculture and grazing, of the same area granted to other pueblos, is a title originating under the Spanish and Mexican governments, preceding the United States in sovereignty, and it is the obligation under treaty and right of the United States to deal with such title or claims, or pueblo claims, precisely as Mexico would have done had the sovereignty not changed. We are bound to recognize such claims and titles as Mexico would have done.

The statute of limitation has not as yet expired in the matter of the Moqui pueblos. There is no laches on their part. Open and notorious possession for 21 years gives a title under the common law. Open and notorious possession since 1539, and for some hundreds of years before 1539, surely should give the Moquis ownership.

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Why have the Moquis not applied for a confirmation of their title? Because they did not know it was necessary and because they have no money.

The eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo expressly stipulates for the security and protection of private property. The law on this point was settled by the Supreme Court of the United States (United States vs. Percheman, 7 Peters' Reports) in the following language:

> The people change their allegiance, their relations to their sovereign is dissolved, but their relations to each other and their rights of property remain undisturbed.

The Supreme Court of the United States (United States vs. Arredondo et al.) also declared that—

> Congress have adopted, as the basis of all their acts, the principle that the law of the province in which the land is situated is the law which gives efficacy to the grant, and by which it is to be tested whether it was property at the time the treaties took effect.

The private land titles, including pueblos in New Mexico, were derived from the authorities of Spain as well as of Mexico. Under this system there were and are many imperfect and mere inceptive titles. The Supreme Court of the United States has always decided such claims with great and liberal equity, and has always held that an inchoate title to land was and is property. In the case of the United States vs. Joseph (United States Supreme Court Reports 94–97, page 295, decided May 7, 1877), given elsewhere in this report, it was decided, broadly, that the acts of executive officers of the government do not alter or change the legal status of Indians or deprive them of their property. The President of the United States, by executive order December 16, 1882, drew a line around an area of land and called it the Moqui reservation. This did not, in fact, make it so, and this and the subsequent acts of executive officers could not change them into an Indian tribe or wild Indians, or deprive them of their rights under the laws and treaties of the United States.

As is shown, the Moqui Pueblos get title to their towns and the water and lands adjacent from the former owners of the soil. Spain found them there, and called their country the "Province of Tusayan". Viceroy, captain general, military commander, governor, and all recognized and mapped these pueblos. On the southern edge of the Navajo country these Moqui towns were for years the outposts of Spain and Mexico on the north, and were a bulwark between the Spaniard and Mexican and the relentless Navajos.

It will be remembered in this connection that the right of possession and occupancy gave an acknowledged and perfect title to land under Spanish and Mexican custom and law, although there were military and community grants, and grants for mining and agriculture. Location claims, made at the will of the locator, and varying from 1 to any number of acres which could be used, were recognized. The Moquis of Arizona, even if they had no military, pueblo, or community grants, would be entitled to hold the lands they now occupy under possessory title and the law of occupancy. By the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo they were to have the same rights, protection, and guarantees under the laws of the United States as they claimed or had under the laws of Spain or Mexico. The rights of the Pueblos of New Mexico have been respected. Why not respect the rights of the Pueblos of Arizona, once a part of New Mexico?

Situated far from traveled routes, the Moquis have been visited by few white men. With no money, no friend in particular, these people deserve from the nation the treatment usually meted out to its good citizens.

The equities are all with the Moquis, and to those familiar with their history it would seem almost as much a violation of rights for the nation to now lay hands upon their pueblos as it would be to attempt to assume control of the pueblos of New Mexico, the lands of 16 of which are held in fee by patent over the signature of Abraham Lincoln, the inhabitants being citizens of the United States.

The attention of the new private land claim court should be called to them and the title to the lands of these people settled. Let them continue to live, as the other Pueblo Indians do, in community.

AN ANTIDOTE FOR VENOMOUS SNAKE BITES.

The investigations of the special agents of the Eleventh Census among the Moquis of Arizona have confirmed the statements of others that the Moquis possess an antidote for the bite of the rattlesnake and probably other venomous snakes. Much information as to this is given elsewhere. What this decoction is is not definitely stated, but its effects are vouched for. Thorough investigation should be made by medical men into this matter for the benefit of mankind. The Moquis will, no doubt, give up the secret when properly approached.

Special Agent Scott, in his report on the snake dance of the Moquis at Walpi, August 21, 1891, wrote that—

> During the dance 2 of the snake order were struck by rattlesnakes, one in the nose, the other in the upper portion of the arm. They drew back for a moment but continued the dance, and no ill effects were afterward noticed from the bites. The one struck in the nose had some difficulty in getting the snake off, and only did so with his attendants' assistance.



Pueblo of Walpi looking West, showing Shi-paul-a-vi and the Second Mesa, Arizona.

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To confirm this statement the expert special agent wrote Mr. Scott in November, 1891, for further details as to the kind of snakes which bit the men at the dance, as above described, and received the following:

There was no apparent swelling of the nose or of the arm of the 2 men bitten at the snake dance. I saw them after the dance, during the vomiting act, which was laughable, and I could not observe any effects therefrom, except the small incisions made by the snakes' fangs. I know of no dogs having been bitten at the dance of August 21, 1891, by one of the snakes, but I have heard of a dog that was struck by a rattler at one of the dances, and that the dog died. This is hearsay, but I believe the story.

Special Agent Peter Moran, who witnessed a snake dance at Walpi in August, 1883, wrote of the snakes used in the dance and the antidote for their bites, as follows:

During the dance, between 4 and 5 p. m., a rattlesnake struck one of the dancers on the right ear and held on. The antelope man became frightened and ran away. The dancer, becoming angry, grabbed the snake, which was a large one, tore it from his ear, and threw it on the ground, but the bitten ear did not swell. The snake, thus released, coiled and struck at a Navajo, who was standing near the edge of the mesa, which so frightened the man that he drew back and ran off, and the snake bounded back of the sacred rock and got among some Indian women, who were mortally afraid and ran away in fright, then he escaped. If the snake had been doctored, and was not venomous, they would not have been afraid of it.

We went again, the day of the dance, in the afternoon from 1 to 4, to the estufa where the snakes were kept. * * * We found that the altar had been destroyed and in its place, on the spot, was a bowl containing a medicine or decoction which Burke uncovered and tasted. This was the snake antidote. Of this Captain Burke writes: "I lifted the cloth and found the basin or platter to be one of the ordinary red ware. It was filled with water. * * * The water had a slightly saline taste and evidently contained medicine."

Of the race of the dancers from the springs to the town on the morning of the snake dance, Mr. Scott says:

It is a most exciting scene, and in their running great endurance is exhibited, for they (the racers) have fasted for 4 days previous, partaking of nothing but a decoction prepared by the chief priest or priestess of the order as an antidote to the rattlesnake bite in case any may be bitten during the ceremonies. This antidote is only known to the chief priest and the priestess, and the secret is only imparted to their successors.

A laughable scene followed the dance: as is their custom, all of the snake order who had fasted for 4 days, partaking of nothing but a liquid prepared for them by the snake priest, * * * assembled at a point just beyond the snake keva, where each drank of a liquid which produced violent vomiting.

Mr. C. F. Lummis, who witnessed the snake dance of 1891, in "Some Strange Corners of Our Country", writes:

In the 1891 dance over 100 snakes were used. Of these about 65 were rattlesnakes. I stood within 6 feet of the circle, and one man (a dancer) who came close to me was bitten. The snake which he held in his mouth suddenly turned and struck him upon the right cheek. His antelope companion unhooked the snake, which hung by its recurving fangs, and threw it upon the ground, and the pair continued the dance as if nothing had happened. Another man a little farther from me, but plainly seen, was bitten on the hand. I never knew one of them to be seriously affected by a rattlesnake's bite. They pay no attention to the (to others) deadly stroke of that hideous mouth, which opens as flat as a palm and smites like one, but dance and sing in earnest unconcern. * * * The reptiles used in the dance are as deadly as ever; not one has had his fangs extracted.

Captain Burke, in 1883, wrote of the antidote and the estufa ceremony with the snakes prior to the dance as follows:

The head medicine men alone know the secrets of this ceremony, the means to be taken to keep the reptiles from biting, and the remedies to be applied in case bites should be received.

The decoction or antidote is kept on hand at all times by the snake priest, and is not only administered to the dancers at the snake dance, but to all requiring it. Of this Mr. Scott writes:

The liquid which the snake order drink during the 4 final days of the ceremony is an antidote to the poisonous effects of the rattlesnake bite, and I have been assured that it never fails. I saw a Moqui [in 1891] who had been bitten while in the fields, who did not get the aid of the snake priest for an hour later, but who recovered, although his arm was greatly swollen before he received the antidote. He was unable to do much for several days, but he got well.

WERE THE SNAKES DOCTORED FOR THE DANCE?

Special Agent Scott reports, after thorough observation, that the snakes were not, to his knowledge, doctored for the occasion.

Mr. Moran wrote of the snakes used in the dance of 1883 that he was "convinced that the snakes were not doctored, neither was their poison exhausted by letting them strike a board or other object".

Captain Burke, August 12, 1883, wrote:

Our mules (the day of the snake dance) were brought up from the plains very soon after daybreak. Nobody in the pueblos could be hired for love or money to take care of them during the dance, and, as a measure of prudence, they should not be exposed to the risk of bites from the venomous reptiles which the Moquis might release after the ceremony and allow to wander unchecked over the country. The chances were largely in favor of their being bitten, and I was not willing to incur any such responsibility.

SUBDIVISION OF MOQUI LANDS.

The subdivision of the lands of the Moquis was ordered by the Department of the Interior in 1891. The purpose of this survey was to allot the lands to the Indians for homes, in pursuance of the general allotment law of 1887, which applies to reservation Indians and not to pueblo Indians. (*a*)

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It is usual, on ordinary reservations, after a sufficient quantity of land has been set aside by allotment for the use of the Indians, to purchase the remainder of the reservation from the Indians for cash. To attempt to allot these lands to the Moqui Indians will work them a grievous injury. The water holes and springs are so few and far between that one man with one tract of 80 acres of land will be likely to get all the water now used by the inhabitants of any one of the several towns. Unless the government, after enlarging the present springs, sinks wells and builds ditches and reservoirs allotment of these lands would be useless. (*b*) Scarcity of water compelled the Moquis hundreds of years ago to live in community, and if they are to remain in their present locality it will force them to so live in the future. It is cruel to deprive these people of their ancient homes, their lands, and their means of livelihood.

WATER SUPPLY AND THE COUNTRY OF THE MOQUIS.

A casual view of the country of the Moquis from a mountain top shows probably the most uninviting landscape in the west; still, where water can be obtained to apply to seeds the most abundant yield follows. Irrigated lands make up for limit of acres by increase of production, and small irrigated areas sustain large numbers of people.

What the Moqui ancestry did for flesh food or other food in variety (there is now no fish) prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, who brought horses, goats, sheep, and burros, and melons and peaches to the southwest, one can only conjecture. Jack rabbits and rabbits, deer and antelopes, or mountain sheep, and game in the distant mountains or on the far off plains must have been more plentiful than now. Corn, the common food of the North American Indian, which now makes 90 per cent of their food other than meat, must have been their staple, along with flesh obtained in the distant mountains and jerked or sun-dried beef.

No better description of the country about the Moqui towns and of the plains below the timber line of the mountains can be given than the following, in part from notes by Mr. Charles R. Moffet and from personal observation:

The country of the Moquis is the abode of desolation, rattlesnakes, and cacti (growing flat on the sand and spreading many feet around), dangerous and uncomfortable neighbors. Now and then there are patches of grama and bunch grass, both black and white. These treeless plains contain some giant pitihayas, or torch thistles, some so high as to look like trees. Yucca brevifolia, with its grotesque growth, is frequently seen, backed by a landscape dotted with fields of sandstone, red, white, yellow, and other colors. Many petrified trees lie prone upon the ground, whether washed from the mountains above or the remains of adjacent ancient forests is a question. This petrified wood is susceptible of high polish, and is used as an ornamental stone, looking like jasper or agate. Basaltic dykes cut across the sands and bear witness to a heated term in the long ago, and the high black volcanic buttes about, driven up from below and through the sandstone, vouch for volcanic and earthquake action. But for the springs of water this immense area would be entirely uninhabitable. The entire region on a heated day, with waves of heat rising and coming and going, looks like the ocean at dead calm in midsummer, and is one of the most inhospitable spots the sun has ever shone upon. The eye turns for relief from sky to sand and sand to sky. The sand, sparkling with bits of mica, reflects back the heat of the sun with intense reproduction, and one instantly thinks of ocean, lakes, and rivers far away. Crows and ravens have been known to fly over it, but usually after night.

Brush grows about the hills and on and about them grow pifion, or pine. From these hills, 7 to 12 miles away from the towns, the Moquis get fuel and timber for their buildings. Elevation here as elsewhere is a condition of timber growth. The 7 Moqui pueblos are on elevations overlooking and crowning this desolate landscape. The springs of water which the Moquis own alone permit them to remain. Were the springs to go dry they would perish of water famine. In 1868 their water supply failed, and food as well, for the limited rainfall is too irregular to rely upon.

Notwithstanding this desolation, it is a curious fact that in and about the mesas on which the Moqui pueblos are situated humming birds and mocking birds are found. The mocking birds are also found in great numbers in

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a The following, from Special Agent Scott, August 13, 1891, is in relation to the allotment of lands for the Moquis: "The surveyors are sectionizing the Moqui reservation, rather have sectionized it, and are endeavoring to place the Moquis on 40-acre lots; some of them object to the localities assigned them, complaining that since the object of leaving the mesas, coming down from their old houses, is to get to water, some of their lots are quite as far away from the springs and there would be no actual benefit derived. When the Oraibis submitted, good old La-lo-la-ma said that he wished to make a request for his people. He wanted a few cooking stoves, a few hoes, and some ax handles; that they had no wood hard enough to make the latter. All the Moquis are sadly in want of farming implements."

b The future water supply of the Moquis is a problem. If the government would sink an artesian well in any one of the washes near the mesas the underground water supply, if any, could be tested. As to the probabilities of there being an underground water supply in the vicinity of the mesas, Dr. Oscar Loew, chemist of the Wheeler expedition, writes of the soil of the fields used by the Moquis for crops as follows: "The seed is planted at from 1 to 2 feet beneath the sand, and very wide apart. At this depth they have found, by experience, that there is sufficient moisture to develop and sustain the plant. On analyzing specimens of the soil the chemist of the expedition has found that the experience of these untaught Indians is in full accord with the results of his investigations. The interesting fact was elucidated that subsoil at a distance of 1 foot contains 2 and 2.1 per cent of moisture to 1 per cent at the surface, from which it may be inferred with reason that at no great depth there must be a stratum of water. This water, ascending by capillary attraction, is rapidly evaporated as soon as it reaches the surface on account of the looseness of the soil and the arid atmosphere."

J. H. Beadle, in "The Undeveloped West", writes: "Approaching the foot of the mesa (the first one) we found the sand a little more loose and dark. Here I noticed rows of stones a foot or so apart, and was amazed to find, on examination, we were in a Moqui field. By every little hill of corn or beans they had laid a stone about the size of a peck measure, for what I can not imagine, unless it is to draw moisture."

the pueblos of New Mexico. The Moquis, as do the Pueblos of New Mexico, cage the mocking bird, which thrives and flourishes in captivity. Doves are also found along the foothills of the Moqui and Pueblo country; in fact, these birds can be seen in great numbers anywhere on the American desert.

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The Moquis are not reservation Indians in the general acceptation of the word. They were not wild Indians, roaming at will over the country, gathered up by the government and placed on a reservation to protect the whites from them. They have been town dwellers and cultivators of the soil since the Europeans first came to the country, and how many hundred or thousand years before no one can tell. The definition of their reservation by the President December 16, 1882, was for the purpose of drawing the line over which the Navajos were not to cross. This was also done in the case of the Zuñis. Water was protected by this action, and the President increased the area of the reservation to save it.

The United States has never had a treaty with the Moquis. It has never assumed any direct control over them other than the naming of an agent for them and presenting them with a few useful articles from time to time. It has, however, agreed, through the agents, to keep the Navajos from murdering and robbing them. Entitled to just as much consideration as the other Pueblos now in New Mexico, these people should be permitted to earn their own living and not be compelled hereafter, to the number of 2,000, to live upon the treasury of the United States. They should be given sufficient land, of their own selection, to enable them to hold the water and provide as men for their families. Grants in fee and in community, similar to the grants to the other Pueblos, should be made to them. They can only live in community on the land they occupy. A small number of acres cultivated by irrigation will yield them a living. There is not water enough to irrigate a very large area. It would sink in the land before reaching any broad surface of ground. There is no running water, no streams, only springs and water holes.

In the case of the United States, plaintiff in error, vs. Antonio Joseph (Supreme Court), 4 Otto, 614–619, argued April 20, 1877, decided May 7, 1877; also United States Supreme Court Reports, 94–97, page 295, the learned and broad national jurist, Mr. Justice Miller, in deciding that the Pueblos of New Mexico were not a tribe of Indians in the legal or governmental sense, and in considering the question of their citizenship, having in view, of course, the fact that the United States had appointed an agent for the Pueblos of New Mexico (as it has at times for the Moqui Pueblos of Arizona, formerly of New Mexico), and also the fact that acts by executive officers of the nation (such as the President creating a reservation for the Moquis), held that such acts do not alter or change the legal status of Indians; and the court further held that the pueblos of New Mexico (and necessarily those in Arizona, once in New Mexico) were citizens of Mexico by reason of that government having given them all civil rights, including the right to vote, and that the United States was not a proper party to this action, having no legal control over them, and that the Taos Pueblos must bring their own action in the proper court of New Mexico.

CONCLUSIONS.

While the Moqui is stationary in many things he is progressive in adopting articles of comfort or utility. He was cunning enough to stop weaving cotton cloth when he found he could buy it of the traders cheaper than he could weave it. It is true that there is not much more evidence of progress toward a real Anglo-Saxon civilization among the Moquis in 1890 than there was in 1540. In 1540 they were of the stone age in utensils and tools, and never since, by their own exertions, have they advanced from this condition. They are, however, as are other North American Indians, quick and ready imitators, and the evidences of European and American influences are now seen on every hand, in dress, implements, and furniture, but not in customs or ceremonies. They had, according to the general belief of the Spaniards, at the time of their discovery in 1540 made progress from a wild condition, and were in a progressive state, but it was not a civilized condition.

Some 20 years ago a distribution of various supplies was made by the United States to the Moquis. Among the articles distributed were some cultivators, but the Moquis having no harness for their horses (very indifferent ponies), these cultivators were useless, so they concluded to make charms of them, and many of these charms are now to be seen lying on the roofs of the Moqui dwellings, called "good medicine". At this distribution a number of grindstones were also issued. The Moquis had always used a short slab of stone or the surface of a large stone to sharpen knives or other like instruments upon, and the grindstones amused them for a time, but now several may be seen in the various pueblos as tops for the estufas.

Investigation shows that the Moquis of Arizona are not a remnant of any effete people or successors of a passed away people; that they are not Aztecs; that they are not the last of a great passed away civilization; that they are not the remnants of a former race, now living amid the ruins of the homes of their forefathers, but that they are a portion of the North American Indians of the present day, and are allied to them in speech, figure, and customs; that they are, to all intents and purposes, local conditions excepted, the same Indians as the Pueblos of New Mexico; that the people of 6 of the villages or pueblos are of Shoshonean stock, and that the people of the seventh, Tewa, of Tewan or Tanoan stock, are probably of Shoshonean stock also, and that their isolation in a

forbidding and desert portion of the country, out of the usual line of travel, has kept up the mystery about them. (a) The Spaniards quickly relinquished their hold upon the Moquis in 1540 and after, because in their country they found but little forage for their horses and poor food for their soldiers.

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The Moqui civic government, relatively the same as that of the New Mexico pueblos along the Rio Grande, will always be a curious study for ethnologists, as an aid to arriving at the method by which roaming Indians become town dwellers, with a community system, but with some reserved personal rights, both of person and property. Their religion of materialism, with evidences of former Phalic worship, is curious and earnest. Had the Moquis been directly surrounded by an Anglo-Saxon people their personality would long since have passed away, as they, in common with other North American Indians, are essentially imitative. Their isolation has preserved their forms and customs and their primitive virtue, and they live uncontaminated by the vices of civilization; they are still children of nature.

Perched upon his isolated butte, the Moqui Pueblo for centuries has defied climate and nature. He has faced the fierce Navajo, battled with wild beasts, struggled with smallpox and famine, and met the Spaniard; he was conquered for a time, but in 1680 he rose up and threw his enemies from the battlements of his home, never to return.

Self-supporting, self-sustaining, peaceful, minding his own business, a heritage of the nation by purchase and capture from a foreign power, by nature of the law, being a Pueblo or town dweller, he became a citizen, and deserves fair treatment at all times.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE FOR THE MOQUIS, 1892.

The Moqui has but little property, estimating from an Anglo-Saxon standpoint; still, he has more than he requires, excepting watering places, which should be improved and developed. He could be taught more stringent laws of health and economy, and made to guard against disease and famine.

His condition in 1890 was good, and his wants, but few, were well supplied by himself. His great needs are water and timber. These people should have a competent irrigating engineer sent to them for a few months to show them how to construct reservoirs in which to preserve their water, how to run levels and grades for their ditches, and how to develop springs or water holes. They should have issued to them quick growing trees for timber and fuel, a few head of stock to improve their herds and flocks, and a small number of improved agricultural implements. $20,000 is ample to do all this, and when done the Moquis should be let alone and given to understand that they must take care of themselves, as they have done for centuries.

An industrial school or a few day schools could be established among them, but its officers should see to the school only. A physician could be utilized as one of the teachers and be of much service to the Moquis. The civil policy, government, and daily lives of these people should be let alone. With their water supply properly developed, they are better located in the villages where they are on the mesas than they would be in the valleys. Considering their small holdings of land, no allotment of an equitable nature can be made. The water in the vicinity of the mesas is now the property of the Moquis and has been for centuries. Its ownership commands an enormous area of grazing lands in the vicinity, which envious whites are now anxious to utilize for their herds and flocks, stealing the water of the Moquis. The Moquis leaving the mesas would be in aid of this, and would terminate in their being driven from the water and from the land. Allotment, the granting of small areas of land in fee, would place the springs in the hands of individual owners.

These people were town or pueblo Indians and citizens under the republic of Mexico, and by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 with Mexico, they, as well as the Pueblos of New Mexico, became citizens of the United States. They have had no friend at court, are remote from railroads or white settlements, in a barren country, holding the Navajo at bay and keeping him from making inroads upon the whites of the south. Precedent and usage and a long occupancy demand that their land holdings by metes and bounds be given them by patent and in community, as has been done in the case of other pueblo Indians in New Mexico. Their claims, embracing all the pueblos and springs, should be surveyed and a patent issued to them in fee; above all, let one of the 4 sections of Indians in the United States who now sustain themselves continue to do so; do not by law or executive action

a The Moquis are Pueblo Indians to all intents and purposes, their language excepted, which has been classed with the Shoshoni or Numa group of American idioms. Nothing can be said about them as they appeared in the past centuries to the first European visitors that does not apply to the New Mexican Pueblos also. The differences are purely local, and can at once be explained by physical causes. Thus the Moquis raised cotton, whereas the Zuñis did not, and the reason for it is found in the southerly exposure of the lands which the Moquis cultivate. The blankets of rabbit hair, which Fray Marcos was informed were made and worn at Totonteac, were not exclusively Moqui; the Zuñis made them also. There is one point, however, that attracts our attention in regard to the Moquis, and that is the feeling of coldness, not to say hostility, which prevailed between them and their nearest neighbors, the Zuñi Indians. As early as the time of Coronado the 2 clusters were not on good terms. There was comparatively more intercourse between the Moqui and some of the Rio Grande pueblos than between the Moqui and Zuñi. Up to the present day this feeling, strengthened by events subsequent to the reconquest of 1694, is very marked. Another curious fact, which may be deduced from the report of Fray Marcos, and which is corroborated by Moqui and Zuñi tradition, is the existence of a cluster of 12 pueblos inhabited by people of Moqui stock, the ruins of which villages exist to-day, and which have given rise to the name of Totonteac. We are led to infer in this case, as well as in that of the ancient villages at the salt marshes near Zuñi, that the said cluster of 12 was abandoned but shortly before the sixteenth century. One of their number, Ahuatu, even remained occupied until the first half of the past century. These are among the few historical data that may be gathered from early Spanish records now at my disposal, and which relate to a period anterior to the coming of the white man.—A. F. Bandelier, 1890.

make this people "leaners on the treasury". There is no question as to their being law-abiding, peaceful, virtuous, and honest. This was their condition June 30, 1891. These virtues they have practiced for centuries. They differ from the whites in the mere matter of creed, but they practice religion. Let them continue to be self-reliant, peaceful citizens.

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STATISTICS OF THE MOQUIS, 1890-1891.

The following statistics of population, wealth, and social condition of the Moqui Pueblos show that, although isolated from the Anglo-Saxon, the Moqui Pueblo is amply able to care for himself if aided merely by an issue of those things which will multiply in the future to his advantage.

The enumeration was made by Francis M. Zuck, under direction of E. S. Clark, supervisor of census for Arizona, and the statistics of property and values by Julian Scott, special agent, and the expert special agent.

The population of the 7 Moqui pueblos in 1890 was 1,996; males, 999; females, 997; over 18 years of age, 1,118; under 6 years of age, 288; over 5 years of age and to 18, inclusive, 590; heads of families, 364; house owners, 364; farmers and weavers, 456; day laborers, 6; medicine men, 2; pottery makers, 366; governors, 7. 1,749 speak nothing but the Indian language; 6 speak Spanish, 51 speak English, 33 read it, and 25 write English. This does not include the 44 children at the United States Indian boarding school at Keams Cañon.

POPULATION OF THE 7 MOQUI PUEBLOS.

PUEBLOS.	POPULATION.			AGE.			Heads of families.	House owners (all women).	LANGUAGE USED.									At school.
									Indian.			Spanish.			English.			
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Over 18 years.	Under 6 years.	Over 5 and to 18, inclusive.			Speak.	Read.	Write.	Speak.	Read.	Write.	Speak.	Read.	Write.	
Total	1,996	999	997	1,118	288	590	364	364	1,749	.....	6	6	.....	.....	51	33	25	93
Walpi	282	117	115	134	37	61	44	44	198	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	4	3	4	13
Sichumnavi	103	51	52	59	24	20	21	21	77	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	6	6	7
Tewa	161	80	81	71	36	54	24	24	113	.....	1	1	.....	.....	13	12	12	18
Mishongnavi	244	126	118	128	36	85	42	42	213	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Shipaulavi	126	62	64	60	15	51	21	21	112	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6
Shimopavi	225	118	107	111	15	99	42	42	211	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5
Oraibi	905	445	460	560	125	220	170	170	830	.....	.....	5	.....	.....	28	12	3	44

OCCUPATIONS OF THE INDIANS OF THE 7 MOQUI PUEBLOS.

PUEBLOS.	Farmers and weavers.	Day laborers.	Medicine men.	Pottery makers.	Governors.
Total	456	6	2	366	7
Walpi	74	.....	.....	67	1
Sichumnavi	31	2	.....	30	1
Tewa	46	1	.....	37	1
Mishongnavi	73	.....	.....	66	1
Shipaulavi	32	.....	.....	33	1
Shimopavi	65	.....	.....	60	1
Oraibi	135	3	2	73	1

All the Indians wear Indian clothing. The oldest man is 96 years and the oldest woman is 94 years of age. There were 79 school children in 1890 and 93 in 1891.

PERSONAL WEALTH AND LIVE STOCK.

The value of the Moqui personal property, including live stock, is estimated at $84,900, as follows:

20,000 sheep, worth $2 each	$40,000
5,000 goats, worth $1.50 each	7,500
1,100 horses or ponies, worth $10 each	11,000
800 cattle, worth $17 per head	13,600
3,200 burros or donkeys, at $4 each	12,800
Total	84,900

The Moquis consume annually 2,500 of their own sheep and goats, besides what they procure from the Navajos. They sell 26,000 pounds of wool a year to the traders at from 8 to 9 cents a pound and utilize the remainder in making blankets or garments. They also sell each year many blankets and baskets and some pottery and ornaments and trinkets (about $1,000 of ornaments and trinkets), their cash income from these sources being not less than $10,000 a year. Money is not as essential to them as to white people, as they produce everything they eat, drink, or wear, except coffee, tea, sugar, and some spices. These they buy from the traders. They have considerable personal property in the way of silver, jewelry, turquoise, household furniture, blankets, etc. Silver is preferred to gold for jewelry or ornamentation.

The amount of cotton raised and made into cloth is not estimated, but the Moquis used to spin and weave enough cotton to make light summer clothing for their people; of late years they wear but little clothing of their own manufacture, as they can buy cloth cheaper of the traders than they can raise the cotton.

THE ANNUAL FOOD SUPPLY OF THE MOQUI PUEBLOS.

The Moqui pueblos (*a*) contain 1,996 people; to properly feed and clothe so many people requires thrift and labor, especially when the barren country in which they live is taken into consideration. In 1890 and 1891 the corn crops were as follows:

	ACRES.
First mesa	1,000
Second mesa	1,000
Third mesa (Oraibi)	1,600
Total	3,600

The yield per acre is about 12 bushels, and there are about 56 pounds to the bushel, so that in the 3,600 acres there would be—

Bushels	43,200
Pounds	2,419,200

	POUNDS.
Home consumption	919,200
Bartered to Navajos for sheep, goats, etc.	650,000
Sales to traders	150,000
Surplus stored	700,000
Total	2,419,200

The above, of course, is an estimate made from information gathered at the trading posts and a general observation of the land under cultivation.

The peach orchards and vegetable gardens yield ample fruit and small vegetables and melons. The onion garden at Weepo, used in common, is of great service to the people. There are about 2,000 acres planted in vegetables between the 7 villages that are tilled by the Moquis collectively, distributed thus:

First mesa	500
Second mesa	500
Third mesa (Oraibi)	1,000
Total	2,000

There are fully 1,000 acres in peach trees, distributed as follows:

First mesa	300
Second mesa	200
Third mesa (Oraibi)	500
Total	1,000

The peach orchards are located among the sand hills at the foot of the mesas, with the exception of 2 on the first mesa, 1 on the second mesa, and about 20 on the third. Oraibi is built on one of the lower "benches" of the

a Oraibi partially estimated.

third mesa. The sands have drifted over the bench toward the north and northwest, forming large hills, which have all been covered with peach trees. The peach, vegetable, and melon crops are worth at least $10,000 per year. The Indians eat great quantities of the peaches when ripe and dry the remainder for winter use.

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VALUE OF THE MOQUI REALTY.

The total estimated value of the Moqui realty is $188,000. This only includes the area they now use. There is water enough to irrigate 6,000 acres more of agricultural land, which would be worth $40 per acre, or $240,000.

The Moquis farm 3,600 acres of corn land. They have water for this, and these lands are cheaply estimated as of the value of $30 per acre (the water being the real value), or $108,000.

They have 1,000 acres of peach orchards of a value of $20 per acre, or $20,000, and 2,000 acres of garden land, at $30 per acre, $60,000 (the water, making cultivation possible, is the real value), in all $188,000.

This estimate of value of the lands is based upon the common and average value of lands of like character in New Mexico and Arizona adjacent to the Moquis, and in view of the fact that considerable outlays for ditches and irrigation will be necessary. Similar lands with water are held in New Mexico and Arizona at from $40 to $50 per acre, and more when buildings are included.

The value of the houses is nominal; still, they are homes. The springs about the Moqui pueblos are the value, as water commands the lands. About the first mesa, near Sichumnavi, Tewa, and Walpi, there are 3 springs, and 3 miles beyond to the north, at Conellabah and Weepo, 1 each, and a mile and a half northeast of Weepo, at Mishongnavi, 2; at Shipaulavi, 1; at Shimopavi, 3; at Oraibi, 5 small ones. These few springs sustain the people and herds of the Moqui pueblos and raise the crops. There is a spring at Keams Cañon post office, 1 at the school, 3 miles northeast, and 1 near the ruins of Awatubi.

HOUSES IN THE MOQUI PUEBLOS—POPULATION.

The total number of houses in the 7 pueblos is 347. It is difficult to count the houses in any of the Moqui pueblos, there being 3 ways of counting them, all of which might be correct, yet varying greatly as to numbers. For instance, there are 5 long rows of buildings at Oraibi, each row divided into from 28 to 41 sections, and nearly all 3 stories high, thus:

	SECTIONS.
First row	32
Second row	41
Third row	28
Fourth row	30
Fifth row	29
Total	160

Some of these sections accommodate more than 1 family; then, if the 5 rows be regarded as so many tenement houses, each section could be counted as 2 or 3 houses, but they were estimated in sections and counted as the houses in our large American cities are numbered.

PUEBLOS.	Houses.	Population.
Total	347	1,996
First mesa	81	496
Walpi	33	232
Sichumnavi	21	103
Tewa	27	161
Second mesa	106	595
Shimopavi	38	225
Shipaulavi	26	126
Mishongnavi	42	244
Third mesa (Oraibi)	160	905

Pueblo houses are quickly destroyed or abandoned. About 50 years ago the smallpox about depopulated Sichumnavi, and the pueblo was nearly all pulled down afterward. Whenever a pestilence breaks out the houses infested are at once destroyed and rebuilt at another point. Sometimes an entire pueblo is abandoned for this reason.

The individual landholders number 285, the areas being from 1 to 16 acres, as follows:

AREAS OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS.

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PUEBLOS.	AREA OF HOLDINGS (ACRES).														Total individual landholders.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	16	
Total	37	19	49	37	26	33	16	28	7	6	1	23	2	1	285
Tewa	.....	3	1	1	1	2	2	5	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	21
Sichumnavi	1	4	5	2	1	2	.....	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	18
Walpi	.....	1	8	3	1	6	2	3	1	1	1	1	.....	.....	28
Mishongnavi	.....	.....	8	9	4	6	2	5	.....	2	.....	4	.....	.....	40
Shipaulavi	.....	1	3	2	3	3	.....	3	1	.....	.....	2	1	.....	19
Shimopavi	.....	1	5	3	3	7	2	3	2	2	.....	2	.....	1	41
Oraibi	36	9	19	12	3	7	8	7	2	1	.....	8	1	.....	118

The men are the landholders of the mesas; the women are the house owners in the towns on the mesas.

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REPORT ON THE MOQUI PUEBLOS OF ARIZONA.

BY E. S. CLARK, SPECIAL ENUMERATOR.

I have the honor herewith to transmit the census report and population of 7 pueblos of the Moqui Indians of Arizona, as follows:

First mesa:		
Pueblo of Tegua (Tewa)	161	
Pueblo of Sichumniva (Sichumnavi)	103	
Pueblo of Walpi	232	
Total		496
Second mesa:		
Pueblo of Mishonginivi (Mishongnavi)	244	
Pueblo of Shepauliva (Shipaulavi)	126	
Pueblo of Shemopova (Shimopavi)	225	
Total		595
Third mesa, Oraibi (*a*)		905
Total for the 7 Moqui pueblos		1,996

For the work of enumeration I employed Francis M. Zuck, whose experience among the Moqui Indians, and as an enumerator in the regular census of the territory in the Eleventh Census, made him an invaluable assistant.

The expenses of this enumeration far exceeded my estimate. I found it impossible to elicit the desired information through the medium of the Navajo tongue in very many instances, and was obliged to employ a white man familiar with the Moqui tongue at an expense of $3 per day.

In order to get from one mesa to another I was obliged to hire Indian ponies and burros accustomed to ascending and descending the rugged steeps of the mesas, which I found sufficiently trying to nerves and patience.

I found the work very slow, tedious, and annoying. Many of the Indians seemed unwilling or unable to give their names, requiring much time and more patience. Outside of this we had but little opposition until we reached Shepauliva, where the "one-eyed-chief", Komiwanuwa, ordered us to desist and leave the village. After much persuasion we were able, by the use of a little money, to secure the enumeration of this village. The inhabitants were, however, sullen and uncommunicative to the last.

From thence we moved camp to Oraibi, a distance of 15 miles, where we secured an interview with Chief La-lo-la-my [or La-lo-la-mai] and 3 of his friends, to whom, during the afternoon, we explained the object of our visit. The chief exhibited a hearty friendliness and desire to assist in the work. He called the chief men together in the evening and held a council until 4 o'clock in the morning, during which time we made every explanation of the purpose of our visit, impressing upon them the penalty for refusing to obey the law.

We found that the Oraibis are decided in their prejudice against the Indian school at Keams Cañon, and considerable dissatisfaction was also manifested in the other villages of this community. This, coupled with the fact that the Navajos had been making repeated raids upon their fields, to which depredations the agent of the Navajos had paid no attention, doubtless explains much of their opposition to the census work, but the real motive for their persistent refusal to submit to enumeration is doubtless the deep-rooted superstition they entertain, which they carry to the extremes only reached by the fanaticism of heathens, that the wrath of the gods inevitably follows such a count as the Americans desire to make of the Indians. They cite the instance of the Zuñis, who, shortly after the Ninth Census, were visited by a scourge of smallpox, which swept away nearly one-half of the tribe. Seeing that there was no prospect of succeeding, we made such observations as I deemed prudent, took Chief La-lo-la-my's advice to make no further effort with the chief men, and after vainly trying to get some information from the members of the tribe generally we took our departure. The people of Oraibi absolutely refused to talk, and as the information required by the Census Office rests entirely within their village, and is utterly unknown outside thereof, it will be seen how thoroughly impossible it was for us to fulfill the object of our visit with the mouths of those from whom we sought information obstinately sealed. White men long acquainted with the Oraibis

a Estimated in 1890 and confirmed and partially enumerated by special agents in 1890 and 1891.

estimate their number at 1,000, but after looking the ground over carefully, coupled with my experience in the other 6 villages, I do not feel justified in placing the number above 905 (*a*), which I believe to be above the true number rather than below it. There are about 165 houses, while the other 6 villages have about 190 houses.

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The general disposition of the Moqui Indians seems to be that of docility and friendliness, having great affection for each other and for their children, their religious superstitions and customs alone standing in the way of their advancement to civilization. Their general health is good, except some evidence of scrofula.

A fearful mortality about 20 years ago, which swept their children away by families, is an incident still vivid in their memories. I could learn nothing about their dead. White men familiar with the Moquis seem to have no idea of how or where they dispose of the dead, there being no external evidence of burial grounds; hence no report could be gathered of their mortality. So long as they are permitted to live in their present crowded condition their death rate must be great and their civilization very tedious.

As indicated by the schedules, they are an agricultural people, sustaining themselves by growing a little corn, beans, chili (red peppers), and many melons and peaches. To those of us living in this arid belt, who grow nothing except by irrigation and with the idea that nothing can be grown here (with the exception of potatoes) without it, the success of the Indians in agriculture is a wonderful revelation, their farms, many of them, being miles away from the villages they inhabit, located in valleys totally devoid of water, 600 to 1,200 feet below them, involving the necessity of carrying all their products, fuel, and water on the backs of their men, women, children, and burros these long distances up the steep sides of their several mesas. This severe labor has given to their women, who do most of the packing, a kind of racking gait, more like that of an animal than of a human being.

In consequence of their farms being so widely scattered, and their total ignorance of anything like acreage, quantity, or value, I have labored at a great disadvantage in arriving at a reliable report of the extent of their farming interests, but after having thoroughly drilled my Indian interpreters in areas and viewed their farms in passing to and from their villages, I feel that a very fair approximation has been reached, as found on the schedules.

"The probable wealth and wages earned" is a problem beyond my ability to solve, as they grow very little to sell beyond their own necessities, but always reserve 1 year's supply of corn on hand for fear of a failure of the growing crop. Their peach orchards and the fruit are marvels in size, quality, and product. Many of these they dry upon the rocks, by which process they are rendered practically unfit for use by white men on account of the sand they take up and the crude method of curing.

It would be an injustice to a good and worthy man should I fail to make favorable mention of the Indian of Tewa who devoted his time so generously in the height of the harvest season to our interests, who has forsaken the home of his fathers and many of their ways by moving his home down from the mesa and breaking away from many of the customs and superstitions of his tribe, thereby invoking the anathemas of his people; a man whose highest ambition is to learn and adopt the ways of the white man in all things (excepting possibly the vices). It is with profound respect and admiration of a good, true, and brave man that I commend to the fostering care and generous treatment of those who have charge of the nation's wards the big, kindhearted Tom Polacca [Polaki].

a Found by Mr. Scott in 1891 to be about correct.

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Ancient Spring in the sand hills at the foot of the Second Mesa, East Side. Arizona.



KEAM'S CANON, A. T.
At the Moqui School Administration Building and Store House. Arizona.



KEAM'S CANON.
Moqui School. Arizona.



ANCIENT PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN.
Moqui children at Keam's. Arizona.



ANCIENT "PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN."
Mr. Keam with his buck-board giving the school girls a ride at the Moqui School in the Canon. Arizona.



KEAM'S CANON.
Herd of Sheep, Store House and Grainery of T. V. Keam. Arizona.

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THE FIRST OR EASTERN MOQUI MESA, ARIZONA, LOOKING SOUTH.

FROM A HOUSETOP IN TEWA—PEACHES DRYING ON THE ROOF—THE COURT OF TEWA AND TOWNS OF SICHUMNAVI AND WALPI IN THE DISTANCE.

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REPORT ON THE MOQUI PUEBLOS OF ARIZONA.

BY JULIAN SCOTT, SPECIAL AGENT.

Acting under instructions of September 28, 1890, I have the honor to report my journey to the Spanish or ancient "Province of Tusayan", in the northeastern part of Arizona, and the observations made there among the Moqui Pueblo Indians from Tewa to Oraibi, 7 towns in number. At Fort Wingate, in New Mexico, I met Brigadier General A. D. McCook, Commissioner of Indian Affairs T. J. Morgan, and Mrs. Morgan, and receiving an invitation to accompany them to the Moqui country I gladly accepted, leaving the Zuñi end of my New Mexico pueblo work until later. The party consisted of General McCook, Commissioner Morgan, Mrs. Morgan, Chaplain Tully, Lieutenants Baker and Persing, myself, and a small escort of cavalry, with such stores and camp equipage as were necessary for the expedition. We left Fort Wingate Monday, October 27, 1890, and were 5 days making the journey. Our route lay through the Navajo reservation, a country fascinating in beauty and with rocks and mountains almost appalling in Titanic grandeur. Following down the Rio Puerco, and leaving to our right the high sandstone bluffs, capped by the "Navajo church", so well known to tourists traveling over the Atlantic and Pacific railroad, we reached the growing town of Gallup after 12 miles ride. Passing through that village and crossing the Puerco, we began to climb the foothills of the Navajo mountains, and camped that night at Rock Spring, a small trading post, where we first met Navajo Indians living in tribal relation.

The second day brought us to old Fort Defiance, which was originally a military post, but is now the Navajo and Moqui agency, a desolate looking place, situated at the mouth of the Cañon Boneto, and surrounded by barren, rocky hills. It has 2 large school buildings of stone, a few dwellings of wood, and some old sheds of adobe, which were the former barracks. General McCook and I walked through the cañon, passing between walls which rose to great height. He showed me where the Navajos had rolled huge rocks down from their tops in order to stampede the baggage train of General Casey when he passed through there years ago, and where also "Kit" Carson met with a similar reception during one of his campaigns in the country. "In those days", the general said, "6 wagons could pass abreast through the length of the cañon". To-day one could not do so, as there is but a horse trail. A heavy cloudburst a few years ago broke through the hard soil and drift, making the deep chasm, or arroyo, still deeper by some 30 or 40 feet and so wide as to almost reach the walls of rock. Mr. Adams, the Indian trader at old Fort Defiance, showed us some specimens of broken pottery which he found while developing a coal vein at Oleo, on the San Juan river, 140 miles northeast of the fort. They were discovered 15 feet below the surface in solid sandstone and about 6 inches above a coal vein, and had become welded together through the process of infiltration.

Leaving Fort Defiance, our route led over the great Navajo plateau to Ganado, or Cottons, a trading post situated on the Pueblo Colorado wash, and near by an old ruin, known as Ganado, which name is given to the post office there. Mr. Cotton, the trader and postmaster, is a young man of pluck. He has built a store, a fine one, of stone on land taken up under the homestead act before that part of the country was added to the Navajo reservation. The constructors of the building were 2 old soldiers (pensioners), John Bohn and Jack Tobin, the helpers being Navajos.

After the following day's march we pitched camp near Eagle Crag over a "divide" and close to a small, muddy lake and the hogan of a Navajo. Eagle Crag is a remarkable looking butte of a pale yellow sandstone. Near to it, and equally high, is a smaller one, which resembles a cube. They stand isolated, far from the mesa walls of the surrounding country. The Navajo plateau is covered with a great forest of pines which are exceedingly tall and large, some of them 5 and 6 feet in diameter. It contains beautiful glades and long, level stretches covered with an abundance of wild grasses, which would make excellent grazing for cattle. We were several hours going through the forest, though its surface was very level and the road good.

The next morning we came in sight of the San Francisco mountains, and their white peaks remained in view until we reached Keams Cañon. From Eagle Crag, over, there is a great deal of small timber, piñon, cedar, and juniper trees huddled together here and there in large and small groups or spread out into diminutive forests, filling the air with balsamic odors. Entering the cañon from the mesa, or table-land, the descent is gradual, the walls growing higher and higher as we made our way down to the lower and still lower levels. 2 miles below we came to the Moqui school, which consists of 3 groups of buildings, the first of which, where we stayed for a few minutes, proved to be the schoolhouse, the residence of the superintendent, Mr. R. P. Collins, and some smaller buildings. Mrs. Collins was found earnestly at work teaching 25 or more Moqui children, boys and girls.

Passing on down to the lower groups we came to the administration building (which is also the storehouse), barns, stables, wagon sheds, dormitories, kitchen and dining hall, laundry, carpenter and blacksmith shops, etc.

Leaving Commissioner Morgan and Mrs. Morgan here, we proceeded down the cañon to the residence of Mr. Thomas V. Keam, known as the Tusayan trading post in Keams Cañon. About here daily collect groups of Indians from various tribes, trading posts, near and far, Navajo, Moqui, and the Oraibi generally, Cojonina, Zuñi, and Laguna occasionally, from the plateaus of the north, mesas of the west, and butte country in the south. They come afoot, horseback, on burros, and on mules, bringing with them hides, blankets, baskets, pottery, dried peaches, melons of all kinds, gourds, pumpkins, beans, and corn for barter and trade; others come for social purposes, gossip and news, to meet old friends, to engage in popular sports, horse and foot racing, and in games of chance, like monte and koon kan. Men, women, and even children engage in these pastimes, and, what is quite remarkable, I never saw any quarreling among them, and their tempers were often put to severe tests. The dissimilarity in costume of these various tribes is not easily noticeable till after long observation; while generally similar, they are quite unlike in detail; for instance, while all the men and boys wear red scarfs, 2 or 3 inches wide, around their heads, tied in a simple knot at the side, the Navajos gather all their hair at the back and tie it in a vertical bow of 2 loops, low at the neck; all the others gather only their back hair into a similar knot, with the front parted, or in bangs above the eyes, the side locks hanging loosely over the ears and cheeks down to the shoulders. The Navajos seldom wear head covering, except when necessary, and then the blanket is drawn over like a hood. The Indians of all these tribes, viz, Navajos, Moquis, and Pueblos, wear variously colored, tightly fitting calico shirts, loose trousers of the same material or cotton, falling just below the knee, and slit on the outer sides from the bottom, about 6 inches upward, forming flaps, through the openings of which the knees are seen, and leggings of buckskin, reaching up to just below the knee, overlapped and held in place by broad, gay colored, and fringed garters, woven by the Moquis and Navajos, tied above the calf in a bow or square knot, according to fancy, the lower part of the leggings falling loosely over the moccasins. The moccasins are of plain buck or cow skin, either of a natural color or dyed black or brick red; the vamp reaches to the ankle, the quarters or sides extend a little higher and pass across the front; the button fly folds over the outer quarter and fastens just above the heel. Added to this description of their attire, I must mention the blankets, which are of various designs and colors, of Navajo, Moqui, American, and Mexican manufacture; they form not only an indispensable part of the Indians' wardrobe, but also serve as their bed covering at night or day, whatever time they take for sleep. The blanket is generally wrapped about them its full length, covering the head and falling below the knees, and is girdled about the waist by a cartridge belt, or by the more ornamental and expensive belt made by the Navajo silversmith. When not used for shoulder or head covering, the upper part is allowed to fall and form a double skirt, which falls gracefully about the legs. These Indians wear beads of every kind, homemade, and principally of shell, turquoise, and silver. Some of them are held in high esteem, arising from the belief that those of shell are made by an "old woman who lives in the west by the great waters". The commercial value of the shell beads is gauged according to their thinness and to a special pink color or tint they possess. The value of the turquoise beads is gauged by the delicacy and purity of their blue shade, while that of the silver beads, including all other silver ornaments, is determined by weight. (a) The ornaments made of these beads consist of necklaces, earrings, and bracelets. Other ornaments, beautifully engraved, such as buckles, belts, buttons, and also bracelets, are made of solid silver. They do not care for gold ornaments.

This daily gathering about the Tusayan trading post presents to the stranger a succession of pictures vying with the kaleidoscope in changing form and color, which is made still more impressive by contrast with the imposing background of the walls of the cañon. At the store or post are the fossil remains of some huge creature, now extinct, which must be classified by a specialist in such matters. The bones were found in the desert, a short distance from the mouth of the cañon; many of them are fragmentary, and Mr. Keam, with an Indian, spent several days in exhuming them. Some have thought the creature was a bird, now unknown, others believe that it was part bird and part beast; it might have been a bat whose monstrous wings fanned the desert in the days of the mastodon.

On Saturday, November 1, 1891, the whole party, including Mr. Keam and Mr. and Mrs. Collins, visited the "first mesa", 9 miles distant. Leaving the cañon, 4 miles below, our road lay across what seemed almost a desert waste. Far in the distance the yellow mesa stood bold and clear against a deep blue sky. On its level top we could easily discern from their irregular outlines the terraced villages of Tewa, Sichumnavi, and Walpi. Bunches of amolí (soapweed), wild sage, yucca (Spanish bayonet), sweet grass, and cacti relieved the monotony the sandy stretches would otherwise have presented. Coming to spots which had appeared at a distance more barren than the rest, we found them to be cornfields covered with parched stalks left from the harvest. It was nearly noon when we reached the adobe house of Tom Polaki, situated upon one of the small hills skirting the foot of the mesa, where our horses were allowed to rest and feed until the ascent to the village above and return had been made. The trail leading up to the heights passes near the principal spring which supplies the people of the mesa above with water. This spring is situated but a few rods from Polaki's house, in a deep ravine, on the sides of which were numerous peach trees, and gathered about it were a number of women, old and young, filling their ollas, or water

a The usual rule with the Indians of this section is to charge $2 for jewelry containing $1 of silver.

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PUEBLO OF WALPI, First Mesa, Arizona, 1890
Tom Po-la-kis, house at base of Mesa.

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TOM POLAKI, of Walpi, Arizona, 1890.



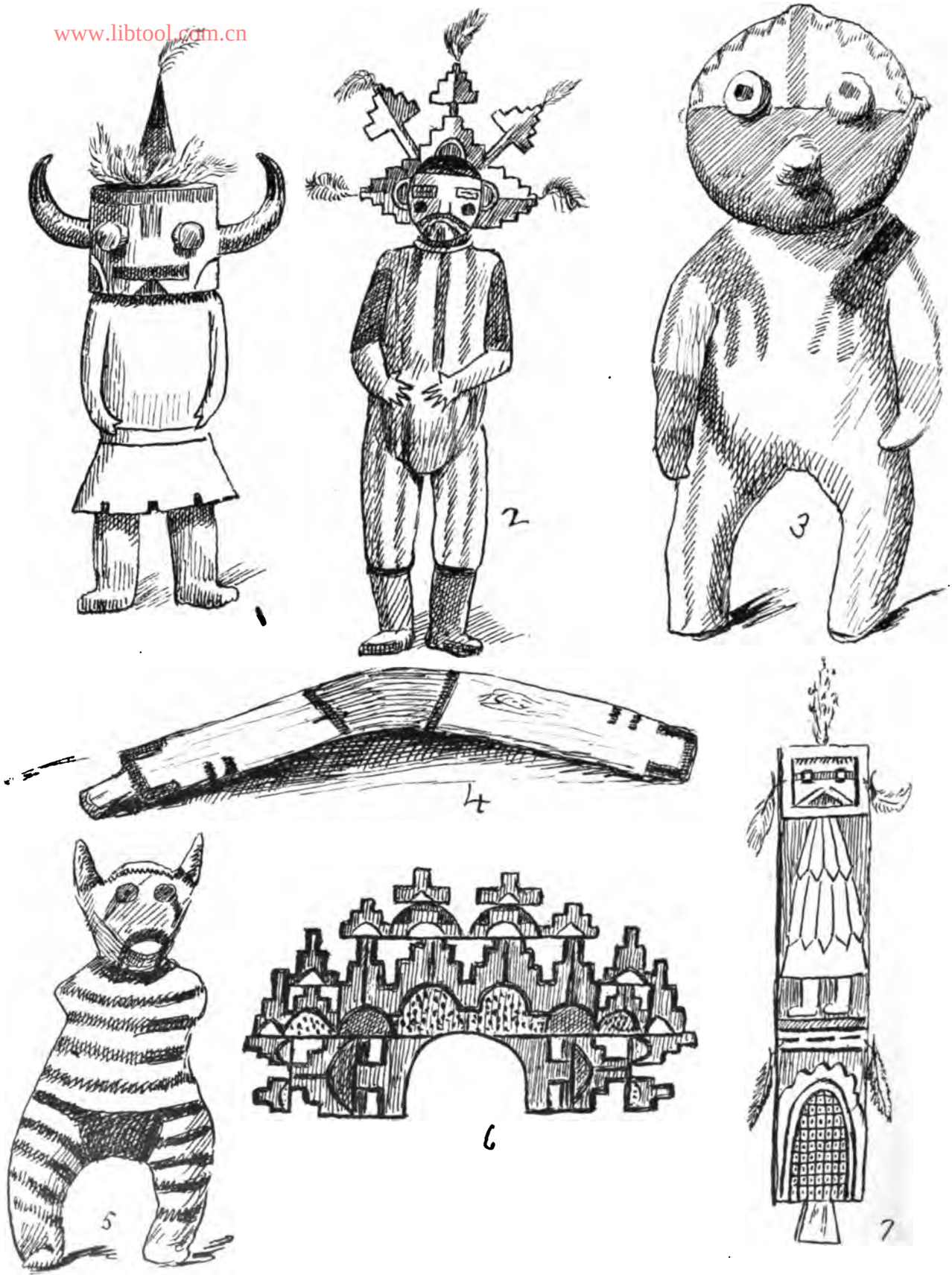
PE-TSCI, Native of Si-chum-na-vi, First Mesa, Arizona, 1890.

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New York Engraving and Printing Co. Drawn by JULIAN SCOTT, 1890.

No. 1. A Male Cachina, 10 inches high. No. 2. A Female Cachina, 14 inches high. No. 3. A Clay God, 4 inches high. No. 4. Moqui Boomerang. No. 5. A Clay God, 4½ inches high. No. 6. Head Dress of a Goddess, 9 inches high. No. 7. A Board Representing a Female Cachina, 30 inches high.

jars; others were coming and going along the narrow path worn in the sandstone by human feet tramping for centuries from the top of the mesa to the bottom, or the reverse.

From this point the wearisome climb began, and it was fully half an hour before we reached the horse trail near the top, from which point our way was a gentle rise along the excavated side of the upper walls of the mesa. The journey was difficult, as the distance from the spring was more than a mile and a half to the top of the town of Tewa and the road up the side of the mesa 700 feet from the valley line; also, on account of the rarified atmosphere, to which we were unaccustomed.

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We now began the examination of the pueblo of Tewa, going into many of the houses.(a) While age and neglect characterized their exteriors, there was a neatness and cleanliness inside agreeably disappointing. The rooms, plastered with mud generally, were small and dimly lighted, making it difficult to notice details, though some had windows of gypsum for glass. From the ceilings were suspended poles, upon which hung dried meat and strings of peaches and dried pumpkins. Pieces of deer horns were driven in the walls and used as hat and coat racks. The fireplaces were small, generally built in a corner, and answered for both heating and cooking. Here and there in the walls were niches of different sizes, which served as storing places for crockery, trinkets, and clay gods. There are hundreds of these gods, or Cachinas, about. Some of the rooms had low stone seats running along one or two sides, which were covered with goat and sheep skins and blankets to make them more comfortable. These, rolled out on the floor, are usually the beds of the Moquis. Occasionally there would be an ordinary chair or two and a pine table. The floors were of clay or cement. The ceilings were low, not more than 7 to 8 feet, and the inside doors, or connecting ones, say 4 by 3 feet.

Every family possesses facilities for grinding corn, and in most of the houses we entered were found one or more of their young women kneeling behind low bins containing inclined stone slabs (metátes), on which they were grinding corn into meal of different grades of fineness. They bake a bread from this corn meal, called wyavi, or piki.

The houses being one above the other in terraces, the roof of the lower is frequently the front yard of the upper. They all extend back to the same rear wall. The caps and sills of some of them are made of sandstone. Ladders are used to reach the higher dwellings, and I am told that until recent years the lower houses were entered from the top; those having roofs to the sky have a square hole for light and air and exit. We found nearly all the terraces and upper roofs covered with ripened corn of every color; they also dry their peaches on these roofs. We were here shown more piki (bread) made of the colored corn, which they bake on flat, hot stones, the color of which the process of baking did not change.

On the outer walls of the houses, and over the windows and doors, hung in graceful festoons and small bunches ripening chili, in color from emerald green to brilliant scarlet. Old water jars, whose bottoms had been worn out, were worked into their chimneys with the other masonry, giving them quite a tasteful appearance.

The number and variety of idols or images belonging to the Moquis is startling. In every household can be seen from one to a dozen wooden or clay idols or gods of the oddest and quaintest shapes, roughly made, and while resembling each other, they are different from any other Indian images. They are of all sizes, from 2 inches to over 4 feet high, painted in various colors; sometimes they are invested with beautiful ceremonial robes, woven expressly for them. These gods are not, properly speaking, gods at all, but represent different Cachinas (or Katcheenas), who are but semigods and intermediaries between the Moquis and their principal deity. The Cachinas are said to have once existed; "it was in the long morning twilight of the earth's age"; however this may be, they certainly have an existence now in the grotesque figures found suspended to the beams that support the roofs of Moqui dwellings or tucked away in little niches or standing up in rows on stone shelves. They are male and female, some vigorously pronounced; the females have extraordinary headdresses only, but the males are more modestly decorated. The male is called O-mow and the female A-to-se-ka; but they are still Cachinas. These gods are used during the ceremonies in the estufas; all possess great antiquity, and when not in use are hidden away by their custodians where they can not be found except by those who have them in charge. There were 2 found by a gentleman in a cave under the mesa on which stand the ruins of Awatubi. The male was 4 feet 1 inch and the female 3 feet 9 inches in height. He carried them to his house, some 12 miles distant, but they were

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a The Moqui houses generally can be termed "rough rubble" masonry, being of rough, uncut sandstone, laid in blue or dark mud, all from and about the mesas. The stones are usually about 10 inches square. The house roof is made of peeled pine poles from 6 to 8 inches in diameter, laid from wall to wall and about 15 inches apart. The rooms are from 8 to 10 feet square and the ceilings low, say 7 feet. The connecting doorways between the rooms are sometimes but holes, 4 feet high at most. Over the ceiling rafters or joists, which have a slight pitch or fall, are laid small cedar branches, side by side, like a thatch. Over these is the fiber of the yucca, which makes a matlike covering, and on this is laid the mud which makes the roof, say a foot deep. The walls of the houses project above the roof a foot or more, and sometimes outlet holes are in this parapet, through which the little water which comes from rain runs out. Some of the houses have long split logs inserted in these holes for drain pipes. When a Moqui wants to repair the roof of his house he simply shovels upon it a quantity of mud. The floors of the houses are rock for the first story and mud for the others, laid as in the roof. The joists in all the houses are similar. The fireplaces are in the corners of the rooms usually, with flues (this is modern, however), but some are still in the center, the smoke escaping through the square hole in the roof. In many of the houses old jars of pottery are used for chimneys, the bottoms being knocked out and the jars piled one on the other. Sometimes piles of stone or bowlders make the chimneys.

The houses of the 7 Moqui pueblos are similar to those of the pueblos of New Mexico in general features, except that the former are of stone, while most of the latter are of adobe. The interiors, sleeping arrangements, etc., are about the same, and the methods of making bread and cooking food of both the Moquis and Pueblos are the same. Some articles are found among the Moquis made by the Mexicans or Navajos or bought from the Mormons, who are their neighbors on the northwest. Some few Moquis have lamps and cooking stoves.

soon missed by the Indians who venerated them, and a delegation was sent to the gentleman to tell him of the loss of the gods and implore his help in their recovery. They spoke so earnestly, and believed so firmly that ill fortune would follow them if these Cachinas were not found, that he finally said that he had brought them from Awatubi, not realizing that they were so much esteemed; he then led them to a room where they had been placed. The gentleman said the Moquis were beside themselves with joy at the restoration of their gods. This happened some years ago, and since that time no white man has seen them. (*a*)

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The gods made from trunks or limbs of small trees which by chance have grown to resemble in part a man are regarded with great favor, especially for gods for the estufa, it being believed that the spirit of a Cachina is in such wood. The material employed in making the Cachinas is usually cottonwood. Such as have ceremonial vestments on are of wood, the clothes being of white cotton cloth, richly embroidered in colors; the cloth used is from the Moqui looms and is of a peculiar fabric; the clothes, including headdress, are also made of feathers. The colors employed in painting these gods are not used with any regard to rule, but as each individual fancies. (*b*)

What surprised me was that the Moquis, who have so much to do to provide the necessities of life, should burden themselves with the extra care of the great number of dogs which every family seemed to possess. These dogs, like the children, climb the ladders and narrow stone steps from roof to roof with the greatest ease, likewise the cats, another kind of pet existing here in large numbers.

At first, on entering their abodes, considerable shyness was manifested by the women and children and some of the men, but Mr. Keam, vouching for our characters and good intentions, reassured them, and every kindly attention was paid us. In a number of houses we were invited to partake of watermelons, which we found delicious.

Interesting groups presented themselves at most every turn. Here upon a terrace could be seen an old woman combing the hair of a girl; another examining the head of a boy (not phrenologically, however); there on the topmost roof of a house stood a young woman winnowing wheat. She tossed the wheat a dozen times or so from a basket vertically into the air. During this process the wind blew away the chaff, some of which fell upon the head of a young buck who sat near sunning himself and watching our movements. He looked up at her and made some remarks, at which she laughed, then covering his head with his blanket resumed his occupation, she continuing to be careful that all the chaff should blow his way. The grain dropped on a blanket spread to catch it. Half a dozen men and boys were lounging about an estufa, and naked children came out from their hiding places to gaze with their parents upon their unexpected visitors. Some candy, a large supply of which Mr. Keam had thoughtfully taken along, soon allayed the fears of the little ones, obtained their favor, and of course gratified the elders. Our progress through the pueblo was often impeded by the many hungry burros taking their stand in front of the doors, where they are usually fed.

Dog fights were of frequent occurrence, generally for the possession of some bone or stray piece of dried meat. We came to a bevy of girls, collected upon one of the housetops, appearing in full dress toilet, the most noticeable feature of which was their tunics, each of some bright color, red, green, and yellow being the favorites, worn gracefully about the shoulders. The hair was arranged in the peculiar cart-wheel side puffs. Their simplest dress consisted of a small blanket brought close under the left arm with the two upper corners fastened over the right shoulder, the side edges being tied beneath, forming an arm hole, leaving the right and left arm, left shoulder, and part of the left breast bare. It is girdled at the waist by a belt of their own weaving, and closed down the side either with colored yarn or silver pins. Some of them wore leggings peculiar to the Moqui and Navajo women, each consisting of an entire deerskin, wrapped in spiral folds from over the moccasins upward to the knee and there fastened in some mysterious manner.

Leaving Tewa, a few minutes walk along the crest of the mesa brought us to the second pueblo, called Sichumnavi. The houses of this village are more scattered than those of Tewa, and most of them are but one story high. We all got around an estufa there, an unusually large one, and I, being warm and perspiring, took off my hat; an old Moqui who knew some English words, noticing the bald spot on my head, called the attention of the others by pointing at it and exclaiming, "no louse", an observation which seemed to please the natives as much as those of our party, for they enjoyed a hearty laugh at my expense. Here we met Shimo (Shee-mo), the principal chief of all the Moquis, a man advanced in years and feeble both in mind and body. We were treated by the people

a Of this circumstance Mr. J. Walter Fewkes writes in 1891: "The worship of the horned A-lo-sa-ka is more strictly characteristic of the pueblo of Mi-con-in-o-vi (Mishongnavi), where this fraternity is probably more numerous than at Walpi. The images of A-lo-sa-ka were once in the possession of Mr. Keam (T. V.) for a few days, but at the earnest solicitation of almost the whole population of Mi-con-in-o-vi (Mishongnavi) they were returned to the priests. At that time they were carried from Keams Cañon back to the pueblo with great ceremony, when a pathway of sacred meal was made for many miles along the trail over which they were borne." Some Moqui idols or gods are not, perhaps, so sacred as those above referred to. Dr. Oscar Loew, chemist of the Wheeler expedition in 1874, refers to some gods which were for sale, and his experience is that of visitors to the Moquis to-day. The Moquis like money, silver especially. If the wooden gods or figures which Dr. Loew saw in the house of a chief were designed as objects of worship, no profound veneration was manifested for them, since they were readily parted with for a trifling quantity of tobacco.

b About the heads of some are coronets of 5 or 6 small squares of wood. These coronets sometimes resemble a Maltese cross, with a near approach to a Grecian border on them, the lines being in green. The bodies of the wooden gods are usually painted white, and frequently a bit of the down of a feather is glued to the points of the coronet, which may be a symbol, copied from the halos around the heads of the images of saints in Catholic churches. The Spanish Catholic influence is quite apparent in many of the Moqui images, and also in some of their customs, on their pottery, and in figures on their blankets.

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Ancient Province of Tusayan. First Moqui Mesa.
A girl of Tewa. Arizona.



Among the Moquis. On the First Mesa near Tewa. Coming up the trail is Gen. McCook, behind him Lieut's Baker and Persing.
Arizona.



Ancient Province of Tusayan. First Moqui Mesa.
A scene at Tewa. Arizona.



Ancient Province or Tusayan. First Moqui Mesa, At Tewa.
Arizona.



Ancient Province of Tusayan. On the trail between the First and Second Mesa. Arizona.



Ancient Province of Tusayan. First Moqui Mesa and the entrance to the pueblo of Tewa. Arizona.

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Spanish and Ancient Province of Tusayan. Moquis on a trading Expedition. Arizona.



Ancient Province of Tusayan. On the First Moqui Mesa. A scene at Si-chum-na-vi. Arizona.



Ancient Province of Tusayan. First Mesa of the Moquis. Gen. A. McD. McCook near an Estufa at the pueblo of Si-chum na-vi. Arizona.



Ancient Provience of Tusayan. First Moqui Mesa Street scene in the pueblo of Si-chum-na-vi. Arizona



Ancient Province of Tusayan. On the First Moqui Mesa A scene at Walpi. Arizona.

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of this town with the same friendliness shown us at Tewa. Soon after leaving Sichumnavi the mesa becomes very narrow, so narrow that the edges in one part are but a few feet from the trail, producing an impulse to creep along that particular section. Nothing can better express the great age of this ancient home, perched on the dizzy height, than the mute testimony of the trail that leads from town to town, worn deep into the solid sandstone or rock from 3 to 8 and 10 inches, all by the soft soles of the moccasins and calloused feet of the natives. The trails from the tops of the several mesas to the valleys below, sometimes 800 feet, are worn in the same way.

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We entered Walpi and went at once to the front of the pueblo which faces the east. Here some of the houses are 3 and 4 stories high and terraced. From nearly all of them a view can be had of the plaza and sacred rock where the famous biennial snake dance is held. We were shown the estufa in which the reptiles are kept for the dance. Through Mr. Keam our party was permitted to enter the principal estufa, into which we descended by a ladder, put down for the occasion. An estufa is a large room under ground, called by the Indians "kiva" [keva or keevah], meaning "man house", a place where men hold their private councils, "make medicine", and prepare for all their public demonstrations. It was not hospitable, was floored with stone, and contained nothing of moment save an exceedingly bad odor. This one was barren and brown, lined with clay, and without color.

The estufa bears more relation to the life and customs of the Moquis than churches or clubhouses do to the Anglo-Saxon. In many of the accompanying views the ladders from the roofs of the estufas, on a level with the streets, can be seen. The ordinary estufas are simply underground rooms. Some are sacred, some are for lounging, some for work. They are used by the males, and are usually from 12 to 16 feet square. Some, however, are parallelograms, and from 8 to 10 feet high. They are sometimes walled inside with stone, and have beams of cedar or cottonwood laid across them, with an opening 2 by 2 or 2 by 3 feet left in the ceiling or roof for a ladder. This is the only means of ventilation. The roof or ceiling beams are lagged in with other beams or thick brush, and dirt is thrown over all. The floor is sometimes laid with stone, sometimes with mud, and around the 4 sides of the room are stone benches. One of these benches is usually constructed so as to form a table for the ladder to rest on. In the center of the room is a place for a fire of wood, with several stones 10 by 12 inches or larger lying about it, which are used for seats. The walls contain niches for idols, and on one side is a pole about 6 feet long, suspended 2 feet from the ceiling, hung with rawhide, to which the weavers attach their blankets when weaving. The estufas are sometimes decorated by the different orders, septs, gentes, or clans, but usually they are clay or stone lined, sometimes whitewashed. The ladders are made of wood, with loose rounds.

The estufas where the men hold religious ceremonies do not differ much from the ordinary estufas. (*a*) They are also underground rooms, usually oblong in shape, 12 to 14 feet wide, 18 to 20 feet long, and 10 to 12 feet deep. They are reached by descending a ladder through a narrow opening or hatch. These places of worship are destitute of any kind of furniture. On 3 sides are usually built stone benches, where the men sit; the floor is covered with large flagstones, and a small pile of ashes, almost under the hatch, is generally to be seen, where the fire has been kindled when needed. There are niches in the walls, in which masks and wooden gods are stored when not in use. The only source of light to these sacred places is through the opening at the top, which is also the only means of ventilation.

Coming to the surface again and out of the estufa and crossing the plaza, and following a narrow street, we reached a courtyard, out of which we passed through a covered way some 20 feet long and only wide enough for 2 to walk abreast. Emerging from this we came to the extreme southern end of the town and mesa, where a magnificent view was obtained of the desert, and beyond the San Francisco mountains to the west, whose snow-capped peaks made them appear like clouds, and although 90 miles away, under the bright light of the noon-day sun they seemed no more than 20. Many picture writings were observed on the rocks about the mesa, and afterward many were observed at the second or western mesa and about Oraibi. (*b*)

The news of our presence on the first or eastern mesa had gone rapidly before us, and we were greeted pleasantly on every side, and the longer we stayed among them the more cordial seemed their greetings. Every

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a With the exception of their own dances, women (among the Moquis) do not take part in secret kibva (kiva) ceremonials; but it can not be said that they are debarred entrance as assistants in making paraphernalia of the dances, or when they are called upon to represent dramatizations of traditions in which women figure.—J. WALTER FEWKES, 1891.

b Major J.W. Powell in 1875, referring to the picture writing of the Moquis, wrote: "In a former article I have briefly described the system of picture writings found in use among these people. These are rude etchings on the rocks or paintings on tablets of wood. They are simply mnenomic, and are, of course, without dates. A great buffalo hunt is recorded with a picture of a man standing in front of and pointing an arrow at one of these animals. The record of a great journey is made with a rude map. On the cliff near Oraibi I found a record like this etched on a stone: below and to the left were 3 Spaniards, the leader with a sword, the 2 followers carrying spears. Above and to the right were 3 natives in an attitude of rolling rocks. Near by was a Spaniard prone on the ground, with a native pouring water on his head. Tal-ti, whose name means 'peep of day', because he was born at dawn, explained that the record was made by their ancestors a very long time ago, and that the explanation has been handed down as follows: their town was attacked by the Spaniards; the commander was a gallant fellow, who attempted to lead his men up the stone stairway to the town, but the besieged drove them back with rolling stones, and the Spanish captain was wounded and left by his followers. The people, in admiration of his valor, took him to a spring near by, poured water on him, dressed his wounds, and when they were healed permitted him to return. Tal-ti's description of the scene was quite vivid and even dramatic, especially when he described the charge of the Spaniards rushing forward and shouting their war cries, 'Santiago! Santiago! Santiago'!"

one of the party was shaking hands with the natives, and all had learned to understand the expression "Lo-la-mi, lo-la-mi", meaning "good, good". (a)

Learning this word and its meaning, our return through the other villages was marked by the salutation to every one we met of "Lo-la-mi, lo-la-mi" (the first syllable of this word is the accented one and the last syllable is pronounced like the pronoun "my", lo'lah-my). Leaving the mesa with many regrets that time would not permit of a longer stay, we descended to Polaki's house and lunched. Looking back, on our way down, from time to time we noticed gathering groups of blanketed Indians on the edge of the mesa watching our descent. Polaki was the first Indian to leave his home on the mesa and build a new one at its foot. Within the court, and beneath the projecting roof of the main part of his house, tables were improvised of boxes and boards, upon which the variously prepared food brought with us was placed. Around these, on a few chairs, boxes, baskets, and pails, belonging to Polaki, we were all seated, and the repast was enjoyed with a keen relish. Our menu consisted of cold broiled chicken, potted ham and beef, bread and butter, brandy peaches, grape jam from California, and most excellent coffee boiled on Polaki's stove, a veritable Yankee cook stove, made in St. Louis, Missouri.

The details of our departure need not be entered into; suffice it to say, that after the pleasantest of good-bys to Polaki and his family and to Shaquana, a relative of Polaki (whose example he had followed in building a house on a neighboring hill), we 2 hours later entered the cañon, just before sunset.

While at the mesa runners were dispatched to all the villages or pueblos, including the distant Oraibi, calling the principal chiefs to a council, to be held the following day, Sunday, October 2, at 10 o'clock in the morning, at the Keam residence, in Keams Cañon, with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and General McCook. Creditable to most of the chiefs, particularly La-lo-la-my [La-lo-la-mai], of the Oraibis, who had the greatest distance to cover, all who attended were promptly on hand. Chairs were brought out on the piazza for the principal councilors, who sat down in a semicircle directly in front of the main entrance to the residence.

The various subjects agitating the Moqui mind were fully ventilated and discussed, and every reasonable encouragement was given them. The first subject considered was the school question. The greatest difficulties to overcome, in the minds of the Moqui, were the reasons for the establishment of the government school at Keams Cañon and the determined enforcement of a full school attendance in equal proportion drawn upon the different pueblos according to their population. They wanted to know why schools were not established in the pueblos. It was explained to them that the government had no ulterior motive in this work; on the contrary, a desire to aid the Indians through an education which would enable their descendants to meet the great, unavoidable problems of the future, one of which, of great interest to themselves, was the preservation of their race, giving them a better chance to improve their condition and rise in the scale of intelligence and importance among the other people of this great country. It was shown them that the teachers who came there, men and women, leaving homes of luxury and refinement and depriving themselves of their dearest associations, did so not for gain, but in the hope of aiding the Indians to attain to a position in life whereby they would be more competent to take care of themselves and become as prosperous and thrifty as any other people in the world. La-lo-la-my said that the Navajos trespassed so much upon their watering places that it was difficult for them to find sufficient water for their own herds; that the Navajos were stronger, and took advantage of them by not only appropriating the water of their springs but often stealing their corn, melons, and other fruit, their sheep, goats, and even horses; that the Navajo agent, Vandever, had repeatedly promised to drive the Navajos back upon their own reservation, but his promises were always forgotten, at least never fulfilled. He was assured that the Navajos would be compelled to move off across the Moqui line and to remain upon their own territory, and then, through Chee, notice was given to those Navajos who were present that they must not interfere with the rights of the Moquis in any of the things complained of.

La-lo-la-my also said that he had been opposed to the schools until his visit to Washington, when he saw in going and coming so many great cities, so many people, so many great cornfields, so many wonderful things which he had never before seen or even dreamed of, and learning that these things grew out of the system of education existing among the white people, he had changed his mind and would use all his influence in the future in persuading his people to send their children to school. There were some men among his people who were bitter against the Keams Cañon school and all other schools, but most of them wanted schools at their villages, and it might be necessary to resort to force to effect their acceptance of these educational benefits. General McCook made a few earnest and practical remarks, after which the council broke up. Here I made the acquaintance of La-lo-la-my, who said he would be glad to see me whenever I might visit Oraibi; then he approached and embraced me.

Much time had been consumed in the council on account of the necessity of employing 2 interpreters. The Moquis first talked to Nah-ji in their own tongue, and he translated what they said into the Navajo to Chee and Chee rendered it into English.

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a What does "lolami" mean? What does it mean? Well, I'll give you a free and easy translation. It means "How do you do? I am glad to see you. I hope you are well. I hope all your friends are well." Also, if to a man, "You are the wisest of the wise in council, the bravest of the brave in battle, and a mighty hunter". If to a woman, "You are very handsome; you can make fine baskets; can hoe more corn and grind more meal than any other lady in the tribe".—A. M. STEVEN, 1889.

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Na-Ji—(Nah-hee—) Citizen of Mi-shong-na-vi, Second Mesa, Arizona, 1890.

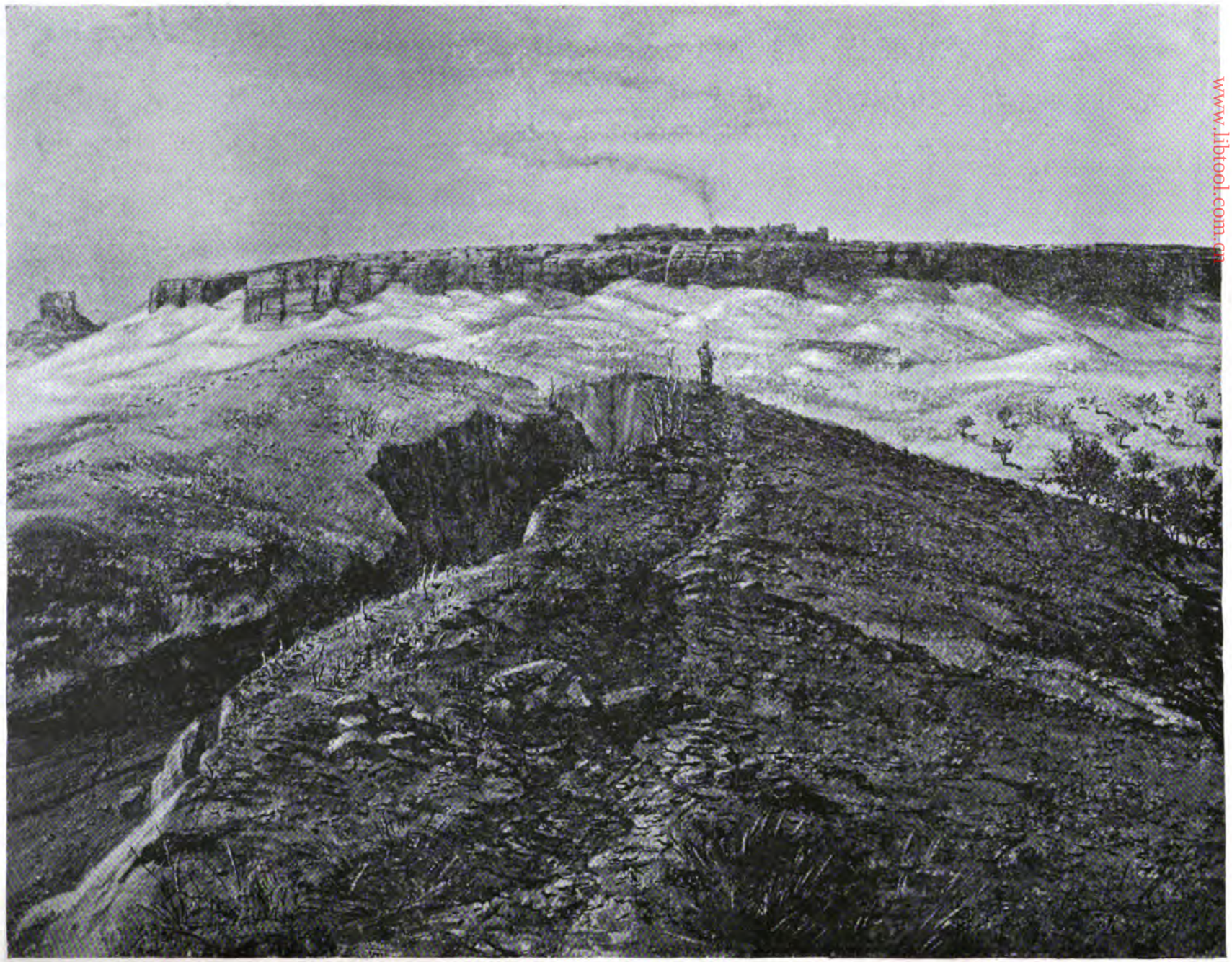


La-lo-la-my, Chief of the Oraibi, Moqui Pueblo, Arizona, 1890.

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New York Engraving & Printing Co. THE APPROACH TO VILLAGE OF ORAIBI, Third Mesa, Arizona. JULIAN SCOTT, 1891.

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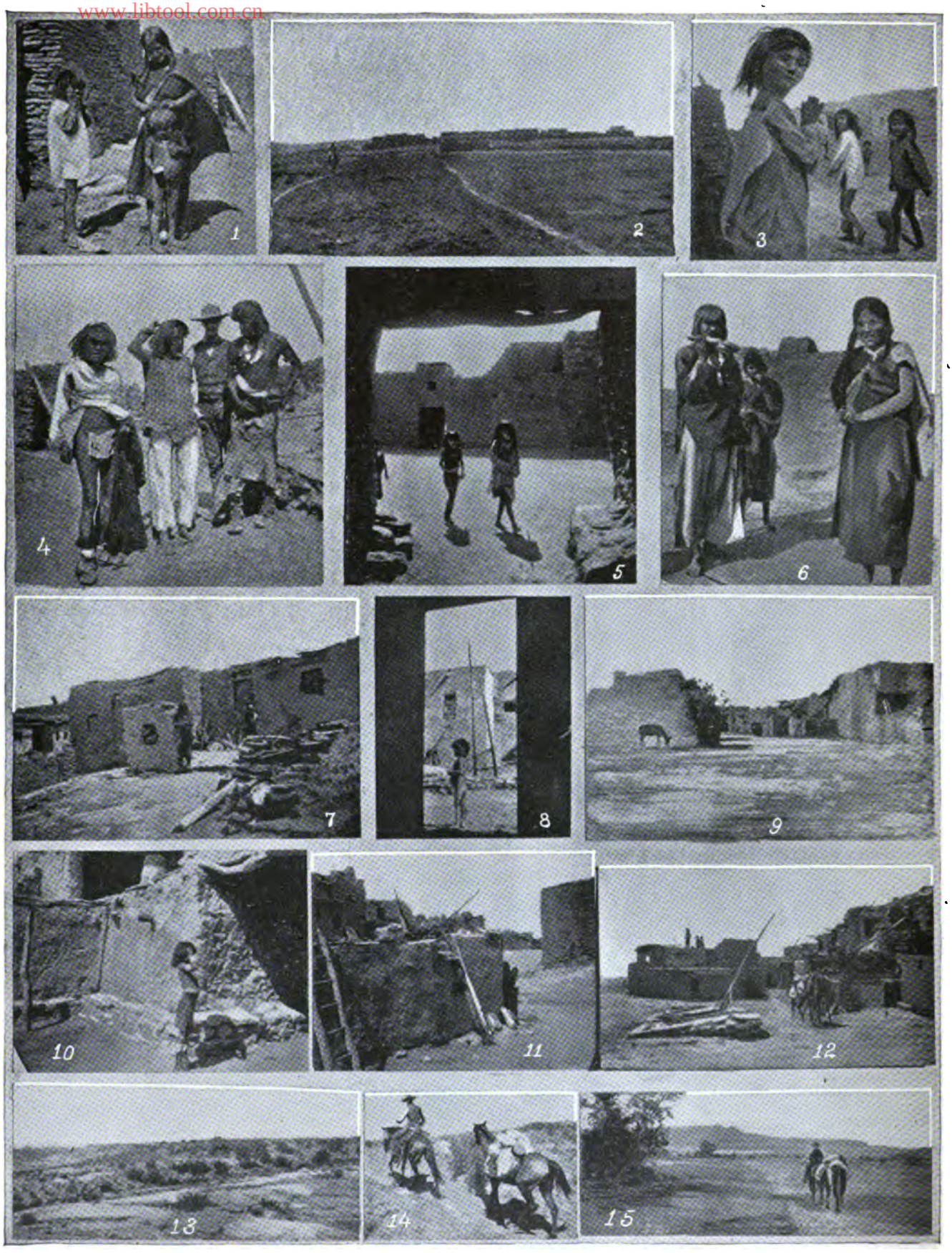
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A STREET SCENE IN PUEBLO OF ORAIBI, 1891.

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1. Examining a child's head. 2. Oraibi from the north. 3. Oraibi children. 4. Lo-lo-la-mai, two of his braves and Mr. R. P. Collins. 5. Children at play. 6. Oraibi women and men. 7. Street scene in Oraibi. 8. Grandson of La-lo-la-mai. 9. Oraibi street scene. 10. At Oraibi. 11. Oraibi. 12. Keva at Oraibi where council was held. 13. In the Oraibi desert. 14. On the trail to Shi-mo-pa-vi from Oraibi. 15. Shi-mo-pa-vi Mesa from Oraibi desert.

[Mr. Scott remained at Keams Cañon 6 weeks as a guest of Mr. Keam. During this time, in company with Messrs. Collins and Keam, he made several trips to the mesas to obtain children for the school at Keams Cañon. The following shows the means taken to get Indian children for the school. Mr. Keam, a citizen not in the employ of the government, was called upon to aid in securing the children, as will be seen in the narrative.]

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At the council before alluded to Commissioner Morgan gave the representatives of the different pueblos 10 days in which to make up their full quota of 75 children, boys and girls, for the school. There were at this time but 35 pupils in attendance, making 40 to be supplied. The response to this order was discouraging, not more than a dozen toward the 40 having been brought in up to the expiration of the time given, and learning that there was a growing opposition to this school measure, an expedition was set on foot to visit the different pueblos and inquire the cause and enforce the orders of the commissioner. A few days' grace was granted, owing to the fact that it was at a time of the year when many of their religious ceremonies took place. The expedition to Oraibi started out on Sunday, November 16, 1890. We camped the first night at Polaki's, under the first mesa, from which point, next morning at daylight, we proceeded on our way, accompanied by 6 Indians, 3 from Tewa and 3 from Sichumnavi, namely, Polaki, Shaquana, Nah-ji (pronounced Nah-hee), Adam, Eona, and Petsci. Our wagon, containing food and blankets, with Eona for guide, was sent around the mesa through the desert to Shimopavi by a circuitous route of 20 miles, to which place by trail it was only 8 miles. We had decided to return to Shimopavi that night after visiting Oraibi and rest at the house of the daughter of Eona, where the school had some friends. Well mounted on sure-footed horses, we took the trail leading over the first mesa, across the desert over the second mesa, continuing through the desert up to the walls of the largest and most remote of the Moqui pueblos, Oraibi. The town, as we entered, seemed almost deserted. The leading characteristic features of the place are age and filth, and the odors that filled the air made it worthy to be named the Cologne of America. (*a*)

We inquired for the house of La-lo-la-my, and our Indian auxiliary had no trouble in conducting us to it. Dogs, hens, chickens, and burros filled up the streets, giving the otherwise almost dead town an appearance of life. La-lo-la-my was not at home. We were told that he had gone into the desert to look after his flocks. A runner was dispatched to notify him of our presence, and in the meantime we went to one of Polaki's relatives and lunched on such provisions as we were able to carry along in our saddlebags. Soon after our lunch La-lo-la-my came; then we all retired to an estufa, sitting down upon its roof, which rose some 2 feet above the level of the street. Lighting a cigarette, which he had just made of tobacco and rolled in a piece of corn husk, La-lo-la-my looked up inquiringly to Mr. Keam. At this moment I took out my watch and noted that the time was 10 minutes past 2. Mr. Keam said: "We have come here on business and to do something". La-lo-la-my replied that he understood what the nature of the business was, but that the bad element in the town was working against him, and he had not been able to forward any more children to school than those belonging to himself and relatives. Mr. Keam said: "If there is any bad element we want to know where it is and who the leaders are". Without further ceremony La-lo-la-my directed one of his young men to guide us into another part of the town, and we were led to an estufa undergoing repairs, pointing down into which he showed us one of the principal leaders of the opposition to La-lo-la-my, who sat there sewing upon a moccasin. Mr. Keam asked him to come out. He paid no attention to this request, which was made a second and a third time; then Mr. Keam descended the ladder into the estufa and took the man by the arm and forced him in a kindly but firm way to come out. He proved to be one of the principal "medicine men", whose brother is the "great medicine man of all the Moquis". When they reached the top of the ladder the "medicine man" trembled like an aspen leaf. He was told that he must go into the estufa which we had just left and answer the charges made against him by La-lo-la-my. We were soon back and found La-lo-la-my waiting, who now told us in his presence that he was one of the men who resisted his efforts to enforce the orders of the

a Major John W. Powell, in 1875, in writing of the appearance of the Moqui towns and houses, said: "Oraibi and the 3 Moqui towns, viz, Tewa, Walpi, and Si-choam-a-vi, are greatly dilapidated; the other 3 towns are much better preserved. The exterior of the houses is very irregular and unsightly, and the streets and courts filthy, * * * but within great cleanliness is preserved."

Any notes or memoranda made upon the pueblo of Zuñi will apply in almost every respect to these 3 villages of the Moquis, viz, Tewa, Sichumnavi, and Walpi, with the limitation that the Moqui pueblos are much more primitive and much more filthy than Zuñi.—Captain JOHN G. BOURKE, 1883.

The Moqui towns of Arizona, as well as the pueblos of New Mexico, are not in any sense beautiful. The first sight of a pueblo is a great disappointment. The pueblos of New Mexico, with the exception of Taos and Zuñi, are only 1 and 2 stories in height, and possess the general appearance of a collection of brickkilns, only, as a rule, the houses are not so well built as the kilns. The towns are generally built of adobe and are in color the same as the earth of the surrounding country, producing an effect of dull monotony until one gets into the towns and sees the people with their bright and picturesque costumes, then the feeling of disappointment at first received disappears. The houses of Taos and Zuñi are 4 or 5 stories in height, but as seen from a distance, and being surrounded by lofty mountains or mesas, present a very flat and unimpressive appearance. The Moqui towns of Arizona are, in consequence of the situation, more impressive and interesting than the pueblos of New Mexico. Walpi, as seen from the valley, presents a bold and striking appearance, and on closer inspection it is most interesting. It is compactly built, several stories in height, of stone and adobe. It occupies the entire point of the mesa on which it stands. The houses are not substantial or well built in any sense; the walls seem to bend and curve in every direction, and are in momentary danger of falling. This criticism will apply to all the Moqui towns of Arizona. All the Moqui towns have one peculiarity in common: they are unclean. I did not observe in any of the towns visited by me any depositories for dirt of any kind, nor do I think there were any. The interiors of the houses present a cleanly appearance, but the odors arising clearly indicate dirt, and plenty of it. In many of the houses the odor of decomposing meat and vegetables, together with their unclean bodies, was almost unbearable. The streets are generally clean after a rain and wind storm such as Arizona can produce, and if it were not for the rain and wind the people of these towns would be compelled to move or die of disease in consequence of their indifference to sanitary matters. The pueblo people of New Mexico are more cleanly in their habits, except where they are in close contact with or are surrounded by civilization. Their houses present less of the tumbledown, ramshackle look than the Moquis, but are not so interesting pictorially, nor are the habits of the people so primitive or interesting.—PETER MORAN.

commissioner. He sat down on the end of the estufa and doubled himself up like the letter N, resting his arms across the knees, and bowing his head forward upon them, sullen, at first refused to speak. Finally, he said all which La-lo-la-my had told us was true. Then Mr. Collins said: "We are here for children and want them right now". Mr. Keam took up the subject, stating: "We have come on behalf of the commissioner in Washington, who desires that this opposition to the school should cease and that you and your relatives act as La-lo-la-my has done, throw away your old ideas about injury of education and send your children to the school in the cañon. We have come prepared to take them, and want you to get them ready." An hour was given them in which to bring us at least some of the children. Under one pretext and another action was delayed, the medicine man sitting there all the while in the same attitude, talking in a low, whining, peevish voice, till the hour had worn away, at which time he was informed that the children must be procured or we should take him back with us to the cañon. Everything had been said to him to explain the great advantage education would be to his children and their descendants. The Indians who accompanied us also talked to him, using every argument of their kind to persuade him, but without avail. In the meantime the village was all excitement; great numbers of men, women, and children, who, no doubt, were taking their midday siestas at the time of our arrival, appeared on their housetops and in the streets. We mounted our horses and took the medicine man back to the estufa where we had found him, in order that he might talk with his people and tell them what had been said. They, showing sympathy with him, and the hour getting late, he was requested to send for his blankets, that we might depart at once. Visible contempt and resentment were manifested on the part of his friends, and remarks were made which our Indian aids said were not all complimentary. He got his blankets, and with him we departed, leaving the mesa by the trail, the one leading direct to Shimopavi. Crossing the desert and reaching the sand hills, or dunes, west of the second mesa, we overtook a young Moqui and his bride, both gaily dressed according to their customs, and both sitting astride the same burro, she in front on the saddle and he riding behind. They presented a pretty picture and made a pleasant addition to our party. The sand dunes increased in size as we approached the mesa, the last one bringing us within 400 feet of the top, from which point a trail the greater part of the way is excavated from the almost perpendicular sides of the solid rock, and up which our party, now consisting of 12, moved slowly in true "Indian file". The horses in many places stopped to snuff the trail and look for secure footing. It was safer, although apparently more hazardous, to keep on the horses and let them take their own way, and, as we went up, I scarcely trusted myself to look down into the continually increasing depths below. After scaling the dangerous sides of the mesa and moving some distance along its ragged and irregular top, we met an Oraibi afoot, who manifested the greatest interest in the prisoner, and some conversation was held between them, part of which was overheard by Polaki. We had all stopped, of course, and Mr. Collins said: "We must go along, as it is getting late". Mr. Keam remarked: "No, let the men talk; some good may come of it". The conversation continued until the prisoner began moving toward the edge of the mesa, and he was told that he had better go the other way. The Oraibi then directed his conversation to Polaki, whose face grew stern as he listened, and he finally leaned forward suddenly and seized the Oraibi by the blanket at the shoulder, and calling to us, said: "This is the great medicine man of all the Moquis, and he threatens my life and the lives of all the others here; he is the brother of the prisoner, and the man most of all that we want". At this movement of Polaki, Mr. Collins just as suddenly turned his horse and took hold of the man on the other side and forced him to go along. On his resisting this compulsory movement Mr. Collins dismounted, and with his lariat "took a hitch" around the man's wrist, remounted, and tied the other end to the pommel of his saddle, and then started off in a canter, the "great medicine man" taking long and quick strides in order to keep from falling. This treatment soon had its effect, for he was quite willing to go along without further opposition. (a)

Our party, now numbering 13, continued on to Shimopavi, which we reached just before dusk, and went directly to the house of Eona's daughter, where we found Mr. Lynde and Eona, who had safely brought around the wagon with our stores and equipage. That evening a council of the principal men of Shimopavi was called, and it was long after midnight before it broke up. The Oraibis here began in their way to tell the causes which had brought them into their present predicament, giving, of course, but one side of the story. This prejudiced and unfair statement of the situation was met on the other side by Petsci, of Sichumnavi, one of our aids. Around his head he wore the brightest of red scarfs, and his general appearance seemed more that of a Moqui dude than an orator. For more than an hour this man stood in the midst of the council, like a statue of classic art, with the shifting folds of his blanket following every movement and gesture of his body and limb, talking with such eloquence that every one listened with rapt attention to the close of his speech, and the death-like stillness was broken only by his musical voice and the occasional gutteral grunts of approval from his audience. We, who did not understand his language, were told by Mr. Keam and Polaki that the friends of the government and the school were gaining ground. At the conclusion of the address the governor of the village sent out his crier and called in all fathers in council who had children of school age, and Shimopavi pledged her full quota of pupils, a number of whom we

a It will be remembered that this Indian, who was an American citizen had committed no breach of law.

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ANCIENT PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN, Second Moqui Mesa.
Getting pupils for the Moqui School from Mi-Shong-na-vi. A boy receiving his father's blessing. Arizona.



ANCIENT PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN.
Second Moqui Mesa. A court at Mishong-na-vi. Arizona



ANCIENT PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN AT KEAM'S CANON.
Mr. R. P. Collins, Superintendent of the Moqui School, at Shi-paul-lu-vi, on the Second Moqui Mesa. Arizona.



ANCIENT PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN.
Under the walls on the Second Moqui Mesa. Shi-mo-pa-vi Arizona.



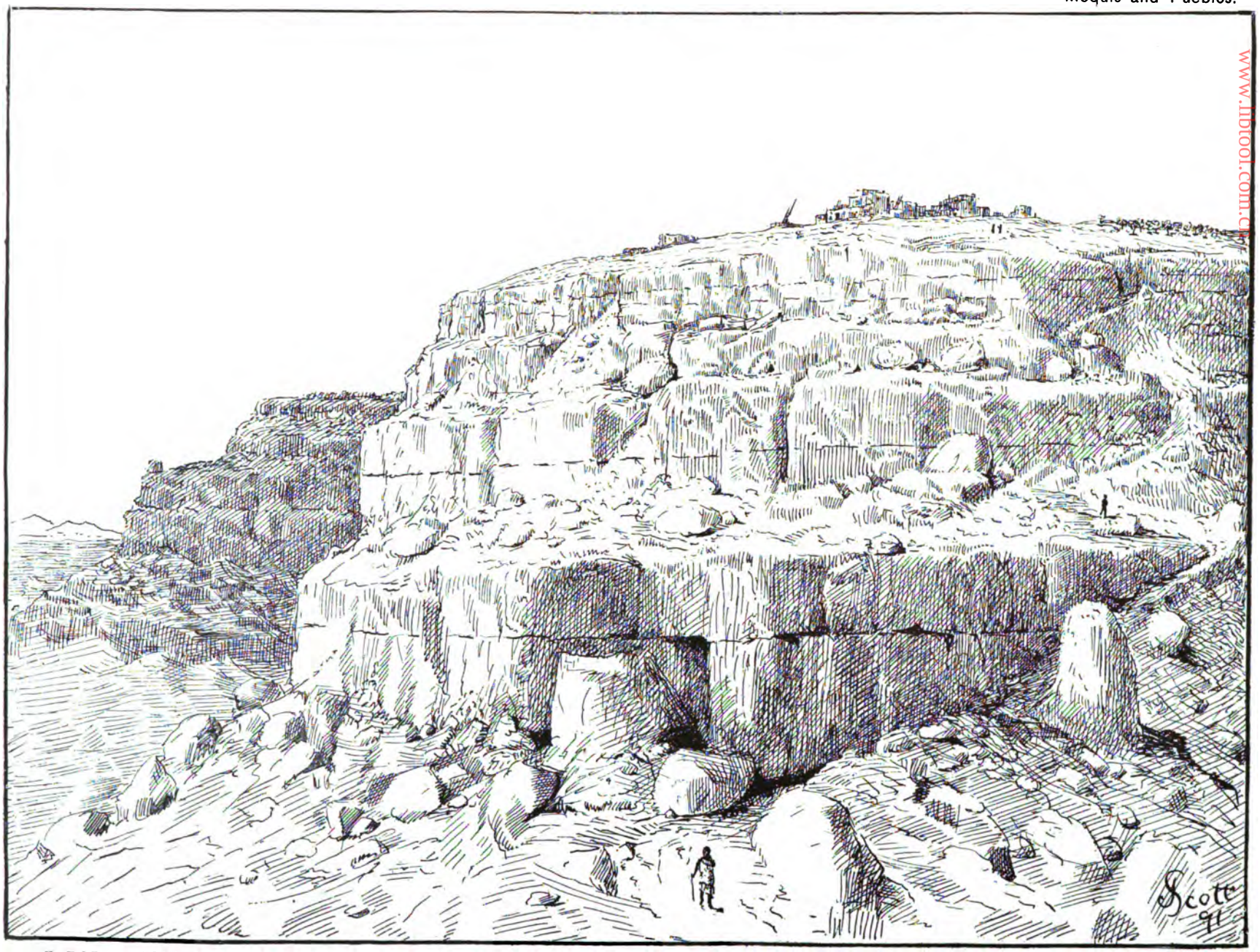
ANCIENT PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN,
On the Second Moqui Mesa. Shi-mo-pa-vi. Arizona.



ANCIENT PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN, Second Moqui Mesa.
Ni-he on guard at an Estufa out side of the village of Shi-paul-a-vi Arizona.

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SHI-MO-PA-VI, Second Mesa, Moqui.

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took away the following morning. 14 of us slept that night in the room where the council had been held, every precaution being taken for the security of the Oraibis. I slept (no, I lay) without removing any of my clothes, not even my hat, and placed in a convenient pocket a "magic pocket lamp", which had been given me at Santa Fe. Our matches had all been exhausted during the time we were making our beds, as there were no candles. The room during the council had been lighted by a bright fire of piñon wood; but as fuel was scarce it was allowed to die out. About 3 o'clock in the morning a small window just opposite me was darkened by a passing figure in the room. Instantly my lamp was in my hand, button touched, and, simultaneously with the snap and the light, I exclaimed, "Stop there"! The great medicine man of all the Moquis was attempting to pass out. In another instant all were aroused. Mr. Collins seized the man about the legs, when he explained that he desired to go into the court for a few minutes. I followed him out and remained, it seemed 15 minutes, but it was probably not more than 5, before we returned. Mr. Keam has since frequently referred to the expression of surprise depicted on the Oraibi chief's face at the sudden ignition of the "magic lamp", and said that "no doubt he thought he was dealing with other medicine men who could more than cope with any power he possessed".

Early the following morning we departed by trail for the pueblos of Shipaulavi and Mishongnavi, sending the wagon with the children and prisoners under guard by the same circuitous route spoken of before, with instructions to stop at the junction of the road and trail in the desert which lead from Mishongnavi to the first mesa. Nearly the entire day was spent in endeavoring to arouse these people from their apathy and awaken some ambition concerning the educational interests of their children and in reminding them of their promises. Their excuses were their religious ceremonies and the use they had for their children in herding and other domestic employments. At Shipaulavi (a Moqui said the word meant "peach") it was necessary to enter one of the estufas, where a religious ceremony was going on, and where a number of young boys of school age were in attendance. This entrance was not made until we had talked through the opening at the top. A long and exceedingly tedious council followed. At last, patience ceasing to be a virtue, we took the boys away by force. We left the estufa, which was outside the pueblo walls, and passed through a covered gateway into the great court of the village, in order to get the boys' blankets and such other necessary clothing as they had. Here a scene occurred which I shall long remember. The women, who were the worst among the oppositionists, set up howls and lamentations which would put the coyote of the desert to shame. There was very little use for the salutation "lo-la-mi" on this occasion, for we were beset on every side by expressions of scorn and condemnation; but it took only a few moments to hustle away the scions of the ancient Moqui civilization from their now thoroughly aroused and protesting mothers. Sending the children under the care of one of the Indians accompanying us into the desert where the wagon was to halt, we rode across and up into the town of Mishongnavi, a mile and a half distant. The cries of the women followed us on the air and attracted the people to the walls of this neighboring village. We found the governor, and he told us that they had held a council of the principal men in his pueblo the night before, and that they thought it "good" to send the children to school; that none were ready yet, but they would be forwarded in a few days. On receiving these assurances from him, we departed, overtaking the boys at that point in the desert where the wagon had been ordered to await us. The sun had not yet gone over the mesa when we reached Polaki's house, where the children became quite reconciled, especially when they saw preparing for them a nice, warm supper, which they and the Oraibis devoured with great satisfaction.

When the "great medicine man of all the Moquis" sat down against the wall at Polaki's, in the sunlight, he took off his shirt in search of vermin and ran all its seams between his teeth, biting in the same manner that a dog bites when hunting fleas.

It was after dark before we reached the cañon, when the Oraibis were taken to the school, to be held until they were willing to withdraw their opposition to the education of the Moqui children. I saw the children, who had been taken by force a few days afterward, and they were merry and contented in their new life. Their parents soon visited them, bringing watermelons, and expressed their great change of feeling on seeing things for themselves and learning the nature and object of the school.

While some good had resulted from this first visit to the mesa, the opposition now became more active than ever, and the people of Mishongnavi failed to keep their promises; so another expedition was made to the second mesa (the first mesa had long before sent its full quota of children). We took with us the same outfit as on the first expedition, and our force was strengthened by the addition of Mr. Fred. See, of Colorado. In the place of Mr. Lynde Mr. Cooper, a farmer, and the agricultural instructor of the school, took charge of the team. We camped that night at Polaki's, and on the following day, early, we were knocking at the gates of Shipaulavi and Mishongnavi. All sorts of excuses, as before, were made for their neglect, to which no attention was paid. A few more children were obtained at Shipaulavi, but at Mishongnavi they seemed to have all disappeared. After making several demands for them without avail, a systematic search began all through their houses, aided by the Indians who had come with us. Mr. See took up a position on the top of an upper house, which commanded 2 of the courts, and detected a number of girls being "spirited" from housetop to housetop to places of concealment, which were pointed out

and the prizes taken later on. One girl had been hid in the lower story of a house where corn was corded and where it was so dark that it was necessary to light a match for thorough search. Mr. Keam, who had charge of this particular granary, reached over a pile of corn, and running his hand under a blanket accidentally clasped the warm ankle of a child, who screamed with fear. It was a sad yet amusing sight to see the little frightened creature lifted up through the hole into the hands of Mr. Collins. The people discovering that they were baffled took the situation good naturedly, knowing that no harm was meant them, and seeing that we were determined to get children gracefully yielded and assisted in the work. At last we started off with our wagon packed with bright and merry youngsters, so heavy a load that the horses could only move slowly, and it was so late when we reached Polaki's that it was thought best to leave the children there for the night, to resume their journey in the morning while we went on to the cañon.

Intelligence was sent us from Oraibi of the seizure and imprisonment of La-lo-la-my, which was the crowning act of his opponents; but coming to a realizing sense of their mistake they released him. All this time La-lo-la-my's party continued to send in the children, and up to the date I left the cañon (Monday, December 15) hardly a day passed but what a pupil was added to the school from some one of the Moqui pueblos.

Immediately after receiving the news of La-lo-la-my's arrest the facts were sent to Washington with a request that troops be sent to the cañon to aid in settling this much vexed school question. [Lieutenant Brett with a small force was afterward sent, and then Colonel Corbin with a large force in July, 1891.]

In some of the excursions I made into the desert and to the mesas I frequently came across large herds of Navajo sheep and goats, always attended by women and children acting as herders, together with a large number of dogs, far from their own reservation, monopolizing the feeding and watering places belonging to the Moquis. These Navajos, with their herds, roam up and down the cañons and over the plateaus to the Tusayan trading post, and spend days along the mesas skirting the cañons, occupying all the little side cañons that have water, and their hogans are found near all these points, which they unlawfully appropriate. They overrun the Moqui lands at will. It will be seen that the Moqui has just cause for complaint, and it is to be hoped that nothing will prevent the department from promptly fulfilling the promises which have been made to these much deserving "people of the houses".

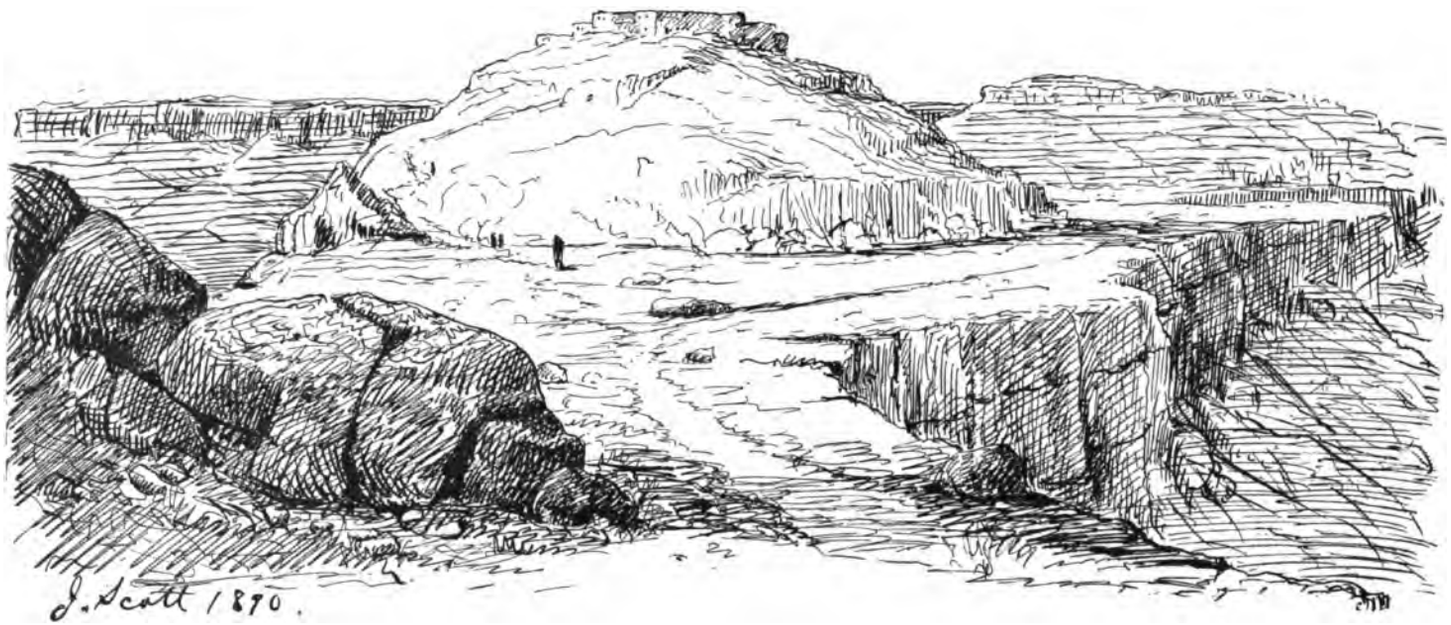
I visited the 7 Moqui pueblos several times while on this mission, and in talking with the Moquis learned the reason for many of the complaints against the schools. One of the principal objections is the religious education, which they say is a large part of their instruction. They feel that their own religion, to which they, like all other races, cling with fanatical tenacity, is thus undermined and taken from them by this process of education; also that their families are separated by drawing their children away from the beliefs which have been taught by their fathers for thousands of years. One of the Indians told me that he had heard that the white man's religion was "only 1800 years old". They are willing that their children should be taught how to read and how to make figures and learn all the practical business ways of the white race, so that they will be able to deal with the white people and not be cheated, but want schools in their villages, and also think they should be left the right of religious liberty (which they are, perhaps, not yet aware is mentioned in the Constitution of the United States), and should they be given only a secular education, I am of opinion that whatever in our religion is superior to theirs will inevitably be accepted, absorbed by them in time, both consciously and unconsciously, through their increasing intelligence and association with the white race.

I visited the Moqui school at Keams Cañon several times, examined all its buildings, and found them in excellent condition and kept in the most perfect order, everything appearing to be under good management and wholesome discipline.

The Moqui people are rich in legends and folklore. They have their stories of giants, giantesses, hobgoblins, fairies, and all kinds of spirits, which they believe once lived and inhabited the earth in time long since gone by. Every cliff and mesa, every mountain and cañon, has some story attached to it which the natives treasure with care. All these legends, traditions, and stories are transmitted, orally, from generation to generation, with minutest exactness of circumstances and detail. A child in telling these stories is attentively listened to by its elders and quickly prompted if it makes a mistake in any particular; so we can feel assured in reading any of these legends received directly from these people that they accord with the true, literal Indian version. These people also have their superstitions and their belief in ghosts.

In the butte country, south of Awatubi, there is a hole in the ground which can be descended to a great depth, with curious hieroglyphics all along down the almost perpendicular sides of the hole, which is only large enough to admit the body of a man. The Moquis never approach this hole without first scattering sacred meal and uttering prayers. Near it is a cave where it would be quite safe to cache any treasure, for so great is the fear both the Navajos and Moquis have of it that they will go a long distance to avoid passing its mouth. This cave was explored by Mr. Keam and Mr. Steven, guided by Polaki, and when its remotest corners were reached they found it inhabited only by large numbers of hedgehogs.

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Shi-paul-a vi, Second Mesa, Arizona, 1890.

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ANCIENT PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN.
The Estufa outside the walls of Shi-paul-a-vi. Second Moqui Mesa. Arizona.



ANCIENT PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN.
View of Shi-paul-a-vi from under Mi-shong-na-vi, Arizona.



ANCIENT PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN.
Inside of the walls of Shi-paul a-vi, Second Moqui Mesa. Chaquana in the centre and Nahji (Cha-qua-na and Nah-he,) Arizona.



ANCIENT PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN, Second Moqui Mesa.
View of Shi-paul-a-vi from the top of the Mesa, near Mi-shong-na-vi, Arizona.



ANCIENT PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN, Second Moqui Mesa.
North-west corner of the great court of Shi-paul-a-vi. Most of the figures on the top of the building are Navajos, who were there trading. Arizona.

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All the Moquis have peach orchards, which are situated at the foot of the mesas in protected spots (*a*); the young trees are surrounded by stone walls to keep them from the ravages of the sheep and goats. Some of the orchards are inclosed within high walls. One can hardly imagine the amount of labor which has been expended upon a peach tree which has attained its full growth. Apricots are also cultivated, and gourds, pumpkins, corn, beans, and a great variety of watermelons. Peaches are dried for winter use, and watermelons are kept, through the dryness of the atmosphere, as late as March. The crops are gathered and owned in common. Each family gets its portion and the rest is stored for the common use.

During the season of planting and growing many of the men and boys, in order to protect their crops from the wandering herds of the Navajos, crows, ravens, and cutworms, temporarily live in brush houses by their fields, some of which are far out in the desert, along the washes where the ground is sure of natural irrigation. After the planting these men spin yarn and weave blankets, sashes, and other articles of wearing apparel, a most unusual occupation for a male Indian and unknown in other tribes, except in few instances. The people of the first mesa are skilled in making pottery, though they have lost the art of their ancestors in the days when Awatubi was said to be among the "7 cities". (*b*) Those of the second mesa, of the Oraibi, are noted for their fine willow and large coiled basket work.

After their harvest their religious ceremonies begin, in which they thank the Great Spirit for blessings vouchsafed to them, and ask that the coming days be prosperous; that drought, famine, and pestilence be kept away, and that the supposed ancient prosperity and mighty condition of their race be ultimately restored. It is evident that they are hardworking people, for almost every moment of their time is spent in obtaining the necessaries of life, as they are poor and in a barren country. A day now and then is appointed for sports, which only the men attend, dancing (*c*) and horse racing, the latter being the principal outdoor sport. For the horse racing they go into the desert and select grounds at a point where they can be seen from the mesas, and when the day arrives the men all come mounted on their best ponies, dressed in a variety of costumes, some in the cast-off clothing of the white man, some in only a "gee" string (breechcloth), eagle feathers, a pair of moccasins, and an old plug hat, suggesting the story of the Georgia cavalryman's uniform, some tastefully and others most gorgeously arrayed in finery of their own invention and manufacture. When the races open the people form 2 lines, facing each other, the distance between them being about 30 feet. Usually but 2 race at a time. Those entering the contest ride away 300, 400, or 500 yards, to some point agreed upon; then, turning, they dash forward, riding to and between these lines to a lariat, which has been drawn across from one side to the other. All the spectators act as judges. There is never any dispute as to the result of a race, no matter how much has been staked upon it, one way or the other. The wildest demonstrations of delight are indulged in by the winners, and the losers join heartily in the general hilarity.

The Moquis bury their dead with much ceremony. They do not put them in boxes or coffins, but wrap them in blankets and lay them away in the rocks with bowls of sacred meal, meat, water, corn, and fruits. This is not done from any superstitious notion that these things are going to be of any use to the dead, but because they are symbols of certain ideas. The women are the chief mourners and are grief stricken at their loss. The great altitude of the town with the consequently rare and pure air prevents odors.

Their form of courtship and marriage is very simple. In this part of their life neither priests nor civil officials have anything to do. When a young man seeks a wife he pays court to a maiden of his own choosing, and if he is favored she sends him a basket of variously colored peki, or peky, which signifies that she is willing to marry him. Then he, with all his people, visits her family and they have a little fête. This is returned, when the young man goes away with the girl, now his bride, and lives in her house. These people are very moral and hold in most

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a Along the foot of these bordering sand hills, in the shallow, where there seems to be some moisture, and in the bordering mountains grow many peach trees, which bear abundantly every year. The kernels of the stones are pounded and formed into little cakes, used apparently as a sort of relish.—J. H. BEADLE in "The Undeveloped West".

b The Moquis of the present day * * * do no part of their work as well as it was done by their ancestors, and their modern pottery will in no respect favorably compare with that found in the ruins of their old cities. The clay used is possibly the same. Most of the pieces are shaped in the same way. The decorating is in the same style now as it was then, the picture-written account of some Katcina message, but all is roughly done. The modern ware is thick and clumsy, lacks the fine coloring of the old work, and the glazing is particularly bad.—CHARLES R. MOFFET, 1889.

c In 1889 Mr. C. R. Moffet attended a tininina, or social dance, given by the young men of Walpi. He thus describes it: "We made our way through the intricate windings of the narrow streets to nearly the opposite side of the village, where we found about 40 men assembled in a long, low, and narrow hall. As only 1 very poor dip was burning, and as the only opening through wall or roof was a very low and narrow door near one end, it is safe to say that the lighting and ventilating of their ball room was not first class. The dancers had removed all superfluous clothing, and it was extremely ludicrous to see an Indian come in, and, after quietly greeting those present, with great dignity take off his shirt and hang it up, just as a white man under similar circumstances would remove his overcoat and hat. The musical instruments were a tom-tom, made of a section of a hollow cottonwood log, one end of which was covered with dried mule skin, a number of gourds, filled with pebbles, and, wonderful innovation! a half string of sleigh bells. The pebble-filled gourds and the bells were rattled and the tom-tom, beaten with a heavy stick, came in from time to time like a bass drum, and the dancers, in a long single file, kept time. First but the right foot of each moved to the music, then both feet, then both feet and one arm, then all the limbs, then the head, then the whole frame fairly writhed. The line slowly retreated to the back of the hall, but at once advanced with ever accelerating speed, ending in a terrific bound. All this in perfect unison, keeping time to the music, all the dancers chanting the story of their tribe. First, low and plaintive the song, telling the death of some renowned chief, or great misfortune of their people; then higher, telling of the capture of whole herds of deer, and antelope, and big horns, by their mighty hunters; then higher, ever higher, telling the adventures of their brave warriors on the fields of strife, and ending in a terrible yell, that marked the close of a wonderful exploit of some death-dealing chief. The wavering light, the shadowy corners, scarcely lighted at all; the rattling bells and gourds, and the mournful tom-tom; the long line of nearly nude Indians, their long hair streaming out behind, marching, bounding, writhing, and wildly tossing their arms; and the strange song, now soft and low, now loud and fierce, formed a scene oppressively weird, and never to be forgotten. The tininina ended at about 10 o'clock."

sacred regard the family life. They do not marry sisters or cousins, and they invariably go out of their family or gens to select wives or husbands.

In visits paid to the different Moqui pueblos, or villages, I frequently met with Indians of other tribes who had come for trade, and who were objects of interest on account of their great dissimilarity in costume, manner of dressing the hair, and painting their faces. The Moquis as a rule do not paint their faces except for ceremonials. There were Apaches, Utes, Piutes, Navajos, and Cojoninas. The latter Indians deserve special mention. There are but few of them now, and their home is at the bottom of Cataract Creek cañon, one of the side cañons of the Great Colorado. They live in houses of stone and earth, which I am told are built like those of the Moquis. They make the beautiful willow baskets, which are deep and so tightly woven that they hold water. They are like the Apache baskets, only the designs worked in them are of 1 color, black, while the Apache baskets are of 2 colors, black and red.

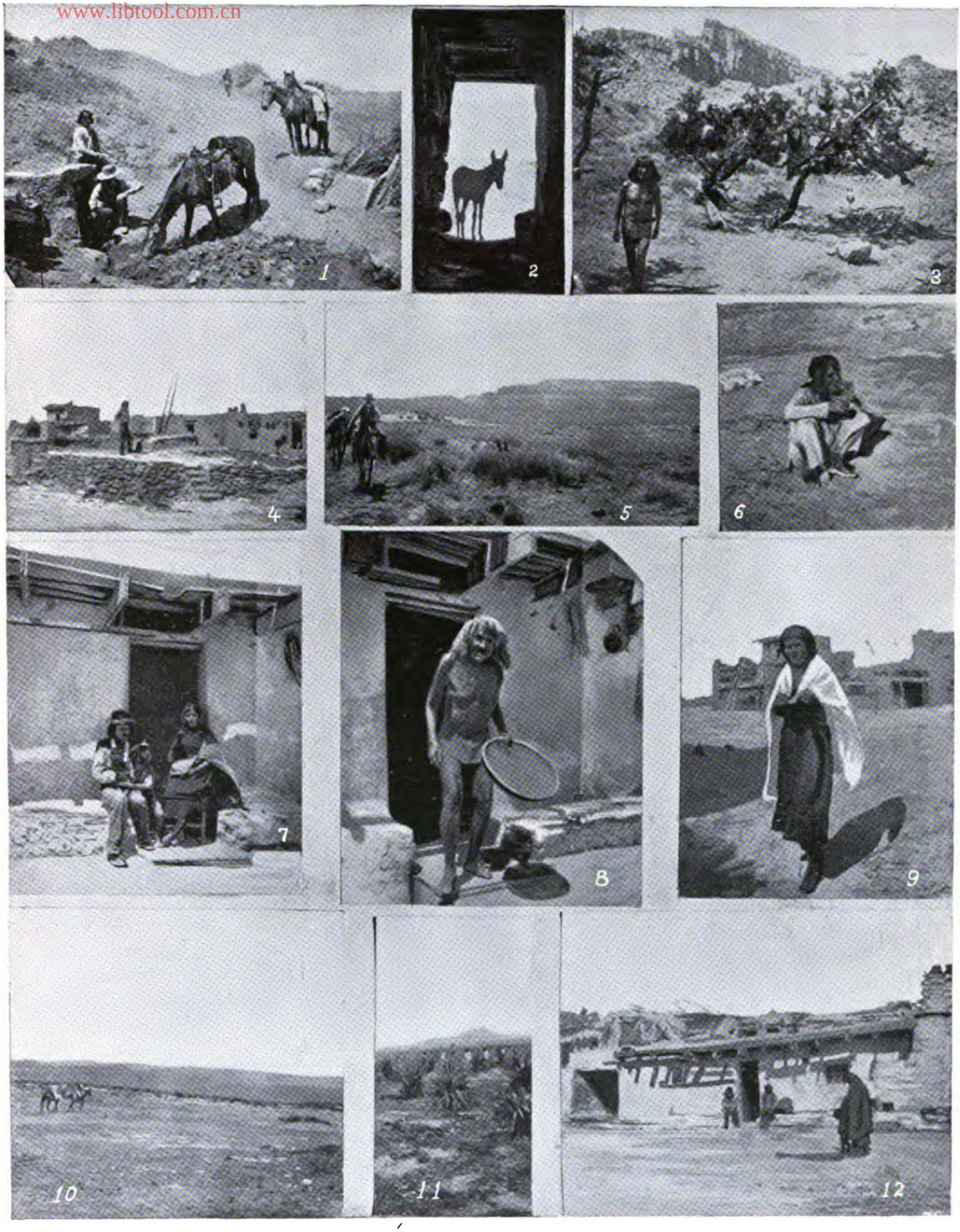
From Moqui, or Walpi, I went to Holbrook over a road passing many old ruins, which came into view every little while high up on the mesas. These mounds, sometimes walls covering acres, were ruins when the Spaniards first came there. 10 miles or so to the south, and at our right, overlooking that part of the desert where the "Giant's Chair" is situated, is Awatubi (meaning high rock), probably the most picturesque of all these ruins. The Navajos call it Tal-li-hogan (singing house). It is supposed to be one of the 7 Moqui towns of the ancient province of Tusayan, existing when the Spaniards first came, and which have been supposed by some to be the "7 cities of the kingdom of Cibola", and a part of the walls of a church built by the Franciscan monks and Indian slaves are still standing in a good state of preservation. Some of the walls of the houses, too, have outlived the storms, and could to-day, with a little repairing, be utilized for places of abode. I was told by the Indian Nah-ji that the people of Awatubi became very bad and put to death their chief and the members of his family; that 4 years from the time of this revolt the men of the other 6 pueblos entered the city while those of Awatubi were engaged in religious ceremonies in their estufas, and that at a given signal fired brush, which they had brought with them, was thrown into the estufas, together with chili (red pepper), which greatly aided in the suffocation of their victims. Those who attempted to escape were brained with stone axes. They then killed all the old women, sparing the young children, who were divided among the other pueblos. The town was completely destroyed and has never since been used as a human habitation, unless temporarily by some nomadic Navajos.

All evidences of the Spanish invasion and possession have passed away excepting a few remains of old buildings, probably churches, judging from their dimensions. One of these, under Shimopavi, just south, is a mission, or church, with walls from 4 to 6 feet thick; they now form a part of a large sheep corral. Other Spanish ruins lie among the ruins of Awatubi. All other evidences of this occupation have disappeared, not even a piece of parchment, a carving, or anything tangible can be found, except now and then small ancient silver crosses of strange shapes, which the Indians wear among their beads. There was a piece of the old Spanish Catholic bell used at Shimopavi found a few years ago and since placed in the national museum at Washington. The Ho-pis (Moquis) endeavored to obliterate all traces of their Spanish oppressors, when once the work of massacre and destruction began and almost succeeded.

Tewa, the present seventh town, was built after the expulsion of the Spainards as a home for some hired fighting men, Hessians in fact, who went there and settled with their families. The Navajos, Utes, and Apaches had constantly menaced the Moquis, who were and still are a very peaceable people, as the name they call themselves implies, Ho-pi-tuh. It was for a better protection of life that they built their houses on the mesas. Their fields were always in danger of being despoiled by roaming bands of one or the other of these tribes, and their condition became distressing. Finally in their extremity they secured the aid of some Indians from Tehua, on the Rio Grande, who took possession of the new village and gave it the name Tewa, as it is now spelt, the "w" substituting the Spanish "hu". The village had been provided for them and was one of the inducements offered to get them. Besides their dwellings all the other necessaries of life were furnished, and the Tehuas were not obliged to perform any other duty than that of protecting the Moqui flocks, herds, fields, and orchards against the incursions of their enemies. The Tehuas were inured to war and proved a valuable auxiliary to their old kinsmen, with whom they were destined to become more closely united. It is nearly 200 years since they became a part of the Moqui establishment, marrying and intermarrying and speaking the Moqui tongue, yet in all this time they have preserved their own language in toto. The descendants of these Indian military families are farmers. They show a pronounced difference in their bearing from the pure Moqui, and as a general rule are taller and broader. They are foremost in all things that pertain to their future good, and were the first to leave the mesa and build new homes more convenient to wood and water and their fields. They have from the beginning encouraged and fought for the school that has been established for the Moquis at Keams Cañon. Polaki is their principal man, or chief, and in him is typified the force and energy of his race.

On my second visit in August and September, 1891, it was stated that the building of an industrial school among the Moquis had been ordered by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. I also found that Mr. R. P. Collins, the superintendent of the school at Keams Cañon, was in charge of the building of the school, and that the Moquis were in some excitement consequent upon the arrival and departure of a large body of United States troops under

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No. 1 Spring under Shi-mo-pa-vi Mesa. No. 2. Entrance to Shi-mo-pa-vi from the South. No. 3. Under the Cliffs of Shi-mo-pa-vi. No. 4. Principle Keva at Shi-mo-pa-vi. No. 5. Shi-mo-pa-vi Mesa from under Mi-shon-na-vi. No. 6. A Moqui smoking a Cigarette. No. 7. Arne and his Daughter. No. 8. The Father of Arne. No. 9. Arne's Wife. No. 10. Leaving Shi-mo-pa-vi. No. 11. A Moqui Corn Field. No. 12. Arne's Daughter's Home at Shi-mo-pa-vi.

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Illustrations of Moqui Water Supply. Springs and Gardens.

1. Wee-po. 2. Mi-shong-na-vi. 3. Po-la-ki. 4. Shi-be-bi-ta-ka. 5. Shi-paul-a-vi. 6. Some of the gardens at Wee-po.

Colonel H. C. Corbin to assist, as they said, in the carrying off of their children to a distant school, and who had taken their headmen away as prisoners. They did not understand why soldiers should be used to enforce ways of peace, and they seemed to misunderstand Mr. Collins and his purposes.

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The Moquis have been led to believe that all who would leave the mesas, that is, their old homes in the 7 pueblos and come down and build new houses in the valleys would be provided roofs for their houses by the government. This encouragement, or statement, has brought down more than was expected and more than roofs can be provided for. I asked Mr. Collins why he did not "call a halt" and inform them that the yearly appropriation was not sufficient to provide for all. He replied "that he had not promised all". They certainly will have cause to complain if not undeceived, and there is future trouble in store unless they are now correctly informed.

Mr. Collins is portioning out to those who come off the mesas, or allotting to each family, a 20-acre lot regardless of the distance from water. To get nearer water is one of the inducements, if not the principal one, for them to leave their old homes on the mesas, and once down they can not understand why they should have been asked to come down if they are not to be close to the water. They claim that by this allotment no benefits in that direction will be derived. They also desire to build and live in small communities, but some of the walls which they have put up to this end have been pushed over, and their wishes in this respect disregarded.

There has been no effort to develop new water sources or supplies, which the Moquis have been led to believe would be done if they would remove and come under control of the nation, but, on the contrary, the springs which they have always had continue to be their only supply, and the principal one, which feeds the terraced gardens at Weepo, on the west side of the first mesa, is about to be taken away from them for the use of the new industrial school. For centuries all the villages in common have built up these terraced gardens and raised there the enormous supply of onions, chili, etc., of which they are so fond, and which support about 2,000 people. The United States should provide its own water supply for its schools, and not deprive these people of their ancient rights.

The Moqui men say that they begin to think that the promises of the nation and white men to develop new water sources or improve the old ones are lies, and that after all, the so-called efforts to help them are only schemes for the ultimate dispossessing them of their old homes and lands, where for centuries they have lived, following the peaceful habits of agriculturists, never asking any other aid from the government excepting that of protection from the Navajos.

There is grave danger here of a claim of bad faith, and making bad citizens of 2,000 now peaceful and good citizens. The United States can best aid these people by expending a few thousand dollars to develop their water supply and put them in the way of planting quick growing trees for fuel and timber. In other matters, save schools, it is wise to let them alone, as they now feed and care for themselves, but the future water and wood supply should be undertaken by the nation. $15,000 expended judiciously now will settle these things.

There is evidence of an abundance of water about all the mesas, but the springs are not properly developed, and at present there is a great waste of water; there being no reservoirs to keep or store the water it easily percolates through the earth and sand to the lower rock benches beneath the drift, and so is lost.

At intervals along the foot of the first mesa there are 11 well-known springs; at the second, 18, of which 14 are about the spur upon which the village of Shimopavi rests.

Oraibi on the third mesa, and the largest of all the pueblos, has comparatively the smallest water supply, there being at the present time but 5 springs to furnish its large number of inhabitants with this great necessity.

A competent engineer should be sent among all these mesas to instruct the natives how to develop springs, to build storage reservoirs in which to preserve the water, and how to distribute it economically by means of ditches or canals. There is, however, a present greater necessity than lack of water confronting these peaceful and industrious people, that is wood for fuel. The mesas for 7 to 12 miles around have been completely denuded of every vestage of wood or timber. They now have to go to remote cañons and distant mesa tops for their supply. The idea of planting trees, except those that bear fruit, has never occurred to them. Cottonwood trees would thrive here, and if, added to their otherwise industrial habits, they were to adopt "Arbor day", in a few years groves of trees would spring up all about their almost treeless and naked land. The parts of the table-lands the Moquis cultivate, as viewed from the mesas, seem but little specks of green in the vast areas of sandy waste.

The agent of the Navajos is also the Moqui agent, and it is said that he sometimes visits them and gives them some government goods, but the quantity is not stated. When the Spaniards took possession of the country they brought into it sheep, goats, horses, and cattle, introduced the peach and melon, and showed the Moquis how to plant their orchards and lay out their melon patches; and they attempted to plant, at the same time, the seeds of a new religion. The live stock increased and got among the Navajos. The peach and melon are standard products of the Moqui country to-day. The temples of the new religion, however, churches built by Spaniards, have long since been destroyed, and the large beams of pine that supported their roofs, and which, we are told, were brought from the San Francisco mountains, are now used for a similar purpose in the coverings of some of their estufas. Not a church, not a school is in existence to-day in these 7 Moqui towns.

The United States should aid these people by furnishing them with farming implements and seeds and improving their live stock, particularly their sheep. They are poor but good and friendly Indians, and deserve well of the nation. These reservations should be transferred to them by patents, as has been done to the pueblos of New Mexico, and the titles of their lands vested in the owners. Artesian wells should be dug in the villages, schools established, and a deserving people encouraged. Unless this is done soon these Indians must vacate their ancient homes and go elsewhere for water. Moreover, the Navajos are not pleasant neighbors. The country immediately about the Moqui towns suggested the name for this region. Leaving the table-lands and passing down to the lower levels the surface becomes more broken, with here and there lonesome looking buttes. The Navajos called all this section "Ta-sa-un", meaning "isolated buttes", and the Spaniards christened the country the "Tusayan" and called it the "Province of Tusayan".

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During my first visit in 1890, and later on the second visit in August and September, 1891, I arrived at the following conclusions: the Moquis are an entirely peaceful and industrious people, self-sustaining, supporting themselves by agriculture, stock raising, and the manufacture and sale of pottery and basket work. The villages, or pueblos, are from 700 to 800 feet above the valleys, and wood has to be brought by men and donkeys, or burros, a distance of 6 to 8 miles, while water, obtained from springs at the bottom or base of the mesas, has to be brought by women in jars 1 to 2 miles, up well-worn paths along the sides of the mesas to the villages. Their supply of water depends entirely on the continuance of the wet or rainy season. Snows begin in and about the high mountains in December and continue until February. The rainy season commences about the middle of July and lasts until September. Sometimes, after a rain, a little dew is noticeable in the morning, but only for a few days or until the surface water disappears. It can not be said that the water supply increases or decreases. There are many springs adjoining the mesas, which, if properly developed, would more than treble the present water supply. Their corn and wheat fields are along the water washes and in the valleys. Both cereals are planted in hills, the corn irregularly, from 5 to 6 feet apart, the wheat about 18 inches apart. A primitive planting stick, say 2.5 feet in length and 1.5 inches in diameter, with a projection about 12 inches from the end and 4 inches long, on which they place their foot to force the stick in the ground, is mostly used in planting. In using it they dig down to where the sand or earth, as it may be, is moist, then the seed is deposited and covered up. Small brush houses are built near the grain fields, in which watchers remain during the growing season to keep off the ravens and other birds. A few of the Moquis use modern hoes, beyond which they possess no implements for farming. Melons of all kinds, squashes, pumpkins, cucumbers, beans, and chili (pepper, used in all their stewed dishes) are planted in groups, the seeds being dropped in the hole by the stick beside the corn and wheat fields. Peach orchards are plentifully sprinkled among the rolling sand hills which bank up against the sides of the mesas. Some are planted on the top of the mesas, where there is sufficient earth and sand to hold moisture. At Shimopavi and Oraibi, particularly at the latter place, at the north and west of the town, there are a number of large and thriving peach orchards, which, until our last visit, had been usually considered the only Moqui peach orchards, which is quite otherwise. On the first mesa, about 1 mile north of Tewa, are 2 large orchards covering from 3 to 5 acres, and 3 miles further north, on the west slope of the mesa, there are fully 20 acres of peach trees of great age and still yielding abundance of fruit; the trees are planted along lines on the walled terraces, which are daily watered through small ditches running along each terrace, ingeniously contrived to receive and distribute an abundant supply of water from a large spring up and under the first bends of the mesa. This spring is called "Co-nell-a-bah", sheep spring.

The Navajos have made frequent raids upon this place with their herds, so that there are now acres of peach orchards gone to waste through the destruction of portions of the terraces and trees. These terraces are all on the north side, from which direction the Navajos come.

A mile to the north of Tewa, around a spur of the mesa, are the terraced gardens of Weepo (onion springs), where the water supply is quite as great as that of Co-nell-a-bah. These gardens are used by all the Indians of the 7 pueblos or villages. There are hundreds of acres of these peach orchards, and they are found in the most out of the way places, wherever there is sand which will hold moisture. The sands have drifted over some of them so deeply that the tree trunks are lost to sight, the limbs emerging like the blades of the yucca plant from the drift about them. It is impossible to accurately state the aggregated acreage of these orchards, and equally difficult to estimate the actual acreage of their cornfields. It is believed that between the 7 pueblos or villages there are 3,000 to 3,600 acres of corn lands, and there are certainly 1,000 or more acres of peach trees. I should have said the peach orchards are set out very much as those in the east, and are grown from the pit. Great care is required in preserving the young trees from the goats and burros, or donkeys. Stone walls are built singly about each young tree, and brush is then piled over these; even after this provision much care is required, frequent watering being necessary if the season is a dry one. The stone inclosures and brush also serve to keep the sand from drifting over and burying the young trees. The Moquis have about 2,000 acres in vegetables.

All of the 7 pueblos or villages are under the chieftainship of one man, whose title is hereditary. He is assisted by subchiefs or principal men, one or more of whom live in each village. The functions of the principal chief are to

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Ancient Province of Tusayan. Second Moqui Mesa. The Estufa outside the walls Shi-paul-a-vi. Arizona.



Ancient Province of Tusayan. Within the great court of Shi-paul-a-vi. Second Moqui Mesa. Arizona.



Ancient Province of Tusayan. Second Moqui Mesa. At the Estufa outside of Shi-paul-a-vi. A council was going on in the Estufa at the time the pictures of it were taken. Arizona.



Ancient Province of Tusayan. Second Moqui Mesa. Mr. Keam, Collins, Sec Pe-tei, Nah-ji and some Moquis at the Estufa outside of the walls of Shi-paul-a-vi. Arizona.



Ancient Province of Tusayan. Second Moqui Mesa. The Governor of the Pueblo of Shi-paul-a-vi ontside of the walls. Arizona.

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ANCIENT PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN, Second Moqui Mesa
Women in one of the courts of Mi-shong-na-vi.
Arizona.



ANCIENT "PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN."
A court at Mi-shong-na-vi. Second Moqui Mesa.
Arizona.



ANCIENT "PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN."
Outside of the walls of Mi-shong-na-vi, on the Second Moqui Mesa.
Arizona.



ANCIENT PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN, within one of the courts
of Mi shong-na-vi, Second Moqui Mesa.
Arizona.



ANCIENT PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN," Second Moqui Mesa
Children out side the walls of Mi-shong-na-vi.
Arizona.

New York Engraving & Printing Co.

look after all matters pertaining to the interests of his tribe. He represents his people in all questions that arise between them and surrounding tribes. He presides over all councils and decides all disputes that may come before him. To the council of chiefs the medicine men, or priests, are always invited, and they have a voice in the discussion of all subjects that come before the council. The functions of the priests, or medicine men, are wholly of a religious nature. The principal priests, that is, the heads of the different orders, such as the antelope, snake, bear, beaver, etc., elect their own successors, imparting to them during their last days the carefully hidden secrets so potent in their religious ceremonies. Their successors are usually chosen from their own family or gens, and they are instructed from their youth in the mysteries of the particular order into which they may be initiated up to a certain point, beyond which none of the final rites are revealed until their predecessors select them to take their exalted places. (*a*)

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The Moquis are subject to all the diseases common to other people. Pestilence more frequently breaks out among them than among nomadic Indians, owing, no doubt, to the accumulated filth about their villages. While their houses are neat within, their streets are common cesspools. Every corner and covered way are the conveniences, the outhouses and water-closets of well regulated homes. Ollas of urine stand in front of every house (the urine is used for dyeing purposes), so it is easily imagined that the atmosphere they constantly breathe while within the walls of their town is poisonous and death dealing. These people could be easily taught better. They have doctors who are skillful in the treatment of simple ailments and some of the diseases. These doctors may come from among the medicine men, or priests, and they may belong to the council of chiefs.

Herbs constitute their only medicine beyond the sun bath and prayers. Of course, superstition is their greatest medicine. The women attend to all cases of childbirth.

The Moquis, as already stated, bury at the foot of the mesas in walled graves, where, wrapped in blankets, their dead are laid away, first covered by slabs of stone, over which earth or sand is thrown. Burial bowls containing corn and other eatables are buried with them, but not because of a belief that they will benefit the dead, but to symbolize some of their religious beliefs.

The Moquis, male and female, are, as a rule, small in stature; the average height of the men will not exceed 5 feet 6 inches, but there are some stalwarts among them. They are well proportioned, but their heads often appear overlarge, owing rather to the thick and vigorous growth of hair than to enlarged craniums. This growth of hair is undoubtedly due to their not wearing head covering constantly. While they generally possess finely-cut and regular features, many of them have heavy jaws and broad faces, though rarely large or coarse mouths. They resemble the Arapaho or Cheyenne more than the Kiowa or Comanche, and to the casual observer or stranger they all look alike, but close acquaintance with them shows that there is as great a dissimilarity in features among them as in other races. The women are, of course, smaller than the men, with broad, squat figures.

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a CLANS OR GENTES AMONG THE MOQUIS.—The great difficulty experienced by an agent of the census (or any one else) on visiting the Moqui towns is to get some one to talk with him. Now and then a Moqui may speak a little English and some Navajo or Spanish or Mexican. These people, while obliging and good-natured, are not very communicative as to their inner life unless they see a chance for trade or to receive money for their conversation. Unless their antecedent history is known one might as well be in the midst of a desert. One might remain with them 10 years and find out but little unless he knew their language, or learned it, or fell in with those who knew it and could speak English. The Moquis are cunning and will fill the listening ear with wonders if the palm is crossed. They like silver, both the color and the coin. One can suggest a form, theory, clan, or gens, and the Moquis will supply what is wanting. How much of what is thus obtained from them is true is a query. In writing of gens, Lewis H. Morgan, in his "Ancient Society", 1878, says of the Moquis: "In some of the tribes, as the Moqui village Indians of New Mexico (Angoria), the members of the gens claimed their descent from the animal whose name they bore, their remote ancestors having been transformed by the Great Spirit from the animal into the human form". Captain J. G. Bourke, the best authority to 1891, in "The Moquis of Arizona", says of the clans or gentes of the Moquis: "The clans or gentes of the Oraybi [Oraibi] Moquis are almost identical with those of Suchongnewy [Sichumnavi]. Nahivehma [Nahi] said that in Oraybi there is a crane gens, but the oak and road-runner gentes are both extinct". Bishop Hatch, of the Mormon church, insisted that while he was in Oraybi there was a sacred family among the Moquis; he said that there was a widow, whose infant son, not over 4 years old, was upon every feast day or occasion of ceremony loaded down with beads of seashell, chalchihuitl, abalone, and everything else precious in the eyes of the Moquis. Concerning the clans or gentes of the Moquis, Bishop Hatch says: "I give the following lists, obtained at different times, and varying slightly from the inability of different Moquis to give the correct Spanish for each clan name or my own inability to understand them. Surgeon Ten Broeck, United States army, in 1852, compiled the following list: 1, Deer; 2, Sand; 3, Water; 4, Bear; 5, Hare; 6, Prairie Wolf (coyote); 7, Rattlesnake; 8, Tobacco Plant; 9, Seed Grass. Tegua Tom, in October, 1881, gave me the following names: 1, Water; 2, Toad, or Frog; 3, Sun; 4, Snake; 5, Rabbit; 6, Butterfly; 7, Tobacco; 8, Badger; 9, Corn; 10, Cottonwood; 11, Clown, or Dead Man; 12, Bear; 13, Coyote; 14, Deer; 15, Lizard, and 16, Road-runner. The Tegua Indians living in the village of Hano, or Tegua, with the Moquis have: 1, Sun; 2, Corn; 3, Snake; 4, Tobacco; 5, Cottonwood; 6, Pine; 7, Cloud; 8, Bear; 9, Parrot. Tom himself was of the corn gens, his father of the frog, and his wife of the bear. Nahivehma, Tom said, was a road-runner. The clans or gentes of the Moquis, according to an old Moqui, who expressed himself with great intelligence, although he spoke but little Spanish, are as follows. My informant, I must take care to say, was old Tochi, or 'Moccasin', our host of last night. He said that he himself belonged to the boli, or butterfly, gens, that his wife and children were of the aguila, or eagle, his father was venado, or deer, and his son had married a quingoi, or oak, and his brother a lena, or ku-ga.

1.	Boli	Mariposa	Butterfly.	10. Pa-kua	Sapo	Toad, or Frog (3).
2.	Kuaja	Aguila	Eagle.	11. Tajua	Sol	Sun.
3.	Ka-ah	Maiz	Corn.	12. A-to-co	Grulla	Crane (now extinct).
4.	Chia	Vibora	Rattlesnake.	13. Shu-hui-ma	Venado	Deer.
5.	Sui	Conejos	Rabbit (1).	14. Ku-ga	Lena	Firewood (almost extinct) (4).
6.	Honan	Oso	Bear.	15. Sha-hue	Coyote	Coyote.
7.	Piba	Bunchi	Tobacco (native) (2).	16. Huspoa	Paisano	Road-runner (chapparal cock).
8.	Honani.	Tejou	Badger.	17. Quingoi	Eucina	Oak.
9.	Pa-jeh	Agua	Water.	18. Oma-a	Nube	Cloud.

"(1) The Spanish word 'conejos' was given, but I am too well acquainted with the employment by the Indians of this word for 'liebre' (a hare or jack rabbit, and vice versa) not to feel it my duty to point out the uncertainty of the translation.

"(2) No. 7 is named from the 'bunchi', or native tobacco, cultivated by all the pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona.

"(3) In like manner, the Spanish 'sapo' (toad) is used so generally by the Indians instead of 'rana' (frog), and I am so well satisfied that 'pa-kua' in the Moqui language means 'frog' that I have felt constrained to give that as the name of the tenth gens.

"(4) The Indian could not explain what this meant; he repeated 'lena, lena' (firewood), but whether 'alamo' (cottonwood), or some other tree like the cedar or pine, I could not make out."

The custom the men have of banging their hair, with side locks parted from the top of the head and falling to the shoulders, their back hair gathered and tied in a knot low on the neck, contributes largely to the idea of similarity of features. The older men do not strictly follow this custom, but often neglect the banging and allow their hair to fall loosely about their shoulders and back, parting it in the middle on top. The hair of the male Moqui is exceedingly coarse, and only in rare instances is it any other color than a blue-black. The few albinos among them have flaxen hair, pink skin, and white eyes, which seem to move involuntarily; they are the most repulsive looking objects met with among the Indians. The women when young are lithe and rather pretty, but as they get older they become portly though not clumsy. They have a peculiar gait, a waddle, inclining the body forward as though they were always about to step a little faster. This is attributed to the heavy burdens they carry on their heads, particularly water, which they bring from the distant springs lying at the base of the mesas, sometimes 3 miles away. For this purpose they use large, almost round jugs, which they make of clay and burn. When the jug is filled it is swung to the small of the back, and the strap fastened through the ears of the jug is brought over the forehead, and the long march homeward begins. Sometimes the jug is wrapped in a blanket and carried as with the strap, but this is done only when one or both of the ears of the jug may be broken.

Virginity is highly prized by the Moquis. The hair of the females, the decorations or marks on their pottery, and the method of their basket weaving indicate whether or not the Moqui women making the articles are child bearing. When a Moqui woman ceases to be child bearing it is said of her "the gate is closed". Their plaque baskets, used for holding and passing bread, are made of one continuous strand of colored braided straw, and when the end of the outer coil is left unfinished and scraggy it signifies that the woman making it is still able to bear children; in other words, "the gate is open". When the end is finished and rounded she is unable to bear children, and "the gate is closed".

The Oraibis do not pay so much attention to this distinction in the decoration of their willow baskets. The large coil baskets or plaques are made on the second mesa, pottery principally on the first mesa, and the small willow baskets on the third mesa. The 3 great pottery pueblos are Sichumnavi, Tewa, and Walpi. The method of making is by hand, as with the Pueblos.

On their pottery the story of the gate is also told in a line around the vessel, either at or near the top or about the middle. When the line is broken or open at a point the woman who made the vessel is still able to bear children. When the line is continuous and unbroken she is not. (See the pottery and basket illustrations.)

The dressing of the hair of the female Moquis is most peculiar, as indicated by the illustrations. Unmarried women, maidens, wear their hair in the "cart wheel" "sideboard" style, denoting virginity; that is, they have "half a blanket to let", and are ready to wed. (*a*) The married women braid their hair in 2 braids, parting it in the middle from the forehead to the back of the neck. Sometimes it is all brought forward and tied in a knot at the top of the forehead; some of them bang the hair and wear it cut short. Very young girls also wear the peculiar large "wheel" puff. The Moqui females spend much time in doing up their hair. They are particular to keep the scalp clean, and almost daily wash the hair with soapweed (amolí), which gives it a beautiful satin gloss. They frequently neglect the face while washing the hair. In washing the face or wetting the hair they fill the mouth with water and spurt it out (after the manner of Chinamen sprinkling clothes), a little at a time, in the hands, which are held together, forming a bowl, and then apply it to the face. They do not use towels; the air is so dry and moisture evaporates so quickly that there is no need of a towel.

The Moquis are very fond of tobacco and are habitual smokers, with a decided preference for the little yellow cigarette, which they make themselves. Its use among them is not confined to the men; women and children are also sharers in the smoking habit, and they all seem to enjoy it as much as they do their melons and peaches. They do not raise the tobacco usually smoked by them, but buy it from the traders. Small presents of it form a most excellent means of getting into their hearts and making friends with them, and an aid in obtaining access to their dwellings, thus permitting a closer study of their domestic life.

There is no ceremony among them that I observed, such as bowing to the 4 points previous to smoking a pipe or cigarette, but sometimes they blow the smoke slowly through the hand and waft it heavenward. When they can not get paper to make cigarettes the convenient cottonwood tree affords them relief in its leaves, which are tough and well adapted for the purpose. It is amusing to see a small, nude child, not more than 5 years old, make a cigarette and smoke it with the air of a veteran. The Moquis have native tobacco, which they use in ceremonies. They do not use American tobacco in their ceremonies.

The domestic life, food, and cooking of the Moquis are generally similar to the Pueblos of New Mexico. They have in their domestic life all the charms of peace. Their bread (piki) consists of corn meal and water made into a thin batter, which is spread in handfuls over a large flat stone sufficiently hot to quickly bake it. When a

a These wheel-like puffs of the hair are made on a U-shaped stick (gui-la), and are, I believe, imitations of the squash flower. In dolls of Sá-li-ko-má-nā we find upon the Nā-k-tci undoubted squash flower appendages on the head in the same position. The maidens of all the Tusayan (6 Moqui) pueblos now wear their hair in these puffs. The matrons wear theirs in oblique coils down on the breast. There is a difference among the married women of Ha-no (Tewa) and Wal-pi in the mode of dressing the hair, but the maids of both pueblos wear the same wheel-like puffs.—J. WALTER FEWKES, 1891.

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WOMAN OF TEWA, Arizona, First Mesa. Arizona, 1890.
Moqui.

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ANCIENT PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN.
One of the courts of the pueblo of Mi-shong-na-vi.
Arizona.



ANCIENT PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN.
View of the Second Mesa from the desert.
Arizona.



ANCIENT PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN, Second Moqui Mesa.
Ni-he on guard at an Estufa at Mi-shong-i-ni-vi.
Arizona.



ANCIENT PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN, Moqui Country, A. T.
South-western gate of Mi-shong-i-ni-vi, on the Second Mesa.
Arizona.



ANCIENT PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN, Second Moqni Mesa.
Nahji (nah-he) and Cha-qua-nah in a court at Mi-shong-na-vi.
Arizona.

New York Engraving & Printing Co.

number of these sheets or wafers have been cooked, they are rolled up together and laid away. (*a*) The women grind the corn for the bread on the metáte (or stone) with stones. Their cooking is done in rude fireplaces, generally in the corner of their rooms, but some of them now have modern stoves. Their cooking utensils are iron pots, kettles, and tomato cans, or anything that will hold water. Coffee pots, cups and saucers, and knives and forks are used, but not generally. Their rooms are furnished with blankets, sheepskins, pottery, sometimes a loom, and large stones for seats, but lately boxes and even chairs have made their appearance. Soups and stews are made from mutton or beef, with various small vegetables, including the onion. (*b*) Cow's milk and butter are not used, goat's milk supplying the place of the former. Watermelons and peaches are their fruits. Sugar they buy when they can. They are very fond of all sweets.

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The cattle, horses, burros, sheep, and goats are not owned in community but by individuals. The fields are owned by families or gentes, and worked by them together, the products being divided equally. The herds of each pueblo are cared for by herders assigned each day by the governor. The crier in the early morning passes through the streets arousing the herders, when the herds are driven out and brought back at night and placed in the stone pens about the mesas. The Oraibis own the most of the cattle of the Moquis. The herds are the property of individuals, but are herded as a whole.

The Moquis clip their sheep once or twice a year. The wool was formerly cut off with a knife, and recently a Moqui was seen using a piece of tin from a tomato can for sheep shearing; but shears are now generally used.

The Moquis, it is said, believe in a great spirit, who lives in the sun and who gives them light and heat. With the Moquis there is male and female in the idea of deity; the earth is the female, and all living things are the issue. (*c*)

Scrofula is prevalent to some extent among them; no cases of syphilis, however, are known to exist at the present time. The Moquis are a pure, an unmixed people. The bite of the rattlesnake has no terror to the Moquis, as their doctors cure it without fail, even after swelling has begun. The remedy applied is jealously guarded, and like other secrets is transmitted through the chief priests of the snake order.

Many of the Moquis possess firearms, repeating rifles, revolvers, and ammunition, for hunting (*d*), which they buy of the small traders that lurk about the outskirts of the reservation, and many of these leeches, south of here,

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a John W. Powell, in 1875, thus wrote of the Moqui method of baking piki, or bread: "They take great pains to raise corn of different colors, and have the corn of each color stored in a separate room. This is ground by hand to a fine flour in stone mills, then made into a paste like a rather thick gruel. In every house there is a little oven, made of a flat stone 18 or 20 inches square, raised 4 or 5 inches from the floor, and beneath this a little fire is built. When the oven is hot and the dough mixed in a little vessel of pottery the good woman plunges her hand in the mixture and rapidly smears the broad surface of the furnace rock with a thin coating of the paste. In a few moments the film of batter is baked; when taken up it looks like a sheet of paper. This she folds and places on a tray. Having made 7 sheets of this paper bread from the batter of one color and placed them on the tray she takes batter of another color, and in this way makes 7 sheets of each of the several colors of corn batter."

b John W. Powell, in 1875, wrote of the method of preparing an article of food by the Moquis, which seems now to be out of fashion: "They have many curious ways of preparing their food, but perhaps the daintiest dish is virgin hash. This is made by chewing morsels of meat and bread, rolling them in the mouth into little lumps about the size of a horse-chestnut, and then tying them up in bits of corn husk. When a number of these are made they are thrown into a pot and boiled like dumplings. The most curious thing of all is that only certain persons are allowed to prepare these dumplings. The tongue and palate kneading must be done by a virgin. An old feud is sometimes avenged by pretending hospitality and giving to the enemy dumplings made by a lewd woman."

c The Moquis know one all-wise and good spirit, Cotukinuniwa, "The Heart of the Stars". They have also Balilokon, the Great Water Snake, the spirit of the element of water, and they see him in the rains and snows, the rivers and springs, the sap in the trees and the blood in the body. The whole Moqui heavens are filled, too, with Katcina, angels, or, literally, "those who have listened to the gods". All of the great dead men of the Moqui nation at some time before they died saw Katcina [Cachina or Katcheena] and received messages from them, and some of the chiefs now living have seen them, too. As is so often found in the religion of a people who are low in mental development, and in whose pitiful lives the hours of trial and privation and sorrow are much more numerous than the happy ones, that the spirit of good, though all-wise, is not all-powerful, so it is found here. Cotukinuniwa loves his children and would send to them nothing but good; but that he can not always do, for Balilokon is sometimes stronger than he, and wills evil. Yet it would not be right to call Balilokon the spirit of evil, for he is by no means always so. When he is pleased the mists and rains fall gently and the sap runs lustily through plants and trees, giving them vigorous growth; the springs and rivers are full, but clear, giving abundance of good water to the people and their flocks, and the blood flowing in the veins of the children of the tribe is the blood of health; but Balilokon is sometimes angered and the rains come not at all, or come in deluges that destroy; the rivers are dry or are raging floods; the sap is withdrawn from the plants and trees and they die, and the blood of the people flows through their veins but to poison. There have been times when the anger of Balilokon it seemed no ceremony or prayer could appease; then hundreds of the people went down to death, and one time, away in the dim past, so many moons ago that their wisest one can not tell how many, he sent a great flood that covered nearly all the earth, and but very few of the people and not many of the beasts were saved. Balilokon, having it in his power to do so much of evil, is the god most prayed to, and in his name almost all of the ceremonies are held. At the foot of the cliff at the southern point of the mesa is a large rock [Moqui luck shrine] with a nearly flat top, about 8 by 10 feet in size, and a few yards to one side of it is a well-worn trail. On the top of the rock are thousands of pebbles, seemingly every one that could possibly be lodged there, and around the base are other thousands that have fallen. It is the great luck stone, and from time immemorial have the children of the villages gone there to get forecasts of their lives. Each little devotee of the blind goddess selects 3 pebbles, and while walking down the trail throws them, one by one, upon the rock. If but 1 pebble lodges the thrower will know much of sorrow and disappointment, yet his efforts will sometimes bear good fruits. If 2 pebbles stay he will find more than the average of success, and if all 3 lodge upon the top he may march onward boldly, for what can withstand him! Should all the little stones fall off, what then? Well, the child can ask himself but one question, "Why was I born?"—CHARLES R. MOFFET, 1889.

In the "neck" or "saddle" which connects the first of the Moqui "islands" of rock [the first or eastern mesa, on which is Walpi] with the main table-land is a shrine of great importance. It is a little inclosure of slabs of stone surrounding a large stone fetich, which has been carved into a conventional representation of the sacred snake. In 2 small natural cavities of the dance rock are also kept other large fetiches.—CHARLES F. LUMMIS, in "Some Strange Corners of Our Country", 1892.

At points about the Moqui villages are altars and shrines, on or in which are idols made of wood or pottery, and at which the Moquis individually worship. Near Oraibi is a noted Phallic shrine. The Moqui worship or devotional acts are largely private. Their communal and public worship is generally by dancing or in games. Some of these shrines may be the remains of the old Catholic worship.

d The Moquis still use bows and arrows for killing small game, and have a curious "boomerang" of wood, about 18 inches long, flat, say 1.5 inches wide and looped in the center, with which they kill rabbits. Whether they can throw this so deftly as to have it return to the thrower with the aid of the velocity which sends it away I can not verify. The boys are very adept in the use of the bow and arrow and the boomerang. The boomerang is the favorite weapon in the Moqui rabbit hunt [the Moquis use rabbit skins for robes and the flesh for food], besides it saves powder and shot or cartridges. As we were returning, about dark, from our last call we found most of the inhabitants of the village [Walpi] congregated in an open space, while from a housetop a chief was delivering a harangue. "The chief of the hunt proclaims a rabbit hunt for to-morrow", explained the doctor, "and all the able-bodied men and boys above a certain age must go". In these hunts the Moquis usually drive to some part of the plain to the south and east of the villages, where the little "cotton-tails" are very plentiful, and where they also find a good many of the large jack rabbits. Leaving all their firearms at home (powder and lead are too scarce and valuable to be used on rabbits) they go forth armed, some with bows and blunt arrows, but most of them only with pieces of wood shaped quite like

on the Little Colorado, are also selling whisky. Dancing is a social as well as a devotional matter with the Moquis. Their dances are very frequent.

As the women do most of the house building, such as laying the stones, plastering, and roofing, for this reason, perhaps, the dwellings belong to them. The Moqui women, it is said, own all the household goods as well as the houses. The descent of this property is in the female line and through the mother. The men do all the weaving of blankets, dresses, and sashes. The Moqui sacred blanket of white, with colored borders, is held in great esteem by all Indians. (*a*) The men are domestic and kind, the women are loving and virtuous, the children are obedient and return the affection bestowed upon them by their parents. The men own the small tracts of land which they cultivate.

The Moquis tan hides after the fashion of other Indians by scraping and rubbing with the brains of the animal and then stretching the hide until dry. Rawhide is generally used for the soles of their moccasins and for the covering of their saddles. Their boxes and sacks for the storing and transporting of provisions were formerly made of rawhide, but now they use American bags and boxes, which they procure from the traders. They are quick to receive and apply the ingenious articles used by white people.

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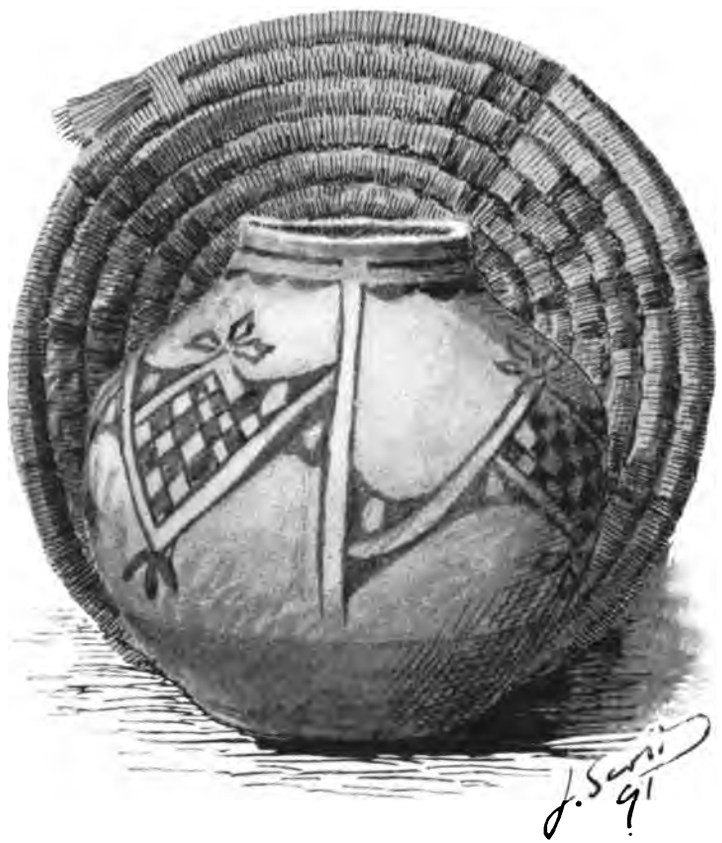
a Turkish scimiter, the blade about 20 inches long, 2 inches wide, and one-quarter of an inch thick. From 50 to 100 Indians surround a large tract, gradually converge, driving the game before them. When near the center the rabbits attempt to escape through the lines, and they are knocked over by arrows or the crooked sticks, thrown by the hunters with wonderful skill. The hunts sometimes yield a marvelous number of cotton-tails, if the hunters can be believed.—C. R. MOFFET, 1889.

a Blankets are no more made by the Pueblos (of New Mexico), and they of Moqui alone continue to weave the women's dresses, with which they supply all the other (including New Mexico) pueblos, as they do with baskets.—CHARLES F. LUMMIS, 1892.

In 1875 John W. Powell wrote: "The greater part of their [the Moquis'] clothing is made of wool, though all of their priestly habiliments, their wedding and burying garments are still made of cotton".

The Moqui men weave a white blanket of wool of from 2 to 3 feet in width and 5 to 8 feet in length. These blankets, which have margins or borders worked in red and black of curious patterns, are both useful and artistic. They are costly, and are known as Moqui sacred blankets. The Moqui industries are few, blankets, fur clothing, baskets, and pottery being the staples. The Moqui blankets are eagerly purchased by other Indians. They keep out water, and are of bright colors. Indians, the civilized as well as the wild, love bright colors. The blue or gray blankets issued by the United States the Indians soon drop or exchange for highly colored ones, and even in Minnesota one can at times see the Moqui, Navajo, and Mexican blankets on the stalwart Chippewas.

No. 1.



Gate Open.

No 2.



Gate Closed.

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BASKETS AND OLLAS OR WATER JARS, MADE BY MOQUI WOMEN, "GATE CLOSED" MEANING THOSE MADE BY NON CHILD BEARING WOMEN.
"GATE OPEN," THOSE MADE BY CHILD BEARING WOMEN.

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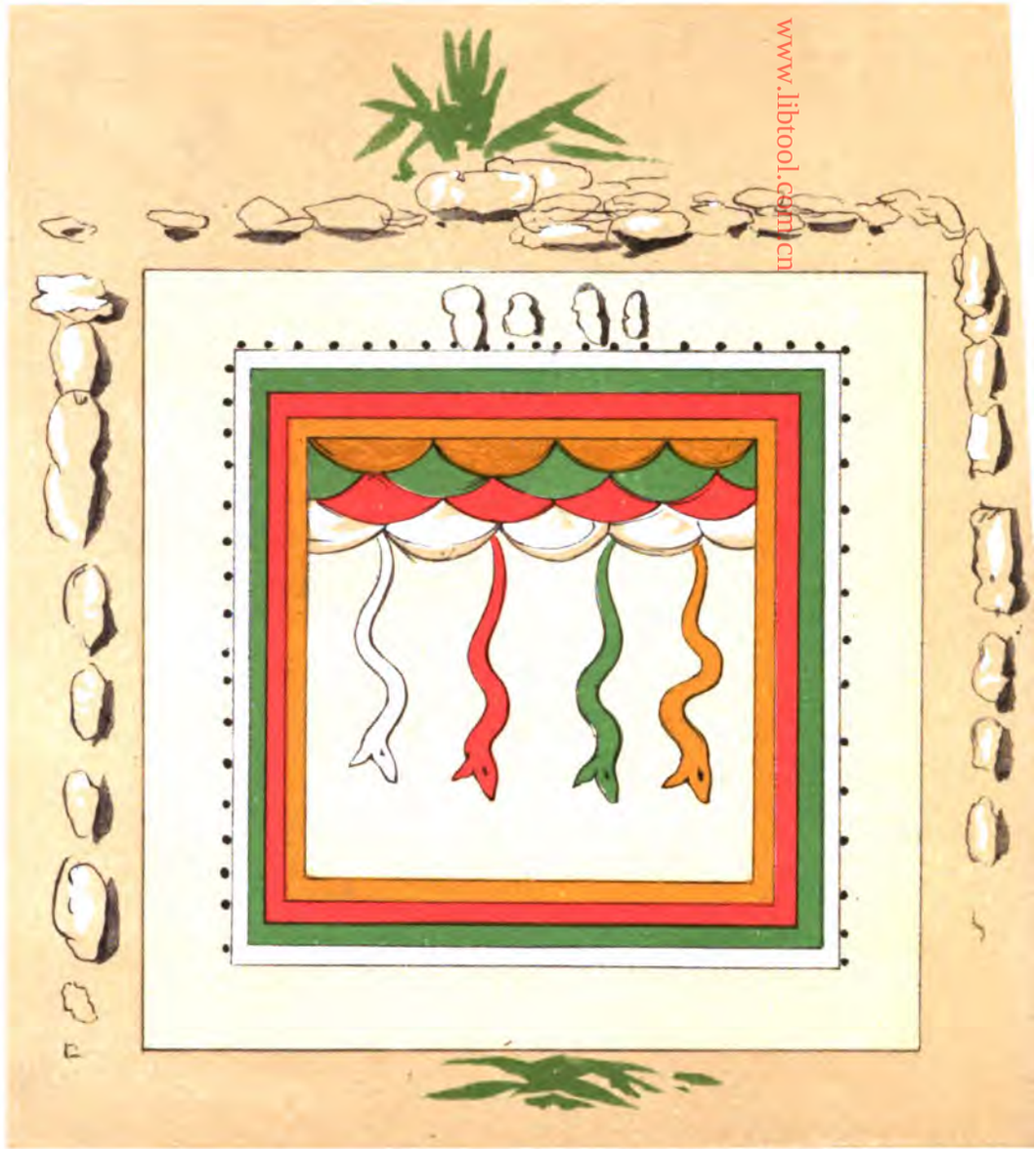
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Altar in Estufa, at Walpi, Arizona, where snake dancers were given food the night before the Moqui snake dance of 1883.



Drawn by Peter Moran, Special Agent 11th Census

Altar in Snake Estufa, at Walpi, Arizona, containing snakes, morning of the Moqui snake dance of 1883, where dancers were dressing.

Description and details given herein in chapter on Moqui snake dance of August, 1891.

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SNAKE DANCE OF THE MOQUI PUEBLO INDIANS.

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The most famous dance of the American Indians is the snake dance of the Moquis. The Walpi snake dance is held in August of every other year, and is an invocation or plea for water and good crops. The details of the Moqui snake dance vary from year to year, because everything connected with it is transmitted orally from tradition, and because much depends upon the imagination of the priests in charge. The old men with the Indians are the keepers of the mysteries and directors of ceremonies, and so, while certain essentials are never departed from, such as the fasting by the dancers, the race from the spring, the preparation of the antidote, or decoction, for snake bites, and the snakes, the dance itself is conducted according to the whims of the veteran leader. This variance is a peculiarity of many of the ceremonies of the tribes of the American Indians. The snake estufa at Walpi is hewn out of the solid sandstone of the mesa (*a*) and covered with logs, brush, and dirt. There is a ladder in it, but there are no benches around it.

The music, or melodies, of the Moqui ceremonies have not as yet been reproduced, but it is hoped that at some future time, as has been suggested in Bulletin No. 25, the phonograph will be utilized for this purpose. Mr. Peter Moran, an eminent artist of Philadelphia, a frequent visitor to the Indians, in company with Captain John G. Bourke, saw the snake dance at Walpi in August, 1883, and his notes on that dance differ materially from the account given by Special Agent Scott of the dance of 1891. The accounts of the dance of 1883 by Mr. Moran and Captain Bourke (see "Moqui Snake Dance", by John G. Bourke) agree.

The following are notes by Mr. Moran on the ceremonies in the estufa the day and night before the dance of 1883:

THE ESTUFAS AND SO-CALLED SACRED FIRES OF THE MOQUI SNAKE DANCE OF 1883.

By reference to my notes made during my trip to witness the snake dance of the Moquis in 1883, I find that Captain Bourke and myself left Keams Cañon about noon on August 11, 1883, and that we reached the foot of the mesa on which the pueblo of Walpi stands late that afternoon. The distance is about 12 miles. On every hand there was evidence of the agricultural industry of the Moqui Indians. On arriving at the top of the mesa at the Tewa end we found no quarters, but we obtained a room in which to stay during our visit in the middle town, called Sichumnavi. After supper we concluded to visit Walpi and go down into the estufas. The one visited that night was square in shape, about 25 or 30 feet long by 15 or 20 feet wide and 9 or 10 feet high, cut out of the sandstone, and with mud roof. There was present during our visit a large number of Indians, men and boys, all naked except the breechclout; all had spats of white paint over their bodies. The walls of the estufa were covered with articles of various kinds, which were to be worn or used in the dance on the morrow. On one side of the room on the floor was what might be called an altar, made of various colored clays, sands, or ashes (see accompanying sketch in color), say 3 feet square. The center was a flat ground of light gray earth or ashes, and in the center of this was a crude representation of a mountain lion with blood flowing from the nose. This square was bounded by 3 fine lines or bands of color, black, yellow, and red; this again was bounded by a broad band of dark gray, on which were representations of 4 snakes, white, red, green, and yellow; around this on 3 sides of the square was a railing of sticks painted black, the lower ends resting in a base of mud balls, their upper ends ornamented with feathers and corn; around all was a broad band of earth or ashes of light gray. There was no fire of any kind in the estufa at this time, nor did we see any evidence that there had been. The men and boys were eating ravenously of food brought them by the squaws, which had been cooked outside in their houses. The squaws were not permitted to enter the estufa. At this time there was no evidence that there were any snakes in this estufa, as they were kept in large earthen jars. The dance took place on August 12, between 4 and 5 o'clock in the afternoon. Early on the morning of the 12th we revisited the estufa that we were in the evening before and found a number of men and boys getting ready for the dance. The snakes had been liberated and were crawling along the floor against the wall near the altar, and were kept together by several old men, who seemed to me to be under the influence of a narcotic; whether this was so or not we had no means of knowing. These old men sat on the floor with bahoos of feathers in their hands. When a snake attempted to move away from the wall the old men, with a snake-like motion, moved up to it and drove it back. These old men acted like snakes. At one corner of the altar in the estufa there were 2 earthen jars, one containing water, the other meal; in the middle of the outer gray band was a portion of an abalone shell, and in the center of the red band was a number of stone objects. We left this estufa after half an hour's visit and visited another one, and found therein only 1 person, an old man at work; here we found another altar about the same size as the one before described but different in design and color; the center was a gray ground, the upper portion of which had a series of circles running together and colored yellow, green, red, and white; these represent clouds from which are coming 4 snakes, representing lightning, yellow, green, red, and white. This center is surrounded by 4 bands of color, the same as snakes and clouds, as 3 sides of this square are. As in the altar before described, there were small sticks stuck into balls of mud and surmounted by corn, feathers, and the down of eagles or turkeys dyed a bright red. This was surrounded by a broad band of gray color; in the center and upper portion of this band were 4 stone implements, hammers and axes. Behind the altar was some freshly cut corn, and near it some pipes and stone implements in a pile. One of the pipes was of stone and resembled a large cigar holder. Running around 3 sides were a number of stone implements. In front of the altar was also a pile of green corn. We went again in the afternoon, from 1 to 7, to the estufa where the snakes were kept, which is called, Captain Bourke informs me, "Estufa of the Eagle Gens". We found that the altar had been destroyed, and in its place on the spot was a bowl containing a medicine or decoction, which Bourke uncovered and tasted. We found a large number of men and boys painting and dressing themselves for the dance. There were 2 old men reclining on the floor keeping the snakes in order. All the business of preparation was carried on in silence, no noise or confusion of any kind; not a word was spoken. The room was now crowded with old and young, making ready for the dance by painting their bodies, faces, and

a The mesas are considered the ancient homes of the Moquis. The attempt to move them from the mesas to the valleys is thus mentioned by Governor N. O. Murphy of Arizona in his annual report to the Secretary of the Interior for 1892: "It is reported to me that an effort is being made to force the Moquis to abandon their homes upon the cliffs and adopt a more modern plan of living, and that this action of the government is being resented by the Indians. If the report is true I do not see how the Indian can be blamed for refusing to give up the home occupied by his people for centuries, before his mind has been educated to voluntarily accept the improved conditions, and I question the wisdom of such a policy or the justice of such action on the part of the government."

arranging the ornaments they were to wear. At this time the old men, the guardians of the snakes, began to put the snakes into bags of cotton and buckskin, and as they were filled they were carried to the "Estufa of the Rabbit Gens". We were here notified that we had better go out and get seats, as the dance would soon begin. We took a station on the second story of a house beyond the sacred rock. Against a wall running at right angles to the one on which we were seated was a lodge of cottonwood covered with a buffalo hide, called the snake bosky. Captain Bourke's account of the dance is complete and exact, and is identical with my account as to facts.

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There were no fires, sacred or otherwise, or even smoke in any of the estufas during our visit, nor any evidence that there had recently been any fire. We had exceptional facilities for seeing the dance, and there were few if any visitors besides Captain Bourke, our 2 men, Mr. Keam and Mr. Steven, and myself. I am also of the opinion that none of our party, resident or otherwise, had ever seen the snake dance before, and that probably we were the first white men who ever visited the estufas during the Moqui [Walpi] snake dance. The Moquis were not greatly pleased, but the presence of Captain Bourke with the 2 soldiers and the ambulance with "U. S." on it were potent. Captain Bourke, if he was not in fact, always appeared to be exactly the best friend each and every Indian whom he met had; at least he seemed to convince the Indian that it was so, and so we were made welcome. Without Captain Bourke we never would have been permitted to enter the sacred estufas. Under his lead we went down the ladders and stayed. Of course, we could not speak to the Indians, as not one Indian of the entire Moqui pueblos could speak English, and the only attempt made was by one man at Tewa, who could say "one dollar".

On the morning of the dance the snakes, more than 100 in number, were kept close to the sides or walls of the estufa by the old men with the bahoos. I tried to buy a bahoo of one of these attendants, but he declined to sell it, saying that if he did his stomach would burst open. I am convinced that the snakes were not doctored, neither was their poison exhausted by letting them strike a board or other object.

During the dance, between 4 and 5 p. m., a rattlesnake struck one of the dancers on the right ear and held on. The antelope man became frightened and ran away. The dancer, becoming angry, grabbed the snake, which was a large one, tore it from his ear and threw it on the ground, but the bitten ear did not swell. The snake, thus released, coiled and struck at a Navajo, who was standing near the edge of the mesa, which so frightened the man that he drew back and ran off, and the snake bounded back of the sacred rock and got among some Indian women, who were mortally afraid and ran away in fright; then he escaped. If the snake had been doctored, and was not venomous, they would not have been afraid of it.

I also observed in the dance that as each snake dancer passed around the sacred rock he threw the snake from his mouth by a quick jerk of his head to the right into the space in front of the bosky, where the antelope men took charge of it. Then he took a fresh snake from the bosky and danced around again, and so on. (*a*)

Charles F. Lummis was present at the snake dance at Walpi August 21, 1891, and in "Some Strange Corners of Our Country", 1892, he gives the following account of the dance:

The Pueblos often protect in their houses an esteemed and harmless serpent, about 5 or 6 feet long, as a mouse trap, and these quiet mousers keep down the little pests much more effectively than a cat, for they can follow shee-id-deh to the ultimate corner of his hole. But while all snakes are to be treated well, the Pueblo holds the rattlesnake actually sacred. It is, except the pichucnáte (a real asp), the only venomous reptile in the southwest, and the only one dignified by a place among the "Trues". The ch'ah-rah-ráh-deh (the Tee-wahn name is imitative) resembles the rattling. The Moquis call the rattlesnake chú-ah. It is not really worshiped by the Pueblos, but they believe it one of the sacred animals which are useful to the Trues, and ascribe to it wonderful powers. Up to a generation ago it played in the marvelous and difficult superstitions of this people a much more important part than it does now, and every Pueblo town used to maintain a huge rattlesnake, which was kept in a sacred room, and with great solemnity fed once a year. My own Pueblo of Isleta used to support a sacred rattler in the volcanic caves of the Cerro del Aire (hill of the wind), but it escaped 5 years ago, and the patient search of the officials failed to recover it. Very truthful old men here have told me that it was nearly as large around as my body, and I can believe it with just a little allowance, for I have seen one here as large as the thickest part of my leg.

There are many gruesome stories of human sacrifices to these snakes, the commonest being that a baby was chosen by lot from the pueblo once a year to be fed to ch'ah-rah-ráh-deh; but this is, of course, a foolish fable. There are no traces that the Pueblos ever practiced human sacrifice in any shape, even in prehistoric times, and the very grandfather of all the rattlesnakes could no more swallow the smallest baby than he could fly.

For 16 days beforehand the professional "snake men" have been in solemn preparation for the great event, sitting in their sacred rooms [estufas], which are carved in the solid rock. For many days before the dance (as before nearly all such ceremonies with the Pueblos) no food must pass their lips, and they can drink only a bitter tea, called màh-que-be, made from a secret herb, which gives them security against snake poison. They also rub their bodies with prepared herbs. 6 days before the date of the dance the snake men go down the mesa into the plain and hunt eastward for rattlesnakes. Upon finding one the hunter tickles the angry reptile with the "snake whip" [bahoo], a sacred bunch of eagle feathers, until it tries to run. Then he snatches it up and puts it into a bag. On the next day the hunt is to the north; the third day to the west; the fourth day to the south, which is, you must know, the only possible order in which a Pueblo dares to box the compass. To start first south or north would be a dreadful impiety in his eyes. The captured snakes are then kept in the kibva (sacred room called estufa in the other pueblos), where they crawl about in dangerous freedom among the solemn deliberators. The night before the dance the snakes are all cleansed with great solemnity at an altar which the snake captain has made of colored sands drawn in a strange design.

The place where the dance is held is a small open court, with the 3-story houses crowding it on the west and the brink of the cliff bounding it on the east. Several sacred rooms hollowed from the rock, with tall ladders leading into them, are along this court. At the south end of the court stands the sacred dance rock, a natural pillar about 14 feet high, left by water wearing upon the rock floor of the mesa's top. Midway from this to the north end of the court has been constructed the keé-si, or sacred booth of cottonwood branches, its opening closed by a curtain. Just in front of this a shallow cavity has been dug and then covered with a strong and ancient plank, with a hole in one side. This covered cavity represents Shi-pa-pú, the great Black Lake of Tears, a name so sacred that few Indians will speak it aloud, whence, according to the common belief of all southwestern Indians, the human race first came.

On the day of the dance the captain of the snake men places all the snakes in a large buckskin bag and deposits this in the booth [snake kibva]. All the other active participants are still in their room, going through their mysterious preparations. Just before sunset is the invariable time for the dance.

Long before the hour the housetops and the edges of the court are lined with an expectant throng of spectators: the earnest Moquis, a goodly representation of the Navajos, whose reservation lies just east, and a few white men. At about 5.30 in the afternoon the 20 men of the antelope order emerge from their own special room in single file, march thrice around the court, and go through certain sacred ceremonies in front of the booth. Here their captain sprinkles them with a consecrated fluid from the tip of an eagle feather. For a

a It will be noted that in the account by Mr. Scott in 1891 the snake dancers kept the snakes they first received and danced with them until the end. In 1891 there was no change of snakes by the dancers at each round.

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Going to the Snake Dance at Walpi, August, 1891.

1. A parting Cup. 2. Forming for the March. 3. Watering. 4. On the March. 5. Striking Tents in the Morning. 6. Camp. 7. Indians going to the Dance. 8. Gen'l. A. D. McCook and Staff. 9. Moqui Sheep. 10. Saddling. 11. In Walpi. 12. A Trooper. 13. Moquis. 14. Killing a Beef. 15. Going to the Dance. 16. On top of the Walpi Mesa, (En route.)

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1. Navajo going to the Snake Dance. 2. Moqui grave-hunter. 3. Eastern Visitor. 4. Moqui girls. 5. A view on the first mesa. 6. Moqui man. 7. Moqui girl. 8. A spectator. 9. Walpi from the North. 10. Waiting for the Snake Dance. 11. Moqui women filling Ollas at a spring. 12. Walpi, showing sacred rock. 13 and 14. Moqui racers from the springs after leaving ba-hoos in the morning. 15 and 16. Moqui Dancers in the evening returning from placing the snakes back in the desert.

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A. D. Marchand, Photo., Los Angeles, California. *New York Engraving and Printing Co.*

WAITING FOR THE SNAKE DANCERS, WALPI, ARIZONA, AUGUST 21, 1891.

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SNAKE DANCE OF THE MOQUIS, WALPI. Beginning the Dance.

From a Photograph by B. WITTICK.

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New York Engraving & Printing Co. SNAKE DANCE OF THE MOQUIS. Walpi, Moqui Pueblo, Arizona. From a Photograph by B. WITTICK.

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few moments they dance and shake their guajes (ceremonial rattles made of gourds) in front of the booth, and then they are ranged beside it, with their backs against the walls of the houses; among them are the youngsters that day admitted to the order, in which they will thenceforward receive life-long training, dimpled tots of from 4 to 7 years old, who look extremely cunning in their strange regimentals.

Now all is ready, and in a moment a buzz in the crowd announces the coming of the 17 priests of the snake order through the roofed alley just south of the dance rock. These 17 enter the court in single file at a rapid gait, and make the circuit of the court 4 times, stamping hard with right foot upon the sacred plank that covers Shi-pa-pú as they pass in front of the booth. This is to let the Cachina (spirits or divinities) know that the dancers are now presenting their prayers.

When the captain of the snake order reaches the booth on the fourth circuit the procession halts. The captain kneels in front of the booth, thrusts his right arm behind the curtain, unties the sack, and in a moment draws out a big, squirming rattlesnake. This he holds in his mouth with his teeth about 6 inches back of the ugly triangular head, and then he rises erect. The captain of the antelope order steps forward and puts his left arm around the snake captain's neck, while with the snake whip in his right hand he "smooths" the writhing reptile. The 2 start forward in the peculiar hippety-hop, hop, hippety-hop of all Pueblo dances; the next snake priest draws forth a snake from the booth, and is joined by the next antelope man as partner, and so on, until each of the snake men is dancing with a deadly snake in his mouth and an antelope man accompanying him.

The dancers hop in pairs thus from the booth to the dance rock, thence north, and circle toward the booth again. When they reach a certain point, which completes about three-quarters of the circle, each snake man gives his head a sharp snap to the left and thereby throws his snake to the rock floor of the court, inside the ring of dancers, and dances on to the booth again to extract a fresh snake and make another round.

There are 3 more antelope men than snake men, and these 3 have no partners in the dance, but are intrusted with the duty of gathering up the snakes thus set free and putting them back into the booth. The snakes sometimes run to the crowd, a ticklish affair for those jammed upon the very brink of the precipice. In case they run the 3 official gatherers snatch them up without ado; but if they coil and show fight these antelope men tickle them with the snake whips until they uncoil and try to glide away, and then seize them with the rapidity of lightning. Frequently these gatherers have 5 or 6 snakes in their hands at once. The reptiles are as deadly as ever; not one has had its fangs extracted. * * *

At last all rush together at the foot of the dance rock and throw all their snakes into a horrid heap of threatening heads and buzzing tails. I have seen that hillock of rattlesnakes a foot high and 4 feet across. For a moment the dancers leap about the writhing pile, while the sacred corn meal is sprinkled. Then they thrust each an arm into that squirming mass, grasp a number of snakes, and go running at top speed to the 4 points of the compass. Reaching the bottom of the great mesa (Hualpi, where the chief snake dance is held, is 660 feet above the plain), they release the unharmed serpents.

These astounding rites last from half an hour to an hour, and end only when the hot sun has fallen behind the bald western desert. Then the dancers go to their sacred purification with the secret herb, and the awed on-lookers scatter to their quaint homes, rejoicing at the successful conclusion of the most important of all the public ceremonials of Moqui. It is believed by the Húpi [Moquis] that the rattlesnake was one of their first ancestors, the son of the Moqui Adam and Eve, and they have a very long and complicated folk story about it. The snake dance is therefore, among other superstitious aims, designed to please their divinities.

The photographs and drawings of the Moqui Pueblos and adjacent country and snake dance accompanying the details of the dance in 1891 are by Special Agent Scott, except where otherwise noted.

SPECIAL AGENT SCOTT'S REPORT ON THE MOQUI SNAKE DANCE OF AUGUST 21, 1891.

The "snake deity" is the "water god" of the Moquis. With them the snake lives in the earth and under the water, and glides over either with equal ease. He is mysterious to them, and from his likeness to the lightning in the heavens they associate him with that phenomenon, and, not being able to separate or define the objective from the subjective, the two are to them identical. To the Moquis' mind lightning is the snake's tail striking the clouds and thunder the report of the blow; rain is the effect, so the conclusion is natural that they should believe in him as being the most potent intermediator of all animal life that they could have between themselves and their principal deity.

Irrigation or rain is what the Moqui country most needs. There is water, but it is so scarce and so difficult to obtain that the Moquis are obliged to go long distances for it, and so it becomes almost a luxury.

The snake dance of the Moqui Indians is to propitiate the water god or snake deity, whose name is Ba-ho-la-con-gua, and to invoke his aid in securing more water, that their fields may be made productive. It is a novel exhibition of religious zeal and remarkable for its quick changes. Its chorus chants are weird incantations, thrilling and exciting both spectators and celebrants.

The religious ceremonies prior to the public exhibitions of the dance occupy 8 days; they are held in the snake keva, or estufa, and are of a secret nature, although a few white men have been permitted to witness them. The dance is the closing scene of these long secret invocations, and its performance occupies but a short time, not more than 35 or 40 minutes.

The day preceding the snake dance the antelope order holds a dance, in which the snake order participates (the snakes are left out). The antelope order, which ranks next to that of the snake order, assists in the snake dance. The day before these singular final ceremonies the men of the antelope order prepare many little prayer sticks, called ba-hoos (the ba-hoo is a small stick, to which, at one end, is attached one or more small light feathers, and symbolizes a prayer), which they give to the men of the snake order, who, on the morning of their dance, go out from the pueblo and distribute them at all the springs. When these prayer sticks have been placed at the different springs or water holes the men race back to the keva at Walpi, on the mesa where the snake dance is to be held. The principal race is from Weepo (onion springs), at the north of Walpi, some 4 miles, down through the desert

to the south end of the mesa, then up the difficult trails into the pueblo. It is a most exciting scene, and in this running great endurance is exhibited, for the men have fasted for 4 days previous, partaking of nothing but a decoction prepared by the chief priest or priestess of the order as an antidote for the rattlesnake bite in case any may be bitten during the ceremonies. This antidote is known only to the chief priest and the priestess, and the secret is only imparted to their successors when they are obliged by age and infirmity to relinquish the functions of their office. The snake dance, which is the conclusion of the 8 days' ceremony before mentioned, takes place at Walpi every 2 years, in the middle of August, late in the afternoon. The day is appointed by the chief priest. This year (1891) the dance occurred on August 21, about 5 o'clock p. m., and lasted only 35 minutes. The men of the snake order, of course, were in the estufa in training for the 4 days before the dance.

For the ceremonies of the snake dance the pueblo is thoroughly cleaned, and quantities of melons, peaches, and other eatables are placed about in ollas and dishes. Piki, or corn bread of many colors, is plentiful, and the evidences of a feast are on every hand. These people, although poor, remain hospitable; not having mixed much with white people, they have not as yet become selfish and unduly mercenary, and all visitors are welcome to eat. The number of visitors increases yearly, however, and pretty soon the hospitality of the Moquis will be put to full test.

On the afternoon of the dance, and long before the appearance of the actors, the Indians gathered on the housetops of the pueblo of Walpi, which overlook the court and sacred rock, all gaily dressed in bright colored blankets, ribbons, and feathers. Some young Indians climbed to the top of the sacred rock with the aid of a lariat, from which a better view could be had. 2 or 3 cowboys, with strong Saxon faces, and other visitors from the settlements and large cities in the east were there, conspicuous by their modest attire and small numbers. The Indians gather from all the other pueblos of the Moqui group and a few from Acoma, Laguna, and Zuñi. Altogether there must have been 500 people present, including, of course, the Navajos and whites, and General A. McD. McCook, commanding the district of Arizona, and staff; also Dr. Washington Matthews, the eminent ethnologist, and Special Agent John Donaldson.

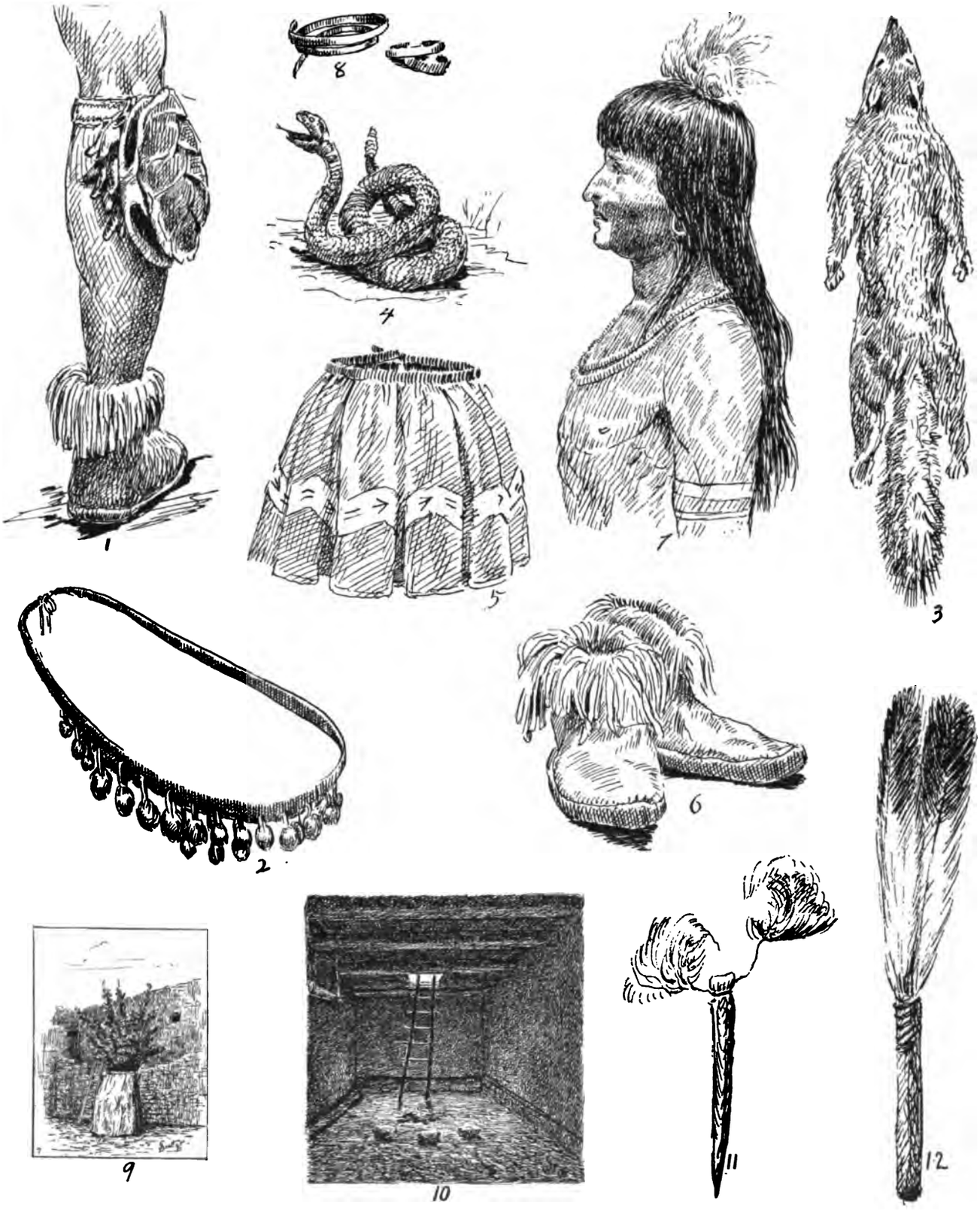
There was a murmur of expectancy, when all looked toward the southern part of the inclosure and saw emerging through the narrow street the men of the antelope order dressed in short white cotton kilts, or skirts, with flowing sashes of the same material, all embroidered with curious designs in red, yellow, and green, the hair, worn loose, flowing down the back, with tufts of feathers, selected from the eagle's breast, tied at the top of their heads, from which tufts, falling down over their raven hair, were 2 tail feathers of the eagle; earrings, bracelets, and strings of beads, worn according to fancy, and heavily fringed moccasins and anklets completed the costume, while their faces were grotesquely painted in white, yellow, green, and black, resembling much their wooden gods in the disposition of the colors. The general arrangement was picturesque.

There were 17 men of the antelope order who assisted those of the snake order in their dance. The snake order numbered 37, a majority of whom were young men, a few were quite old, and 3 were boys recently initiated, the youngest not more than 5 years of age. The antelope order was headed by an important looking personage dressed different from the rest. He was the principal priest of his order, and in addition to the white cotton ceremonial kilt and girdle, feathers, fringed moccasins, and beads, he wore a coil of blue yarn over the right shoulder down to the left hip, a garland of cottonwood branches in leaf around his head and a similar one about the loins, and anklets and armlets of the same. He carried a bowl of sacred water in his left hand; in his right hand he held 3 eagle feathers, which he used in sprinkling the water over the space about the sacred rock where the dancers were to hold their unusual ceremony; he paid particular attention to the bosky where the snakes had been placed. A man of the antelope order brought the snakes from the snake estufa in a gunny sack and placed them in the bosky (bosque) about 15 minutes before the dance began; they were sprinkled with sacred meal by the priest before leaving the estufa. The snakes had been in the estufa for 3 or 4 days. The Indians catch the snakes by going into the desert, beginning about a week before the dance, in parties of two, who carry a bag of leather or cloth; one of the men carries a bag of sacred meal and one of them a bahoo. The rattlesnake and other snakes crawl into the "chill-dill-ghizze" bush, known as the "hiding bush" by the Navajos.

One man sprinkled meal on the snake, the other attracted its attention by tickling it with the bahoo, while the first grabbed it by the neck and dropped it into the bag. The men sometimes catch the snakes while moving, but they believe that they must first sprinkle the snakes with meal. The catching party on its return to the pueblo puts the snakes in the estufa to wait for the day of the dance.

Some 20 or 30 feet from the sacred rock, north, and a little in front of the houses, the snake bosky is built. It is a low, stone inclosure, covered with long cottonwood boughs, standing upright, shaped like a Sibley tent, say 8 feet, and fastened together where the branches begin, leaving the branches free, with a cotton cloth about it. The antelope men came in single file, passing along the edge of the mesa, turning to the left and back in front of the snake bosky, then around the sacred rock, continuing to follow the ellipse they had described until they had passed the bosky several times, moving in a quickstep. They halted in front of the bosky and faced toward it; their priest advanced, made an invocation, and threw sacred meal in over the bag containing the snakes. He had

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"MOQUIS SNAKE DANCE," Walpi, August 21, 1891.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS WORN BY DANCERS.

No. 1. Rattle made of a turtles shell and sheeps toe nails. No. 2. Bandelier worn over the right shoulder. No. 3. Fox skin which is attached to top of Kilt at small of the back. No. 4. Rattlesnake used in the dance. No. 5. Kilt made of buck skin, colored a dull pink, with stripe of black and white zig zag in shape. No. 6. Fringed moccasins, of buck skin. No. 7. Snake dancer, showing head dress. No. 8. Amulets and bracelets. No. 9. Snake "Bosky, Boskay, Bosque." No. 10. Snake Estufa or Keva at Walpi. No. 11. Ba-hoo placed at the Springs. No. 12. Ba-hoo used in Snake Dance.

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SCENE OF THE SNAKE DANCE AT WALPI, LOOKING NORTH.



BEFORE THE DANCE. SACRED ROCK AT WALPI AND SNAKE BOSKY.



MOQUIS WAITING FOR THE COMING OF THE SNAKE DANCE.



ENTRANCE OF THE SNAKE ORDER, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE DANCE.

New York Engraving & Printing Co.

Snake Dance at Walpi, Arizona, August 21, 1891.

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SACRED ROCK AT WALPI AROUND WHICH THE SNAKE DANCERS MOVE.



REAR OF THE ANTELOPE ORDER.



SPECTATORS WAITING FOR THE SNAKE DANCE.



THE FIRST SNAKE DANCER GOING TOWARDS THE SNAKE BOSKY.

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Moqui Snake Dance, Pueblo of Walpi, August 21, 1891.

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CHIEF OF THE ANTELOPE ORDER GOING TO THE SNAKE BOSKY.



SCENE OF THE SNAKE DANCE AT WALPI, LOOKING SOUTH.
SNAKE BOSKY TO THE RIGHT, SACRED ROCK IN THE REAR.



ANTELOPE ORDER IN LINE AT THE SNAKE BOSKY, WAITING FOR THE SNAKE ORDER.



SNAKE DANCERS CHANTING AT THE SNAKE BOSKY.

New York Engraving & Printing Co.

Moqui Snake Dance, Pueblo of Walpi, August, 21, 1891.

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OLD AND YOUNG SNAKE DANCERS.



FIRST RACER AT THE TOP OF THE MESA IN THE RACE FROM WEE-PO, MORNING OF THE DAY OF THE SNAKE DANCE.



YOUNGEST OF THE SNAKE ORDER.



ANTELOPE ORDER.

New York Engraving & Printing Co.

Moqui Snake Dance at Pueblo of Walpi, August 21, 1891.

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the meal on a large black plaque of straw. It was a "gate open" plaque. The men then sang a low chant that was like the moaning of the wind before a storm; all the time an accompaniment of rattles, with which the men were provided, was kept up, producing a pattering sound like that of falling rain. This peculiar muffled sound was obtained by using the rattles, which are made of cottonwood, round and flat, instead of the gourd, which is pear-shaped.

At the conclusion of the chant the snake order made its appearance from the estufa, like their brothers of the antelope order, in single file, preceded by a stalwart leader, who carried a bow and a quiver filled with arrows. His hair and that of his followers fell loosely down the back, the front being banged just above the eyes. This leader also carried a buzz, or stick, attached to a string, which he would twirl through the air, making a noise like distant thunder. On the tops of their heads the men wore tufts of brown feathers. Their kilts were buckskin dyed a brownish color, streaked with designs in black and white, and resembling a snake. Their moccasins were brown, and the general tone of their entire decorations was brown, which made all the more distinct the zigzag lines of white on their arms and bodies, which represented lightning. The forehead and lower legs were painted a pinkish color, their chins white, their upper lips and faces from the bottom of the nose to the ears black, and each wore a bandolier, or leather strap, over the right shoulder and down over the left hip. Attached at intervals to the lower part of this armament were numerous brown clay balls, tied to a band just above the calf of the leg; each one wore a rattle made of a turtle shell and sheep toes. As they came upon the scene, beyond the sacred rock, the antelope order faced about. The snake order made the circuit of the open space between the houses and the east side of the mesa 3 times before halting, then faced toward the snake bosky, in front of which is a deep hole, said to lead down to the "under world"; it is covered with a very thick plank, upon which each one of the performers stamped with great force as they filed over it. A belief exists among them that whoever breaks this cover by so stamping upon it during a ceremony will succeed to a grand fortune of some kind.

After the 3 circuits had been made they took position in line facing the snake bosky, on the 2 flanks of which stood their brothers of the antelope order, who joined them in a weird song, the time being kept by the snake men taking a half step backward with the right foot, bringing the heel down with a quick movement, which caused the turtle shells and sheep toes to give, in their combined rattle, a noise not unlike the warning of the rattlesnake. This movement is measured and effective. As soon as the song was through the snake men again made the circuit of the small space between the houses and the east edge of the mesa, going around the sacred rock from left to right, near which stood a number of maidens arrayed in ceremonial dresses, who carried bowls of sacred water, with which they sprinkled the dancers as they passed, using the eagle feathers in the manner of the priests of the antelopes.

Now the thrilling part of the performance or ceremony begun. As the men returned by the same circuitous line and reached the space in front of the snake bosky, the bag having been opened and the snakes bountifully sprinkled with sacred meal by the priest, each dancer, as he came up, was handed a snake by the priest; the dancer then, after placing in his mouth a quantity of blue clay, which he carried in his left hand for the purpose, as a bed for the snake, placed the snake (some ambitious dancer would take 2 small snakes) between his teeth, the head always toward the right shoulder and about 4 inches from the corner of his mouth.

There were 100 snakes in all, many of them rattlesnakes, but there were bull snakes, racers, and others (*a*), in size from 6 inches to 4 feet long, and they squirmed actively, doing their best to get away. As soon as the snakes were in the dancer's mouth he would be joined by an attendant from the antelope order, who placed himself upon the right of his brother, the right arm of the latter and the left arm of the former about each other's backs. The antelope attendants carried in their right hands large bahoos (prayer sticks), with which, the feathers waving backward and forward, they kept the snakes busy and, watching their movements, prevented them from striking. In the above manner, by twos, they continued the strange march, going round and round the sacred rock, from left to right, receiving baptisms of sacred water and meal from the maidens as they passed them. This they did 6 or 7 times. The snake dancers threw their heads back and kept them as high as they could.

Now and then a snake got loose and fell upon the ground and began to glide away or coil to strike, but the attendant was ever watchful and never failed to so attract the snake's attention with the bahoos as to enable the dancer to pick it up and replace it in his mouth. The dancer was always careful to seize the snake just back of the head.

Each dancer kept the first snake handed to him. If it was a small one, the next time around he would obtain another small one, and thus have 2 in his mouth, and one man I saw with 3 long, slender snakes. Another man had but one small snake, which was entirely in the mouth except the head, neck, and just enough of the body to resemble a twisted cigar. Sometimes a dancer carried 1 or 2 snakes in his hands while he danced.

The incessant shaking of the rattles in the hands of the men was done apparently to attract the attention of the snakes and confuse them.

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a In 1883 there were believed to be 14 kinds of snakes used in the dance. Captain Bourke gives the chief ones: 1, chú-a (rattler); 2, le-lu-can-ga (this has yellow and black spots, and may be the bull snake); 3, tú-ho (runs very fast; may be the racer); 4, pa-chu-a (a water snake); 5, tegua-chi-gui. Of all these the rattler would be the most numerous.

Near the conclusion of the ceremony one of the priests made a large circle on the ground in the plaza, or square, and when completed the dancers, as they passed it, deposited the snakes within its borders, where they were permitted to remain for a short time. It can be easily imagined that the mass of writhing snakes thus suddenly released and piled together made rather a hideous and forbidding spectacle, but not more so than when they were making vain endeavors to release themselves from the dancers' jaws; still all this is not more repulsive than the performances given by so-called snake charmers, women particularly, who travel with shows and exhibit in museums in civilized life.

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At a signal a rush was made, and the actors in this strange drama, men of the snake order, grabbed the snakes with quick and dexterous movements, some with 2 and 3 in each hand, holding them aloft, and in the "twinkling of an eye" they disappeared from the mesa, going north, south, east, and west; once in the desert their strange companions were freed.

From the time of departure with the snakes to the desert and return of the men the space seemed incredibly short. Some of the spectators attempted to follow them, but were obliged to desist owing to the precipitous descent and danger attending it. I followed out to the south end of the mesa only to find that the snake men had already reached the desert; some of them were on their return. As they came up over the top and were entering the pueblo I took several kodak shots at them as they passed me. When they had all gotten back they quickly removed their dancing costumes and donned the modern trousers, waistcoats, and hats. From fierce-looking savages they were transformed into meek and gentle-looking Moquis, and among them I recognized my old friend "Adam", who had been interpreter at the school in Keams Cañon, whose kindly disposition is well known. A laughable scene followed the dance. As is their custom, all of the snake order, who had fasted for 4 days, partaking of nothing but a liquid prepared for them by the snake priest, to whom and the snake priestess only the decoction is known, assembled at a point just beyond the snake keva, where each drank of a liquid which produced violent vomiting. This final act closed the ceremonies.

They handled the snakes with great care so as not to hurt them and religiously returned them to their natural haunts when the dance was over, refusing many offers of money for some of the specimens: offers which would have tempted some so-called civilized people.

During the entire time, from the moment the snakes were taken out of the bosky until they were thrown into the mass or pile on the ground within the ring of meal made by the priest, all was intense action. The participants and the attendants never for one moment let the interest relax, but drove everything on with force. The celerity of the proceedings evidently kept the snakes muddled. The snakes were not, to my knowledge, doctored for the occasion.

During the dance 2 of the snake order were struck by rattlesnakes, one in the nose, the other in the upper portion of the arm. They drew back for a moment but continued the dance, and no ill effects were afterward noticed from the bites. The man struck in the nose had some difficulty in getting the snake off, and only did so with his attendant's assistance.

The snake order is spreading among the Moquis. Their chief religious ceremonies have been confined to Walpi for untold time. Now branches of the order have been established at Oraibi, Shimopavi, and, I believe, in Shipaulavi. The ceremonies occur every 2 years. Next year it will take place at Oraibi, 2 years from now again at Walpi and Shimopavi. The day for its celebration is selected by the chief priest, and the date of its occurrence is approximately established by watching the sun's declination toward the south. They note the shadows that fall in the crevice of a rock, and in the same way reckon the day for their Christmas dance, the occasion for a dance to their sun god, which is about December 22.

The Moquis have been told that the government intends to stop the snake dance, and they say that it will be a great wrong, since it is a part of their religion, and they feel that their rights will thus be taken from them by denying them the privilege of worshiping after the manner of their fathers, which is not denied the white people of the country. This snake dance is a religious ceremony and most solemnly conducted.

Through the stupidity of an Indian agent the Kiowas and Comanches were forbidden to hold the woqui worship, he reporting the woqui bean as mescal. The woqui bean is not intoxicating, neither can it be made so by fermentation. It is bitter, while mescal is sweet, and a powerful intoxicant is made from it through fermentation. The Indians, however, religiously continue to hold their woqui ceremonies, although clandestinely, but they would much prefer to have the order prohibiting the worship rescinded. So tenacious are all the Indians in holding to their ancient beliefs that an order forbidding the Moqui snake dance would only have the effect of closing the gates to the outside world.

The liquid which the members of the snake order drink during the 4 final days of the ceremony is an antidote to the poisonous effect of the rattlesnake bite, and I have been assured that it never fails. I saw a Moqui who had been bitten while in the fields who did not get the aid of the snake priest for an hour later, but who recovered, although his arm was greatly swollen before he received the antidote. He was unable to do much for several days.

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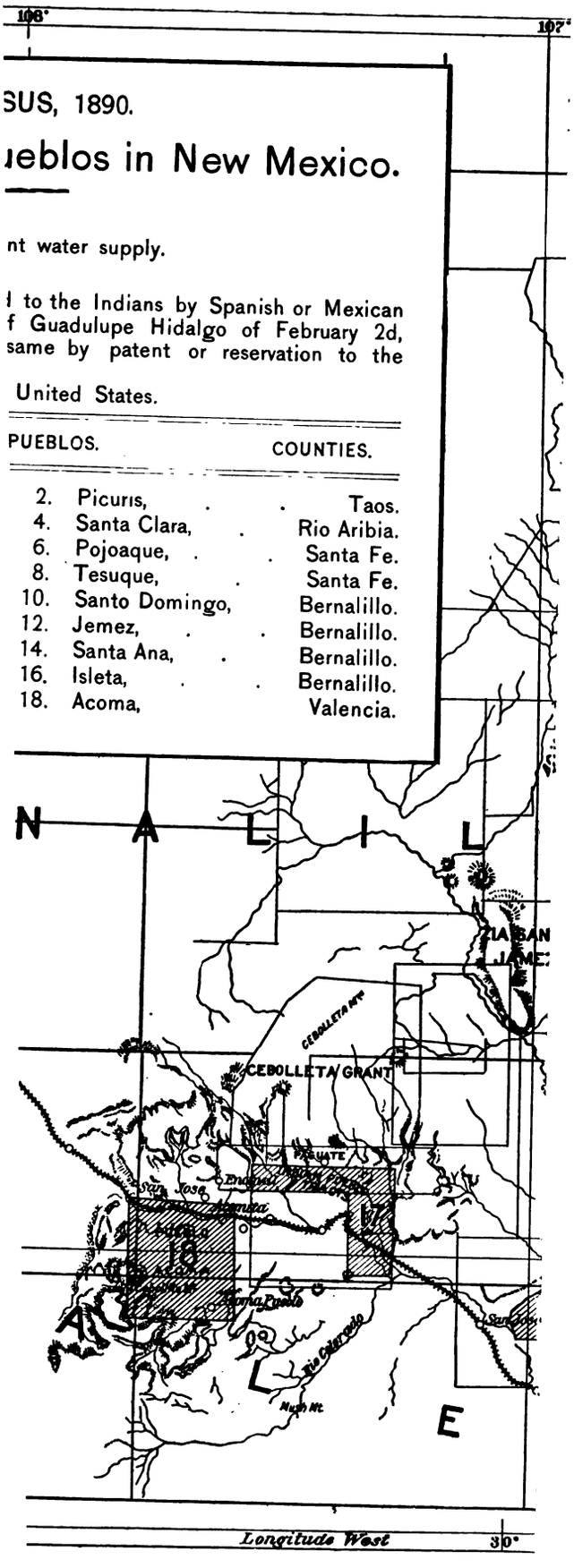
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ıeblos in New Mexico.

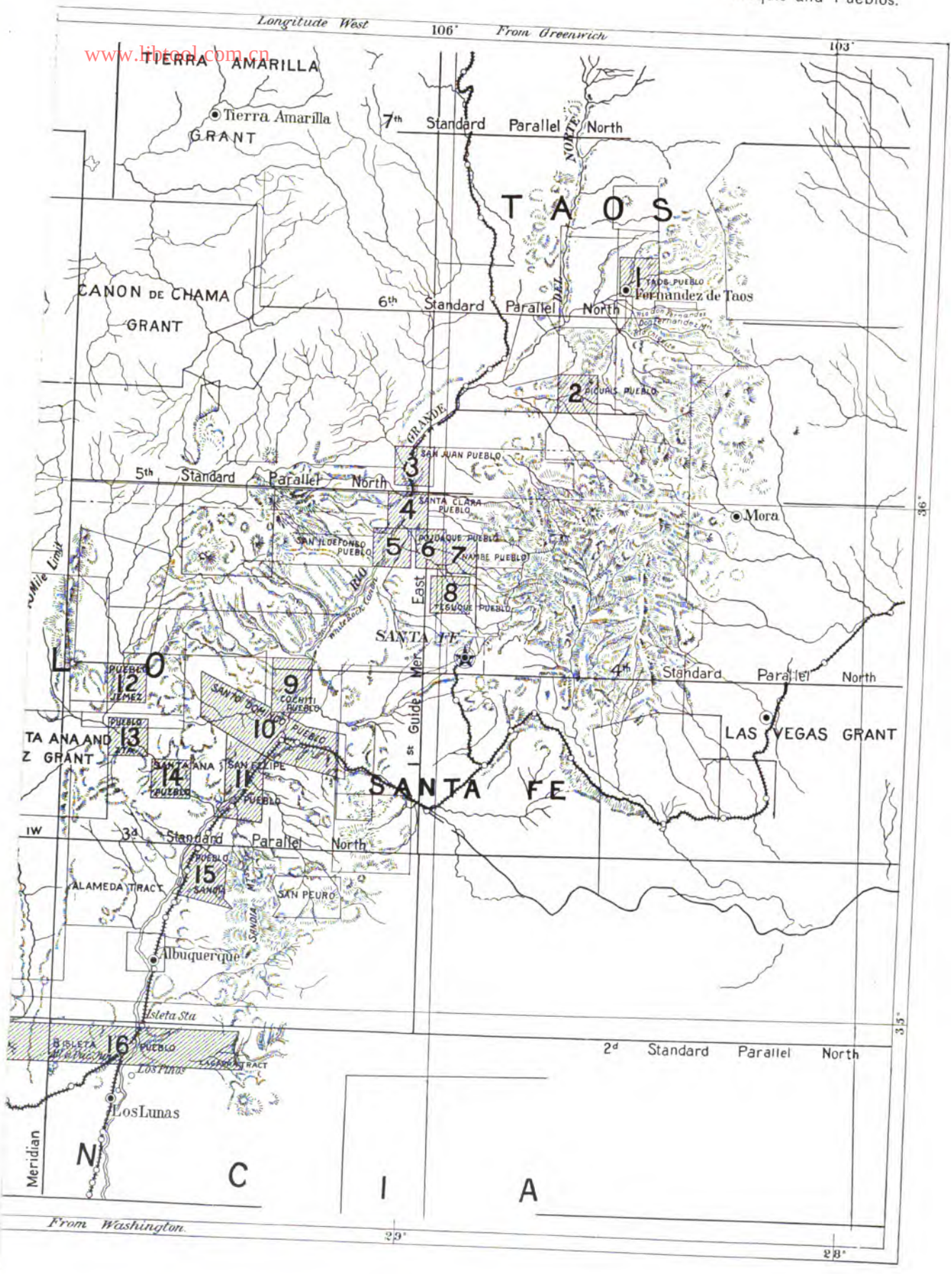
nt water supply.

l to the Indians by Spanish or Mexican
f Guadulupe Hidalgo of February 2d,
same by patent or reservation to the
United States.

PUEBLOS.	COUNTIES.
2. Picuris,	Taos.
4. Santa Clara,	Rio Aribia.
6. Pojoaque,	Santa Fe.
8. Tesuque,	Santa Fe.
10. Santo Domingo,	Bernalillo.
12. Jemez,	Bernalillo.
14. Santa Ana,	Bernalillo.
16. Isleta,	Bernalillo.
18. Acoma,	Valencia.



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THE PUEBLO INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO.

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The pueblos, 19 in number and located in New Mexico, treated of in this bulletin became a portion of the United States by capture and by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848, a result of the war with Mexico, 1846–1848.

Cabeza de Vaca, the discoverer of New Mexico, in his journey from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, related in connection with the account of Coronado's march, passed south, it is said, from Taos along the Rio Grande to Laguna, thence through Acoma to Zuñi (old Zuñi, or Cibola), and to the Gila, and thence to the city of Mexico, touching, it is alleged, almost all of the now known pueblos, and carrying with him the marvelous stories told him by the natives. He was the first white man to cross the American continent and tell the story of the Pueblos of New Mexico, and from his account their Latin and Anglo-Saxon race history begins.

Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, having sailed, with Pamphilo de Narvaez, June 17, 1527, from San Lucar de Barrameda, Spain, 35 years after Columbus discovered America, landed in Florida April 13, 1528; afterward he made his overland journey across the American continent, occupying nearly 9 years, and with only 3 companions: Stephen, called Estevanico, a Barbary negro, and 2 Spaniards, Alonzo de Castillo and Andrew Dorantes. After passing from north to south through the region now known as New Mexico, and stopping with the natives in the different towns, he arrived at the city of Mexico July 25, 1536. Prior to the arrival of De Vaca at the city of Mexico wonderful legends had reached the Spanish authorities there of great cities of vast wealth to the north, especially of the "7 cities of Cibola", and he was received with enthusiasm by Mendoza, the viceroy of New Spain, and by Cortez, the "Marquis of the Valley". 10 years or more after his departure for Florida to conquer a new land for Spain De Vaca returned to Lisbon, August 8, 1537.

After the arrival of Cabeza de Vaca, Mendoza, the viceroy, determined upon an expedition to the 7 cities of Cibola and the country about them. Friar Marco de Niza was selected by Vasquez Coronado, governor of the province of New Galicia, to lead a small expedition to Cibola. The mission was "undertaken for the honor and glory of the Holy Trinity and for the propagation of our Holy Catholic Church". De Vaca's negro, Estevanico, was of this party, and he now appears in many legends of the Moqui and Pueblo Indians. Friar Marco de Niza was also accompanied by another friar, who fell sick and dropped behind, and many Indians.

Friar De Niza wrote a very full account of his journey, which was sent to the king of Spain in 1539. He set out March 7, 1539, from San Miguel, and on his return certified his account to the king from Temixtitan, September 2, 1539, or 6 months after starting. Stephen was killed by the Indians at Cibola, or old Zuñi, and the pueblo of Acoma was afterward called the Catholic mission of San Estevan de Acoma.

CORONADO'S EXPEDITION, 1540–1542.

The expedition of Governor Coronado followed the explorations and return of Friar De Niza, and was a large expedition for the period, consisting of an army of 400 Spaniards and 800 Indian soldiers. Viceroy Mendoza went to Compostella to review the troops, to whom he said that the Coronado expedition was one of great importance, that "it would add a vast province to Spain, that it would be of vital importance to the Indians by giving them a knowledge of christianity, and that, more important still, it would better the fortunes of the persons engaged in it". Plunder was apparently one of the chief ends in view.

Coronado's expedition set out in January (about the 8th), 1540, from Compostella and passed north, reaching Cibola, or old Zuñi, via the Gila and Casa Grande, thence across country up the Rio Grande, visiting pueblos and tribes, to the present territory of southern Colorado, or through the present public land strip, or Indian territory, and thence penetrating Kansas, eastward to about the town of Baxter Springs; here the expedition halted and turned back. It was a great failure. De Vaca, De Niza, and the negro Stephen, who had told the wonderful stories, were bitterly denounced by the soldiers when they found out the truth.

The Indian pueblos or cities, instead of being depositories of gold and precious stones, were about as now, of stone or mud, the hives of industry and homes of a people fighting nature, and the people are still fighting nature, with the white man added, for a living. During his march Coronado sent out side expeditions, the most notable of which were those of Don Pedro de Tobar and Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas. Don Pedro de Tobar visited the Moqui towns in 1540 and Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas, later in the same year, went through the Moqui towns to the Colorado river in search of a race of giants who were said to live in that section. Cardenas discovered and described the grand cañon of the river called the Tison, now the Colorado of the West.

Coronado having received an injury by a fall from his horse, and having been petitioned by some of his officers, determined to return to Mexico. He began his return march to Mexico early in April, 1543, taking his route along the main trail of his northern march. He reached Mexico in 1543 with scarcely 100 men, where he was illy received

by the viceroy, deprived of his command, and removed from the governorship; he retired a broken man. His march across untrodden deserts was marked by great privations.

The Coronado expedition, which was brought about by a series of magnificent stories told by clericals and laymen, resulted in the murder of thousands of Indians, with no advantage to crown or church; but it will always be remembered as an adventurous and courageous undertaking. Had not Coronado met with the injury at his last eastern camp and turned back to see his wife in Spain the government of the eastern coast of North America might have been quite different.

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THE PUEBLOS OF NEW MEXICO, 1540-1892.

On the march of Coronado in 1540 the Pueblo Indian towns were closely observed by Castenada, a member of the expedition, who described many of them (especially the towns of Cibola, probably old Zufii) in Tiguex and Cicuye. Comparing his narrative of 350 years ago with the accounts of 1890–1891 by the special agents, and observing the illustrations, one can see how few changes have been made in the manners and customs of this ancient people. Castenada wrote of the people and houses of the towns in the province of Tiguex (Tewa) as follows:

The houses are built in common. The women mix the mortar and build the walls. The men bring the wood and construct the frames. They have no lime, but they make a mixture of ashes, earth, and charcoal, which takes its place very well; for although they build their houses 4 stories high the walls are not more than 3 feet thick. The young men who are not yet married serve the public in general. They go after firewood, and pile it up in the court, or plaza, where the women go to get it for the use of their houses. They live in the estufas, which are under ground in the plazas of the villages, and of which some are square and some are round. The roofs are supported by pillars made of the trunks of pine trees. I have seen some with 12 pillars, each of 12 feet in circumference; but usually they have only 4 pillars. They are paved with large polished stones, like the baths of Europe. In the center is a fireplace, with a fire burning therein, on which they throw from time to time a handful of sage, which suffices to keep up the heat, so that one is kept as if in a bath. The roof is on a level with the ground. Some of these estufas are as large as a tennis court. When a young man marries, it is by order of the aged men who govern. He has to spin and weave a mantle; they then bring the young girl to him, he covers her shoulders with it, and she becomes his wife. The houses belong to the women and the estufas to the men. The women are forbidden to sleep in them, or even to enter them, except to bring food to their husbands or sons. The men spin and weave; the women take care of the children and cook the food. The soil is so fertile that it does not need to be worked when they sow; the snow falling covers the seed, and the corn starts underneath. The harvest of 1 year is sufficient for 7. When they begin to sow the fields are still covered with corn that has not yet been gathered. Their villages are very neat; the houses are well distributed and kept in good order; one room is devoted to cooking and another to grinding grain. The latter is apart and contains a fireplace and 3 stones set in masonry. 3 women sit down before the stones; the first breaks the grain, the second crushes it, and the third grinds it entirely to powder. In all the province glazed pottery abounded, and the vases were of really curious form and workmanship.

The town and houses of Cicuye were also described by Castenada, as follows:

The town is built in a square around a plaza in the center, in which are the estufas. The houses are 4 stories high, the roofs arranged in terraces, all of the same height, so that the people could make a tour of the whole town without having to cross a single street. To the first 2 stories there is a corridor in the form of a balcony, which also passes completely around the town, and under which is a pleasant place to sit in the shade. The houses have no doors below, but are entered by movable ladders, which reach to the balconies on the inside of the square.

Espejo, in 1582–1584, gave an interesting account of the country and pueblos, which has been translated by General W. H. H. Davis as follows:

The people were somewhat advanced toward civilization, with many manners and customs similar to those of the Aztecs. Many of the men and women wore long gowns of cotton, tastefully painted, and some had coats of cloth colored with blue and white, similar to the manner of the Chinese. They were adorned with feathers of different colors. One of the chiefs gave him [Espejo] 4,000 bolls of cotton. One of the tribes, called Jumanes, painted the face, arms, and legs in ridiculous figures. Their arms were great bows, with arrows terminating with sharp pointed stones, very hard, and wooden swords armed on both sides with sharp cutting stones, similar to the swords of the Aztecs. The latter they use with great dexterity, and could cut a man's body in two at a single blow. Their shields were covered with untanned bullhide. Some of the nations lived in houses of stone 4 stories high, and walls very thick to keep out the cold of winter. Others slept under tents during the heat of summer or lived in them all the year. There were found villages where luxury and comforts were noted. The houses were whitewashed and the walls covered with pictures. The inhabitants used rich mantles with similar pictures, and subsisted on good flesh and corn bread. Other tribes were somewhat more savage; they covered themselves with skins of animals, the product of the chase, and the flesh of the mountain bull was their principal food. Those nearest to the banks of the Del Norte, whose fields appeared well cultivated, obeyed chiefs, whose orders were announced by public criers. In the pueblos of all the Indians were seen a multitude of idols, and in each house there was a chapel dedicated to the genius of mischief. They represented, by means of pictures, the sun, moon, and stars as the principal objects of their worship. When they saw the Spanish horses for the first time they were no less astonished than the Mexicans, and were on the point of worshiping them as superior beings. They subsisted them in their most beautiful houses, and entreated them to accept the best they had. There were found in the great region abundant harvests of corn, flax similar to that of Europe, vines loaded with grapes, and beautiful forests filled with buffaloes, deer, stags, and every species of game.

H. O. Ladd, in his "History of New Mexico", 1891, wrote as follows:

The 7 cities of the province of Cibola were favorably situated in a valley. The most populous was named Macaque. Some of its houses were 6 and 7 stories high; most of them were 4 stories high, ascended by ladders from terrace to terrace. Coronado reported to Mendoza that the town from which he wrote had about 500 houses. The people wore cotton mantles, with furs and skins for winter covering, but generally went nearly naked in summer. They daily received instruction from priests selected from the aged men. The climate was variable, often cold, with occasional rain, and they provided themselves with firewood from cedars growing 12 or 15 miles distant. They had no fruit trees, but their fields bore excellent grass and maize, which they ground more finely than did the natives of Mexico. The wild beasts

of the country were bears, mountain lions, wild sheep and goats, deer, and elk of great size, whose skins the people tanned and painted for clothing and ornament, and also embroidered. They were industrious, disposed to peace, and neither given to drunkenness nor cannibalism. They buried their dead with the implements of their occupations. They were fond of music and sang in unison with those who played on flutes. Their worship, received from tradition, was mostly toward the waters, for by them their corn was made to grow, and their lives were thus preserved. Their women were well treated and were clad in tunics of cotton and mantles of finely dressed deer skins, passing over the shoulder, fastened at the neck, and falling under the other arm. Their hair behind the ear was fashioned like a wheel and resembled the handle of a cup. Turquoises hung from the ears and were used as necklaces and girdles. A man had but 1 wife and lived single after her death. Their weapons were bows, spears, stone hatchets, and shields of hides.

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THE PUEBLOS AND THEIR ARCHITECTURE.

Charles F. Lummis wrote of the pueblos and their architecture in 1892 as follows:

The characteristic architecture which the Pueblo had evolved before history has been influenced only downward by civilization. His astonishing communal house has altogether disappeared in several villages. Taos is the most striking example left of the 1-house town, and its villages, 1 on either side the rippling trout brook, are, as Coronado found them, each of a huge 6-story pyramid house. In Zuñi the 5-story pyramidal honeycomb is still potent, though clustered upon by detached blocks. Acoma, the peerless cliff-built citadel of the Quéres, is in 3 blocks of 3 terraces each. The pyramid, the block, the once still commoner rectangle, with sheer walls without and the terraces and doors facing only the safe plaza, and the invariable defensive site are eloquent witnesses to the dangers of old, when every first thought must be for safety from the crowding savage. Convenience, even to water, was a secondary consideration. Of this, Acoma is the most striking type. No other town on earth is so nobly perched. The only foreign hints of it are the Königstein, in Saxony, and (perhaps) the Gwalior, in the Deccan; and these are not so like it as are the Moqui towns, which are still far less noble than Acoma. Along the Rio Grande, however, the communal building has largely given way to separate homes of 1 or 2 stories, but larger rooms. Even here the pueblo architecture [houses of adobe] is distinguishable from the Mexican, and in artistic effect superior to it.

COMMUNAL HOUSES OF THE PUEBLOS.

There are now no purely communal houses among the Pueblos. In pre-Columbian times, or at the advent of the Spaniards, communal houses could be found. Taos, of the modern pueblos, may have been a communal town. The pueblos of Pecos or of the Chaco, it is said, could never have contained more than 2,000 persons. Types of communal houses such as these probably were may exist even now.

In "Here and There in Yucatan Miscellanies", by Alice D. Le Plongeon, 1889, reference is made to community life among the Moyas of Yucatan. In some instances this life in many features resembles the community life of the Moquis and Pueblos. In the preface the authoress says:

During a sojourn of several years in Yucatan, traveling here and there, stopping where we found interesting vestiges of the Moyas, the highly civilized ancient inhabitants of that country, we had every opportunity of mingling with the natives. Thus we became acquainted with their mode of life, religion, sacred rites, superstitions, fables, and traditions, as well as learning something of their philosophy and observing how communism is practiced among them. In a ranch called X-Uaine, near the ruined city of Zay, the inhabitants still preserve the customs of their ancestors. Not only do they work their fields in common and share equally the product of their labor, but even the food is cooked for all in one building, every family sending thither for its allowance, which is regulated according to the number of persons in each house. They even intermarry, no one dreaming of seeking a husband or wife outside of their community.

SPANISH AND MEXICAN RULE OVER THE PUEBLOS FROM 1541 TO 1846.

New Mexico was under Spanish rule from 1541 to 1680, and from 1692 to July 5, 1822, and under Mexican rule from 1822 to 1846, when it came into the possession of the United States.

It is unnecessary to repeat the list or terms of the governors of New Mexico appointed by the Spanish and Mexican authorities from 1541 to 1846. There was a large number of Spanish generals and governors up to 1821 and many Mexican governors up to 1846. All of this belongs to the history of New Mexico, and is fitly told by General W. H. H. Davis in his "Spanish Conquest of New Mexico" and "El Gringo", by Governor L. Bradford Prince in his "History of New Mexico", and by H. H. Bancroft in his "History Series". With the Spanish rule there was the establishment of missions and the usual failure of church and state government, resulting in the uprising of the Pueblos in 1680, the killing of Spaniards, and the expulsion of the priests. Spanish colonists went in large numbers to New Mexico after 1543, taking up the fertile lands along rivers and streams, making farms and raising cattle. Some of them intermarried with the natives and a mixed race followed. Others merely cohabited. This colonization continued until 1680, and of the period from 1600 to 1680, Governor Prince, in his "History of New Mexico", writes:

But as time passed and the colonists became stronger the priests resorted to other means than pious example and persuasion to bring converts to the christian faith. Men whose zeal far outran their discretion took part in the work, and the spirit of persecution then dominant in Europe began to exert its baneful influence among the peaceful and kind hearted natives of New Mexico. Many of these were naturally attached to the religion of their fathers, in which generation after generation of the people had been educated, and which had become almost a part of their nature. They were evidently a religious people, as Espejo found images and altars in almost every house. The estufas were the scenes of their more public ceremonies and special intercourse with the Higher Power. Religious rites were of frequent observance among them, and the "Cachina", their favorite dance, had a connection with supernatural things. The great object of their worship undoubtedly was the sun, and around it, according to their crude and superstitious creed, were various lesser powers, which ruled over special subjects and were the objects of a kind of adoration, and certainly of fear; but while far from the truth, their religion was intended to make them better and nobler, and did not call for human sacrifices or the perpetration of any kind of outrage or cruelty. When christianity was

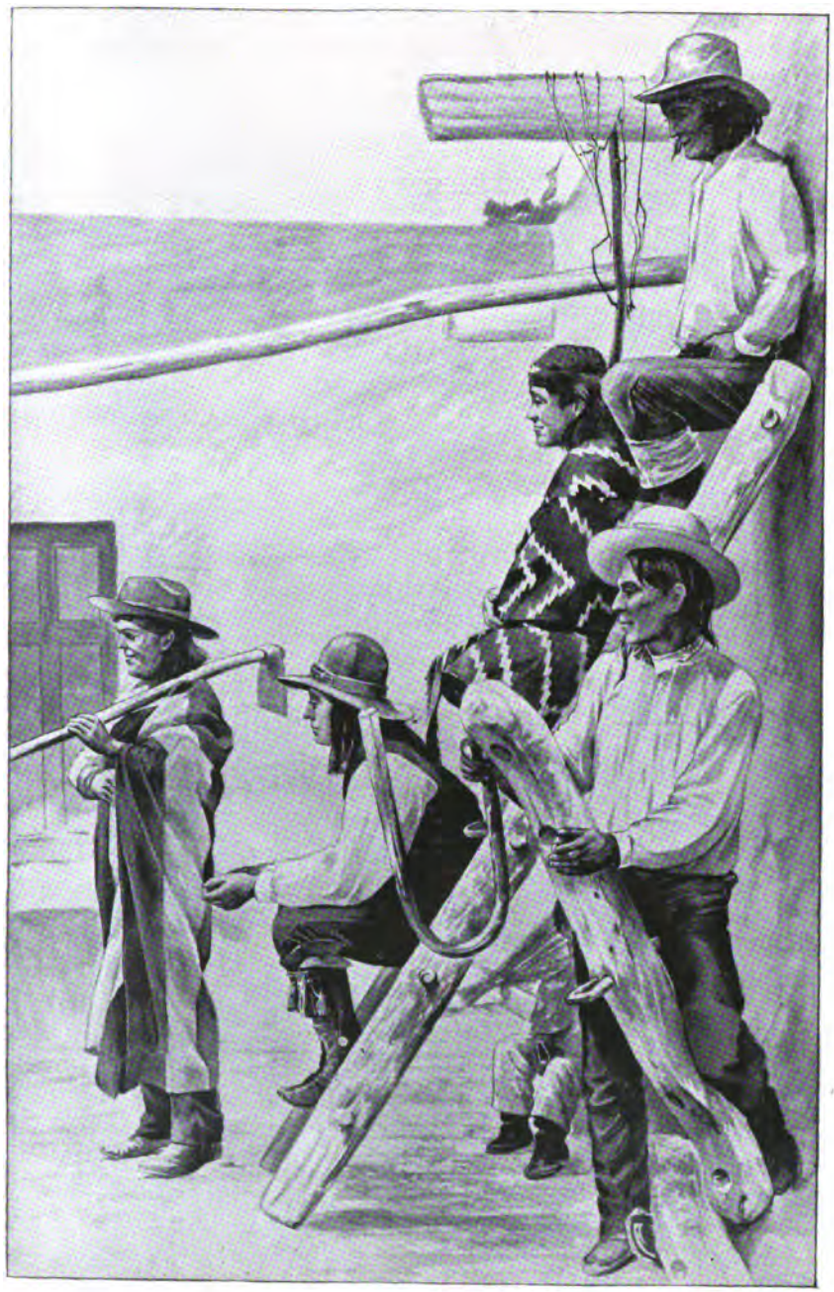
introduced as a religion of benevolence and of blessing, as by Cabeza de Vaca, who taught a few of the essentials of the faith, ministered to the sick, and blessed the skins brought by the people among whom he sojourned; or by the first friars, who sought by good counsel and holy lives to conciliate and win the hearts of the natives, it gained their affection as well as their respect; but afterward the "zeal without knowledge" of the ecclesiastical rulers led to unfortunate results. They endeavored to convert by force instead of by love and persuasion. The ancient rites were prohibited under severe penalties, the old images were torn down, sacred places destroyed, estufas closed, and the "Cachina" and all semireligious ceremonies and festivities forbidden. They were compelled to an outward compliance with the rules and participation in the rites of the Roman church. They had to attend its services, to submit to baptism, to support its priests, and subject themselves to its authority whether they really understood and believed its teaching or not. The Inquisition was introduced and soon became the dominant power in the territory, forcing even the highest civil officers to do its bidding, or subjecting them to removal, disgrace, and punishment if they dared to exercise independence in their action or attempted to interfere with the arbitrary and often cruel edicts of its imperious representatives. A conspicuous instance of this is found in the removal of 2 successive governors (Mendizaval and Penalosa) by its influence in 1660 and 1664. The Spaniards who came at first as friends and were eager to have the good will and assistance of the intelligent natives soon began to claim superiority and to insist on the performance of services which originally were mere evidences of hospitality and kindness. Little by little they assumed greater power and control over the Indians, until in the course of years they had subjected a large portion of them to servitude little differing from actual slavery. The Spanish courts assumed jurisdiction over the whole territory and imposed severe punishment on the Indians for the violation of any of their laws, civil or ecclesiastical, introducing an entirely new criminal system, unknown and certainly undesired by the natives. For slight infractions of edicts, of which they were often ignorant, men and women were whipped or condemned to be sold into slavery; the latter punishment being encouraged, because it provided the labor of which the Spaniards stood in need. The introduction of mining and its rapid extension all over the territory aggravated their hardships, for the labor, which was exceedingly dangerous as well as toilsome, was performed almost entirely by Indians forced to work under the direction of unfeeling taskmasters. Under all these circumstances the kind hearted and peace loving Pueblos, who had lived for generations an easy life of independence and happiness, until the coming of these strangers from the south, naturally changed in their feelings from welcome and hospitality to an intense hatred and a determination to repel the intruders whenever an opportunity should present itself. It was not to be supposed that the stronger communities, populous and well governed, should succumb without a struggle to the tyranny of the newcomers.

The middle of the seventeenth century was filled with a succession of conflicts and revolts arising from these circumstances. Many of these were local and swiftly suppressed, frequently being betrayed before really commenced and requiring no particular notice here. In 1640 a special exercise of religious persecution in the whipping, imprisonment, and hanging of 40 natives, because they would not be converted from their old faith, aroused the Indians to revolt; but only to be reduced to more complete subjection. Very shortly afterward the Jemez nation took up arms and obtained the promise of assistance from their old enemies, the Apaches, but were unsuccessful; and the Spanish governor, General Arguello, punished them by the imprisonment of 29 of their leading chiefs. A more important attempt was made in 1650, when the whole Tegua nation, including the pueblos of Jemez, Cochiti, San Felipe, Sandia, Alameda, and Isleta, united in a project to kill or drive away the entire Spanish population, especially the priests; the Apaches being also implicated, as the new danger of foreign domination seemed to heal for the time the old enmity between the industrious inhabitants of the pueblos and the nomadic tribes which had been accustomed to subsist on the stolen products of their labors. The plan was to make a simultaneous attack on the Spanish settlements on the evening of Holy Thursday; and the people would have been successful, but for its untimely discovery and the energetic measures of Governor Concha, who arrested and imprisoned the leaders, of whom 9 were subsequently hung and the remainder sold into slavery. While General Villanueva was governor the Piros rose and killed a number of Spaniards, but were in turn overpowered, and soon after the Pueblos of the Salt Lake country in the southeast, under Estevan Clemente, their governor, organized a general revolt, which, however, was discovered in advance and its execution prevented. These unsuccessful attempts, however, taught the Indians that the only hope of success was in united action by all of the native nations, and preparations for this were quietly discussed and arranged through a considerable series of years, at the time of the annual festivals, when the people of the different pueblos were brought together. Once it seemed as if the time for the rising had come, the people of Taos taking the lead in the work, but through the refusal of the distant Moqui Indians to unite in the revolt it was for a time abandoned. The Spaniards, however, were kept in a condition of constant fear, as it was impossible to know at what time a formidable rising and general massacre might take place.

The bitter feeling of the natives was heightened by a singular transaction in 1675. According to the superstitious ideas of the day, Friar Andres Duran, superior of the great Franciscan monastery at San Yldefonso, together with some of his relations, believed themselves to be bewitched and accused the Tegua nation of being guilty of causing the affliction. Such an attack by the emissaries of satan on the very head of the missionary organization of the territory was a serious matter, and the governor, Don Juan Francisco Frecencio, organized a special tribunal, consisting of Francisco Javier, the civil and military secretary, and Luis de Quintana as judges, with Diego Lopez as interpreter, to investigate the charge. The result was the conviction of 47 Indians, of whom 43 were whipped and enslaved and the remainder hung, the executions being distributed between Jemez, Nambe, and San Felipe in order to be a warning to future wrongdoers. This action naturally incensed the Teguas to the highest degree. 70 of them led by Pope, a San Juan Indian, who had begun to be prominent for his enterprise and wisdom, marched to Santa Fe to endeavor to ransom the prisoners, and a conspiracy was formed to assassinate the governor, but nothing was accomplished at the time. Meanwhile the cruelty of the slavery in the mines increased, the religious persecution continued, and everything united to drive the natives into the great revolt which occurred in 1680.

The revolution of 1680 extended to and involved the Moqui Pueblos. The missions were destroyed, friars and priests were killed, the Spaniards were expelled, and the Pueblo Indians again possessed their country. The Pueblo government lasted from 1680 to 1692. During this time the obliteration of every trace of Spanish and church rule was attempted. Altars, vestments, images, official documents, and books were destroyed. Santa Fe became the center, and there the Indians assembled, and with processions and shouts destroyed everything that had belonged to the hated Spaniards. Indians who had been baptized were washed and scrubbed with amolí in the streams. Estufas were erected on the sites of the churches and monasteries of the Franciscans. The Pueblo government became a model for the surrounding tribes and an example for internal dissensions. Pope, the Indian who had been a leading spirit in the revolt of 1680, was the principal man in the Pueblo government.

In 1692 the viceroy of New Spain intrusted the reconquest of New Mexico to Governor Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan, a man of positive character and ability. His energy was phenomenal. He moved with rapidity, and



Pueblo Farmers.



Indians playing Pa-toi.

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New York Engraving & Printing Co.

Illustrations of Pueblo Indian Life, New Mexico.

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astonished the Indians with the quick succession of his assaults. By 1694 Spanish authority was fully restored and remained until succeeded by that of Mexico, which lasted from July 5, 1822, to August 18, 1846.

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PUEBLOS BECOME PART OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1846.

As soon as possible after the capture of New Mexico by the United States army under General S. W. Kearny in August, 1846, the civil department of the government sent several agents to New Mexico to report upon the country, its people, and resources, and after August 19, 1846, the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico appear in the records of the United States. The valuable reports of the special agents, J. L. Collins, John Ward, and others, can be found in the reports of the Interior Department since 1846.

The land titles of the Pueblos were brought to the attention of the nation by Rev. Samuel Gorman, one of several missionaries early in the field among the Pueblos.

REPORT ON LAGUNA AND THE PUEBLOS OF NEW MEXICO, 1858.

Rev. Samuel Gorman, a Baptist clergyman and missionary to the Pueblos in 1858, on October 2 of that year made a report to J. L. Collins, superintendent of Indian affairs at Santa Fe, on the condition of the Pueblos, which contained a great deal of information. It is given in full for a comparison with the reports of the special agents of the Eleventh Census, 33 years afterward:

In compliance with your request, I write you in respect to the condition and wants of the Pueblo Indians, and what seems to us to be the best method of meeting and supplying those wants on the part of our government.

In their domestic relation they are communities that hold their land grants, and church property, and old town houses, which were erected under the Spanish government for the civil magistrates, in common.

All other property is individual. All cultivated lands, all dwellings, and all kinds of personal property are held and owned by individuals, and are bought, sold, and used by the proper owners, just as among other people.

Any person of the community can take possession of and cultivate any of the common lands not previously occupied or cultivated by others; and after he once cultivates it, it belongs to him, and descends to his heirs as individual property.

All acequias, or water courses, for irrigating their lands are worked by the communities, who are called out to do the work by the officers of their respective pueblos when the work is needed; and in the same way do they perform all work that pertains to the community as a whole; but every person has to attend to his own individual labor and private concerns. Their stock of every kind is kept and herded by the respective owners, sometimes singly and sometimes in companies. The herd of horses is generally kept by persons chosen by the war captains, who guard them a week at a time. Having no fences, it is necessary for all owners of stock to guard their stock.

Their civil officers are elected about the first of each year, for 12 months, by the voice of the people of the communities in council general assembled; and they are generally chosen without regard to wealth or other outward circumstances.

Their officers are a governor and 2 assistants, a fiscal mayor, or associate officer with the governor and his 2 assistants, the war captain and his 2 associates in office, and the cacique or head chief. This last officer only is elected for life. He is chiefly engaged in matters pertaining to their ancient Indian religion, but often has a controlling voice in civil affairs.

In their judicial councils all of these officers sometimes participate, but generally the governor and fiscal mayor and their assistants only participate in common civil cases.

The right of inheritance is held by the females generally, but it is often claimed by the men also. Not having any written laws, the will of the officers is the only rule of their courts.

The Pueblo Indians have 2 religions: their ancient one, in which they worship the sun, moon, and stars, fires, rivers, etc. This religion is interwoven with and exercises a controlling power over all thoughts and actions with few exceptions.

The people are required by their officers to perform the rites and ceremonies of this religious system in connection with almost every act of life, and even for the dead long after they have blended with their "mother earth". A great deal of time and strength are wasted by the whole people in these customs; and not only by official power but by that deeply seated attachment and zeal for this religion the people are strongly induced to resist all attempts to enlighten and improve them. Attempts of this kind, which we have made most industriously for the last 6 years, have been looked upon with a jealous eye. They say that if they become educated they fear their people will forsake their ancient customs, to which they can not consent.

At the conquest of these Indians by the Spaniards they were compelled to receive the Roman Catholic religion, in the observance of which they were kept by the force of civil, military, and ecclesiastical power by the Spanish and Mexican governments up to the cession of the territory to our government; and even up to the present the civil officers use all their authority to compel the people to attend the services in the Roman Catholic church. On Saturday and Sabbath of every week and on feast days the officers go about the town, even to the third story of their houses at times, and drive the people, with commands, threats, and even blows, to the Roman Catholic church, and sometimes chastise them at the church for former delinquencies. We have seen 40 thus whipped in a single hour for this cause alone; and these measures are required at the hands of the officers by the Roman clergy. They tell the Indians that no power can control the Pueblo authorities, and that the officers must keep the people in the Roman church and not let them hear any other preachers, nor even let them preach in their towns or teach their children in schools. Thus have we been annoyed for 6 years in our efforts to get up a school in Laguna, where we have established a mission station; but with all these hindrances we have collected a small congregation, have a church edifice dedicated to the worship of God, and a hall for daily instruction; and we have a native Indian teacher and preacher who is a strong advocate for christianity and the institutions of our government. His law book and Bible lie side by side on his little table.

Beside the religious oppression exercised by the officers of this people, they often use other kinds also. People are whipped by them often for selling their own private property. They will sometimes compel old men to divide their property among their children before they can do without it for their own support; but to remedy these evils and to promote the prosperity of this interesting people we suggest the following measures, viz:

That the general government establish a central school of this character, agricultural, mechanical, and literary; that said school be entirely under the control of an executive board appointed by the department; that they select a suitable spot away from any Indian pueblo, suitable buildings being erected, and teachers secured in each department. Then let the agent of the Pueblos be empowered to require of each

Pueblo to select, say, 6 promising, healthy, active boys, and send them to the school and keep them there, subject to their teachers and the executive board, till the prescribed course be completed, and they be fully qualified to pursue one or the other of the branches of industry taught in the school; and that when the Pueblos shall have been thus qualified for such a change our government be established in all these communities; for, by our long and intimate acquaintance with this people, mingling with them in their councils and customs, we are fully satisfied that, with their present form of government and under their present circumstances, centuries might roll away, and the posterity of this people would remain essentially the same ignorant, superstitious people that they now are. * * *

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REPORT ON THE 19 PUEBLOS OF NEW MEXICO.

The report on the 19 pueblos of New Mexico to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, June 30, 1864, by United States Indian Agent John Ward, after taking the census, is as follows:

Much has been written and a great deal more said about the Pueblo Indians, their origin, customs, religion, etc., a great portion of which is mere speculation. The Indians have few memorials, if any, to which they can refer for information, while their traditions, from all that can be learned, are rather limited; besides, they have a very imperfect knowledge of time, distance, or numbers, which renders them incapable of giving correct information in regard to important particulars relative to their history. Notwithstanding all this, however, the Pueblos (or village Indians) are certainly an interesting people. The different dialects spoken by them and the many ruins of ancient pueblos found scattered through the various parts of the country are evidences that the present race is the fragment of once numerous and powerful tribes and confederations. Another interesting fact is, that although speaking different dialects and often located many miles from each other, their habits and customs are so similar as to be hardly distinguishable. Even their governments and the mode of conducting local affairs are nearly the same throughout.

These and many other peculiarities offer an ample field for research, but as I consider a task of this kind more adapted to the researches of the antiquary than to those of an Indian agent, I will simply present such facts as have come under my personal observation, together with the information I have been able to obtain from the Indians themselves. These you will find set forth under respective heads, so as to better explain the tabular return.

NUMBER OF FAMILIES.

The numbers given in the table are generally correct, as the information by the Indians was given with much apparent care. The only thing about which any doubt can be felt is in regard to the number of males and females under 18 and 16 years, for very few among them know anything of their age. These remarks are applicable also to persons of 70 years and over, who compute time by the recollection of some great event to them, such as an eclipse of the sun, or a long and bloody war between 2 wild tribes, or when the stars fell; the last having reference to the meteoric shower of 1833. One of the most singular modes of describing age was that of an old resident, who stated that at the time of los virulos bravas (malignant smallpox) ya habia dormiedo con una muchacha muy boneta. The time of the smallpox alluded to by this old chronologist was 1800, and that of the eclipse of the sun, referred to by many, in 1806. Thus you will perceive the impossibility of getting correct information on subjects relating to times and dates; all of which your own experience confirms.

BLIND.

It will be perceived by reference to the returns that the number of blind is rather large, particularly in Santa Domingo and Santa Ana. Several cases resulted from smallpox. This disease, as you are aware, is one of the peculiar enemies of the Indian, and his mode of treatment (if treatment it can be called) leads generally to fatal results.

EDUCATION.

Several of the pueblos have not a solitary person capable of reading or writing; while, among the few to be found in others, the greater number can only read printed matter. Those who can decipher manuscript and form letters are very limited indeed and most of them far advanced in years. It could not be otherwise. Not a single place properly entitled to the name of school is to be found among the Pueblos nor a teacher of any capacity whatever. This matter seems to be entirely overlooked, and the Indians are left to do the best in their power toward the education of their children. The subject has been brought to the notice of the government more than once by officers of the department without eliciting the attention it so much demands. It is therefore respectfully suggested that the propriety of presenting the case fully and forcibly before the department is a matter of the greatest interest and importance. No Indians within the jurisdiction of the United States are better entitled to a favor of the kind than the Pueblos. While thousands of dollars are annually expended in other superintendencies for educational purposes, it can be safely said that not one single dollar has been expended in this since our government took possession of the country, now a period of 18 years. This evidently shows either a great neglect on the part of officials or that the Indians are not worthy of the favor. With proper and judicious management a few schools might easily be established among the Pueblos at comparatively very little or no trouble or expense. This would not only prove a great blessing but show the Indians that government actually has an interest in their welfare. Thus far in regard to education all has been mere promise. No promise of any kind should be made unless the performance quickly follows, for the reason that every failure serves to weaken confidence in the officers and lessen faith in the ability and power of the government.

INCREASE OR DECREASE.

You will perceive by reference to the return that the greater number of the Pueblos are evidently on the increase, or at least that the year 1863 has proved very prolific. Notwithstanding this, however, from all that can be learned and from many years of almost daily intercourse with these people, I am fully convinced that in the aggregate the pueblo population of New Mexico is gradually but surely decreasing. I regret very much my inability to give any particular reason or satisfactory cause for this decrease, but the past 15 years sustain this statement beyond the possibility of a doubt.(a)

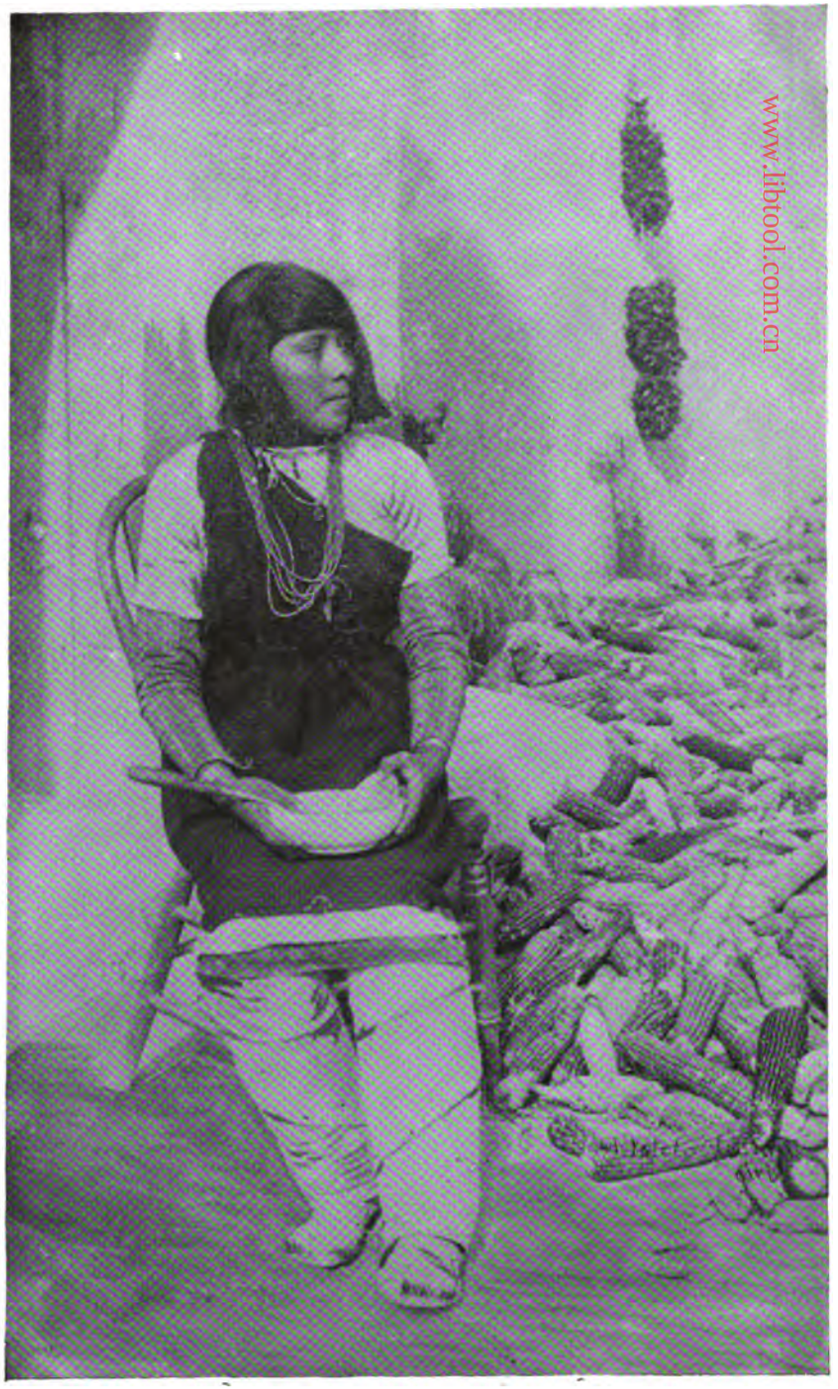
CHIEFS OR OFFICERS.

The tabular statement shows that the number of headmen in one pueblo bears no proportion to the inhabitants of another. For instance, Taos, with a population of 361, returns 16 officers, while Jemes, with 346, returns only 7. This discrepancy arises in this way: some of the towns include all minor officers, of which there are more or less, and others only such as can properly be denominated principal officers. The latter in reality transact all business of importance, and consist of the cacique, governor, and lieutenant governor, war captain, and his lieutenant, fiscal major, and aguacil, and these have their subordinates or assistants. To the principal headmen is confided the management of the internal affairs of the pueblo. Each pueblo has a separate organized government of its own, but all are nearly the same,

a The superintendent of Indian affairs of New Mexico says: "The cause undoubtedly is that they seldom marry out of the pueblo, and, consequently, are compelled to marry relatives".



On the roofs of Pueblo of Zuni.



Pueblos Girl, Pueblo of Isleta, New Mexico. In the Corn Bin.

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as most of them adhere to ancient customs and laws. The war captain has generally the management of all campaigns made against the enemy and everything also pertaining thereto. He has also the charge of the haballada (horse herd), sees to the selection of the herders and the changing of the same when necessary. This duty in most pueblos is performed in common, and whether a person has 1 animal or 10 it is the same; he has to serve or furnish a substitute. The herd is usually brought in once a week, at which time the herders are relieved, the number being in proportion to the size of the herd. The war captain and his assistants take their turn, each having charge of his respective party. During the severe months of winter, when the grazing is not good, each individual takes charge of his own animals and keeps them the best way he can. The fiscal major and his subordinates have charge of church matters. They see to all repairs of the edifice and attend to the various other duties pertaining thereto. These officers in most of the pueblos are elected annually by the cacique and headmen. This is the general rule; indeed the principal men, generally old and experienced, are the lawmakers. The cacique is elected by this class and holds his office during lifetime. He is usually selected for his capacity and good qualities. Nothing of importance is done without his knowledge and consent. He presides over the councils, and his decisions are almost invariably adhered to. He is usually much respected, and his influence is great among his people. Many persons are of the opinion that this office is not hereditary, but I have been otherwise informed. Neither wealth nor age seems to be particularly requisite in this election, but, as a general rule, men well advanced in years are chosen from the family next in rank.

The cacique evidently has more to do with the administration of ancient rites than with any other business. The high regard, mingled with respect and affection, which is invariably shown him places him more in the position of an elder than any other we can think of.

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WARRIORS.

Of this class we include those who are able to undergo the fatigue of a campaign and who can make aggressive or defensive movements against an enemy. Some pueblos include lads of 16 and 17 years and men of 50 and over, provided they are healthy, active, good walkers, fast runners, and can handle the bow and arrow well. These are the main requisites. Boys not over 16 frequently accompany expeditions for the recovery of property stolen by the enemy. This fact accounts for the number of warriors sometimes being about equal to the adults, as shown in the tabular abstract.

The Pueblos are not well supplied with firearms. They place their main reliance on the bow and arrow. This weapon is always ready and handy, far less expensive than any other, and is easily made and repaired. It will be proper here to remark that some of the Pueblos were less willing to impart information about the number of their warriors than others, which I traced to the many rumors afloat in regard to drafting. These simple people understood from some source or other that the object in taking the enumeration was to ascertain how many the government could obtain for the army. This was the case with the Pueblos of Santa Domingo and Isletabuh. Before leaving these towns several persons who placed less credit in such rumors furnished the desired statement. In connection with this I may observe that the same mistrust or want of confidence seems to exist in regard to the amount of property. This was so evident in the 2 pueblos named that it was thought advisable not to trouble them to any extent in the matter; hence no return is made under this head. The lack of confidence thus exhibited among a few of the Indians is not to be wondered at. It is entirely attributable to various reports afloat relative to our difficulties at home, the French invasion of Mexico, the number of men to be raised in the territory, los pensiones (taxation), and the like, about which they know little or nothing; but, go where you may, these seem to be the only topics of the day. The 2 pueblos in question are decidedly the most prosperous on the banks of the Rio Grande, and in respect to property they are better off than any other within the superintendency.

DIALECT.

There are 5 dialects spoken by the 19 pueblos properly belonging to this department, namely: 1st, Taos, Picuris, Sandia, and Isleta; 2d, San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Mambe, Pozuaque, and Tesuque; 3d, Cochity, Santa Domingo, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Zia, Laguna, and Aconia; 4th and 5th, Jemes and Zuñi.

These dialects are so distinct that the Spanish language, which most of the Pueblos speak and understand sufficiently well for the purpose, has to be resorted to as a common medium of communication. Some of the Indians state that although Taos, Picuris, Sandia, and Isleta speak the same language, there is a good deal of difference in many of the words between the first and the last 2 pueblos, and that this results from their location, the former being the most northern in the territory and the latter the most southern, at a distance of about 140 miles from each other; but this has evidently little or nothing to do with the difference of idiom, particularly when we take into consideration the fact that 1 of the 7 Moqui pueblos use the dialect common to those included in the same class with San Juan, which is located due west at a distance of at least 300 miles and seldom visit each other more than once a year, and therefore have but little communication.

The same may be said of Pecos and Jemes. The first, the most eastern, spoke while in existence the same tongue as Jemes, a western town, distant about 80 miles. The few families of Pecos still remaining are now residing at Jemes, and they consider themselves one and the same people.

These dialects have their proper names, but so much confusion is observed in pronunciation and construction that it is impossible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion. The only reliable, genuine name ascertained is that of the dialect spoken by San Juan, Santa Clara, and others included in that class, which is the Tegua, pronounced Té-wa.

RELIGION.

The Pueblos are all nominally Roman Catholics, and, as far as can be discerned, appear to be sincere and earnestly devoted to the rites of that church. Each town has its church edifice, which is held in high respect. The people esteem and obey their priests. They generally marry, baptize, and bury according to the rules of that sect. The holy days are generally attended to. Each has its patron saint, whose name the pueblo bears (with few exceptions) and whose anniversary is never neglected. On that day a great feast takes place, and after the ceremonies pertaining to the church are over, which occupy the first part of the day, amusements of all kinds are universally resorted to; such as foot racing, horse racing, cock fighting, gambling, dancing, eating, and drinking, with the usual accompaniments. On such occasions liberality is an especial virtue, and no pains are spared to make everybody welcome. Some of the pueblos are noted for these feasts, and great numbers from distant parts of the country flock hither to enjoy the amusements and share their hospitalities.

The Catholic missionaries have done good service in civilizing these Indians. They appear to possess the necessary patience and industry for such a work. The imposing rites and ceremonies of the church, in our opinion, have also something to do in the matter, as they are more apt to attract the curiosity of the Indian, fix his attention, and produce impressions than mere appeals to his reason.

Independent of the foregoing, however, there is every reason to believe that the Pueblos still adhere to their native belief and ancient rites. That most of them have faith in Montezuma is beyond a doubt, but in what light it is difficult to say, as they seldom or never speak of him, and avoid conversations on the subject. Like other people, they do not like to be questioned on subjects which they believe to concern no one but themselves. It is stated by some that the Montezuma of the Pueblo Indians is not the Montezuma of the conquest, but an agent of the Spanish government, chosen to protect the rights and interests of the Pueblos. Be this as it may, one thing is certain, that this view

of the subject differs entirely from that of the Indians. They believe to this day that Montezuma originated in New Mexico, and some go so far as to designate his birthplace. In this they differ, however, some affirming that he was born at the old pueblo of Pecos, and others that his birthplace was an old pueblo located near Ojo Caliente, the ruins of which are still to be seen. It is supposed, too, that Montezuma was not the original name of this demigod, but one bestowed on him after he had proved the divinity of his mission. A document is now extant, purporting to be copied from one of the legends at the capitol of Mexico, in which it is stated that Montezuma was born in Tognayo, one of the ancient pueblos of New Mexico, in the year 1538. This account makes him out more of a prophet than anything else. He foretold events that actually came to pass, and performed many wonderful things. He is also expected to come again, but when or where we are not informed. It is rather an amusing narrative, but the Indians esteem it highly. If a translation can be obtained in time, I will annex it to this report.

As the estufas of the pueblos are not altogether without a share of interest, being blended with the native belief, it is proper to make a few remarks respecting them. From the best information, it appears that previous to the establishment of churches among the people, the estufas were their churches or places in which most, if not all, ceremonials were performed. It is probable that to this day the edifices may be used for such purposes. The mystery which many persons seem to attach to these estufas can easily be solved by comparing them with the various uses to which, in this territory, and, indeed, in other portions of the country, a courthouse may be applied. On one day, in any one of these buildings, a criminal trial involving life occupies the public attention. The ensuing night a political meeting is held, followed successively, during the term of court, by concerts and other performances. The estufa has always been, and still is, respected by the Indians. Grave and serious councils are generally held in them, while at other times hilarity resounds through the sacred walls. Beyond this, there is nothing of mystery that we are aware of. At the old pueblo of Pecos, without a doubt, a fire was kept constantly burning, attended by a person annually selected for this purpose. This fire, as far as can be ascertained, was not worshipped by the Pecos or any other Indians. Some say that Montezuma ordered expressly that the fire should not be extinguished, but the general reason given for preserving the flame is simply this: "It was one of the customs". The story of the "big serpent" kept at Pecos for the object of human sacrifices is all a myth, with many other marvelous and ludicrous matters to be heard among the lower classes.

AGRICULTURAL.

The principal and most important crops raised by the Pueblos are corn and wheat. It is almost impossible to arrive at anything like a correct estimate of the quantity. The utmost these farmers can do is to tell the number of carrita (cart) loads which they have gathered from the field, and carritas being, as you are aware, of different dimensions and quite a variety of shapes. No one ever thinks about measuring his crops; but taking one year with another, the Pueblos, besides raising enough for their subsistence, usually have sufficient surplus with which to procure other necessary articles. Of course, allowance must be made for favorable and unfavorable seasons and locations. The towns on the banks of the Rio Grande are the most prosperous, evidently on account of the great advantage they possess of good supplies of water for irrigation. They possess, too, the best land in the territory.

The communities which seem to fare the worst are those located on the banks of small streams, the waters of which are apt to diminish before the crops are sufficiently advanced, and who, being surrounded, as they mostly are, by other people who appropriate an undue proportion of water, a scanty supply is only left to the Indians when irrigation is most needed. Besides, of late years, encroachments have been made on these grants by outsiders, so that not more perhaps than a moiety is now tilled by the original proprietors. In many instances individuals are to be found who do not possess land enough to support themselves, much less their families. This subject demands the special attention of the department.

The Pueblos also raise frijoles and habas (2 kinds of beans), pumpkins, peas, onions, green and red pepper, muskmelons and watermelons, plums, apricots, peaches, apples, and grapes. Of the last 3 articles large quantities are grown, particularly in the towns south of Santa Fe, and which are found in every market all over the country. These natives are manufacturers as well as agriculturists. Their pottery, hair sieves, and chiquihuites (a kind of basket) are in demand, and readily sell among the citizens. Their trade extends to other Indians, particularly the Camanches, with whom they usually barter for buffalo robes and dried meat, horses and mules. The best horses they usually procure from the Navajos, when this tribe is at peace.

Some of these towns are apparently improving in appearance, while others are in a ruinous condition. This is more particularly the case with Picuris, Pozuaque, Nambe, Cochity, and Zia.

From the peculiar construction of the villages it is not easy to give a correct estimate of the number of tenements. Taos, as an instance, consists of 2 large clusters of houses or quarters, thrown up in a confused mass, with little or no regard to shape, size, or regularity.

The entrance to most of the pueblo houses is gained by a ladder reaching to the roof, from whence admission is effected by a kind of scuttle hole to the interior. Each room, however large, seldom has more than 2 small windows, for which small pieces of isinglass are used instead of glass. The supply of light is limited, of course, and a gloomy appearance pervades the apartment; still, the rooms are warm and comfortable in winter. This mode of entrance was evidently adopted for defense and protection.

The Pueblo Indians, as a community, it can be safely said, are industrious, honest, obedient, and orderly, seldom or never interfering with or molesting any person; yet they should not be neglected.

I have in previous reports recommended the establishment of schools and a few mechanical shops for the benefit of these people, and here allow me again to call your attention to the same, and to request your earnest appeal to the department on the subject. * * * *

Since Mr. Ward's report in 1864 there have been scores of reports on the Pueblos of New Mexico by Indian agents, authors, and travelers, which can be found in current literature; but the essential details are given in the reports of Rev. Mr. Gorman and Mr. Ward.

REPORTS OF UNITED STATES INDIAN AGENTS FOR THE PUEBLOS, 1846 TO 1891.

The reports of the United States Indian agents for the Pueblos of New Mexico from 1846 to 1891 contain much interesting data. The report of one agent, Mr. Pedro Sanchez, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1883, on the Pueblo Indians of the 19 pueblos is given literally, as follows:

PUEBLO INDIAN AGENCY, SANTA FE, August 8, 1883.

SIR:

I have the honor to submit for your consideration my first annual report for the A. D. 1883, which is as follows:

The pueblo of Zuñi is in good health. Its crops are very promising; has a very good stock of sheep, cows, horses, goats, and donkeys; works wool, and its crops depend on rain. It is unclean and superstitious, but inclined to learn.

The pueblo of Acoma is in good health. Its crops are not very good on account of drought; owns a good number of sheep, cows, horses and donkeys. It is industrious, works wool for its clothing, improves in its habits, and is disposed to learn.

The pueblo of Laguna is well. Has good crops; owns quite a number of all sorts of animals, which it cares for with careful attention. Its habits seem to improve, and it welcomes education.

The pueblo of Isleta is well. Its crops, under the immediate irrigation of the Rio Grande, grow abundantly. It raises corn, wheat, beans, peas, oats, beautiful grapes, apples, peaches, etc. It has a considerable number of animals, the fruit of its industry. It is improving its habits, and highly appreciates education.

The pueblo of Sandia owns very good lands along the shores of the Rio Grande; raises fruit and grain enough to live. It has some animals. It does not show any noticeable sign of improvement, but, on the contrary, is of a fanatic disposition. It is in good health.

The pueblo of Santa Ana has very good crops bordering on the Rio Grande; raises many kinds of fruits, grain; grows horses, cattle, sheep, goats, and donkeys, and works wool. It is superstitious and ignorant, but promises to learn. The smallpox was there, but has utterly disappeared already.

The pueblo of Zia plants little. It enjoys good health, and has a considerable number of animals. It is superstitious and unclean, but promises to learn.

The pueblo of Jemes owns a rich soil and has very abundant crops of all kinds. It possesses a good stock of animals, and is well. Its habits are antiquated, superstitious, immoral, and ignorant; it is disobedient and lazy.

The pueblo of San Felipe raises grain and many sorts of fruits, enjoys perfect health, and owns some animals. It is habitually superstitious, but wants to learn.

The pueblo of Santo Domingo is a large one, having extensive and beautiful lands, and a great number of animals. It raises an abundance of grain, is in good health, and its habits are filthy, fanatic, and immoral. It is slow about education.

The pueblo of Cochiti raises a great deal of all sorts of grain; works pottery; has good herds of horses and donkeys. It is filthy and immoral, but favors education.

The pueblo of San Ildefonso is a very small one; most of its lands are owned by the whites, who have obtained them by purchase. It has draught animals, raises enough for its living, is obedient, and wishes to learn. The smallpox has killed about 30 of its little ones lately.

The pueblo of Pojoaque is almost extinct. Its best lands have been sold to the whites and the few remaining Indians hardly live. They are well.

The pueblo of Nambe owns good lands and is well. It is lazy, antiquated, and superstitious. It scarcely lives, but seems to favor education.

The pueblo of San Juan is a large one, has good lands, grows horses, donkeys, and a few cattle. It works pottery for sale. The smallpox has found its way to this pueblo and made victims of all those whose parents did not believe in vaccination, on account of their stale superstitions. It is very disobedient, abides by its old habits, and wants to keep them.

The pueblo of Picuris is small, and the greater part of its lands has been sold to the whites. It has very few animals and its habits are filthy, vicious, and retrograded. It is not inclined to learn.

The pueblo of Taos owns a beautiful tract of land on the lap of the Sierra Madre and at the gap of the Cañon of Taos river. The smallpox is there now, and has wrought a great havoc. These Indians are superstitious, fanatic, and vicious, being yet in their old darkness, and go more on their estufas (secret chambers) than on education, but some inclination, however, can be seen in them for education.

The pueblo of Tesuque is small and its soil very dry; raises very little; owns some cows, horses, and donkeys. Its habits are antiquated and cares not for morality.

The pueblo of Santa Clara is very poor, fighting always among itself, and its habits are unclean and superstitious. In its disposition, bad and lazy.

There are 3 schools under my care: 1 at Zuñi, 1 at Laguna, and 1 at Jemes. These are supported by the government partly, and partly by the Presbyterian church. The teachers at these schools have to struggle with the laziness and little application of the Indians; progress, however, is there visible.

I would wish to have been more concise in this report, but could not, as I had to refer to every pueblo, ever so slightly. From the time I took charge of this agency I have visited the pueblos, spoken to the Indians of each, respectively, and had the opportunity of making them understand the necessity of a change of life. I have patiently noticed their actual condition, habits, and disposition, and I would consider myself happy, if, with the aid of Providence and the government, I could see these Indians respect the moral law and social order, as well as make them understand the love and fidelity that each husband ought to have for his wife, and vice versa; the duty of parents to bring up and care for their children properly, and, above all, to appreciate and care for the virtue of their maidens.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

PEDRO SANCHEZ, United States Indian Agent.

THE PUEBLO INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO AND THEIR CUSTOMS, 1892.

Whatever changes have been made in the daily life, manners, and customs of the Pueblos are shown in the reports of the special agents, but change is the exception with these people. Reading the descriptions contained in the preceding chapters for 30, 50, or 300 years ago, one finds the Pueblos in many details now about as then. Marriages are performed in some of the pueblos after courtship and are celebrated by a priest when there is one at hand, but the old ceremonies of the Pueblo faith are also performed, either before or after the marriage by the priest. H. H. Bancroft, in his works (volume I, pages 548, 549, 1889), writes of marriage and other customs among the Pueblos as follows:

Among the Pueblos the usual order of courtship is reversed. When a girl is disposed to marry she does not wait for a young man to propose to her, but selects one to her own liking and consults her father, who visits the parents of the youth and acquaints them with his daughter's wishes. It seldom happens that any objections to the match are made, but it is imperative on the father of the bridegroom to reimburse the parents of the maiden for the loss of their daughter. This is done by an offer of presents in accordance with his rank and wealth. The inhabitants of one village seldom marry with those of another, and, as a consequence, intermarriage is frequent among these families: a fertile cause of their deterioration. The marriage is always celebrated by a feast, the provisions for which are furnished by the bride, and the assembled friends unite in dancing and music. Polygamy is never allowed, but married couples can separate if they are dissatisfied with each other. In such a contingency, if there are children, they are taken care of by the grandparents, and both parties are free

to marry again; fortunately, divorces are not of frequent occurrence, as the wives are always treated with respect by their husbands. To the female falls all indoor work, and also a large share of that done out of doors. In the treatment of their children these people are careful to guide them in the ways of honesty and industry, and to impress their minds with chaste and virtuous ideas. Mothers bathe their infants with cold water and boys are not permitted to enter the estufas for the purpose of warming themselves; if they are cold they are ordered to chop wood or warm themselves by running and exercise.

The staple food of the Pueblos is corn. The Moqui and Pueblo corn is a very hard, flinty species, and red, black, or yellow. Frequently all 3 colors are found on the ear. The stock grows short and stubby, seldom exceeding 4 feet in height, sending out the ear well down toward the ground. To prepare corn for food, the grains are shelled off the cob and boiled in a pot with a bit of lime to soften the outer skin, which is pulled off. The women get on their knees and place the grains on a hollow, oblong stone, a "metáte", and grind them to meal by rolling over them a long, round stone resembling a rolling pin. Water is added, forming a mush; this mush is laid in thin layers, like buckwheat cakes, on hot stone or copper or iron griddles, and baked almost instantly. These cakes are usually a greenish gray in color when cooked, and are most palatable. Tortillas is the Mexican name.

With the Pueblos thrashing is done with herds of goats, flocks of sheep, or with ponies, in a mud plastered ring, with poles around it for a fence, and straw or other thatch sometimes woven in and out to make the inclosure strong enough to keep the animals in. The wheat or grain is placed on the floor of the ring, the animals turned in, and forced to run round and round until the grain is trampled out. The chaff and grain mixed, after the animals are withdrawn, is thrown or tossed in the air, in order to have the straw blown away. The grain and dirt is put in water, and the débris washed out. The women also grind this grain with the metáte, and the flour is ready. The bread made from this flour is gritty and hard to eat, but nutritious. An illustration by Peter Moran shows the method of thrashing with ponies at the pueblo of Taos.

The women of the pueblos are most ingenious pottery makers. They mix the clay and form all the decorations by hand. They use their hands or a flat water-worn stone to smooth the outside, but they frequently roll an ear of corn around the jars, producing a pitted surface. The jars are perfectly rounded and then burned by placing them in a pile surrounded by a thick covering of straw and dried asses' or cows' dung. The decorations are put on with a split stick or a small brush after the pottery is burned. None of this pottery is hard finished, and no silica is used as a glazing. It is all soft, brittle, and porous. The color of the pottery depends upon the clay in the vicinity of the town where made. There is an almost endless variety of this pottery, which is used by the Indians much as the Americans do their pottery. Their bread baskets are neat and tidy. The Pueblo women are great imitators, and they not only decorate their pottery with animals and clouds, but recently, at one of the pueblos, they produced a series of figures from a theatrical bill they had seen at Santa Fe, including a figure of Colonel Sellers.

The Pueblos are inveterate dancers and have dances on all occasions of interest; they also keep alive and indulge in many old games. One of the most common games is "patol", and an illustration of the Pueblos playing this game is given, more, however, for the purpose of showing types of Pueblo Indians than the game, which is quite intricate and very ancient, and is common to many of the Indians of the southwest.

In stature, features, and personal appearance the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico much resemble some of the wild tribes of the United States and the Moquis. They are not unlike the Comanches or the Kiowas, and are fine types of the red men of North America, both in complexion and manner; while they are town dwellers and residents, and called peaceful, they have shown and do still show some of the most savage traits of the wild Indian. Their walk, manner, eyes, and hair indicate a common origin with the Indians of the plains of the United States, and the supposition by some is that in olden times they pushed down the Rio Grande from the north, copying the houses of the Mexican aborigines who had come up from the south; or, it may be, they captured and drove the aboriginal Mexicans away to the south. Their methods in the revolt of 1680 and the rebellion of 1847 in New Mexico indicate much in common with the North American Indian of the plains, as does their present manner of torture at Zuñi, shown elsewhere. They are fair horsemen and ride a great deal, differing in this respect from the Indians of 6 of the Moqui pueblos of Arizona. The Pueblos have forage for horses, the Moqui Pueblos have but little, and this may account for the former being horsemen and the latter generally pedestrians.

The Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and the Pueblos of New Mexico are practically one people, and are probably all of Shoshonean stock.

The lights used by the Pueblos of New Mexico in their houses or estufas are the same as those used by the Moqui Pueblos of Arizona. (See details in section on the Moquis.)

The Pueblo women are the most faithful wives, industrious housekeepers, and affectionate mothers. They are fond of dress and bright colors, and covet the Moqui dresses and gay clothes of the traders. Their jewelry is silver and turquoise. The men are extravagantly fond of turquoise for ornaments. The Moqui women are also very fond of silver and turquoise jewelry.

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Our road to the mines was an easy descent all the way, the Cerrillos being nearly 3,000 feet lower than Santa Fe. The founder of the antique city (Don Antonio de Espego) described this country with Spanish exuberance in a letter to Philip II: "The earth is filled with gold, silver, and turquoises"; and the gallant adventurer threw such glowing light upon it, the king at once sent a thousand men to colonize and possess the province.

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As we quietly journeyed along I pondered on the very moderate basis the heroic cavaliers, those old Spanish filibusters, had for the brilliant reports sent back to Spain. Leaving the ambulance within a mile of the mines, we toiled wearily along the mountains, well named the Rocky. Their surface is strewn with fragments, broken as if chipped with hammers: a ragged pavement, which bruised our feet, tore our shoes, and wore out our patience, and when at last we reached the first mine we thought it but a continuation of Los Cerrillos. The most ancient is much the largest, and to this we directed our steps. Under the dizzy crags which overhang it is a sheltered recess, blackened with smoke and bedded with ashes made by the camp fires of Indians, who still frequent the spot in search of the precious chalchuite. With difficulty we reached this cave, and, leaning over the edge, looked down and saw, not a narrow, black shaft, but half a mountain cut away. Undoubtedly the mineral lay here which, through countless generations, furnished the Indian kings with their most valued ornaments. The yawning pit is 200 feet deep and more than 300 in diameter; probably the work of aborigines before De Soto's requiem mingled with the voice of the rushing waters of his burial place; when Columbus had seen the New World only in that vision of the night where the unknown voice whispered, "God will cause thy name to be wonderfully resounded through the earth, and will give thee the keys of the gates of the ocean, which are closed with strong chains". On the walls of the great excavation nature has gently, patiently done what she could to smooth the rugged crags, and has thrown out of their fissures a scant growth of shrubs and trailed a scarlet blossom here and there on a threadlike stem. At the bottom, on stones crumbling with age, stained and weatherworn, are dwarf pines, the growth of the centuries. In this close amphitheater there is no breeze to stir their tops, and their motionless foliage, with its somber shadows, adds to the ever present mountain gloom.

Thousands of tons of rock have been crushed from the solid mass and thrown up in such a high heap it seems another mountain, overgrown with old pines and dry, gray mosses. On a few fragments we noticed the turquoise stain "indication" of valuable mineral. When we consider that all this digging, hewing, and hacking was done by hand labor alone, without knowledge of domestic animals, iron, or gunpowder, the débris carried away in sacks of skins, the enormity of the work is the more impressive. The tradition is that the chalchuite mines, through immemorial ages known to the primitive race, were possessed by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century. Indian slaves then worked them, under the lash of the conqueror, until 1680, when by accident a portion of the rock from which we had our first view fell and killed 30 Pueblos. The Spaniards immediately made a requisition on the town of San Marcos for more natives to take their places, when, with a general uprising, they drove the hated oppressor from the country as far south as El Paso del Norte. I give the tale for what it is worth. Mining atmospheres are the favorite haunts of fable, and a spice of truth is enough to flavor whole volumes of stories, charming but delusive. An airy legend hovers about Santa Fe that 2 stones from "La Canada de las Minas" ("Glen of Mines") are still among the crown jewels of Arragon. But chalchuites were valueless after being once submitted to the jewelers of Spain; and the sparkling story, like many another told by the camp fire, loses its original brightness when removed to the searching light of the student's lamp.

Careful analysis shows the constituents of the chalchuite to be nearly the same as those of the Persian turquoises, and their formation the result of infiltration. Sometimes they are washed up by heavy rains, but usually are discovered by digging in the sandstone or are broken out from the body of the rock.

The Pueblo women wear dresses which much resemble blankets. They loop them up over one shoulder and under the other. These garments reach to the knees or below them and are fastened down to the right side with large silver pins. These pins, peculiar to the Pueblo women, are usually made with 2 or more silver quarters, frequently polished and engraved, soldered on each pin. The pins on the dresses have a pretty effect.

The Pueblos, in common with other North American Indians, cradle their children on a board. They wrap them to the board with lengths of cotton cloth, and a child thus wrapped to a board hanging from a rafter of the house by strings of buckskin, or standing against the wall, or being carried by the mother, is frequently seen. Some of the Pueblo women have the same basket work over the board that the northern tribes have.

All the pueblos of New Mexico are claimed to be nominally Catholic. The total number of churches of all kinds, or structures used for churches, in the 19 pueblos, is 19. Some pueblos, as for instance Zuñi, have no church or church service.

The Bureau of Catholic Missions and Presbyterian Board of Home Missions have mission houses. There are 2 missionaries, besides the priests, engaged in work with the Pueblos.

Governor L. Bradford Prince thus writes of the pueblos of New Mexico:

In local government the pueblos have always been practically independent. Each one elects annually a governor, a war captain, and a fiscal, and in each is a cacique, usually an aged man, who holds his position for life, and is consulted on all matters of special importance. These officials govern the community according to their own rules of justice, and to this time no criminal complaint has ever been made by one Pueblo Indian against another in any territorial court. Industrious, frugal, honest, and hospitable, they still retain the characteristics which were noticeable in the days of Cabeza de Vaca and Coronado, and remain in the midst of surrounding changes the most interesting existing illustration of the higher aboriginal life of the native American people.

Rev. H. O. Ladd, in "History of New Mexico", 1891, writes of the Pueblos of New Mexico as follows:

The Pueblos of New Mexico are very hospitable and courteous to strangers, with a gracious speech to their guests. Though generally peaceful and industrious, they have been repeatedly proved to be valiant warriors and efficient allies. * * * The present mode of government of the Pueblos is the same as that of 3 centuries ago. It is neither despotic nor republican. There are 5 chiefs, or headmen, of the tribe. The first is the cacique or spiritual ruler. He performs marriage ceremonies, sanctions betrothals, and has power to punish for irreligious acts. He is regarded with much reverence, and in some pueblos the young men decide by lot each year who shall be so fortunate as to take care of the cacique, whose office is during life. The governor rules the temporal affairs of the community, assigning work to each member of the tribe, determines the hours of labor, and otherwise acts as a civil magistrate, but is elected annually. His cane is used as a judicial summons or as an instrument of punishment.

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The war chief is elected like the governor. In time of war he defends the town and leads the fighting; in time of peace he controls the pasture lands and hunting grounds. There are some other subordinate officers who act as police.

Most of the decisions for the conduct of a community are made in a council. Anything of interest or importance to the village is announced from the housetop by public crier. They cultivate their land to a high degree, so that they have an abundance of corn, wheat, oats, barley, and fruit to supply their simple wants. In some villages the people almost abandon their houses in the season of cultivation and erect temporary booths near their fields, where they guard their grain and fruits from inroad and theft. Their thrashing floors are inclosed from 30 to 50 feet in diameter, made of posts hung with bags and old blankets. Into these a dozen horses are driven and kept in motion by an Indian boy urging them to trample with their hoofs the grain thickly spread under them. The thrashing is watched in silence by a score of men standing outside, who winnow the husks and grain, and the women carry it in baskets on their heads to the pueblo.

It is vain to deny that the southwestern village [or pueblo] Indian is not an idolater at heart, but it is equally preposterous to assume that he is not a sincere Catholic; only, he assigns to each belief a certain field of action and has minutely circumscribed each one. He literally gives to God what, in his judgment, belongs to God, and to the devil what he thinks the devil is entitled to, for the Indians' own benefit. Woe unto him who touches his ancient idols, but thrice woe to him who derides his church or desecrates its ornaments.

Though the converts of Roman Catholic christian missions, and believing in the mass and in baptism, most of the Pueblos are still worshipers in secret of the sun and forces of nature, combined with the ceremonies to which they have been faithfully trained by the church missionaries. At night and in the morning they chant in minor tones hymns to the sun, most of which are sad and mournful in character. They regard with veneration household gods, and preserve ancient mysteries in their native language and in estufa ceremonies, which are little known. They use the Pueblo tongue for their deliberations in councils and to communicate their traditions to one another.

With the estufas of ancient and modern pueblos are associated the secrets of their religion, their councils, and their traditional orgies. An American in 1875 was permitted to visit 1 of the 5 estufas belonging to the pueblo of Taos, and described it thus:

"It was a large, circular chamber under ground, the entrance being through a small trapdoor on top, surrounded by a circular stockade containing numerous antlers of deer and having a narrow opening. Descending to the chamber by a ladder, it was found to be probably 25 or 30 feet in diameter, arched above, and about 20 feet high; around the wall, at a height of 2 feet from the ground, was a hard, earthen bench. On the floor in the center was an oblong pit 2 feet deep and nearly 3 feet long. In this it is said the sacred fire is kept burning, and we were shown some live embers beneath the ashes. Behind the fire pit is a sort of altar constructed of clay, the use of which it was impossible to ascertain. From a peculiarly sweet aromatic odor which seemed to fill the atmosphere of the room we inferred that probably in these rites sweet-smelling grasses or wood are used as incense. The war chief informed us that it should be considered a great favor to have been permitted to view the interior of this estufa, as such a favor was seldom shown to Americans, and never to Mexicans."

The custom of marriage is established as an official act, but within the same tribe or clan there is a positive and general disregard of its moral obligations. * * * The keeping of more than one wife is not allowed by the community. * * * As the perpetuation of the clan and tribe is of the first consequence and the children are regarded as belonging to the clan of the mother, the social system of these communities is founded on the necessity of child breeding, and recognizes no higher law in conflict with this idea, and some of the dances and religious rites are the unrestrained expression of this view of social privilege and duty.

Though their domestic life has been said to be protected by strict laws, as related to those out of the tribe, there is great carelessness in the training of children, and the promiscuous life of these communities, as well as some of their heathenish dances, tend to great licentiousness. The Pueblos are somewhat industrious and preserve the skill of their ancestors in pottery making, weaving, and basket work. Each community, village, or district has its distinctive quality, shape, and decoration in its pottery. The variety in color and grace of form in these manufactures is very remarkable, but their imitations of animal, bird, and plant life are crude and grotesque rather than artistic.

Much time is spent by the Pueblos in their amusements and religious festivals, but the traditional dances, which are degrading, have been as far as possible repressed by both the Spanish and American governments.

A religious dance of the Zuñis, celebrated by the order of the cacique only in times of great drought, was specially indicative of Indian traits. The costumes in this dance, in which the women are personated by young men, are extremely high colored, and varied in texture and artistic designs. Skirts of rich color hung from the hips to the knees. Blue tunics, with scarlet borders and flowing sleeves, completed the costume, with ornaments of eagle feathers in deep yellow dyes. A knot of these feathers fastened to the top of the head, with long, flowing black hair, was the distinctive badge of the leader. The male dancers, in white woolen blankets and a colored border in diamond pattern, girded by a green and red sash, with a bunch of white strings over the right leg and a fox skin behind, had their heads crowned with yellow plumes and their faces hidden by a yellow mask. Their waists and ankles were encircled with garlands of hemlock and fir, woven with bright berries, and in their right hands were held gourds partly filled with pebbles. By rattling these they marked time for the dancers. The costumes of those representing women was similar, their faces also concealed by a mask. The dancers stood in 2 rows, facing each other, 4 feet apart. The leader at one end, in full view of the other dancers, regulated their movements with rhythm of a chant, marked in measures by the stamping of the right foot.

The leader, at intervals, taking a pinch of flour, scattered it to the 4 quarters of the heavens as a prayer to the deity to send them rain. The chants, performed by carefully trained voices, were accompanied by a small drum. There is but little grace in the motion of the dancers, and the continuance of the same figures for a long time becomes very monotonous to the spectator.

The antelope dance of the Acomas and the elk dance of the Piccuries at the same exposition were novel sights. The performers in each were clothed in the skins of these animals. Bending down and holding slender sticks in their hands for forelegs, they imitated the motions of antelopes or elks in alarm, fright, feeding, roaming over the plains, fighting, and running away from their pursuers. Finally, a party of Indian hunters drove them away captives. These dancers had studied every graceful motion of the animals they represented, keeping time in all these figures to the tom-toms and chants.

The Piccuries, with wide branching elk horns on their heads and using stouter sticks in their hands for forelegs, decorated with boughs of trees, imitated the bold motions of elks, which they hunt in their native wilds, and attracted the most interested attention of the crowds gazing curiously on this drama of Indian life.

In the Zuñi war dance, which succeeded these lighter plays, there were 40 of this tribe, their bodies painted from head to foot with fiery red, green, and blue pigments, and with various war symbols, in white, on their chests and backs. Their hideous faces and howls, yells, and wild gestures with spears and bows recalled to mind the descriptions of atrocious scenes among the early colonists of America.

Among the Zuñi, as well as the Pueblo Indians of the Rio Grande, the unit of society is the clan, with descent in the female line and inheritance in the direction of everything except lands. There is a complex grouping into 4 clusters within the 13 clans, which takes the place of the phratry.

These clusters are secret societies, or guilds, based not upon descent, but upon individual fitness for perpetuating certain special kinds of knowledge.

The medicine order preserves the secrets of knowledge for healing the sick; the hunters the secrets for preserving game; the keepers of the faith have charge of the worship of the deities, both public and secret, while the order of the bow is devoted to the military art. Starting with a few simple acquirements, a complicated ritual with a symbolical regalia has gradually been developed. The basis of religious belief is a system of dualism, resembling that of ancient Mexico, according to which a pair with attributes of sex have created the world and mankind and continue to uphold all life, while the host of supernatural agencies worshiped are all created beings, forming a series of deities organized after the fashion of the various groups of their own tribe.

Each order has its own history in the shape of myths and fables, folklore and traditions; and thus have been preserved what recollections of the past as are still in existence. These tales appear to establish the fact that at some remote time their home has been shifted from some point in the northwest about the boundary of Utah to their present location. Theses traditions resemble those of the Queres nation in claiming that after descending from the northwest they turned northward and settled on the Rio Mancos, a tributary of the San Juan in the southwestern corner of Colorado, where remarkable cliff dwellings have been discovered, from which place they migrated to their present home. This spot on the Mancos is called by the Zuñis Shi-pap-u-luma, and the Queres point to the same region as their former home and call it Shipap. In the mythology of both tribes it is a sacred spot, and has given the name of the final abode to which their spirits will return.

CLANS, OR GENTES.

Clans, or gentes, were common to the pueblos of New Mexico. Of the clans of Zuñi Captain John G. Bourke says:

Nanahe, a Moqui Indian living among the Zuñis, told me at Zuñi, in November, 1881, that "in the days when the world was created God gave to His children certain things; such things as they wished for and cried for He gave them, and these became their gentile or clan emblems".

Mr. Frank Cushing's data as to the pueblo of Zuñi, given to the public at various times since 1880, and "A few Summer Ceremonials at Zuñi Pueblo", by J. Walter Fewkes, 1891, are of great interest and have excited a desire for further investigation. It is said that Acoma, Jemez, Laguna, and other pueblos will bear as much study as Zuñi.

TRANSLATION MADE FROM ZUÑI INTO ENGLISH BY MR. FRANK CUSHING, AND FROM ZUÑI INTO SPANISH BY PEDRO PINO.

1	Parrot	Go together (i. e., form a phratry).	13	Bear	Go together (i. e., form a phratry).
2	Cottonwood		14	Hemlock	
3	Macaw				
4	Corn	Go together (i. e., form a phratry).	15	Rattlesnake	Go together (i. e., form a phratry).
5	Frog		16	Dove	
6	Turkey	Go together (i. e., form a phratry).	17	Tobacco	Go together (i. e., form a phratry).
7	Eagle		18	Cottontail Rabbit	
8	Sun		19	Olla-jocue, or blue seed grass.	
9	Badger	Go together (i. e., form a phratry).	20	Bunch grass	Go together (i. e., form a phratry).
10	Butterfly		21	Deer	
11	Coyote	Go together (i. e., form a phratry).	22	Yellow Wood	Go together (i. e , form a phratry).
12	Skeleton		23	Squash	

AN ODD PEOPLE AT HOME.

Mr. Charles F. Lummis, in "Some Strange Corners of our Country", says:

In this view of the "Strange Corners" we ought certainly to include a glimpse at the home life of the Pueblos. A social organization which looks upon children as belonging to the mother and not to the father, which makes it absolutely imperative that husband and wife shall be of different divisions of society, which makes it impossible for a man to own a house, and gives every woman entire control of her home, with many other equally remarkable points of etiquette, is surely different from what most of us are used to; but in the neglected corners of our own country there are 10,000 citizens of the United States to whom these curious arrangements are endeared by the customs of immemorial centuries.

The basis of society in the 26 quaint town republics of the Pueblos [Mr. Lummis includes the 7 Moqui pueblos of Arizona and the 19 pueblos of New Mexico in the 26 pueblos], communities which are by far the most peaceful and the best governed in North America, is not the family, as with us, but the clan. These clans are clusters of families, arbitrary social divisions, of which there are from 6 to 16 in each Pueblo town. In Isleta there are 16 clans: the sun people, the earth people, the water-pebble people, the eagle people, the mole people, the antelope people, the deer people, the mountain-lion people, the turquoise people, the parrot people, the white-corn people, the red-corn people, the blue-corn people, the yellow-corn people, the goose people, and the wolf people. Every Indian of the 1,150 in the pueblo belongs to 1 of these clans. A man of the eagle people can not marry a woman of that clan, nor vice versa. Husband and wife must be of different clans; still, order is the law of descent. With us and all civilized nations descent is from the father; but with the Pueblos, and nearly all aboriginal people, it is from the mother. For instance, a man of the wolf clan marries a woman of the mole clan. Their children belong not to the wolf people but to the mole people by birth; but if the parents do not personally like the headman of that clan, they can have some friend adopt the children into the sun or earth or any other clan.

There are no Indian family names; but all the people here [in Isleta] have taken Spanish ones, and the children take the name of their mother, and not of their father. Thus, my landlady is the wife of Antonio Jojola. Her own name is Maria Gracia Chihuihui, and their roly-poly son, who is commonly known as Juan Gordo, "Fat John", or as often, since I once photographed him crawling out of an adobe



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HOME OF "WE-WA," PUEBLO OF ZUNI, 1890.

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oven, as Juan Biscocho, "John Biscuit", is Juan Chihuihui. If he grows up to marry and have children, they will not be Chihuihuis nor Jojolas, but will bear the Spanish last name of his wife. This pueblo, however, is changing from the old customs more than are any of the other towns, and in some families the children are divided, the sons bearing the father's name and the daughters the mother's. In their own language each Indian has a single name, which belongs to him or her alone, and is never changed.

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The Pueblos almost without exception now have their children baptized in a christian church and given a Spanish name; but those who are "true believers" in "the ways of old" have also an Indian christening. Even as I write, scores of dusky, dimpled babes in this pueblo are being given strange Tigua names by stalwart godfathers, who hold them up before the line of dancers who celebrate the spring opening of the great main irrigating ditch. Here the christening is performed by a friend of the family, who takes the babe to the dance, selects a name, and seals it by putting his lips to the child's lips. (*a*) In some pueblos this office is performed by the nearest woman friend of the mother. She takes the child from the house at dawn on the third day after its birth and names it after the first object that meets her eye after the sun comes up. Sometimes it is Bluish Light of Dawn, sometimes Arrow (ray) of the Sun, sometimes Tall Broken Pine, and so on. It is this custom which gives rise to many of the Indian names which seem so odd to us.

When a child is born in a pueblo a curious duty devolves upon the father. For the next 8 days he must keep a fire going, no matter what the weather, in the quaint little fogon or adobe fireplace, and see that it never goes out by day or night. This sacred birth fire can be kindled only in the religious ways, by the fire drill, flint and steel, or by a brand from the hearth of the cacique. If paterfamilias is so unlucky as to let the birth fire go out there is but one thing for him to do. Wrapping his blanket around him, he stalks solemnly to the house of the cacique, enters and seats himself on the floor by the hearth, for the cacique must always have a fire. He dare not ask for what he wants; but making a cigarette, he lights it at the coals and improves the opportunity to smuggle a living coal under his blanket, generally in no better receptacle than his own tough, bare hand. In a moment he rises, bids the cacique good-bye, and hurries home, carefully nursing the sacred spark, and with it he rekindles the birth fire. It is solemnly believed that if this fire were relighted in any other manner the child would not live out the year.

The Pueblo men, contrary to the popular idea about all Indians, take a very generous share in caring for their children. When they are not occupied with the duties of busy farmers, then fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers are generally to be seen each with a fat infant slung in the blanket on his back, its big eyes and plump face peeping over the shoulder. The white-haired governor, the stern-faced war captain, the grave principals, none of them are too dignified to "tote" the baby up and down the courtyard or to the public square and to solemn dances, or even to dance a remarkable domestic jig, if need be, to calm a squall from the precious riders upon their backs

A pueblo is the children's paradise. The parents are fairly ideal in their relations to their children. They are uniformly gentle, yet never foolishly indulgent. A Pueblo child is scarcely ever punished, and seldom needs to be. Obedience and respect to age are born in these brown young Americans, and are never forgotten by them. I never saw a "spoiled child" in all my long acquaintance with the Pueblos.

The Pueblo woman is absolute owner of the house and all in it, just as her husband owns the fields which he tills. He is a good farmer and she a good housewife. Fields and rooms are generally models of neatness.

The Pueblos marry under the laws of the church; but many of them add a strange ceremony of their own, which was their custom when Columbus discovered America. The betrothed couple are given 2 ears of raw corn; to the youth a blue ear, but to the maiden a white one, because her heart is supposed to be whiter. They must prove their devotion by eating the very last hard kernel. Then they run a sacred foot race in the presence of the old councilors. If the girl comes ahead, she "wins a husband" and has a little ascendency over him; if he comes in first to the goal, he "wins a wife". If the two come in together, it is a bad omen, and the match is declared off.

Pueblo etiquette as to the acquaintance of young people is extremely strict. No youth and maiden must walk or talk together; and as for a visit or a private conversation, both the offenders, no matter how mature, would be soundly whipped by their parents. Acquaintance between young people before marriage is limited to a casual sight of each other, a shy greeting as they pass, or a word when they meet in the presence of their elders. Matches are not made by the parents, as was the case with their Mexican neighbors until very recently and as it still is in many European countries, but marriages are never against the parental consent. When a boy wishes to marry a certain girl the parents conduct all the formal "asking for" her and other preliminaries.

The very curious division of the sexes which the Spaniards found among the Pueblos 350 years ago has now almost entirely disappeared, as have also the community houses which resulted from the system. In old times only the women, girls, and young children lived in the dwellings. The men and boys slept always in the estufa. Thither their wives and mothers brought their meals, themselves eating with the children at home. So there was no family home life, and never was until the brave Spanish missionaries gradually brought about a change to the real home that the Indians so much enjoy to-day.

When a Pueblo Indian dies there are many curious ceremonials. Besides the attempts to throw the witches off the track of his spirit, food must be provided for the soul's 4 days' journey, and property must also be sent on to give the deceased "a good start" in the next world. If the departed was a man and had horses and cattle, some of them are killed, that he may have them in the beyond. His gun, his knife, his bow and arrows, his dancing costume, his clothing, and other personal property are also "killed" (in the Indian phrase) by burning or breaking them; and by this means he is supposed to have the use of them again in the other world, where he will eat and hunt and dance and farm just as he has done here. In the vicinity of every pueblo is always a "killing place", entirely distinct and distant from the consecrated graveyard where the body is laid, and there the ground is strewn with countless broken weapons and ornaments, earthen jars, stone hand mills, and other utensils, for when a woman dies her household furniture is "sent on" after her in the same fashion. The precious beads of coral, turquoise, and silver, and the other silver jewelry, of which these people have great quantities, is generally laid away with the body in the bare, brown graveyard in front of the great adobe church.

POPULATION AND NUMBER OF PUEBLOS, 1583 TO 1796.

Espejo estimated the Indian pueblo population of New Mexico at about 300,000 in 1583. If his list of pueblos be correct, considering the resources and conditions of the country and the known exaggerations of natives and explorers, a total population in the section named of 90,000 to 100,000 would be more reasonable.

The Spanish explorers universally found the Indian stories false in the matter of resources and numbers of people, and, unfortunately for history, some of the deceived Spaniards, retailed the fabrications to a large constituency in Mexico and Europe.

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a My own little girl, born in the pueblo of Isleta, was formally christened by an Indian friend one day and has ever since been known to the Indians as Thur-be-Say, "the Rainbow of the Sun". For a month after her birth they came daily to see her, bringing little gifts of silver, calico, chocolate, eggs, Indian pottery, and the like, as is one of their customs.

Some idea may be formed of the exaggerated stories told the early Spaniards as to the Moqui pueblos and the pueblos of the Rio Grande by what Friar Marco de Niza heard of Cibola (Zuñi) while en route to that place in April, 1539. At a small village he met a resident of Cibola, who told him that the lord of the 7 cities lived at one of them, Ahacus, with lieutenants in charge of the others. Cibola, it was declared, was a large and populous city, having many fine streets and market places. In several places there were immense houses, 5 stories high. These houses were of stone and lime, the gates and smaller pillars of the principal residences were of turquoise, while all the household vessels and ornaments were of gold.

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70 pueblos are mentioned by Coronado in his "Relations", or according to Castenada's list; but how many are named merely on rumor is a question. (For much data on this point and on the pueblos, see "History of New Mexico", by Governor L. Bradford Prince, 1883, chapter II, pages 20–39.) The existing pueblos in 1892 are 19 in number.

But few pueblos are noted as having passed away between 1583 and 1892; still, some have passed away even since 1819. The removal or rebuilding of pueblos, however, is frequently noted. The millions of American Indians supposed to be roaming over the north and west upon investigation proved to be very few in number compared with the estimates. Why not so with the pueblos?

POPULATION OF THE PUEBLOS AT VARIOUS DATES SINCE 1796.

In 1796 Spanish priests (missionaries) gave the population of the pueblos of New Mexico at 9,453. In 1798, the same authority gave 9,732; but Albiquiu and Belen, Spanish towns, are included in both estimates.

Governor Chacon took a census of the pueblos of New Mexico (except the Moquis) in 1796, giving the population at 9,732. This included some foreigners and some Pueblos, not Indians.

In 1805 Governor Alencaster certified a census of the pueblos at 8,172: males, 4,094; females, 4,078.

A census of the 19 pueblos was made by General Mariano Martinez, governor, in 1844, and the population was given at 14,700. The totals after each town are all in round numbers, showing them to be estimates, and some Spanish towns are also included.

In 1846 the population of the pueblos was given at 11,380. This included the 19 pueblos of New Mexico and the 7 Moqui pueblos of Arizona, in all 26 pueblos.

In 1847 the population of the pueblos of New Mexico above 5 years of age was given under a census ordered by the legislature of New Mexico at 6,524. Under 5—. Why the children under 5 years of age were omitted is not noted.

In 1850 the pueblos were not separately enumerated in the United States census.

In 1863 the population of the 19 pueblos of New Mexico was given at 5,866.

In 1864 a census by John Ward, special agent, gave the population at 7,066.

In 1865 the population of the 19 pueblos of New Mexico was given at 7,010 by J. K. Graves, United States special Indian agent.

August 20, 1869, J. M. Gallegos, superintendent of Indian affairs for New Mexico, gave the population of the 19 pueblos at 7,000.

In 1870–1871 Arny's report gave the pueblo population at 7,310.

In 1880 the population of the 19 pueblos was given at 9,500 by Benjamin M. Thomas, United States Indian agent.

In 1880, in the Tenth Census, the civilized Indians of New Mexico were given at 9,772; pueblos, estimated, 8,000.

In 1887 the Indian office report gave 8,337.

In 1889 the Indian office report gave 8,254.

In 1890 the Eleventh Census gave the population at 8,287.

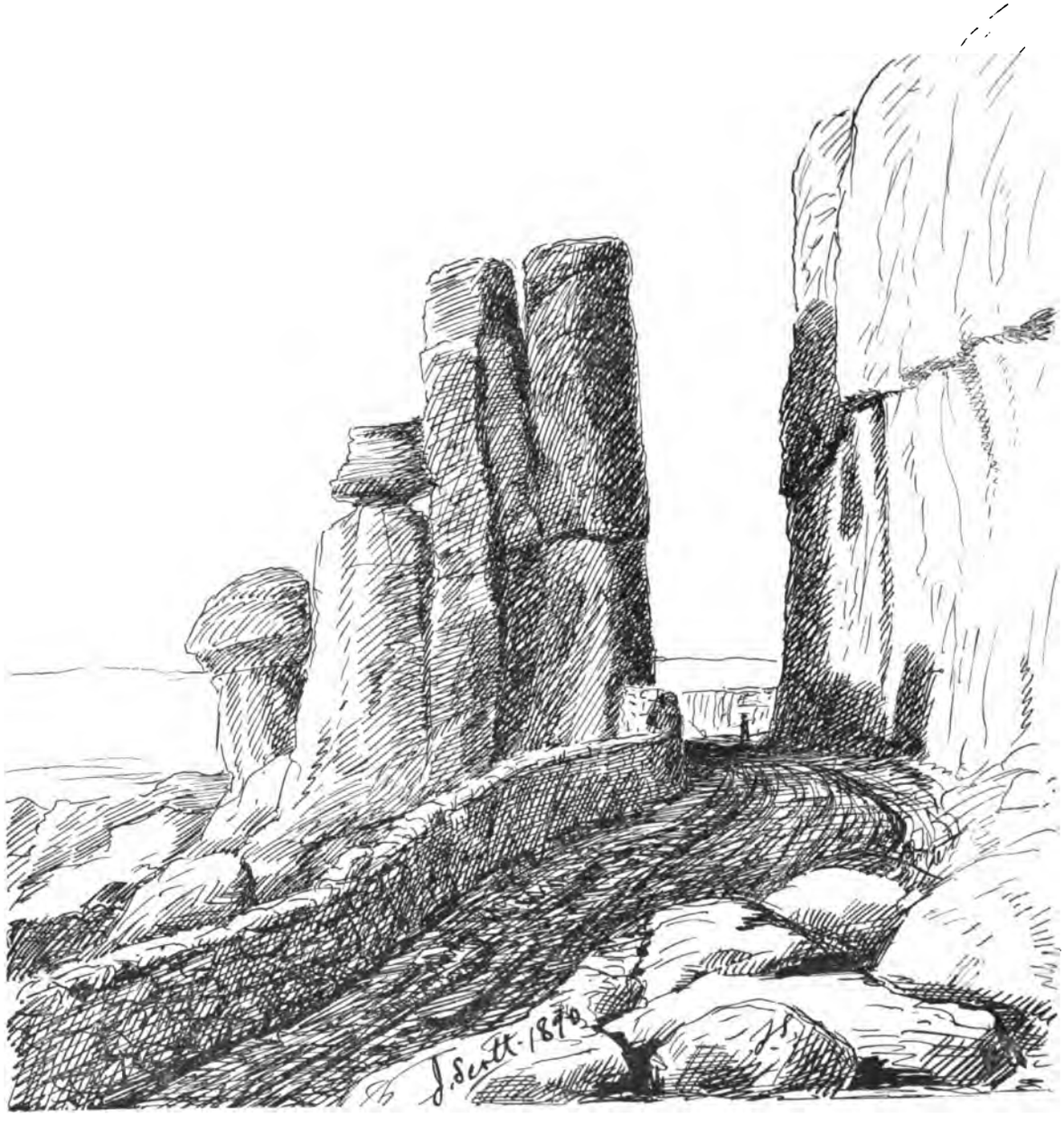
During the 45 years the pueblos have been citizens of the United States they have gained in population, as is shown by every accurate census.

The Spaniards, when possible, in New Mexico, changed the names of the Indian towns; always so, when making missions at or near them. Richard H. Kern, of the United States topographical survey, gives the following names used by Coronado for Indian towns, with the modern or present names (see Schoolcraft, volume IV, page 39):

Cibola, old Zuñi; Tusayan, Moquis (pueblos); Acuco, Acoma; Tigouex, Isleta or some pueblo in its vicinity; Tutahaco, the position can be identified but not the places; Quirix, San Felipe and adjoining pueblos; Cicuye, Pecos or Santa Fe; Hemez, Jemez; Aquascalientes, perhaps near the town of the same name; Yuque-Yunque, possibly Abiquiu; Braba, Taos; Chia, Silla or Zia.

The Spaniards took the Indian names phonetically, of course, and tried to write them out as they were pronounced by the Indians, as may be seen by reference to the narratives of the chroniclers who accompanied the several expeditions.

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THE GATE OF ACOMA, New Nexico. 1890.
The pathway through the rocks up the Mesa to the Pueblo.

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Attempts to identify the many Indian towns noted by the early Spaniards would now be useless in the face of the great number of ruins found. There is a large field for speculation in this matter, and many books on the subject may be expected in the future.

The map of the pueblos and grants in New Mexico, given elsewhere, shows their locations and counties.

PUEBLOS OF NEW MEXICO OCCUPIED BY PUEBLO INDIANS, 1890.

MISSION NAMES.	Names as known to the laws of the United States.	AREA.	
		Acreage.(a)	Square miles.
Total		906,845	1,417
San Diego de Jemez	Jemez	17,510	
San Estevan de Acoma	Acoma	95,792	
San Juan de Cabalenos	San Juan	17,545	
San Lorenzo de Picuries	Picuris	17,461	
San Felipe	San Felipe	34,767	
N. S. de los Angeles de Pecos	Pecos	18,763	
San Buena Ventura de Cochita	Cochiti	24,256	
Santo Domingo	Santo Domingo	74,743	
San Geronimo de Taos	Taos	17,361	
Santa Clara	Santa Clara	17,369	1,081
San Diego de Tesuque	Tesuque	17,471	
San Ildefonso	San Ildefonso	17,293	
N. S. de Guadalupe de Pojoaque	Pojoaque	13,520	
N. S. de la Assunscion de Zia	Zia	17,515	
N. S. de los Dolores de Sandia	Sandia	24,187	
San Agustin del Isleta	Isleta	110,080	
San Francisco de Nambe	Nambe	13,586	
San Josef de la Laguna	Laguna	125,225	
Santa Ana	Santa Ana	17,361	
N. S. de Guadalupe de Zuñi	Zuñi	b215,040	336

a Outboundaries surveyed; confirmed by United States patents (except Laguna and Zuñi) in 1864, under old Spanish grants or locations; acts of Congress approved December 22, 1858, volume II, page 374, and June 21, 1860, volume XII, page 71. (See General Land Office Report for 1876, page 241, and for 1880, page 234.)

b Executive orders March 16, 1877, May 1, 1883, and March 3, 1885. (Area of original Spanish grant, 17,581.25 acres.)

LANGUAGES OF THE PUEBLOS, 1890.

The same division of languages exists now among the Pueblos of New Mexico as existed when Coronado first saw them in 1540. There are 4 or 5 distinct languages.

The Queres group (Keresan stock) are the Pueblos of Santa Ana, San Felipe, Cochiti, San Domingo, Acoma, Zia, and Laguna.

The Tequas group (Tewan or Tanoan stock) are the Pueblos of San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambe, Pojoaque, and Tesuque.

The Piros group (also of Tewan or Tanoan stock), are the Pueblos of Taos, Picuris, Sandia, and Isleta.

The Jemez is used by the Pueblos of Jemez, who are of Tewan or Tanoan stock.

The Zuñi is used by the Pueblos of Zuñi, who are of Zuñian stock.

The Pueblos of New Mexico are probably all of Shoshonean stock. Time and isolation have caused the varieties of languages.

CENSUSES OF THE PUEBLOS, JUNE 30, 1864, TO JUNE 1, 1890.

The most complete and exhaustive census of the pueblos of New Mexico taken prior to 1870 was by John Ward, United States Indian agent, 27 years ago. It gave no data as to crops, but the total population was undoubtedly correct. Some data from this census are given. The total population of the 19 pueblos of New Mexico in 1864 was 7,066, in 1890, 8,287, a gain of 1,221 in 26 years, and this in the face of several epidemics of smallpox and diphtheria.

In the year ended June 1, 1890, there were 719 deaths; all but 8 of these were from smallpox and diphtheria, and all but 86 were of children 5 years of age and less.

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POPULATION.

PUEBLOS.	Ward, 1861.	Eleventh Census, 1890.
Total	7,066	8,287
Taos	361	401
Picuris	122	108
San Juan	385	406
Santa Clara	144	225
San Ildefonso	161	148
Nambe	94	79
Pojoaque	29	20
Tesuque	101	91
Cochiti	229	268
San Domingo	604	671
San Felipe	427	554
Sandia	197	140
Isleta	786	1,059
Jemez	346	428
Zia	103	106
Santa Ana	298	253
Laguna	988	1,143
Acoma	491	566
Zuñi	1,200	1,621

VITAL AND SOCIAL STATISTICS, 1890.

The population and certain social statistics are given in full for each pueblo in the table compiled from the general schedules. Certain crop and vital statistics were obtained (following the method used in the enumeration of other agencies) from the agent's books at the Pueblo agency and confirmed in part by special inspection.

POPULATION AND SOCIAL STATISTICS OF THE 19 PUEBLOS OF NEW MEXICO.

PUEBLOS.	Total population.	Males.	Females.	Under 6.	Over 5 and to 18, inclusive.	Over 18.	Over 70 years. (a)	Heads of family.	House owners.	Farmers.	Herders.	Stock raisers.
Total	8,287	4,448	3,839	1,060	2,690	4,537	132	1,746	1,618	1,516	133	157
Acoma	566	289	277	75	288	203	7	82	64	15	27	118
Cochiti	268	139	129	44	80	144	2	51	51	41	.....	.....
Isleta	1,059	600	459	138	273	648	b29	268	144	32	2	1
Jemez	428	258	170	73	140	215	c2	88	90	60	.....	2
Laguna	1,143	575	568	130	435	578	6	183	186	220	8	17
Nambe	79	41	38	9	25	45	.....	23	23	24	.....	.....
Picuris	108	62	46	24	23	61	7	30	30	.....	.....	.....
Pojoaque	20	9	11	4	3	13	.....	6	6	5	.....	.....
Sandia	140	77	63	12	48	80	4	36	39	.....	.....	.....
San Domingo	671	382	289	70	205	396	11	116	116	117	.....	.....
San Felipe	554	313	241	47	168	339	14	125	136	209	.....	.....
San Ildefonso	148	79	69	17	43	88	.....	27	24	26	.....	.....
San Juan	406	226	180	60	96	250	8	99	99	99	.....	.....
Santa Ana	253	153	100	8	75	170	4	50	49	117	.....	.....
Santa Clara	225	110	115	38	146	41	d2	48	48	45	.....	.....
Taos	401	213	188	52	114	235	11	96	96	114	4	.....
Tesuque	91	45	46	11	25	55	2	24	27	27	.....	.....
Zia	106	57	49	23	30	53	3	21	20	23	1	.....
Zuñi	1,621	820	801	225	473	923	20	373	370	342	91	19

a Many refused to answer. b 1 man 110 years old and his wife 93. c 1 man 103 years old. d 1 man 100 years old and his wife 90.

POPULATION AND SOCIAL STATISTICS OF THE 19 PUEBLOS OF NEW MEXICO—Continued.

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PUEBLOS.	Day laborers.	Traders.	Medicine men.	Teachers.	Clerks.	Cooks.	Blacksmiths.	Pottery makers.	Carpenters.	Governors.	Officers.	Telegraph operators.	Priests.
Total	527	2	1	7	3	5	1	11	1	1	1	2	2
Acoma	60												
Cochiti	45												
Isleta	13			3					1			2	1
Jemez		1		1	1								1
Laguna	144												
Nambe								2					
Picuris													
Pojoaque													
Sandia	3												
San Domingo	124									1			
San Felipe	1												
San Ildefonso	9												
San Juan	50												
Santa Ana													
Santa Clara				1				7					
Taos	33												
Tesuque								2					
Zia							1						
Zuñi	45	1	1	2	2	5					1		

PUEBLOS.	Storekeepers.	Authors.	Tailors.	Candy makers.	Speak English. (a)	Read English. (a)	Write English. (a)	Speak Spanish. (a)	Read Spanish. (a)	Write Spanish. (a)	Speak Indian. (a)	Read Indian. (a)	Write Indian.
Total	3	1	1	1	368	357	352	1,715	28	21	4,871	65	48
Acoma					44	44	44				524	2	
Cochiti					7						258	9	
Isleta	3	1	1		55	54	54	32	10	10	742	12	12
Jemez					5	5	5				368	1	1
Laguna					167	167	167				907		
Nambe					5	5	5	50					
Picuris								74					
Pojoaque					2	2	2	12					
Sandia								114			17		
San Domingo													
San Felipe								447			90		
San Ildefonso					9	9	7	82	5	3			
San Juan								22	1	1	299	33	35
Santa Ana					1			218			33		
Santa Clara					17	16	14	143	6	2			
Taos					5	5	5	387	1	1			
Tesuque					1	1		61	4	3			
Zia				1	3	2	2	73	1	1	18		
Zuñi					47	47	47				1,620	8	

a Many refused to answer.

The professions or callings are shown by the schedules. 1,516 called themselves farmers, 133 herders, 157 stock raisers, 527 day laborers, 2 traders, 1 medicine man, 7 teachers, 3 clerks, 5 cooks, 1 blacksmith, 11 pottery makers (but most of the women are pottery makers in the pueblos where pottery is made), 1 carpenter, 1 governor, 1 officer, 2 telegraph operators, 2 priests, 3 storekeepers, 1 author, 1 tailor, and 1 candy maker. The number of Indian apprentices learning trades during the year is given at 250. 368 answered that they spoke English, 357 read English, 352 wrote English. 1,715 answered that they spoke Spanish, 28 read Spanish, and 21 wrote Spanish. 4,871 answered that they spoke Indian only, 65 read Indian, and 48 wrote Indian.

It is probable that of the 8,287 Pueblos 6,084 (deducting the children below 1 year of age and those who speak English and Spanish, 2,203) speak Indian exclusively.

SCHOOL STATISTICS OF THE 19 PUEBLOS OF NEW MEXICO, 1890.

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PUEBLOS.	Total population Eleventh Census, 1890.	Children of school age, 5 to 18, inclusive.	PUPILS ENROLLED IN THE SCHOOLS.									Total pupils.
			In day schools.			In boarding schools.						
			Roman Catholic school.	Presbyterian school.	Government school.	Albuquerque government school.	Albuquerque Presbyterian school.	Bernalillo school.	St. Catherine's school, Santa Fe.	Ramona school, Santa Fe.	Carlisle.	
Total	8,287	2,690	269	169	30	154	53	53	50	4	131	913
Isleta	1,059	273	49	47		47	3	32	22		1	201
Zuñi	1,621	473		12								12
San Juan	406	96	42						6			48
Laguna	1,143	435	29	53	30	40	48				107	a307
Picuris	108	23								2		2
Santa Clara	225	146				6	1	1	1			9
San Ildefonso	148	43							4			4
Taos	401	114	37			2			4		1	44
Acoma	566	288	45			10					13	68
Pojoaque	20	3				4					1	5
Tesuque	91	25							4			4
Cochiti	268	80				20		5	5		5	35
Nambe	79	25					1	4	1	2		8
Jemez	428	140	30	57		4			3		1	95
Zia	106	30										
San Felipe	554	168				4					2	6
Santa Ana	253	75				11						11
San Domingo	671	205	37									37
Sandia	140	48				6		11				17

a Probably the day schools have some pupils under 6 years and the boarding schools some over 16 years of age.

The school age for Indian children under the rule of the Indian office is for day schools 6 to 18 years and boarding schools 6 to 16 years. The enumeration above is of children from 5 to 18 years of age, inclusive, and the number is 2,690.

913 of the Pueblo children of departmental school age are attending the schools provided principally by the United States and aided by missions or churches. The United States has school room for 1,332 Pueblo pupils in the vicinity of the pueblos.

The following table is from the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1890 (pages 328, 329):

STATISTICS OF SCHOOLS IN NEW MEXICO, SUPPORTED IN WHOLE OR IN PART BY THE GOVERNMENT, AT WHICH WERE PUEBLO CHILDREN, FOR THE YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1890.

SCHOOLS.	How supported.	CAPACITY.		EMPLOYÉS.			AVERAGE ATTENDANCE.			Months in session.	Cost to government.	Cost per capita per month to government.	Cost to other parties.	Cost per capita per month to other parties.	Acres cultivated by schools.
		Boarding.	Day.	Male.	Female.	White.	Enrollment.	Boarding.	Day.						
Albuquerque boarding	Under contract	75		4	7	11	72	57		10	$6,811.23	$9.96	(a)		
Bernalillo boarding	do	100			8	8	75	72		10	7,500.00	8.68	(a)		
St. Catherine's boarding, Santa Fe.	do	125		9		9	81	51		10	6,737.92	11.01	$700.00	$1.14	12
University of New Mexico, Santa Fe.	do	50		1	3	4	28	18		10	2,360.72	10.93	2,427.34	11.24	4
Acoma day	do		50		1	1	35		24	6	300.00	2.08	275.00	1.91	
Isleta day, No. 1	do		40		1	1	42		26	9	490.00	2.09	110.00	0.47	
Isleta day, No. 2	do		60		2	2	43		15	9	231.40	1.71			
Jemez day, No. 1	do		50		1	1	30		14	4	150.00	2.68	260.00	4.46	
Jemez day, No. 2	do		50	1	1	2	33		14	6	219.26	2.61	600.74	7.15	
Laguna day	By government.		30		1	1	29		18	6	400.00	3.70			
Pajuate day	Under contract		50		1	1	42		33	10	580.00	1.76	100.00	0.30	
San Domingo day	do		40	1		1	40		21	10	371.00	1.77	229.00	1.09	
San Juan day	do		50	1		1	40		30	10	675.00	2.25			
Seama day	do		60		1	1	58		19	7	95.26	0.72	279.74	2.10	
Taos day	do		50		1	1	37		28	10	600.00	2.86	50.00	0.23	
Zuñi day	do		75		2	2	54		8	9	119.34	1.66	980.66	13.62	

a Not given.

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On a house top at Acoma. New Mexico.



Old Musico " the silversmith of Acoma, New Mexico



At Acoma, New Mexico. Bringing in the Corn.



At Acoma, New Mexico



Family of Musico, Silversmith of Acoma. At Acoma, New Mexico.



On the terraced houses at Acoma, New Mexico. Women carrying water, from two miles away.

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Of the total cost to the United States for the education of the 913 Pueblo school children, including the 131 at Carlisle, $18,750 was approximately the sum paid for the service to missionary societies and churches.

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COMPARISON OF CERTAIN STATISTICS OF WARD'S CENSUS OF 1864 WITH THE ELEVENTH CENSUS, 1890, OF THE 19 PUEBLOS.

STOCK AND PRODUCE.	1890.		Ward, 1864.
	Total.	Value.	
Total		$103,690	
Number of horses (burros)	3,000	60,000	1,489
Number of mules	800	7,500	64
Number of cattle	2,200	15,400	1,926
Number of swine	350	700	843
Number of sheep	20,000	20,000	
Number of domestic fowls	900	90	
Total	55,720	a15,850	
Bushels of wheat	9,000	4,500	
Bushels of corn	20,000	7,000	
Bushels of turnips	600	900	
Bushels of onions	600	1,200	
Bushels of beans	300	600	
Bushels of other vegetables	200	200	
Number of melons	15,000	750	
Number of pumpkins	10,000	500	
Tons of hay cut	20	200	

a Agency records show a value of $25,000.

Number of houses in the 19 pueblos	2,955
House owners	1,618
Number of families	1,746
Wear citizens' dress wholly	1,300
Wear citizens' dress in part	1,100
Children of school age, from 5 to 18 years, inclusive	2,690
Children under 1 year of age	120
Pueblo Indian children at school during 1890	913
Births during the year	296
Deaths (epidemics), including 86 of persons above 5 years of age	719
Deaf	36
Deaf and dumb	12
Blind	49
Idiots and insane	4
Persons over 70 years of age	132

THE PUEBLO CENSUS OF 1890.

The Pueblo Indian of New Mexico lives in terror of the tax collector and hopes much from Washington. The illusion of a United States Indian agent at Santa Fe keeps the hope of this material aid from the treasury alive in his breast. He has received from the United States in money and supplies, and indirectly, over $500,000 since 1849.

The census of 1890 was obtained with great difficulty. It was taken by regular enumerators under the direction of the supervisor of census for New Mexico. (a) The Pueblos coupled the enumerators and the special agents with tax collectors or the propagators of a new creed. They are afraid of both. Naturally suspicious,

a The Superintendent of Census having his attention called to the reduced number of persons in the pueblo of San Domingo, New Mexico, he wrote for an explanation to the supervisor of New Mexico, who answered as follows:

"SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO, September 1, 1890.

"DEAR SIR: Upon comparing the census returns of the pueblo of Santo Domingo with the returns of the last census, I found that the Indians had decreased about 50 per cent, and not believing that to be correct, I went there personally and took with me F. F. Pino, one of the clerks of this office, and sent for the enumerator, Mr. Amado C. de Baca, who also was there on time. I went straight to the governor's place and had him to call all the Indians he could to meet us there. We had a great many Indians present, and I explained to them the object of the meeting, and after that I made the clerk read a list of the Indians enumerated before, and I asked the governor to consult with his most reliable men and tell all of those that were not on the list, and he did so, and we found that only 79 persons had been left out, and that it was not the fault of the enumerator, as I had at first thought. The enumerator had gone to their homes, and they being absent their neighbors would give no information whatever. Then I asked them how was it that they were fewer than when the last census was taken, and they answered that 2 years ago they lost over 250 people from the diphtheria, and also the year before they had lost quite a number of their people. I believe from personal observation that the census returns from that pueblo are correct.

"Respectfully yours,

"PEDRO SANCHEZ, Supervisor of Census for New Mexico.

"TO THE SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS."

they are doubly so when a government official comes in sight. Information being hard to obtain, the special agents and others were obliged to estimate in some cases.

The Pueblos are not poor; they are well housed, have good clothes, and plenty to eat. They would be content to remain as they are now forever.

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Just how far the United States should interfere with these citizens is a question. Why one portion of a nation's citizens should receive benefits not accorded to other citizens, and how far the United States is responsible for the present low condition in civilization of the Pueblos, by reason of assumed quasi control, is quite a serious question. 45 years of national supervision and control have not, in fact, been of much service to the Pueblos. They have gone back in many respects, and self-reliance has not grown in any perceptible degree.

The Pueblos of New Mexico do not desire to be known as citizens of the United States, for in such case they would be forced to pay taxes on their real and personal property, and they fear that their community system might be interfered with. If any good reason exists why 8,000 people with 905,000 acres of land should live in peace and security and acquire wealth, with every protection of the laws, and pay no taxes to aid in the expense of government it is not apparent; and why the United States should encourage such an idea by keeping an agent to defend them is also not apparent.

The United States Indian agent for the Pueblos at Santa Fe is the person to whom they look for protection, and scarcely a day passes but he is appealed to by the Pueblos to protect them from their fellow citizens. His duties are principally those of a law officer for these people.

The efforts of the Indian agents of the Department of the Interior since 1849, the year of the creation of that department, and of the agents of the Indian office since 1846 have been directed toward keeping the Pueblos out of the citizenship of the United States. Read the reports of these officers in the annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in proof of this.

It is said that the Pueblos of New Mexico do not vote at elections in New Mexico. They might if they wanted to, in spite of a territorial law that they shall not. The negligence of a citizen to exercise the right of suffrage is no evidence that he is not a citizen. There is no penalty for a refusal to vote, but if he were to vote he might be taxed, and this the Pueblo wants the last of all things. If any one of them demands the right to vote the United States will see that he has it, so that the real power that has persistently endeavored to keep the Pueblo Indians out of citizenship has been the Indian agents and superintendents. The motive of most of the agents and superintendents can be seen at once; still, the Indian office can not be held accountable for their opinions, but unfortunately, in some cases, it has been guided by them.

The Pueblo Indians have always looked to the United States Indian agent to control them, and thus they have escaped taxation and avoided the duties of citizenship. The Pueblos have ready wit, keen intellects, and are good traders.

The barbarities at Zuñi, detailed at length by Special Agent Scott in his report, seem to have escaped the knowledge of the United States Indian agent at Santa Fe. Probably they are a reminiscence of the Inquisition once with them. At any event the authorities of New Mexico and of the United States should endeavor to remove murder from the catalogue of amusements of the people of Zuñi.

The Pueblos, besides being farmers, herders, and pottery men, work on railroads as contractors and section men, and hire out to farmers as day laborers; a few are mechanics, and the receipts from this kind of work are quite large.

At each of the pueblos are traders' stores, usually kept by white men; but at Isleta there are 3 Indian storekeepers, at whose stores all kinds of supplies can be bought. At a few of the pueblos pottery is sold to an advantage, and is a source of considerable income.

The water about the pueblos commands immense areas of adjacent grazing land, which is owned and utilized by the Indians. The grape crop is considerable at 4 of the pueblos, and good and wholesome wine is made. An estimate has been made of a total of 4,360 gallons of wine per year.

White interlopers and trespassers on the pueblo grants are estimated at 500 in number.

The poverty of 1 or 2 of the pueblos is quite apparent, the pueblo of Pojoaque being an illustration. This people have sold their granted lands, until at present they have but 25 acres. The pueblo contains a total population of 32, 5 men, 7 women, and 20 children. They have 8 cows, 12 burros, 2 wagons, 7 pigs, 1 set of harness, 1 ox cart, 1 small wagon, and 4 plows. The 25 acres, supplemented by their work for outside parties, sustains the entire 32 people.

The land grants of the Pueblos are very valuable, being originally about 900,000 acres, and, exclusive of the towns, would bring as a whole more than $3,000,000, which is quite a property for 8,287 people. By a practical system of irrigation and the saving of the water now wasted on arable lands the amount could be increased from 13,000 acres now irrigated or cultivated to 30,000 acres, which would be worth at the current value in New Mexico of such lands $1,500,000.

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At Laguna, New Mexico.



Outside of Col. Marmons Garden, Laguna, New Mexico.



Scene in Laguna, New Mexico, Trading.



Near Laguna, New Mexico.



A Street in Laguna, New Mexico.



At Laguna, New Mexico.

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PACK-TRAIN LEAVING PUEBLO OF TAOS, NEW MEXICO

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TAOS PUEBLO.



FEAST OF SAN GERONIMO, HELD AT TAOS PUEBLO, NEW MEXICO, SEPTEMBER 30, 1889.

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CONDITION OF 16 NEW MEXICO INDIAN PUEBLOS, 1890.

BY HENRY R. POORE, SPECIAL AGENT.

The accompanying report covers 15 pueblos of New Mexico, visited in July, August, and September, 1890, namely: Taos, San Juan, Santa Clara, Nambe, San Ildefonso, Pojoaque, Tesuque, San Domingo, Cochiti, Jemez, Zia, Sandia, Santa Ana, San Felipe, and Isleta, with a report on the pueblo of Picuris, by Mr. Frederick P. Müller, February 26, 1891.

A comparison of the population of the Pueblo villages of New Mexico, with the extent of their land tenure, leads naturally to the conclusion that they have an abundant opportunity for subsistence from the ground. With but 2 or 3 exceptions, grants of at least 25 square miles of territory to each pueblo as a community were confirmed by Congress in 1858. Maps of these grants are to be seen at the office of the surveyor general at Santa Fe and at the several pueblos, but the impression from the same statement differs as the point of view differs.

The surveyor general remarked as he scanned the charts, through which the Rio Grande was traced like a winding thread: "Certainly these Indians are well able to take care of themselves; in some cases a square mile to every family". At the pueblo, where, guarded with scrupulous care, these maps are produced, laden with the dust of disuse, they mean little or nothing to the holder, because in many cases the Indians are not able to apply the drawing on paper to the natural landscape, being ignorant of the points of the compass, etc., but also because, even with ability, they find the paper statement does not declare an available fact. A map of 25 square miles of land, through the center of which passes a stream of water, gives a misleading impression of available agricultural possession in New Mexico, because without irrigation land can not be made to produce, there being no rainfall of moment. In all the pueblos, therefore, the upper acequias, or irrigating ditches, lying parallel with the river and bringing water to land from it, mark the width of practical possession. This strip is found to be from a third of a mile to 2.5 miles wide, including the river. The length is always 5 miles. When more than 5 miles square is owned by a pueblo the extension is at right angles with and not along the water courses. The only exception to this is at San Felipe. A map of the pueblo possessions could be made by using the old charts and inscribing thereon 2 lines on either side of the river (in some instances a line on but one side would be sufficient) and applying to this strip a little green paint. With but 5 exceptions, Taos, Zia, Jemez, Tesuque, and Nambe, the pueblos of the north and south line lie upon the Rio Grande. Although in the cañon above Embodo the water during the rainy season flows between banks from 20 to 35 feet apart, with a depth of 4.5 feet, when leaving this funnel the stream broadens into shallow channels, embracing many islands, and generally covers a width of from three-quarters of a mile to 1.5 miles. Owing to the changes in its bed much rich land remains untouched, which, by the protection of dikes, might be saved.

In visiting the pueblos it was one of my chief duties to ascertain the amount of land going to waste in the river bed and the amount which might be rendered available either by raising the grade of the present acequias or by the construction of new ones from more distant sources. As it will be seen further on that the average amount of land farmed by each Indian of the pueblos is about 4 or 4.5 acres, the question of the reclamation of land becomes for him the most important to which the government can address itself.

The soil of the valleys of New Mexico is a reddish gray sandy loam, a mixture of sand and clay, extremely fertile, and though seldom enriched by anything save the sediment resulting from irrigation it preserves marvelous vitality. Worked with a little straw, it is easily converted into brick.

In compiling the report I have sought to verify all statements from various sources, and by conversation and correspondence I have had recourse to the thoughts of men and women in different ways interested in the truth concerning Indians, as traders, priests, military men, home missionaries, ethnologists, ranchmen, teachers, innkeepers, or farmers. Besides this, I have smoked it out with the governors and principals of each tribe. This report is therefore a concensus of many opinions.

From the most northern of the pueblos, Taos, south toward Santa Fe, the ancient center of civilization of the territory, the villages of the pueblo chain exhibit a marked deterioration.

This we must either treat as a mere incident or seek to discover by closer observation its causes. I notice that a gradual deterioration in the general appointment of dwellings, in crops, in spirit and assertion of rights, in possessions, is apparent southward and northward toward Santa Fe. The most important and best sustained villages of the Pueblos are Taos and San Juan, the most northern; Isleta and Sandia, the most southern; Laguna, Acoma, and Zuñi to the extreme west, while those of least importance are those lying contiguous to Santa Fe.

With this as a center, we may start with its single Indian dwelling as the only relic of the extensive pueblo, which, on the advent of Coronado, stood upon this site, and which is now occupied by a Mexican family. From the little town of Tesuque, a neighbor at 8 miles, we pass to Pojoaque, 2 leagues farther, to find a mere shell, its heart eaten out by encroaching Mexican and French settlers. Pecos to the east is extinct; San Ildefonso by sales and thefts of lands maintains a precarious existence.

That the influence emanating from Santa Fe should be withering to neighboring settlements and prevent their advance, I would not have the hardihood to assert were it not to couple it with the truism that little knowledge works more danger as a disorganizing leaven than a lack of this pseudo elevation, leaving as the result a pure or original article, and though flat, yet homogeneous, and enjoyed with the bliss unknown to better things. As an instance, I would ask, should one feel that any great advance had been made in a show of broken chairs picked up as gifts in Santa Fe, taking the place of the usual long, neatly folded set of blankets, neat and comfortable, a divan, generally found on 2 sides of Pueblo houses? Can any broom of American manufacture possibly give greater cleanliness to the clay floors than the rude stub brush in the hand of the Indian housewife; or is a wooden bucket and an ironstone china mug, a quarter of an inch thick, preferable to the light and shapely gourd, lifting its draught of cool water from the olla of graceful lines and chaste decoration? But not to press an argument in space devoted to the statement of facts, let me say, without the slightest chance of contradiction, that proximity to centers of white settlement has invariably resulted in the overrunning and cramping of the land tenure of the Indian. The location of the pueblos has in most cases been selected with great judgment by the Indians, and as every foot of land in the territory available for agriculture has long since been taken, all immigration hangs upon the borders of these pueblo reservations. The fact that persistent pressing has worked contraction is not surprising, except in the face of statements to be found in the reports and in newspaper articles to the effect that it is one of the lofty principles of the Pueblo Indian never to part with any portion of that inheritance which, as a member of a completely organized and well regulated commune, he has received as a birthright. It is strange that this notion has such wide currency when it requires but little probing to discover ample testimony of its universal falsity. On several occasions I was assured in conversation with the chiefs that no land in their pueblo had been sold, but without exception, on my tour of inspection, which was generally taken with the governor of the pueblo and a few of his men, after our conference, I was able to pick out the houses of Mexican squatters who were either owners or lessees and whose presence among them (they were there without rights) was variously explained, and in the face of many appeals to the Indian agent or others having a show of authority in government. There is therefore not a single pueblo in the claim from Taos to Isleta that has preserved its grant as confirmed by the Congress of 1858 and with patent signed by the hand of Abraham Lincoln in 1863.

TAOS.

Taos, the most northern of the New Mexican pueblos, lies between the Rio Lucero and Rio Taos. Both streams furnish never failing supplies of water. As a consequence, the crops raised by the Indians are remarkably fine. Corn and wheat are produced in about equal quantities. Fruit and vegetables are rarely seen. The farms range in extent from 9 to 13 acres, though some members of the community having large families manage as many as 35 acres, and others variously 30, 24, 18, 16, 10, 8, 6, and 3. Corn and wheat bring 50 cents a bushel. These farms yield, when well managed, 30 bushels to the acre. At the Ranchos de Taos, a Mexican village 8 miles distant, a large mill affords ready sale for all they can produce. Many Indians are able to store and hold their grain until prices have advanced, sometimes to 85 cents per bushel. This is the most independent of the Pueblo tribes both in material condition and in its attitude toward strangers. It would be difficult to find in the west, where farming is dependent upon irrigation, a more desirable tract of land than that owned by these Indians. The water, carried in subwaterways, or acequias, commands a large portion of the reservation. Cottonwood trees line the main water courses and larger streams of artificial construction. The fields behind the town toward the mountain are divided by scrub willow, wild plum, and blackberry bushes, and seldom contain more than 3 or 4 acres. One member of the pueblo often does own several plots of ground. If he finds that he can care for more land, he makes application to the authorities of the commune for another section either adjoining or in a different part of the tract. After holding these portions for a period long enough to have him regarded as the owner, he is privileged to sell or rent to a fellow townsman, or to have a part of all his land worked on shares. On the southern border, touched by the Mexican town of Fernandez de Taos, I found several farms worked in this way by Mexicans. Their owners loaf or hunt. After the revolution of 1847, when money was necessary in the pueblo, one-eighth of their land, a strip on the southern border, was sold. This, however, was included in the grant confirmed in 1858, though never properly claimed by the pueblo. On the north three-eighths of the grant covers mountain land. It is supposed that this has deposits of mineral, but the Indian keeps jealous guard upon it and challenges every intruder. He makes no attempt at developing this himself, for since the days when, under Spanish rule, he mined as a slave the Indian has never shown the slightest inclination to penetrate more than the depth of a plowshare below the surface.

Taos, like several other pueblos, has purchased land outside of its grant. At present a litigation in which the pueblo is the defendant, suit being brought by 6 Mexican settlers, is in progress. A bloodless war over irrigating

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Corn Dance.—Pueblo of Cochite, 1890.



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Pueblo of Taos, Old Church.

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Sun Dance.—Pueblo of Cochite, 1890.



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Pueblo of Taos.

ditches, which were destroyed, provoked the suit. This is the only community in the range possessed of confidence and pluck enough to take the aggressive for maintaining its rights. All other cases that have come under my notice have proved the Indian to be a prodigy of long-suffering patience. A ramble through the groves and fields of this pueblo discloses many little structures, houses of a single room, the summer abode of families engaged in tilling the soil. After harvest these families return to the pueblo. A portion only of the inhabitants leave the town in summer, those owning land near at hand remaining. If, as at Laguna, these summer houses could be made places of permanent abode, the health of the community would be greatly improved. As it is, an epidemic, fastening itself upon the community, finds fertile soil in the crowded tenements. The best thing that could happen to Taos would be the destruction of its 2 great piles of buildings, 5 and 7 stories in height, and the building of separate houses, as at Isleta, of but 1 story. The day before I reached Taos 7 children died of diphtheria. Smallpox was also raging. A glance was sufficient to discover the cause. Urine is allowed to stand in large ollas for 3 days. Silly superstitions result in the poisoning of the air, which is breathed, as it rises, by the inmates of the upper stories of the buildings. The town of Taos was formerly encompassed by a wall, the remains of which are still seen skirting an irregular space of less than a dozen acres. Within this, and on either side of the stream which intersects it, 2 piles of buildings have been reared, besides other smaller lodges, which lie about these centers. The schoolhouse, under the management of a Catholic Indian mission, is a comfortable adobe structure. It is the only building in the village having square and painted window and door jams. It has a seating capacity for 40, though the average attendance has been but 28 for the past year. There were originally no doors or means of ingress on the ground floor of the 2 great structures, but instead entrance was had through trapdoors in the roof reached by ladders from without, which in time of danger might be pulled up and so allow no opportunity to the invader. In front of both pyramidal structures stands a row of huge bake ovens, conical in shape, each provided with a large door and hole for draught, which are seldom used save by the dogs, and which find them snug kennels at night. After a fire has been made and allowed to burn for some time, the oven is cleared, heat sufficient remaining for a number of bakings. I give a close description of an Indian dwelling, as, with the exception of the height to which the structures rise at Taos, one is typical of all others throughout the pueblos. Mounting one of the many ladders, we gain the first platform. The door confronting us is about two-thirds the height of a man. The room probably measures 15 by 20 feet, with a height of 7.5 feet. In one corner is the open fireplace, about which lie pots, large and small, used in cooking, also a pile of piñon branches and mesquite roots for fuel, and a large olla with open mouth, serving as a depository for ashes. Along one side is the bed, with its cushions of skins and blankets, under which are concealed the few valuables of the occupant. From the rafters hangs the cradle, a stout wicker basket, furnished with soft skins, and near it are strung festoons of many-colored ears of corn, red peppers, jerked meat, bear grass, feathers, etc. The floor is of hard cement, sometimes blackened and polished by application of beef blood, and the walls at their junction meet in a curve. At the height of 2 feet is a broad band of yellow ocher encircling the room; from this to the top the walls are either whitened with washes of ground gypsum or allowed to remain the original color of the clay. The ponderous cottonwood timbers overlying the walls are barked and left clean, and suffered to protrude several feet, more or less, on the outside. A multiplicity of ladders of all sizes, charred and cracked pots capping the chimneys, a bake oven large enough for a night's lodging, trapdoors, poles of odd and unnecessary lengths, which serve as occasion requires for jerking meat and drying clothes, are what confront one on each exit from the dim interiors into the intense sunlight. Mounting higher, the walls are found to be more delicate and the ceilings lower, the highest story of the north pueblo barely accommodating a person in a sitting posture. Here and there on a balcony by itself may be seen a large wooden cage, which indicates ownership in an eagle, though usually the bird, with wings clipped, is espied enjoying his probatory freedom on a clothespole or on the lofty summit of a tree in the sacred grove, which extends along the stream for 2 miles behind the town, a sort of park for the villagers, and back of all, though near enough for the eastern sun to cast therefrom long shadows over the pueblo, rise the magnificent summits of the Taos mountains, attaining a height of more than 14,000 feet. Linguistically, Taos belongs to the Tigua (Tequas) group, of Tewan or Tanoan stock. The Taosans braid 2 side locks of hair with fur or worsted, parting it back and front in the center of the head. Like their northern neighbors, the Utes and Apaches, they dress largely in skins, though calico serves them for working garments. In respect to communal organization and religious ceremonials, they conform to other pueblos, and strange to say, their Indian language is identical with that of Isleta, the pueblo farthest to the south. This pueblo has a range of almost 500 acres of fine pasture land inclosed by a wire fence. Here all the flocks and herds of the community graze, horses, cattle, and goats. All save the horses are driven back to the pueblo and corralled at night. Taos has a grant of 17,360 acres. One-half is inaccessible and about one-third of the remainder is unavailable either for grazing or agriculture.

SAN JUAN.

San Juan lies upon the sand dunes, 20 feet above the left bank of the Rio Grande. From this slight elevation the fields stretching to the north, west, and south show by their different colors that a variety of crops is produced. Compared to Taos, the character of San Juan is more that of a great garden, and in some respects the

industry expended upon the smaller plots yields results which remind one of the thrift met with in Holland. Crossing the broad acequia, one leaves the arid sands to enter rankest verdure. Trim fences of cedar limbs driven into the ground in close line or dry brush fastened upon posts with thongs of leather inclose little holdings of half an acre or more, growing cabbages, melons, beans, squashes, oats, peppers, and corn. Dense and diminutive orchards of apple and plum trees alternate with these garden plots. Branches overhang and trail upon the hard clay floors beneath. Children play here, and old people on couches enjoy the coolness of the shade. The acequia close at hand makes its noiseless way, spreading its waters, by a labyrinth of subchannels and lesser courses through the verdure, losing itself among tall grasses and reappearing to inclose in its sinuous lines hillocks of peas and beans. Little houses of adobe or of wicker, often adorned by a booth of boughs on top, where the family partakes of its meals, surprise one at almost every exit from the dense shrubbery: compendiums of coziness, ideal summer cottages. Life under these conditions is Arcadian, nay, Utopian, and the impressions made are hardly compatible with the opinions which stimulate the zeal of philanthropists toward effecting a change, a zeal which begins by cropping close the hair of both girls and boys, disrobing them of one of the most serviceable and picturesque costumes in the world, and thus robbing them of the 2 distinguishing marks of the Indian, his hair and clothes. When in the generations following the Indian has to perform the duties of citizenship, will he look any more like a man, or need his intelligence be called in question, if he be found in line at the polls wearing the loose garments and flowing hair which now so becomes his personality. Let us hope that renovation may not invade the home except, perhaps, to supply ventilation.

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At San Juan, out of a population of 375, there are 80 Indians owning land. While some are found to have 20 and 25 acres others have none, but make their living by working for neighbors. The official schedule for this pueblo states that 342 acres are under cultivation. This is too low a calculation by at least 300 acres. The instructions upon the enumerators' blanks are in part responsible for misstatements of this kind. They call for entries of farms of more than 3 acres only. Very many farms contain less than this. The schedule asserts that no one owns more than 5 acres. This is not so. The nominal régime of a commune has not produced equality of condition; rich and poor live at San Juan. This disparity has resulted in the willingness of the slothful to sell their allotments and the readiness of the industrious to buy.

I questioned the council here individually on the subject of meat. They have no flocks of sheep and but a few goats and cattle. Their meat is purchased or received in lieu of work on cattle ranches, and eaten by the well-to-do on an average of once a month. As vegetarians, however, they maintain a vigorous degree of health. The land lying above the large acequias, especially south of the town, is level and well adapted for farms. Almost 1,000 acres could be saved by ditch construction at a higher level. Operations were commenced at Laholla, 6 miles north of the pueblo, where Mexican landholders south of the pueblo wished to gain a high source for their water. This enterprise would have gained much land to the whole valley and would have been a benefit to both Santa Clara and San Ildefonso below, each of these pueblos sadly needing an extension of available territory. The management of this enterprise was in the hands of Mexicans, but former experience, coupled with natural suspicion of strangers, caused the Indians of San Juan to refuse the right of way. The government could not undertake a better work for the Indians than to aid in this scheme. It is estimated that $100,000 would be required if work upon this ditch were paid for. By proper overtures from responsible parties to the town governments of these pueblos work could be had, out of farming season, without cost, and would be gladly given by the Indians. The reclamation of large tracts at San Juan and other pueblos would help a redistribution of land, thus supplying those families owning no land with the means of a livelihood. The necessary expense of surveys, overseeing, and material might be met by a tax on the products of the land reclaimed, the first payments being made by a loan from the government.

The land here yields 15 bushels of wheat and 20 bushels of corn to the acre. The method of thrashing wheat is the ancient one of treading by animals, either horses or goats. An inclosure, the size of a circus ring, is formed by long poles driven into the ground. Connecting these are ropes of rawhide, which support blankets, giving the slight framework an appearance of strength. A band of horses or a flock of goats tramping all day will thrash 20 or 25 bushels. The grain of each farm is thrashed separately, animals sufficient being had by uniting the resources of a number. There are 6 thrashing floors at San Juan. At the thrashing season a man and wife may be seen entering the store of a trader, she carrying in her dress and he in a blanket the little results of half a day's thrashing, sifting, and cleansing. Taking a box holding 10 pounds they scrupulously fill it time and again, turning the contents into the trader's bin. 12.5 cents is paid for this 10 pound measure. The equivalent is at once taken in trade at the counter, where husband and wife discuss calico patterns or the purchase of a new hoe from every point of view to which they appeal to the Indian mind.

The town is built of adobe houses, 1 and 2 stories high. The plaza is long and irregular, the streets running at right angles and parallel to it. Fewer ladders are seen than at Taos, entrance being had on the ground floor.

A large Catholic church stands beyond the western end of the plaza, and in front of it has recently been placed a gilded statue of the Virgin, heroic size. This is erected upon a pedestal and inclosed by an iron railing, a gift to

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From an Etching by PETER MORAN.

Pueblo Indians at Taos Threshing Grain.

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the pueblo by the residing priest. 20 yards from this, and in the plaza, a neat chapel of stone has recently been built at a cost of $10,000, also a gift of the priest. The priest, who is a Frenchman, speaking no English, is 1 of the 9 now among the pueblos, recently installed in the places of Mexican padres. In conversation he said:

The Indians care absolutely nothing for any religion save the Catholic. Although not half of them attend mass, or care to hear me preach, they are very particular to send for me when they are to die, and would not think of being buried save by me. I baptize and marry all Indians. It is foolish to teach English at the schools. It is no better than Latin to a boar; a thing for which they have no use, and soon forget for that reason.

The following is the opinion of a Protestant missionary laboring in the same field:

Some men at San Juan have bought Testaments and Presbyterian catechisms, knowing fully what it was they were getting and paying for; and to this day they seem fully satisfied with the bargain. Others have Bibles from sources not known to me, and some read them, as I personally know.

At Santa Clara there was a movement to turn over the whole pueblo and the church to the Protestants. Why it fell through I never fully learned, as I had no part in the matter from beginning to end. The Catholics established a school for the Indians without government aid, and made some other concessions that had been before denied, possibly in order to prevent their disaffection.

At San Ildefonso but little attention has been given to the matter by any one on either side. At one time there was some serious and favorable attention given to me and my work there, but I could not follow it up, nor do I know what it resulted in.

At Pojoaque there is one Presbyterian communicant, who is an intelligent, faithful, but a rabid Protestant; others there have applied for membership with us, but for certain prudential reasons have not been received. Others are firm Protestants, in many things at least, who manage their affairs in open disobedience to both priests and bishop, but who do not wish to formally unite with the Presbyterian church, though they go miles to get to our services and open their houses for our preaching in them. They are entirely convinced that there is something better about Presbyterianism than there is to be found in or about Romanism

At Nambe we have friends, houses open, and most of the people ready for our preaching at times, and at times not. 2 or 3 persons (maybe more) applied for membership with us; they were left to wait awhile. What their condition is now I do not know, as I have been unable to go there for more than a year.

These Taywahs [Tewans] have a great deal of manhood, more indeed than the average American, but it is gross and low. They are susceptible of being made the most refined and enlightened christian citizens, which is more than can be said of some of their neighbors.

They are mechanical, and learn to write in half the time an American does. They are the most peaceable people I ever dwelt among. They would be religious, I think, if they were taught religion instead of superstitious idolatry. As it is, many of the more intelligent ones repudiate the mockeries of the 2 systems which they have alone learned. When they have learned something that is solid, pure, worthy, and true, they will, I believe, stand forth in the might of their conscious manhood followers of Christ Jesus.

The school, under the management of a Mexican, numbers 35 to 40. For several years a Mexican who could barely talk, much less read, English was employed. According to the testimony of various persons, he was drunk more than a third of the time, the schoolhouse remaining locked 3 and 4 days together. He drew regular pay and sent in full averages (on the basis of which teachers are paid) for 3 years. He was finally discharged by the influence of the priest. The school is Catholic. One of the most potent influences for education in the pueblo is the counsel and example of Mr. Samuel Eldodt, a resident for 22 years, trading in the community. Mr. Eldodt has a flower, fruit, and vegetable garden of 2.5 acres, kept by an experienced German, whose experiments and results are at once a surprise and an incentive to the Indians. In the failure of practical aid from the agent, Mr. Eldodt has been called upon for many years for advice in matters of personal grievance and neighboring encroachment. Although frequent opportunities were here offered for acquiring land in the pueblo, he owns only what his house stands upon.

San Juan holds 17,545 acres, little of which, outside of the bottom lands of the river, is available for pasture. But few flocks and herds therefore are maintained. Every man in the pueblo owns at least 1 horse and 1 burro, and some have several of each kind. Small reserves are left among the bottom lands for grazing purposes.

SANTA CLARA.

Santa Clara is poor. The valley which widens toward San Juan closes again on its approach to Santa Clara. The pueblo occupies a site on the right bank of the river at its junction with the cañon. The stream running from this is apt to dry up before the end of the summer. A system of acequias has been constructed here, and corn was planted this year. But little water was flowing during my visit in the middle of August, and most of the acequias were dry and dusty. The corn was not mature. A reservoir in the cañon would relieve much anxiety and prevent frequent loss of crops to the Indian. From the northern boundary of the grant, toward the town (the town invariably occupies the center of all pueblo grants) little or no farming is done, the mesa here running close to the river. Below the village on the right bank lies most of the tilled land. 350 acres are here devoted to corn, wheat, alfalfa, and a variety of vegetables. There are but few orchards. The largest plot owned by one man is 30 acres. From this the holdings decrease in size to 3 and 2 acres. There are 22 horses, 4 oxen, and 30 burros in the pueblo. The governor said that "had they had more animals at plowing time they could have put more land under cultivation". Some who have horses have no harness, and no money to purchase. The agency granted 2 plows for the village, which are used by lot. The only revenue outside of their farms comes from work on the railroad, where they receive from 50 to 75 cents per day and board. The women manufacture fine pottery, and some families are quite constantly employed by orders for the eastern market. On the left bank of the river their land, 3 miles

long by 1 mile wide, is at present in litigation. There are 2 cases now pending in the courts against the pueblo. The inhabitants of the town are divided by party controversies, the cacique, or high priest, leading one faction and the governor and municipal authorities the other. This has involved them in intricate troubles over their land. Indians of one faction have come into the courts of Santa Fe and sworn that they did not own or care for certain portions of land. It is the opinion of the neighborhood that before long there will be desperate killing among them. Some years ago the governor chastised the cacique, who, it is claimed, is a false cacique, and not appointed by legitimate methods. The pueblo has a grievance against 8 Mexicans and 1 American who have fenced in portions of their second grant in the cañon several miles from the village, and have seized the water supplies. A title to the grant dated 1763 from the Spanish authorities has been placed in evidence. This case has now hung for 9 years in the courts. As possession for 10 years is the best title to be had in the territory, immediate action is necessary. The present agent has never visited them. From an intelligent, sympathetic woman at Espanola I heard the following:

> No one about here cares anything at all for the welfare of these people. Their condition is wretched and largely the result of their own ignorance concerning proper methods of cultivation and the proper use of the water at their command. Their simplicity is pitiable. Squashes are generally picked when a third grown. No selection of seeds is made. I sent east for white beans, peas, and sweet corn seed, and gave directions for planting. I was told by a number into whose hands the seed and information came that this was the first interest of the sort shown them.

In the pueblito, or little village of the cañon, live 5 families. Their houses are constructed of cedar posts and mud, and are small. They farm small patches here and there, in all about 40 acres. The water supply is limited.

Santa Clara has a grant of 17,369 acres.

SAN ILDEFONSO.

Santa Clara's neighbor on the south is San Ildefonso. The village lies on the opposite side of the river, 5 miles below, and at the intersection of Pojoaque river, which meets the Rio Grande at right angles from the east. The dwellings are built upon a large, well-kept plaza of rectangular shape, and the only plaza in the pueblos having shade trees. From this center the buildings are found variously placed. Close to it on the acequia are several Mexican houses and in the fields at a distance several others. Inquiries developed the fact that years ago these families were allowed to enter the pueblo, and land was sold to them. By degrees they have enlarged their boundaries. No land, however, has been sold them for a number of years. It is now acquired by force, as is evident from the following facts: In April of the present year Mexicans entered the pueblo lines across the river opposite the town and commenced plowing. The governor and 12 men ordered them off. They retired only to return when the authority was removed. This was repeated several times. The nearest bridge being 7 miles distant, at Espanola, this guarding of territory across the river required time and patience, and at this important season the former was soon exhausted; the latter with these Indians never is. The result, as I saw it in August, is a fine field of corn soon to be harvested by the thieves. The agent at Santa Fe was duly called upon for assistance. This is a courtesy to the authority of the United States government which the Indian never omits. The agent promised aid. This is a return of the courtesy which proprieties always demand. The presence of the agent on the ground, with a threat of prosecution, would have been sufficient. This would have cost him 1 day and horse hire. To my suggestion of crossing the river and being a law unto themselves, the chief replied with ingenuous candor, "We would be very pleased to cut their throats if Governor Prince would give us permission". All acts of violence are tried by the justice of the peace, the Mexican alcalde court.

The available land for cultivation remaining to this pueblo is a strip on the east bank, and between one-third and one-sixth of a mile wide. The largest plot, 7 acres, under cultivation is owned by a widow, growing corn and wheat and a few fruit trees, the only fruit trees in the village. This land is tilled for her by the community, and her gratuities in return have won for her the name of the "Mother of the Pueblo". The size of other farms is from 2 to 3 acres. This pueblo had originally 17,293 acres. The contracted range of the bottom lands to which water is accessible would not measure a section and a half, or 960 acres. Above the line of irrigating ditches the land is useless even for pasture. The high mesas closing upon the river a mile south of the town leave no land below this point for cultivation.

POJOAQUE.

The grant to this pueblo originally contained 13,520 acres. Owing to shrinkage in population the inhabitants have parted with most of their land. At present they have but 25 acres.

The pueblo, situated a mile east of the junction of the Pojoaque and Tesuque rivers, contains 5 men, 7 women, and 20 children. They have been in litigation for 4 years with 2 Mexicans who have settled on the river a mile below the village. This land was not farmed by the Pueblos. The Mexicans therefore appropriated it. No payment has been made. The governor says he has wasted much time at court during harvest season over this case. He has attended sessions for 4 years. The sum total of property in Pojoaque is 8 cows, 12 burros, 2 wagons, 7 pigs, 1 set of harness, 1 ox cart, 1 small wagon, and 4 plows.

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Tesuque Pueblo (Indian Village) near Santa Fe, New Mexico.



New York Engraving & Printing Co. Governor's Residence in Pueblo of Tesuque.

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The Governor. Tesuque, New Mexico.



Pueblo of Tesuque, New Mexico.



Pueblo of Tesuque, New Mexico.
Woman burning Pottery.



The Aroya back of Santa Fe, on the road to Tesuque.



Pueblo Indian, Tesuque, New Mexico.



The Aroya back of Santa Fe, on the road to Tesuque.

New York Engraving & Printing Co.

Photographed by BLAINE DONALDSON, 1891.

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TESUQUE.

One approaches Tesuque, situated on the left bank of the river by that name, over a road winding through small orchards fenced by an abatis of cedar boughs driven into the ground, while apple and peach trees tangle their branches overhead. Small patches of wheat and corn lie on either side of the road. The village is reached shortly after passing the river, and is built in about a quadrangle 240 feet long by 150 feet broad. The houses are mostly of 2 stories. The Catholic church is small and in a neglected condition. Methods of farming are still crude here. Both wooden and steel plows are used. Corn is planted too closely, seldom in rows. The result is fair. There is more uniformity in the size of the farms than at any other pueblo. The greatest amount of land owned by one person is 18 acres, the lowest 6 acres, an average of 9.3 acres. Orchards of an acre contain about 20 trees, yielding liberally. The fruit, however, is small and of little flavor. That found in the pueblos farther south is invariably fine. From 14 acres the owner has realized $110; from 10 acres, $65. Out of a population of 91, 25 maintain farms, cultivating 230 acres. Pottery is an industry in this village. Proximity to Santa Fe supplies their kilns with orders. The products are usually fanciful and not characteristic of the Indian design. They still grind corn by stone rubbing (as do the Moquis of Arizona). 4 bins, each supplied with a stone fitted into it like a washboard, are found in many houses. The grain thrown first into the bin having the stone of roughest surface, is there broken by bearing down upon it with a stone similar in shape to a "twist" loaf of bread, using the motion of washing clothes. In the next bin, over a smoother surface of stone, the grain is ground a degree finer. After passing over 4 stones of graded surface the product is ready for sifting. Passable flour and corn meal are thus produced. Much of the raw material is exchanged for necessaries at Santa Fe. The rooms of the houses, usually of small size, contain an occasional chair or table. A painted door is observed here and there. The walls are decorated with broad bands of yellow ocher or red clay to a height of 3 feet, and above this to the rafters are whitened with gypsum. Occasionally the wash has been applied to the exteriors of the houses. Large porticoes, or atria, the pillars decorated by flat, wooden capitals, engraved in shallow design, are found upon the ground floor or second story. Glass is used in most of the windows, unfortunately preventing ventilation. The men wear overalls and vests, but hats never. Isleta is the only hat wearing pueblo in the north and south line.

Tesuque has a grant of 17,471 acres.

NAMBE.

Nambe is found by following the bed of the Pojoaque river for 3 miles after leaving the government road. Its difficulty of access causes it to be rarely visited. The hills surrounding it to the north and east are fast crumbling by disintegration, showing some of the best sculptured forms of geological structure to be seen among the pueblos. The town is situated at the intersection of a small stream, with the Pojoaque river affording an unfailing supply of water and abundant crops. The population numbers 79, with farms covering about 300 acres. There are 20 landholders, the largest having 40, and the smallest 6 acres. The average size of farms is 15 acres, larger than in most of the pueblos. Save a few beans and vegetables, their crops are entirely of wheat and corn. Alfalfa, harvested 3 times a year, is grown by all those owning stock. The wealthiest Indian in the pueblo has realized $360 from his 40 acres, and few Indians in this section do better than this. This man, of course, has assistance on his farm, and selecting him as an extreme example of Indian industry, I state his crop for the present year, as follows: wheat, 38 bushels; corn, 160 bushels; alfalfa, 30 tons. He owns 2 horses, 2 burros, and 20 cows, which bore 8 calves last year. From this herd he was able to sell 6,000 gallons of milk and make 200 pounds of cheese.

Nambe has no orchards. One Indian has made a beginning and shows a young grove of apple and plum trees not yet in bearing. Others will soon follow this example. The original grant to this pueblo contained 13,586 acres. Some of the land has been rented to Mexicans, several of whom live at the pueblo, 1 being married to an Indian woman. A member of the tribe marrying at San Juan sold out to Mexicans. The Indians own a few goats, but no sheep. They seldom eat meat, having to buy it, or receiving it occasionally in payment for labor. The pasture here is very scant, and the Indians complain that what they have is overrun by the stock of their neighbors and no attention is paid to their remonstrances. The governor confessed that he could not point to any 1 of the 4 corners of the pueblo grant. Marauding herds of cattle and sheep approach close to the village and often overrun the crops. For the past 3 years these depredations have increased and the owners have no redress. In my opinion, before these grievances kindle into acts of violence, their agent should get an appropriation sufficient for rediscovering the corner mounds of their survey, and have painted and erected at these points signs bearing a warning in Spanish to the effect that all stray stock found ranging within the bounds of the pueblo would be driven to the pound and released only on payment of a fine by the owners, and that all encroachments for purposes of agriculture would meet with prompt prosecution in the courts; after the posting of this manifesto there should be an energetic exercise of authority for its enforcement. The town has been built about the sides of a rectangular plaza, in the center of which stand 3 houses, which, like many of the structures, are falling into decay. The interiors of the dwellings are uniformly neat and often decorated with pictures. A rude image of Christ, of old design, with a calico gee-string of modern pattern thrown around it, indicates the modesty of the proprietor. White sheets and

pillowcases are occasionally seen. The church is large, and together with other evidences, proves that at one period Nambe had many times the population of the present census, but the pulpit is tottering and ready to fall, and the walls need repairs. The priest visits the town every 3 or 4 months.

Nambe contains much of archæological interest. Pottery of ancient make and design, some of which is glazed, is to be found here, and relics of the stone age are occasionally discovered.

Nambe has a grant of 13,586 acres.

COCHITI.

Cochiti has an extremely favorable site. It faces the river at a height of 25 feet and is surrounded on 3 sides by tillable plains. The buildings in the town, 50 in number, are generally separated, not more than 3 dwellings being contiguous. The larger portion are of 1 story. 8 Mexican families dwell here and fraternize with the Indians. I noticed 2 Indian women and 1 Mexican woman together spreading their grain upon the circular roof of the estufa. As long ago as 1820 and 1830 the Mexicans acquired land here. They are regarded as under the jurisdiction of the pueblo, and perform communal work upon irrigating ditches, roads, etc., by command of the governor of the tribe. This community has made several removes since the beginning of the seventeenth century. The town was abandoned in 1681 on the approach of Don de Otermin with a small force, the tribe returning to the mesa of Portero Viejo, there constructing a new pueblo. 13 years after Don Diego de Vargas took this new pueblo by surprise and compelled the Cochitinos to resettle on their old site. In June of 1696, after participating in the uprising of the Jemez, Tehaas, Taos, and other tribes, they fled to the highest mountains; but through negotiations with the Spaniards, they again occupied the town of Rio Grande. Here they remained under the surveillance of Spanish and Mexican regiments until 1846, and where they continue to the present time.

The arroyo De la Peralta joins the river just above the town, its breadth giving evidence of large volumes of water during the spring freshets. It can not, however, be counted upon for irrigation. If water could be had from this source much land to the west might be saved. Cochiti has no orchards, and no trees are to be seen here save the cottonwoods and willows on the sandy island of the river. South of the town the island is clear, and affords fine pasture, which is held in common for all animals. Upon this island small patches of 1.5 to 2 acres are planted in corn. Adobe houses of a single room are found where land is farmed at a distance from the pueblo. A number of incidents were cited by the governor showing the various ways in which these houses had been gotten by Mexican neighbors. The intricacies of these cases will not bear unwinding in this report. The impressions made by them is that Cochiti is sadly in need of legal advice. Work on a new irrigating ditch in process of construction at a higher level was stopped by a Mexican resident of a neighboring town who lays claim to a plot of ground through which it was to pass. The houses of the town are better built and more healthful than in many pueblos. Certain things are learned from the resident Mexicans, and more from the well-known archæologist, A. F. Bandelier, of Santa Fe, a member and former resident of this tribe, and now a frequent visitor in Cochiti. Paneled doors, window sashes, and glass are generally used. Open antechambers for sleeping are noted. This is the most northern pueblo in which are to be seen inclosures, or yards, in front of houses. These are called corrals, and are used as such for horses in waiting for 1 or 2 hours. The fences are formed of cedar trunks driven in the earth at close intervals and bound together with telegraph wire, thongs of leather, and horsehair. The plaza is unusually large, and the streets wide. The Catholic church is in good repair, the Mexican contingent taking a greater interest than the Indians in its ceremonials. The grant of Cochiti is 24,256 acres.

JEMEZ.

The village of Jemez is situated at the mouth of one of the most romantic cañons of New Mexico. Just above the northern boundary of the pueblo grant the walls of the mesa on either side rise suddenly to a height of 1,900 feet. 13 miles above the remains of the ancient pueblo of Jemez are still seen, and upon the mesas between that and Jemez appear the ruins of more recent pueblos, built by insurrectionary communities. Approaching from the terminus of the valley, which penetrates the mountains for many miles, we cross the Viaceta creek, a small and dry stream at present, and enter the rapidly widening valley of the pueblo. 2.5 miles below this line the pueblo, inclosed on the northwest by numerous little orchards of apple, plum, and apricot trees, emerges from beneath this deep tangle of green. On entering from this direction, the Presbyterian mission schoolhouse, corral, and dwelling, built of adobe, are passed, and shortly after a line of cedar corrals extending entirely along the east and south sides of the town. At the extreme end of these is a Catholic church, and near it a 2-story frame building of the Catholic mission, its schoolroom below and dwelling apartments above. The plaza of Jemez is irregular and unusually narrow. The houses, built closely about this, are mostly of 2 stories. On either side, north and south, are 2 other streets, upon which the houses have been less closely placed. There are 85 houses in the town, and surrounding it on both sides of the river are many little summer lodges. Southeast of the town are 9 thrashing floors, where, for almost 2 months, since the 9th of July, the slow processes of thrashing grain by horses, and winnowing it by means of wooden shovels and the aid of the never failing southern breeze, have

been in progress. At the traders' store 75 cents a bushel is paid for wheat, which is more than at any other pueblo. About 1,400 acres are farmed, mostly on the west side of the river. The marks of an ancient irrigating ditch are seen on the east side, and an old Indian, who recently died, declared that it was used when he was a child. The Viaceta creek was then a small stream. By the increased size of its bed the acequia which crossed it, bearing water from the cañon at a higher level, was endangered and frequently broken. The ditch, and the land below which it commanded, were therefore abandoned. Mr. Miller, the trader, together with Mr. Beaumont, a civil engineer, proposed making a flume to transport the water from reconstructed ditches over this arroyo, the cost of which was estimated at $2,500. The matter was laid before Dr. Thomas, the agent, and through him $1,500 was promised by the government. On the appointment of Pedro Sanchez as agent nothing further was heard of the project. About 800 acres could be saved by this means. The Jemez Indians have a wide reputation for industry. They are faithful and hardy. With the exception of about 70 acres in scattered plots, all land to be reached by water is cultivated. The old story of unequal acquirement of land is heard at Jemez. There are 15 heads of families who own none and obtain subsistence by working on shares for their neighbors. The fields between river and town are surrounded by high mud walls. A door, with padlock and key, protects little plots of vegetables, fruit, and grapes. 40 barrels of wine are made per year. Their dried peaches are excellent and command higher prices at Santa Fe than eastern fruit. This year Jemez will have 10,000 bushels of wheat and nearly as much corn. They are just beginning to fertilize their fields. An immense bank of manure, 9 feet deep and covering an acre, has been discovered, the site of former corrals. This the storekeeper has prevailed upon some of them to use. The same supplies are to be had at all pueblos, but little appreciation of the effects of fertilization is apparent. 10 years ago their plowing was done by wooden plows and oxen. Since that time they have broken many horses to harness and are discarding oxen. According to some authorities they own 3,000 head of horses, according to others only 750. These are kept on an immense range of unconfined pasture land 50 miles long by 12 wide, claimed jointly by Zia, Santa Ana, and Jemez. It is impossible to get at the correct number of either horses or cattle. The Indians do not know how many they own. The possession of horses is doubtful wealth, the Navajos having broken the market. The Indians are as willing to take a journey on foot as on horseback, and are able to cover as much ground by one means as the other. The above-mentioned grant was given under Spanish authority for pasture purposes, that government reserving the right of pasture for cavalry in the valley of Spirito Santo. Lately valuable mineral deposits have been discovered upon the grant, especially on the Rio Perco and near Salisaro. A 15-foot vein of lignite coal and copper, also gold and silver, have been discovered by prospectors. The Indians threaten all comers to this valley who carry picks and shovels, though they show no inclination to mine themselves. A confirmation by government of the original grant for the purposes just mentioned (pasture), and its opening for mining would be advisable. Complaints are made that immense herds of sheep range on the land. Stock from the adjoining Mexican village of San Ysidro frequently invades their corn and grain fields. The agency supplied them with wire for fencing, which was used for protection on this side. The fence has been broken, and there is much irritation in consequence. Some years ago the Mexicans obtained a foothold on the pueblo territory, and formed a settlement of 6 houses. Negotiations were entered into whereby exchange was made for an equivalent portion of land on the southern side of the grant. The Mexicans still held on to their houses and certain portions of land about them. A writ of ejectment was served, but the Indians seemed timid about using the land until Dr. Thomas, their agent, had the vacated houses destroyed, which is a sample of the caution observed by these Pueblos in all acts amenable to law. In 1830 the pueblo of the Pecos, linguistically allied to Jemez, abandoned its land and joined this community. 10 years ago a Presbyterian school was started by Dr. Shields, who, assisted by his wife and niece, placed it on a staunch basis and secured for it a large attendance from the pueblo. Opposition from the resident priest, and later from the Indian agent, was brought to influence the parents against it. The agent, Romero, writing from Zia, ordered, in the name of the government, the fathers of Jemez to remove their children from the school, and threatened that in event of disobedience the church would spew them out of her mouth. The letter was carried by the chief to a party for translation, by whom a copy was made of it, and a translation appended containing the agent's innumerable mistakes in spelling and grammar, and the same was forwarded to the President, resulting in a prompt dismissal of the agent. The present priest, a French gentleman of liberal ideas, offers no opposition whatever to the school. 3 years ago the Catholic mission established a school at Jemez, which also receives aid from the government. The result of having 2 schools in the community is that the children rotate between both, and regularity of attendance at either is broken. At the Catholic school an incompetent teacher was stationed, whose returns for average attendance, on the basis of which aid from the government is rendered, was found to be extravagant. He was recalled last year and a very competent and accomplished lady, Mrs. Thayer, of Baltimore, was sent to fill his place. She is preparing to introduce the kindergarten system and has promise of a large attendance. The grant of Jemez contains 17,510 acres, 3,500 of which can be made available for agriculture.

ZIA.

Approached from any direction the little town of Zia stands forth boldly against the sky, a low line of gray and white buildings capping the stony promontory, which rises abruptly from the river to the height of 250 feet, and finds its connection with the mesa beyond in a narrow ridge to the north. The church of the Jesuits, occupying the highest site, is not large, but built for a much larger population than is to be found here. Evidences of shrinkage are everywhere apparent in the ruined foundations of houses long since deserted, as well as in the dilapidation of vacant tenements. From the church to the plaza at the other end of the town, a distance of 200 yards, stand the houses that now remain. Little regularity in construction is observable, save that the buildings have been placed in parallel lines and face the 4 cardinal points. They are constructed of cobblestones and volcanic scoria, great care being observed in the selection of stones of one size. These are joined in rows of adobe mud. Occasionally the surface is plastered and the whole whitened. To the west of the town is a series of stone corrals. Every Saturday night the stock is driven into these and the herders are changed. Up the rocky sides come lines of horses, burros, mules, and cattle in headlong precipitation, hurrying to escape the pistol-like shots falling fast from long whips carried by the herders, and by the awaiting members of the community. Zia owns 300 horses, 40 mules, 100 burros, and 650 cows and oxen. The herders appear in the village with the necks of their horses garlanded with wood rats and other game which arrows and clubs have secured. Sunday, therefore, is a day of feasting. Toward the town from the west the river winds slowly through its wide bed for 3 miles. Above this its course lies northward. On the north and south are vast tracts of sandy and unproductive territory, and to the east following the river, thence until it joins the Rio Grande, the soil produces nothing. There are 26 spademen in this community, and they cultivate, in isolated patches, less than 100 acres of wheat and corn. The farming is performed in a shiftless and half-hearted manner. Neighboring Indians call them lazy, and this bad opinion of them was manifested by their Santa Ana brethren 2 years ago. When sending to them for aid in time of starvation, offering ready money obtained by selling their trinkets, the Santa Ana Indians refused them supplies, saying it was time they perished from the earth. Their neighbors at Jemez are more considerate. In 1876, out of good fellowship, they aided them for 3 days with a force of over 100 men in the construction of an acequia. This was allowed to fall into decay, and is now overgrown. They complain that much of their property was damaged by marauding bands of cattle, especially from Santa Ana. On application to the agent a paper of warning was given them, but as no one could read its contents it became a matter of derision, and the authority it was said to contain was held in abeyance for proof. The women are able to supplement by their skill in the art of pottery the modicum of support provided by their husbands. The kilns of this village have a just reputation for the shape of their models and for refinement of decoration. The olla is first sun baked, the painting is then applied, and the whole fired. Powdered gypsum is used for a white ground. Colored powder, obtained from red sandstone and trachyte, is mixed with water and applied by short stub brushes of grass. The sharpness of the edge and cleanness of the line thus effected is surprising when compared with the clumsiness of the implements. The design upon pottery is never a matter of fancy, but has significance, historic or mythological. The shapes frequently assume the form of animals and birds. The art is practiced entirely by the women, who show considerable steadiness of hand in applying their colors without the aid of a maul-stick.

Besides their scanty crop of wheat and corn, red peppers are grown. A string 4 feet long is sold for 50 cents. These do well in this soil and are produced in most of the pueblos. The chili verde is used as food. Only 2 small orchards are maintained in Zia, most of the inhabitants preferring to live upon their rocky site to descending and maintaining a home upon the plain.

Zia has a grant of 17,515 acres.

SANTA ANA.

One leaves Zia to follow the Jemez river directly east toward the Sandia range of mountains. The soil from this point rapidly becomes sandy and untillable, and at Santa Ana, 9 miles below, it is entirely unproductive. The inhabitants of this town have long since abandoned it as a place of summer abode, and use it only for autumn and winter residence. The town is built upon 2 streets running parallel with the river and on its bank a single cottonwood tree is noted as the only one seen in a range of many miles. Half a mile back of the town, to the north, the mesa rises to a height of 1,200 feet. On the top of this the cattle find scant pasture. They roam without herders, returning by a trail down its precipitous side every 2 days for water. They remain in the river for several hours, and then return to other dry table-lands. To the south, beyond the river, as far as the eye can reach, lies undulating plains of wind-swept sand, dotted by stunted cedars growing at intervals, and often forming the nucleus of new mounds during wind storms. This tract is given over to coyotes and rattlesnakes. The trail through it to Bernalillo is almost obliterated by the shifting of the surface. While the tribe is farming its ranches on the Rio Grande below, 1 man, together with a messenger, is deputed by the governor to guard the pueblo. They occupy their time in making thread and moccasins; the thread from cow tendon is made by splitting the tendon carefully with the thumb nail and rolling it in a little spittle on the knee. The town is built on 2 streets running parallel

with the river. On the outskirts are numerous cedar corrals, and near these a guest house, the most comfortable lodge in the village. Here strangers are entertained and, on the occasion of private feasts or dances, imprisoned. The church is a sizable structure with some pretense to architecture, and the bell on it bears the date of 1710. The dwellings are well built, generally of 2 stories, but at this time are deserted. The 2 I entered had fireplaces running the width of the house and having a draught from 2 chimneys. A complete removal is made in March. Furniture, cooking utensils, mural ornaments, as well as the eagles, dogs, and live stock necessary to farming, are taken to summer quarters 8 miles below. The cats alone remain, prowling like gaunt specters over the roofs and through the deserted streets.

At the ranches of Santa Ana are 2 small villages half a mile apart. Each is surrounded by orchards of peach, apple, and plum trees, and small vineyards. The corn crop is one of the finest to be seen on the Rio Grande. It is grown in several sections, located apart, the boundaries of individual owners being indicated along one side. My guide pointed out his own portion, 80 feet in width by 400 yards long. Others had sown more. About 750 acres have been cultivated. More land than is necessary is used for pasture. This is irrigated. The river divides above Santa Ana and meagerly occupies the 2 broad bottoms. By a boom construction in the river one bed could be made to accommodate all of its water, allowing the land lying in and contiguous to the other to be reclaimed. The grant of the ranches touches the town of Bernalillo on the south. 9 years ago the first Mexican house was built upon this land. There are now 11, inclosing 85 acres. The Indians made application to agent Sanchez for aid and have done so regularly since. Dr. Thomas, agent before Mr. Sanchez, came upon the ground and personally superintended the pulling down of the fences. During the incumbency of less positive agents the squatters became emboldened and are now increasing. I found these people proving the reputation given them by their neighbors at Zia, as independent of and superior to any authority. They simply want to be let alone, and feel abundantly able to care for their own interests. They crave assistance only against the encroachments upon their land. They are well supplied with stock, most of which is herded on the large grant, used also by Zia and Jemez. They count about 600 horses and 2,000 cattle, besides 30 yoke of work oxen and 150 burros. On the way from this pueblo to the river I passed 8 wagons, drawn by 4 and 6 oxen, carrying half a ton of grain each. Most of the crop is stored and ground by hand during the winter.

Santa Ana has a grant of 17,361 acres.

SAN DOMINGO.

This pueblo, its grant containing originally 74,743 acres, touches Cochiti on the north and San Felipe on the south, where its line runs at an angle of 50 degrees with the river, and invades the square northern corners of the latter. Its population of nearly 1,000 is industrious and utilizes nearly all available land. Hundreds of acres, however, are wasted in the river bed, as they are unwilling to risk crops upon it. An island, the dimensions of which it is impossible to estimate except by survey, so overgrown is it by cottonwood trees, serves no other purpose than that of a great park for the pueblo. Including this and the river bed, which varies from 1.5 to 1 mile wide, there are about 10 sections within the reach of water. I calculated that less than one-fifth of this is under cultivation. At the village notable changes have been wrought since my first visit to it, 10 years ago. The church, which then stood some distance from the river, has since dropped into it, showing the rapidity with which the water invades the clay banks. Many houses have disappeared, their owners removing to higher levels at the other end of the village. On the left bank of the river, surrounding the pueblo, are numerous little orchards, lately planted, but already bearing plums, peaches, apples, and apricots, a sale for which is found at the railroad station of Wallace, 3 miles below. Small plots only of fruit, vegetables, and corn are found on this side of the river. Opposite the town are the great fields of grain, with divisions marking ownership hardly perceptible. The grain is cut in common, a force of 6 or 8 working together. There seems to be no other reason for this custom than love of company. The plowing exhibits the same thing; often as many as 10 yoke of oxen awkwardly coupled by the horns are seen following the footsteps of a child, which insures a straight line across the field, and the boisterous hilarity which follows the slow company and sends back its bedlam of voices from the bottom lands is significant of the delights of all yeomen.

This tribe has made 3 moves. During the Spanish occupation of the territory it was situated at Galisteo and was then a band of marauders. The Spanish troops demolished its pueblo and subjugated the inhabitants. Their village was located within 3 miles of the present town of Wallace, and after a short residence at this site it was abandoned for the greater advantages found on the Rio Grande. There are evidences that all the pueblos, from San Juan to Sandia, came from higher sites, and often from distant mountain locations, sometimes by 2 or more stages, toward the river.

The village of San Domingo has now no regular plaza. There was once a plaza west of the church, whose site was some time ago claimed by the river. The streets, 4 at right angles and 1 parallel with the river, are very broad. The houses are of 1 and 2 stories, and show less care than any dwellings in the pueblo range. The air is usually foul and the personal habits of the inmates make occupancy by a stranger well nigh impossible. The windows,

formerly fitted with 3 slats as a barricade to thieves, have recently been filled out with gypsum or glass, lessening ventilation. The grant of San Domingo contains 74,743 acres, extending from the river equally east and west. The grant has but 5.5 miles lying upon the river. All available land is farmed, and more is needed. Pasture is found east of the pueblo, where large herds range. The people own about 1,200 horses, 1,200 cattle, besides burros and work oxen; also a few goats, but no sheep. These are herded in common, both private and pueblo brands being used. When a destitute member of the community wants a horse or an ox to aid in his labor he applies to the governor of the pueblo and is supplied. No sales are made without the consent of the governor and of the man's family. The objection on the part of a child, if it persists, is sufficient to prevent a sale. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company offered $500 for the land occupied by their tracks, which were to pass through the pueblo, but the amount was refused, it being feared that the signatures necessary would be appended to a deed of their whole territory. The governor complained of a herder, John Solomon, who had pastures on the land for some time, and who has recently fenced in a large spring near the end of the reserve. The governor had applied to the agent for help, which, though promised, had not arrived, and he was in ignorance as to how to proceed. My opinion being asked, I gave it thus: "If you are perfectly sure that this spring lies within the line of your mile mounds (as it did), I would select 40 or 50 of your bravest warriors, and while half could keep watch lest Mr. Solomon should approach, the others could pull down the fence. It should then be carried and laid outside of your grant. The next time it is pulled down I should burn it." The sarcasm was sufficiently apparent. It touched that long forgotten chord of pluck, the last to be reached in the gamut of Pueblo character. The above is given as a sample of the scrupulous care these Indians maintain to keep out of the courts. A tribe of 671 people, lacking sufficient assertion to maintain their rights against a single man!

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SAN FELIPE.

At my first visit to San Felipe I was denied entrance to the pueblo, owing to a secret dance which was in progress. The next day, coming on invitation, I found the council of principals already assembled and anxious to make amends for the inhospitable treatment of the day before. We discussed 2 large tracts of land, each available for cultivation, one needing an extension of the acequia and the other a boom in the river. Upon leaving the line of San Domingo, along which every foot was cultivated, one enters a tract of the same sort of land, 2,500 acres, covered with sagebrush, where a large band of San Domingo horses ranged. The land cultivated by the San Felipeans lies on the left bank above and on both sides below the town. A mile south of this the river divides, leaving an island of the richest loam 1.5 miles long and a third of a mile wide.

The construction of a boom and dike from the town south would not only save this land but much more along its side. The grant of San Felipe extends for 9 miles on the west and 8 on the east along the river. An irrigating ditch lines the east side for about 7 miles, passing the little Mexican village of Corero, whose inhabitants use the water. This settlement has been here for a long time. I was unable to find out if it had been found before the confirmation of their grant in 1858 or not. In proportion to the population (554), San Felipe has more land available for agriculture than any other pueblo. It has, therefore, become wasteful of its privileges. The town, of recent construction, is laid out with the precision of a military camp, surrounding a plaza 250 by 175 feet. The houses facing this have been whitened for the first story, the second, when there is one, being left in its original color. The effect is striking and unusual. At the corners of the plaza are openings wide enough for a horse to pass through and on the north and south sides are gates for wagons. To the south stands the church, a large building of greater architectural pretensions than any among the pueblos. The many images found in their houses, pertaining both to their own and the Catholic religion, attest the religious tendencies of the people. Opposite the center of the north side is the great circular estufa and on the center of the east side a lesser estufa. Between this and the river, which flows about 100 yards from the plaza, runs a line of cedar corrals, and directly opposite these, on the west side, another series parallel with the line of houses. Outside the fort-like inclosure a few houses have been reared without regard to regularity. All the land of the town is drained toward the plaza, and the result during the rainy season is a rectangular pond to be circumvented or forded by the inhabitants. 200 feet of pipe, which would drain this into the river, is sadly needed. The whole town is shadowed on the west by a high volcanic mesa, which rises abruptly to a height of 650 feet. On the top of this, half a mile above, are the ruins of the old pueblo from which the inhabitants moved. Pasture for burros and cattle is found on the mesa, but the 400 horses range on the bottom lands. But few orchards, very small, are found at this pueblo, all lying directly opposite the town on the east bank of the river. A bridge was built a few years ago, but it is now partially destroyed. San Felipe raises only cereals. Owing to press of time, caused by losing a day here, I was not able to go over the whole tract and estimate the crops. The land lying idle and easily utilized is about 3,000 acres. San Felipe has food and to spare. The land grant of the pueblo is 34,767 acres.

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Pueblo of Isleta.



New York Engraving & Printing Co.

Pueblo of San Felipe.

SANDIA.

Like San Felipe, this community holds more land than it can improve. The large Mexican town of Bernalillo presses upon the north side of its tract of 24,187 acres. In 1824 the Indians of the pueblo gave the land on which the town stands, but no patent of this transaction is in existence. Sales are consummated in the town and await confirmation, which will be effected when the territory attains statehood. 1,200 acres of open land, here and there developing weak traces of alkali, have been left as a pasture, open to the use of the town. Passing this, cultivation begins half a mile from the pueblo. The acequia, at a high level, is supplied from a source 2 miles above. Bernalillo lies just south of the line of the ranches of Santa Ana. The water flows for 6 miles before it is utilized, most of the farming being done south of the pueblo. I found the governor alone setting a worthy example to his people, working in the mud to his knees at the point where the Rio Grande forms a junction with his ditch. The office of governor, he informed me, after he had gained solid ground and had reduced the weight of his legs by kicking off the chunks of clay, was an honorary one, yet so exacting in its demands as to compel a neglect of one's own interest by any who accepted the preferment. The pueblo is prettily situated on a gentle rise from the bottom lands of the river. Most of the course of the acequia is sheltered by large cottonwood trees. Grape culture becomes here an industry, though corn and wheat are the staple crops. The land upon the left side of the river only is cultivated. The sand hills rise abruptly from the right bank. On this side, some distance below where the land assumes a lower level, a few Mexicans have established themselves, and cultivate small plots of vegetables. The efforts to raise water to the height necessary to command this land were so commendable that the Indians approved its occupancy by them. A boom was made upon a small arm of the river, which forced the water upon an undershot wheel fitted with buckets. Water was raised and started in the acequia at a height of 10 feet.

Between the junction and the pueblo several large tracts of island land, now covered by groves of cottonwood and willows, could be made available for tillage. The level of these islands is 6 feet above the water, and no evidence of inundation is observable. There are 700 acres in the upper island and as much below, but less wooded.

ISLETA. (a)

On arriving in Isleta one immediately marks numerous points of difference between this community and the more northern pueblos in matters of dress, building, and customs. The town is composed entirely of 1 story

a Of the pueblo of Isleta, Mr. Charles F. Lummis, in "A Tramp Across the Continent", 1892, writes:

"There was little dream in me, as we rambled through the strange little city of adobe and interviewed its swarthy people, that this was some time to be my home; that the quiet, kindly, dark faces were to shine with neighborliness, and to look sad when the tiny blood vessel in my brain had broken anew and left me speechless and helpless for months, or when I fell bored with buckshot by the midnight assassin, nor of all the other strange happenings a few years were to bring. But though there was no seeing ahead to that which would have given a deeper interest, the historic old town, which was the asylum of the surviving Spaniards in that bloody summer of 1680, had already a strong attraction for me. There were more fine looking Indians and more spacious and admirable houses than I had yet seen; and, indeed, Isleta, which is the next largest of the 19 pueblos, numbering over 1,100 people, has the largest and best rooms, the largest and best farms, and most extensive orchards and herds, and other wealth, though it is one of the least picturesque, since its buildings are nearly all of but 1 story, while in some pueblos the houses are 6 stories high.

"The pueblo of Isleta is one of the strange little city republics of that strange Indian race which had achieved this quaint civilization of their own before Columbus was born. Its people own over 115,000 acres of land under United States patent, and their little kingdom along the Rio Grande is one of the prettiest places in New Mexico. They have well tended farms, orchards, and vineyards, herds of cattle, sheep, and horses, and are indeed very different in every way from the average eastern conception of an Indian. It is a perennial wonder to me that American travelers care so little to see the wonders of their own land. They find abroad nothing more picturesque, nothing more marvelous, in scenery or in man, than they could easier see within the wonderland of the southwest, with its strange landscapes, its noble ruins of a prehistoric past, and the astounding customs of its present aborigines. A pueblo ceremonial dance is one of the most remarkable sights to be witnessed anywhere, and there are many other customs no less worth seeing.

"I have lived now in Isleta for 4 years, with its Indians for my only neighbors, and better neighbors I never had and never want. They are unmeddlesome but kindly, thoughtful, and loyal, and wonderfully interesting. Their endless and beautiful folklore, their quaint and often astonishing customs, and their startling ceremonials have made a fascinating study. To relate even the small part of these things which I have learned would take volumes; but one of the first and least secret customs I witnessed may be described here. The Chinese feed their dead, beginning with a grand banquet, which precedes the hearse, and is spread upon the newly covered grave. The Pueblos do not thus. The funeral is decked forth with no baked meats, and the banquet for all the dead together is given once a year in a ceremonial by itself. The burials take place from their christian church, and the only remarkable ceremonies are those performed in the room where the soul left its clay tenement. All that is a secret ceremony, however, and may be seen by no stranger, but all are free to witness the strange rites of the Day of the Dead."

Mr. Lummis then, in the same work, writes of the Fiesta de los Muertos as follows:

"To-day the aborigines who sleep 9 feet deep in the bosom of the bare gravel graveyard in front of the quaint church of the pueblo of Isleta have the first square meal they have enjoyed in a twelve-month, for to-day the Day of the Dead is celebrated with considerable pomp and ceremony. It is to be hoped that death somewhat dulls the edge of an Indian's naturally robust appetite, else so protracted a fast would surely cause him inconvenience; but the rations are generous when they do come.

"The bustle of preparation for the Fiesta de los Muertos has been upon the pueblo for several days, in a sort of domestic crescendo. While the men have been, as usual in the fall, looking rather devotedly upon the new wine when it is a sallow red, and loading themselves by day to go off in vocal pyrotechnics at night, when they meander arm in arm about the village singing an aboriginal 'won't go home until morning', the women have been industriously employed at home. They never seem to yearn for the flowing bowl, and keep steadfastly sober throughout the temptations of wine making, always ready to go out and collar a too obstreperous spouse and persuade him home. It is well for the family purse that this is so. We have a governor this year who is muy bravo, and woe to the convivialist who lifts his ululation where Don Vicente can hear him, or who starts in to smash things where the old man's eagle eye will light upon him. In a brief space of time 2 stalwart alguazils will loom up on the scene, armed with a peculiar adjustable wooden yoke, a mammoth handcuff in design, which is fitted around the culprit's neck, and off he is dragged by the handles to the little adobe jail, there to repent of his folly until he has added a dollar or two to Don Vicente's treasury.

"For the last 3 days the dark little store of the trader has been besieged by a crowd of women, bearing fat brown babes in the shawls upon their backs and upon their erect heads sacks of corn or wheat, or under their arms the commonest fractional currency of the pueblo, the sheepskin, worth 10 or 15 cents, according to weight. Some bring coin of the realm, for this is one of the wealthiest pueblos as well as the largest. Their purchases were sugar, flour, lard, candles, calicoes, and occasionally chocolate, all with festal intent.

"For 3 days, too, the queer mud beehives of ovens outside the houses have been 'running to the fullest capacity' all over town. Betimes in the morning the prudent housewife would be seen instigating a generous and persistent fire in her horno. Then, when the thick adobe walls were hot enough, she would rake out the coals and ashes and swab the interior with a wet rag tied to a pole. Next, a brief disappearance into the house, and a prompt emergence with a broad,

dwellings, for the most part detached, though not isolated from neighboring habitations. These are always commodious and built frequently after the Spanish custom, about a court, or plaza. Tables are generally found within, though not always dined upon, and chairs of American manufacture are usually to be had to offer a stranger; but the ease of a roll of blankets on the floor is not forgotten by the Indian. Couches on the hard cement have not been superseded by beds, though some of the aristocracy have introduced this comfort into their dwellings. Trousers and overalls are common, but the white zouave breeches, with the red trimmed leather leggings, are still more generally worn. The leggings are not tied by garters, as in all other pueblos, but fastened by silver buttons, buttons being used wherever available upon their costume. This is also a hat wearing community. Broad brimmed, light felt hats have taken the place of the red handkerchief tied in a band about the head, though a nod toward the old pueblo custom is observed in its being carried about the crown of the hat. The hair is cropped at the junction of the neck with the shoulders, and its frequent cutting has been productive of most luxuriant shocks. It is often parted on the side. The women, however, still cling to their truly picturesque and highly sensible

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clean board, covered with the most astounding freaks of ingenuity in dough. In most things the pueblo appears unimaginative enough, though this is a deceptive appearance, but when it comes to sculpturing feast day bread and cakes the inventive talent displayed outdoes the wildest delirium of a French pastry cook. Those culinary monstrosities could be safely worshiped without infringing the Decalogue, for they 'are like unto nothing that is in the earth, nor in the heavens above the earth, nor in the waters under the earth'. Their shapes always remind me of ex-Treasurer Spinner's signature, and they are quite as unapproachable. Having been placed in the oven, the door of which was then closed with a big, flat stone and sealed with mud, the baking remained there its allotted time, and then, crisp and delicious (for there are few better bread makers than these Pueblos), it was stowed away in the inner room to await its ceremonial use.

"Yesterday began more personal preparations for the important event. Go into whatever dooryard you would you found anywhere from one to half a dozen dusky but comely matrons and maids bending over brightly painted tinajas, and giving careful ablution to their soft, black hair.

"Inside the house, mayhap, gay, red calicoes were being deftly stitched into simple garments, and soft, white buckskins were being cut into long strips to be wound into the characteristic female 'boot'. The men were doing little, save to lend their moral support. But late last night little bands of them wandered jovially over the pueblo, pausing at the door of every house wherein they found a light and singing a pious appeal to all the saints to protect the inmates, who were expected to reward this intercession by gifts of bread, meat, coffee, tobacco, or something else, to the prayerful serenaders.

"Thus anticipated, the Day of the Dead dawned clear and warm. As the sun crawled above the ragged crest of the Sandias the gray old sacristan, in shirt and calzoncillos of spotless white, climbed the crazy staircase to the roof of the church and assaulted the bell, which has had comparatively few breathing spells the rest of the day. The ringing of the church bell of Isleta is an experience that is worth a long journey to enjoy. The bells hang in 2 incongruous wooden towers, perched upon the front corners of the huge adobe church. There are no ropes, and tongues would be a work of supererogation. The ringer, stepping into the belfry through a broken blind, grasps a hammer in his hand and hits the bell a tentative rap, as if to see whether it is going to strike back. Encouraged by finding that it does not, he gives it another thump after a couple of seconds, then another, then, growing interested, he whales it 3 times in half as many seconds, then, after a wee pause, he yields to his enthusiasm upon the bell, drubs it in a wild tattoo, curries it down from crown to rim with a multiplicative scrub, and thenceforth devotes himself to making the greatest possible number of sound waves to the second. As a bell persecutor he has no superior.

"All this feverish eloquence of the bell had no visible effect for awhile. The people evidently knew its excitable temperament, and were in no hurry to answer its clatter. But by 9 o'clock there was a general awakening. Along the aimless 'street', across the big, flat plaza, long lines of women began to come churchward in single file. Each bore upon her head a big, flaring basket, the rush chiquihuite of home make or the elegantly woven Apache jicara, heaped high with enough toothsome viands to make the soundest sleeper in the campo santo forget his fear of fasting. Each woman was dressed in her best. Her moccasins and queer aldermanic 'boots' shone bright and spotless; her dark skirt of heavy, home-woven stuff was new, and showed at its ending by the knee a faint suggestion of snowy white; her costliest corals and turquoise and silver beads hung from her neck; the tapalo, which covered all her head except the face, was of the gayest pattern. One young girl had a turkey-red table cloth for a head shawl, and another an American piano cover of crimson, with old gold embroidery.

"Marching through the opening in the high adobe wall which surrounds the graveyard, each woman went to the spot whose gravel covered beloved bones, set her basket down there, planted a lot of candles around it, lighted them, and remained kneeling patiently behind her offering. It was a quaint and impressive sight there under the bright New Mexico sun, the great square, shut in by the low adobe houses (for Isleta has none of the terraced houses of the more remote pueblos), the huge adobe church filling the space on the north, with its inadequate steeples, its 2 dark arches, and its long dwindle into the quarters of the priest; the indiscriminate graveyard, whose flat slope showed only the 3 latest of its unnumbered hundreds of graves; the hundred kneeling women weeping quietly under their shawls and tending the candles around their offerings while the dead ate to their heart's content, according to the belief of these simple folk.

"The big clumsy doors of the church were open, and presently some of the newcomers entered with their basket offerings, crossing themselves at the door, and disposed their baskets, their candles, and their knees at certain points along the rude floor of loose boards laid flat on smooth adobe. It was not at random that they took these scattered positions. These were they whose relatives had enjoyed the felicity of being buried under the church floor; and each knelt over the indistinguishable resting place of her loved and lost. The impressive mass was prefaced by a short, business-like talk from the new priest. It had always been the custom for the women to wail loudly and incessantly over the graves all through mass; but the new padre intended to inaugurate a reform right here. He had told them the Sunday before that their must be no 'keening' during divine service, and now he gave them another word of warning on the same subject. If they did not maintain proper quiet during mass he would not bless the graves.

"The warning was effective, and the mass went on amid respectful silence. A group of Mexican women kneeling near the altar rail sang timidly in pursuit of the little organ, with which they never quite caught up. The altar flared with innumerable candles, which twinkled on ancient saints and modern chromos, on mirrors and tinsel and paper flowers. Through the 3 square, high, dirty windows in the 5 foot adobe wall the sunlight strained, lighting up vaguely the smooth round vigas and strange brackets overheard; the kneeling figures, the heaped up baskets, and the flickering candles on the floor below. Near the door, under the low gallery, stood a respectful knot of men, Indians and Mexicans. The gray-headed sacristan and his assistant shuffled hither and thither, with eagle eyes, watching the candles of the women lest they burn too low and kindle the floor, and now and then stopping to snuff out some threatening wick with their bare fingers and an air of satisfaction. Sometimes they were a little too zealous, and put out candles which might safely have burned 3 or 4 minutes longer. But no sooner were their backs turned than the watchful proprietress of that candle would reach over and relight it. There should be no tallow wasted.

"At last the mass was over and the padre went into the retiring room to change his vestments, the women and baskets retaining their positions. Directly he reappeared, and the sacristan tottered beside him with a silver bowl of holy water. Stopping in front of the woman and basket nearest the altar, the priest read a long prayer for the repose of the soul over whose long deserted tenement she knelt, and then sprinkled holy water thitherward, at once moving on to the next.

"The woman thus satisfied rose, put the basket on her head, and disappeared in the long side passage leading to the priest's quarters, while the ayudante thumbed out her candles and tossed them into a wooden soap box which he carried. So went the slow round throughout the church and then through the 100 patient, kneeling waiters on the gravel of the campo santo outside. As soon as a grave was blessed, the woman, the candles, and the basket of goodies vanished elsewhere and the padre's storeroom began to swell with fatness. The baskets were as notable for neat arrangements as for lavish heaping. A row of ears of corn standing upright within the rim of the basket formed a sort of palisade, which doubled its capacity. Within this cereal stockade were artistically deployed those indescribable contortions in bread and cake, funny little 'turnovers' with a filling of stewed dried peaches; half dried bunches of grapes whose little withered sacks of condensed sunlight and sweetness were like raisins, and still displaying the knots of grass by which they had dangled from the rafters; watermelons, whole or sliced; apples, quinces and peaches, onions, and occasionally candy and chocolate. The beauty of it all was that after the dear departed had gorged their fill there was just as much left for the padre, whose perquisite the remainder invariably is. He treated me to a peep into his storeroom in the evening, and it was a remarkable sight. Fully 2 tons of these edible offerings, assorted as to their kinds, filled the floor with enormous heaps, and outside, in the long portal, was enough blue, and red, and white corn to fill an army of horses. Bread led the list, and as the liberal proportion of lard in this bread keeps it good for months, the padre's housekeepers will not need to bake for a long time to come.

"With the blessings of the last grave the services of the Fiesta de los Muertos were over, and the population settled down to the enjoyment of a rare repose, for they are a very industrious people and always busy, save on holidays, with their farms, their orchards, their houses, and other matters."

costume; sensible in all respects save the binding of the legs below the knee with heavy bandages of doeskin, intended as a protection against snake bites. The superstitious regard of these Indians for snakes, inasmuch as they hold a prominent place in religious rites, protects them and renders them abundant among the villages. A snake on being found in the pueblo is merely disabled, and is then carried off upon sticks and laid outside of man's immediate range. It is to be hoped, however, that even a fear of snakes may be found too shallow a reason for continuing the deforming practice of leg binding by the women.

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On the north of the plaza, 100 by 130 yards in extent, is the Catholic church, a commodious and well-kept structure, and to the right of it the padre's garden and house and the Catholic school. At the southeast corner of the plaza is the Presbyterian mission school, maintaining its membership against the opposition of both priest and present governor. Along the center of the east side is the trader's store, opposite which are dwellings. All buildings in Isleta are of adobe. Occasionally houses have small front yard attachments reaching into the streets. The thoroughfares are crooked and wind their way without system through the town. A second store, kept by an enterprising Indian, does a good business. The town lies upon the right bank of the Rio Grande. North of it the river clings to the left side of the valley, leaving the entire space west of it open to cultivation through the whole breadth of the valley, 1.5 miles. This, for 2.5 miles toward the town, is solidly cultivated, bearing a luxuriant crop of wheat and corn. As the valley approaches the town a slight rise in its level renders further irrigation below its site, with the exception of a narrow strip on the right bank, impossible. Below the town, on the left side, other tracts are cultivated, although, owing to high floods 4 years ago, much of this has been abandoned. This pueblo, in common with the inhabitants of Valencia, a small Mexican town below, attempted to boom and dike the river, but the piling not being thoroughly done, the results of their labors were destroyed by the freshets of the following spring. With proper engineering ability to direct 500 acres could be saved here. The Mexicans, by purchase or theft, I could not learn which, have a scant footing on the southeast line. Isleta has about 60 acres of fruit trees, bearing peaches, plums, and apricots of a high order. Its vineyards are well kept and highly productive, though not extensive. Although wine is made, it can not be regarded as an industry, the inhabitants consuming nearly all they make, and it lasts rarely more than 4 months. Their women send fruit to Albuquerque and along the line of the railroad. The men make long journeys with burro trains and wagons, carrying peaches and grapes as far as Gallup and to intermediate points. 20 years ago this pueblo had a mill, at which most of its grain was ground. Afterward a larger one was built, but both of these have been abandoned, and their flour and meal are now either ground by a German at Los Lunas from their own grain or obtained in trade for raw material at Albuquerque. Their practice of medicine is still crude, Indian remedies, some of which indeed are potent, being used. 10 years ago a bottle of wizard oil was brought from Albuquerque, and having worked wonders in a few cases is now regarded as a cure-all. It is used for diphtheria, headache, toothache, bowel complaint, etc. The Isleta Indian seldom works for Mexicans, though some seek employment on the railroad in winter. They frequently work for each other, and some are obliged to do so for a livelihood. An aristocracy as oppressive as that found in Russia is here encountered. Whole families are bound as serfs to proprietors, who hold and have continued to hold them for many years in the bondage of debt. It is said a portion of the soil, 50 by 100 yards, is given to any one on application, but unless he is in the ring this is likely to fall in unproductive tracts. The cacique has the power of nominating the governor and council in all pueblos, and although the community has the right to set this aside it is rarely done. The easy continuance of a ring can, under these conditions, be appreciated.

Isleta farms from 2,400 to 2,600 acres, and uses all the available land. The grant, extending on either side of the river, is estimated at 110,080 acres. On the west of this lies the Rio Puerco, unavailable for irrigation. The remainder of the grant, 107,480 acres, offers meager pasture. In reply to my inquiry, "What, in your opinion, is the reason for the advanced condition of Isleta"? the governor said, after several moments reflection, "Because we expend all our energy on one thing". The farms absorb their attention; herding interests are secondary.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE CENSUS OF THE PUEBLO INDIANS, 1890.

For various reasons statistics compiled from schedules of enumerators as applied to the area under cultivation would be misleading. Upon the ordinary blanks used for agricultural statistics the instructions were that no entry was to be made of farms under 3 acres. Very many farms among these villages do not contain that amount, and were therefore not included. Again, in a number of cases enumerators were not faithful either in inquiries or entries. On the schedules of Jemez, Cochiti, and San Domingo the number of farms and not their area was given. The enumerators of San Felipe, Sandia, Santa Ana, and Zia put down 5,000 acres as the amount cultivated by each. Even as the amount available for cultivation this estimate is highly exaggerated. In the foregoing comments on these pueblos I have noted the area actually cultivated and that available for cultivation. At Zia for instance, less than 100 acres are tilled, and more than 900 could be irrigated and utilized. At San Juan most of the holdings were placed at 5 acres, giving the impression that great equality existed. In fact, it is a community of rich and poor, and there is a great disparity in actual possession. The schedules from Nambe, Pojoaque, Tesuque, San Ildefonso,

and Santa Clara I believe to be as correct as faithful endeavor and long experience in dealing with Indians could make them. Mr. Becker, however, adhered to the instructions and omitted all plots of less than 3 acres.

Taos and Picuris, reported by Mr. Miller, show faithful work; but owing to a lack of blanks the farms and their products belonging to several owners were entered as one item. A failure to differentiate the schedules of Taos and Picuris renders it impossible to get from them the number of acres cultivated by each pueblo. The schedules of Isleta were late, and did not come under my observation.

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In compliance with instructions to special agents, bidding them to obtain assistance from any and every reliable source, I went to the Indian agency with the schedule marked "General schedule for the entry of totals in the various departments" of which the agent is overseer. I asked if there was any record of the amount of land cultivated in the pueblos and learned there was not. The clerk kindly offered to make a guess for me and fill the blank. Having now completed a tour through 15 of the 19 pueblos I am able to compare facts with these approximations from the agency. Instead of 5,500 acres cultivated by the entire pueblo community, I find 8,750 under cultivation by three-fourths of the whole number of villages. The average worth of a cultivated acre is between $7 and $8 to an Indian. From their land, therefore, the proceeds of these Indians of the 15 pueblos is about $70,000. Their population is 5,250; an average, therefore, of $13.50 to the individual per year.

The question of taxation for the Pueblo Indian, though legitimately resting upon his right of citizenship, is naturally influenced by a knowledge of the opportunities which his environments present for obtaining from taxable property the means of subsistence. Out of nearly 1,000,000 acres owned by the Pueblos of the 19 villages, including Zuñi, Acoma, and Laguna, less than 13,000 are tilled. By proper engineering much land could be saved in river bottoms and much reclaimed at higher levels; but in a number of pueblos land easily commanded by water is lying idle. In a territory where agricultural advantages are so limited this waste is unpardonable. A speedy, direct, and just method of rectifying this disparity between privilege and practice, ownership and occupation of territory, would be by taxation: taxation based on all cultivatable tenure. The Indian already knows what taxation means. He learns it from the priests, who tax him one-tenth of his income for the support of the church, and this obligation, though not met to the letter, is recognized, and has been for centuries; but the question of taxation leads directly to that of full citizenship, because "taxation without representation is tyranny". Several reasons may be mentioned why they do not vote: 1, because they do not care for the privilege; 2, because they might vote in mass without individual judgment; 3, because their members might hold the balance of power in this territory for many years.

Taxation might force this argument on the Indian mind, however: "I am paying for the privilege of owning cultivatable land; I will use what I pay for; but I can not, after making every effort, cultivate all the taxable land; I will therefore rent it, and have it cultivated for me on shares". It might thus force him to be a business man.

In the course of time, when education has made the franchise desirable for these people, and when they have been stimulated to industry by enlarged opportunities in irrigable land, and by the whip of taxation, applied with discretion, the population of the pueblos will be more ready to pass from a school of good training, and by an easy step enter upon the higher privileges of American citizenship.

Their present need is legal protection. Before the law they are American citizens, and are supposed to avail themselves of the privilege of courts, hiring their own counsel. The office of agent is merely advisory, in which no real power exists, but to which, even in its insufficiency, the Indian clings, knowing no other source of help. So many of the encroachments upon the Indian domain on the part of land thieves are at first only experimental that prompt measures and energizing advice from an agent, upon the ground, would suffice to protect them and dishearten interlopers. My inquiries have developed the fact that, with one or two notable and worthy exceptions, most agents prefer a quiet residence at Santa Fe to active life among the villages under their charge. Traveling expenses, at present given at a meager rate by the government, should not only be supplied, but their use forced upon the agency, requiring a part of every month to be devoted to the inspection in the villages. Although the legal authority of the agent is nil, if he is to be continued his influence as the advisory exponent of the will of the government is, or might be, great among the Pueblos. For this influence to be fully effective the agent should become acquainted with the governor and council of every community. He should know the land and what effort is required to make it available for or more productive in cultivation. He should make recommendations for its reclamation and equal distribution, and be ready to listen to complaints of injustice, with a threat of reporting to higher authority. He should call for results from his suggestions on his next visit, and expect to find them. He should insist on the Indians maintaining schools in the pueblos and on sending their children to those of Carlisle, Albuquerque, and Santa Fe. He should, in fine, be a strong character, commanding respect through acts, not promises; by personal contact rather than by the mystery of seclusion; by a spontaneous exhibition of the missionary spirit, which would prompt him to go out after rather than be sought by those over whose interests he is supposed to preside.

Nothing short of such an occupant of the office of agent can avail in any degree for the assistance of a people who, having attained a degree of knowledge available for subsistence from the soil, are content to consider themselves, by comparison with their migratory neighbors, incapable of further advances; a people sedentary in

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FEMALE DANCER.
Tablita (Tablet) or Corn Dance. Pueblo of San Domingo, New Mexico.
August, 1890.

New York Engraving & Printing Co.

habits and fixed in an intricate system of religious and civil laws. Open to educational influence only up to a given point, the barriers behind which the deep rooted religious superstitions hide and entrench themselves can only be broken by the pressure of varied forces working simultaneously and in harmony. It is the opinion of several with whom I conversed, who speak after years of experience in both ethnological and missionary work, that the nomadic tribes of the north, because less bound by great systems of mythological belief and observances, will come under the influence of modern progress and christian enlightenment long before the Indians of the pueblos. Faithful teachers have found that children of brightest promise, whom their parents have allowed to adopt the dress and ideas of our own, are suddenly recalled by a power from within; whence or what it is, they are at a loss to know, but it is understood to the few close students of the customs of these people. The child, happy for a number of years in American clothes and with fair knowledge of English, is suddenly seen to come out in full Indian outfit, and through lack of association rapidly forget the language acquired after many months of patient labor. Young fellows returning from the schools at Carlisle, Santa Fe, and Albuquerque for a time maintain themselves against heavy odds in their higher grade of civilization, but in 9 cases out of 10 relapse sooner or later; and frequently, like the soul out of which the unclean spirit was cast, having acquired added capacity by education, not only invite back the old but also find room for new and more dangerous occupants. It is the testimony of both soldiers and missionaries that when a real devil among Indians is found it is an educated one.

A graduate of Carlisle in a council of elders at which a missionary was present declared with eloquence and force, which the missionary could not but admire, that his influence should be against any change and so-called advance. He had tried both civilizations and knew that what the Indian had maintained and preferred for centuries was still best suited to him. Fortunately, to the encouragement of philanthropic endeavor, it may be said that this opinion is not openly shared by all beneficiaries of special privileges among the Pueblos.

FOOD OF THE PUEBLOS.

With proper instruction the opportunities which vast droves of cattle present for the manufacture of cheese and butter might in a short time be converted into a lucrative industry among the Pueblos. As it is, cows are seldom milked, and are made available only for meat and hides.

The diet of these Indians is largely vegetarian, fresh meat being regarded as a great luxury, and eaten, as far as I could learn, on an average of but once in 3 weeks. Strips of dried flesh, however, appear more frequently in stews of beans and red peppers. Goat flesh, beef, and mutton are easily cured, and after slight drying in the sun may be kept for an indefinite period. Peaches and apples are dried and stored for winter use. Muskmelons are peeled, cleaned, and hung upon the branches of young cottonwood trees with which the owners of all melon patches surround their summer lodges. These are cut in groves and replanted, all branches unable to support the weight of a melon being removed, and on the dry racks thus formed the surplus of this much prized fruit is preserved. Corn is converted into meal or roasted green and eaten as a vegetable. Tortillas are made of flour partially leavened with sour dough, a heavy flapjack cooked upon copper plates. Beans and stews are eaten with scoops resembling brown paper (but spoon and frijoles disappear together). The scoop is an article of food called guayave, made of thin corn meal, cooked upon hot rocks, and plastic enough to be rolled up and used as a spoon: an advance upon fingers, but a degree below pewter. Coffee is universally used and seldom without sugar. Wine is made at Jemez, Santa Ana, Sandia, and Isleta. No exact statistics of quantity could be obtained. With fruit in its season, the above is the bill of fare to be found in the pueblos. American stoves are used in Sandia, Isleta, Laguna, and Acoma, but are rarities in all other pueblos.

THE TABLITA DANCE.

The question of physical condition is one less dependent upon diet than the mode of life which renders general development a result. No better test of a high grade of physique could be found than the prolonged and fatiguing dances, lasting for the greater part of a day, indulged in at all of the pueblos. I have witnessed 3 of these great dances and several minor ones. At San Domingo August 12, 1890, 200 dancers, male and female, participated, led by 2 choruses, each of 40 male voices. This display being regarded the finest to be seen among pueblos, with the exception of that at Zuñi, I confine my description to the dance as I saw it there, with occasional allusions to that of Santa Clara and Laguna.

The tablita (or corn) dance has for its purpose supplication for rain. Most of the choruses chanted by the attendant musicians are invocations to the clouds. The tablet worn by the women upon their heads is figured with the scalloped lines of cumulous clouds, and on either side and between them a bolt of lightning. In common with many of the old Indian rites among the Pueblos, this also has been utilized by the Catholic church and made to serve for the support of a church ritual. Early in the day mass is said in the church and a sermon preached. The body of the congregation at these services is usually composed of visiting Mexicans, the Indians maintaining an indifferent and fluctuating attendance. Throughout the village meanwhile active preparations are in progress for the dance. Feasting and bartering are at their height. Every door is open and food spread, and a welcome ready for any comer. The religious services being ended, unrestrained freedom is proclaimed by the irregular

discharge of a dozen muzzle-loading army rifles, and immediately after the statue of the patron saint, a relic of early Spanish art, is hurried at quickstep, to the notes of a violin, from the temporary booth (which in San Domingo serves in place of the church) to a shrine formed of green boughs and lined with blankets, set up in a plaza. Here it is deposited amid another volley from the muzzle loaders, and the assembly disperses.

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In the 2 great estufas of the village most active preparations have been in progress. A descent into one of these greenrooms was permitted me at Santa Clara, a former acquaintance with the governor and the presence of the vice governor securing this privilege. Ascending a ladder to the flat roof of the estufa, we approached the open skylight in the center, whence issued from below a chorus of voices accompanied by a drum. With uncovered head I followed my guide down the almost perpendicular rungs of a huge ladder, and in a moment stood upon the hard, clay floor of the Indian council chamber. The apartment is 40 feet square, unfurnished save by the adobe fireplace of ancient shape, placed beneath the skylight, and a few poles horizontally suspended from the rafters, upon which hang the garments of the dancers. In the cool shadows of the tenement, dimly lighted, the athletes move to and fro, perfecting their ensemble with grave deliberation. Neither haste nor confusion is noted; conversation is indulged in sparingly and in low tones. Young lads, for whom such an introduction to terpsichorean rites is bewildering, are given assistance now and then, though this is never asked.

The naked body is first covered with a thin glaze of clay mud, slickly applied and rubbed smoothly over the body many times more than is necessary to effect an evenly laid ground. This massage lubrication being indulged to the full sensuous delight of the subject, he finally stands forth a red, yellow, or blue man of clay. These under colors are important as designating the line which one is to occupy in the dance; the superdecoration is largely a matter of fancy. From the knee to the instep may be repainted another color, but the body and arms are never touched, save by bands of ocher, which are here admissible. The face from the outer corner of the eyes and over the cheek bones is dashed with vermilion.

Upon the body thus decorated the details of the scanty costume are applied. Small bunches of red, blue, and yellow feathers are tied to the forelock and fall like a bang over the eyes. The hair, glossy from its recent washing with soapweed, is freed from its queue bindings and falls at full length. Around each biceps is bound a bracelet of woven green worsted, 3 inches wide. The waist is covered with a light, white cloth, often a flour sack, the brand rendered available as decoration. Over this, falling from the hips, hangs a narrow woven pouch supporting long strings, each ending in a small ball and reaching to the ankle. From the buttock to the ground trails the skin and tail of a silver-gray fox. Below the knee a band of goathide is tied, with goat and pig hoofs or tiny sleigh bells attached. The feet are moccasined, the heels fringed with wide tufts of deerhide. Necklaces of coral, turquoise, mother-of-pearl, and silver beads, and sprigs of cedar introduced in the belt and armlets complete the costume.

While the principal actors are thus being made up, the leader of the chorus, squatted upon the ground and surrounded by his 40 singers, is leading a final rehearsal. Again and again is the intonation criticised and the gestures practiced. The magic influence of deep toned harmony makes rapid impress upon susceptible natures. In rapt gaze the coal-black eyes flash with lustrous fire, nostrils dilate, the gleam of handsome rows of teeth breaks out now and then with an expression of ecstacy which captures the entire figure, heads are swaying from side to side and lips drool in the happy frenzy which has overtaken the group. But the master, like the typical leader of music the world round, is unmoved, displeased, despotic. To the singers, led by the rapid and changeless bass drum beat, the chants they are practicing seem to possess almost electrifying power.

Now come rain! Now come rain!
Fall upon the mountain; sink into the ground.
By and by the springs are made
Deep beneath the hills.
There they hide and thence they come,
Out into the light; down into the stream.

The arm gestures accompanying this performance are much like those of the premiere danseuse of a ballet. Arms are extended above the head, the fingers are given a fluttering motion, and the hands slowly lowered. This is frequently repeated. A violent storm and slanting rain, the rush of a tornado and lightning flashes are occasionally indicated, but the gentle rain with its sweeping motion seems to be the favorite.

Another chorus is thus translated:

Look to the hills! Look to the hills!
The clouds are hanging there,
They will not come away;
But look, look again. In time they will come to us
And spread over all the pueblo.

Another chorus, which is the main one during the entire day, is as follows:

Look at us! Look at us!
Notice our endurance!
Watch our steps and time and grace,
Look at us! Look at us!

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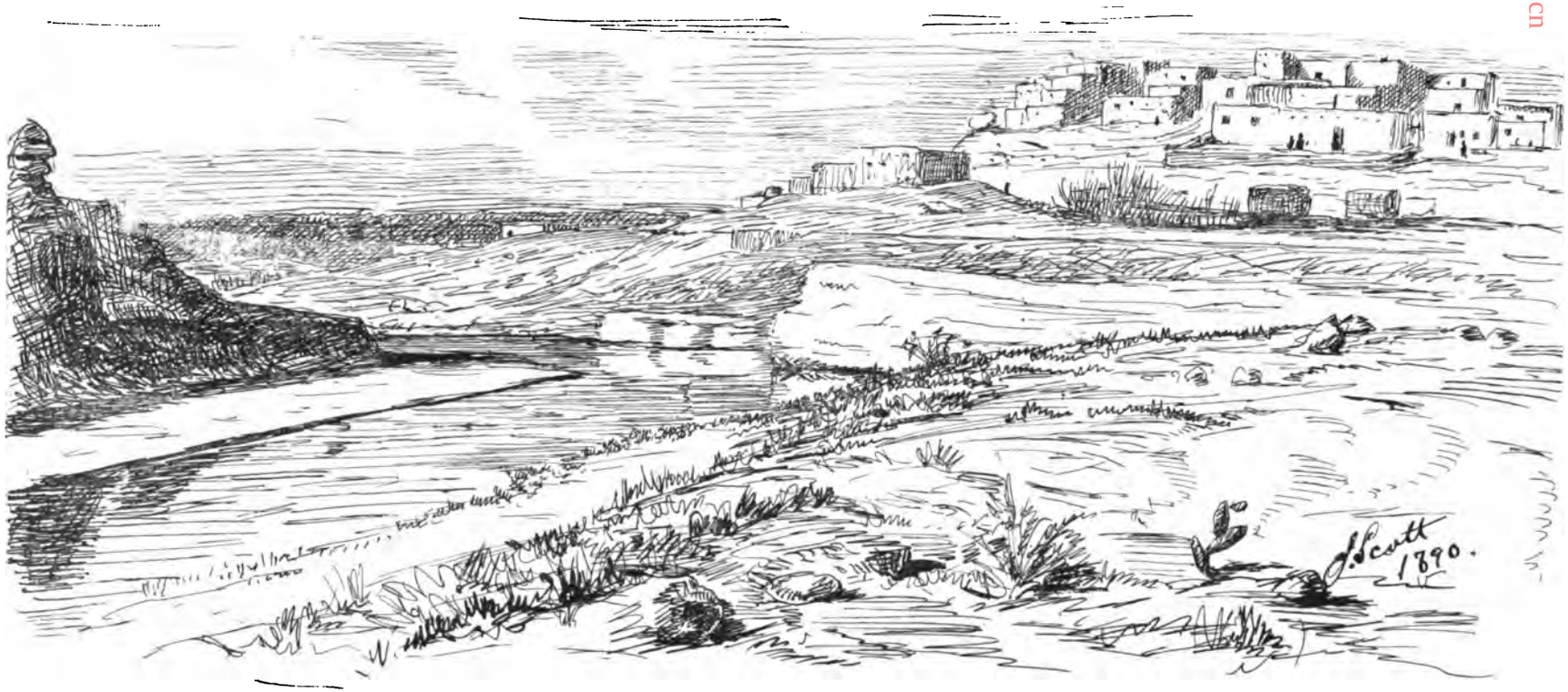
The amount of land that could be cultivated by the Indians is 2,055 acres. They can also get a sufficient supply of water to irrigate all this land, but not being at all industrious, they are satisfied with cultivating only the acreage necessary to produce grain or crops to sustain them; besides, they have not the tools or machinery necessary for cultivating more. The average of grain raised is about 30 bushels to the acre.

The Picuris people are about the same in all respects as those of Taos, only they are poorer in worldly goods. They greatly resemble the Taosans in form, features, habits, and customs. In a very few years, at the present rate of decrease, this pueblo will die out, as its population is now 108 and the deaths much exceed the births. The pueblo is small and poorly built of adobe, and not at all clean. With a little care the physical condition of these people could be much improved. While good and patient people, they have but little thrift.

The Picuris land grant was 17,461 acres.

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The Pueblo of Laguna, New Mexico, from the banks of the San Jose, 1890.

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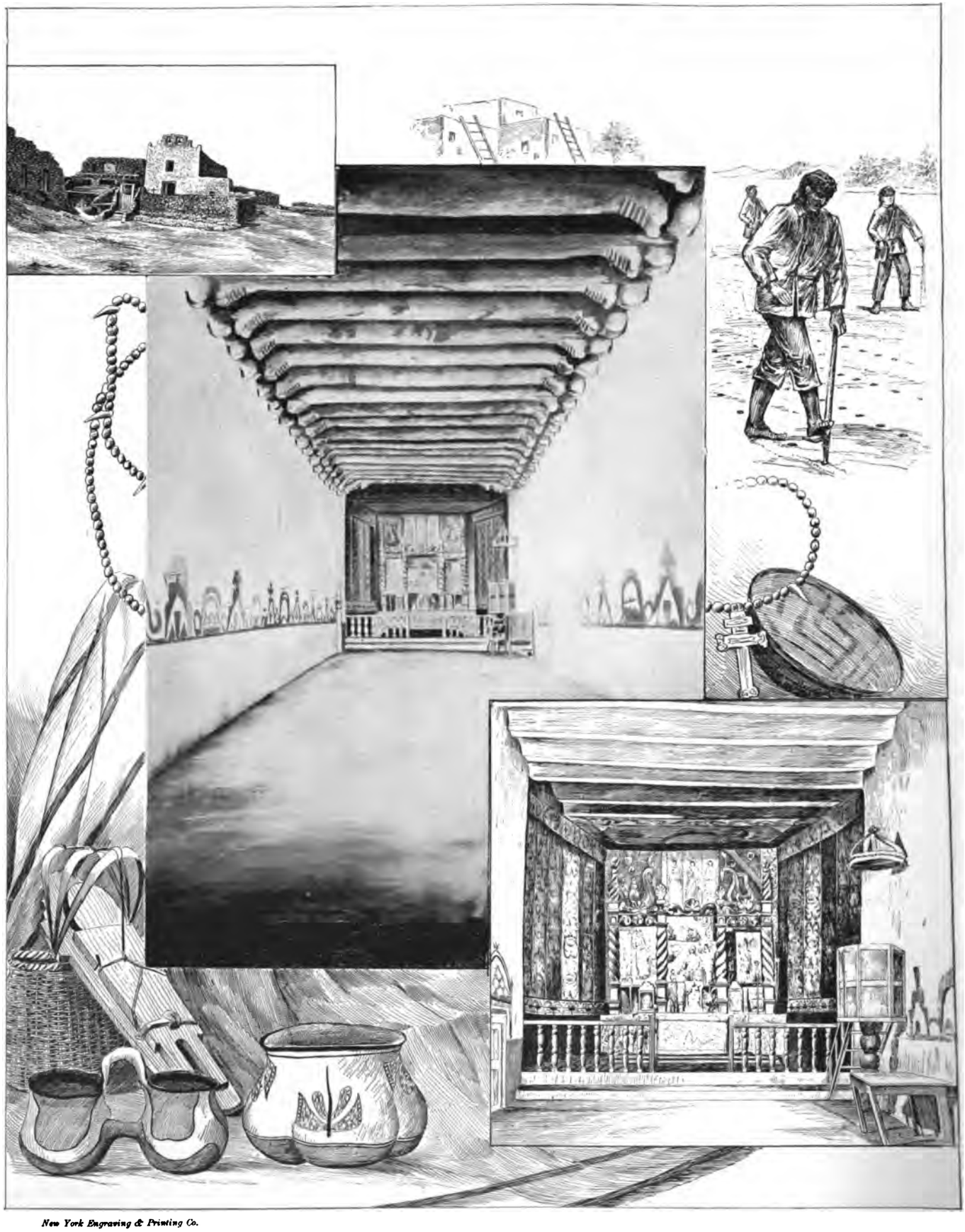
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Old Catholic Church at Pueblo of Laguna, New Mexico, 1891.

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Exterior and Interior of old Catholic Church at Pueblo of Laguna, N. M., and Moquis Planting Corn.

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VIEW OF LAGUNA, N. M., from across the San Jose River.
New Mexico.



One of the principal Houses of Laguna.
New Mexico.



Laguna showing trail worn into solid rock. The trail is to the Spring two miles away.
New Mexico.



A VIEW OF LAGUNA.
New Mexico.



SCHOOL HOUSE AT LAGUNA,
New Mexico.



Distant view of Laguna from the hills north. The sand dunes can be seen in the middle ground and the Mesa Shin-at-pa way in the distance. New Mexico.

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All Kodak views in this Bulletin unless otherwise marked, were taken by JULIAN SCOTT, Special Agent Eleventh Census, during 1890-1891.

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PUEBLOS OF LAGUNA, ACOMA, AND ZUÑI.

BY JULIAN SCOTT, SPECIAL AGENT.

The following report was prepared during September and October, 1890, and August and September, 1891:

I left Anadarko, Indian territory, on the morning of September 28, 1890, for Pauls Valley, about 80 miles distant. Owing to some irregularity of the stage line to that place, it was necessary to go by way of Purcell, a town some 40 miles north of Pauls Valley, on the railroad. Mr. John Craggs, one of the traders at Anadarko, took me there, bag and baggage, for which accommodation he would not accept any consideration whatever except my grateful thanks. The first 30 miles was through the valley of the Washita, which widens every mile after leaving the agency. A half an hour after starting we passed the Presbyterian mission, still in an embryonic state. Rev. Joshua Given, a Kiowa, has charge of it. The well was not dug until the buildings were well up, and then it was found they had been built over a ledge of gypsum; so the people continue to "pack water from way over about a mile". Farther down the road, and where the valley becomes perceptibly wider, we came to a herd of several thousand cattle, which are kept continually within a certain distance of the agency to meet the fortnightly "beef issue" to the Indians at Anadarko and Fort Sill. Beyond, and about 19 miles from Anadarko, Mr. Craggs pointed out the large house which Rev. Joshua Given was building for himself; "a long distance for a missionary to live from his field of labor", remarked a man we met in the road, "and they all think about here he ought to be above old Fort Cobb, or beyond, on Elk creek, where his Kiowa lambs are, who will paint and cling to their Indian toggery just so long as 'Washington' feeds them". We passed near "Jo" Weiderman's bone pile, and although a half a mile away, its enormous size dwarfed the buildings that were near it. This enterprising man has been buying the buffalo and cattle bones for a great many years from the Indians, who bring them from every part of the reservation. If, according to his reckoning and belief, the railroad ever passes near his place, so that he can transport the bones to a market, they will prove a fortune to himself or to his heirs.

Leaving the valley, we reached the highlands, and then began a long, wearisome ride over the great swells which characterize the prairie of that section. At noon we came to a ranch in one of the deep bottoms, where our horses as well as ourselves were well provided for. Purcell was not reached until late at night. The following morning, at 5 o'clock, I took the southern train for Pauls Valley. Before daybreak the morning after I was on my way to Santa Fe, New Mexico, reaching there October 2.

Before leaving Santa Fe I met, through Major Summerhays of the army, the distinguished ethnologist, Mr. A. F. Bandelier, and obtained from him much useful information concerning the country and the people I was soon to visit, including those of the pueblos of Laguna, Acoma, and Zuñi. My report on these pueblos will be brief, as they have been done to death in scores of volumes.

LAGUNA.

The night of October 17 found me a lodger in the railroad station at Laguna. (a)

After obtaining permanent quarters with the family of Mr. Robert Marmon, the day after my arrival I went to the pueblo, which is but a few minutes' walk west of the station, accompanied by Colonel W. G. Marmon, and was introduced to the principal men of Laguna, who, learning the nature of my visit, received me with every

a General W. H. H. Davis, of Doylestown, Pennsylvania, who was United States district attorney for New Mexico in 1854, in his work, "El Gringo", 1857, pages 392-396, thus notes a visit to Laguna:

"In a drive of 5 miles from the camp we came to the Indian pueblo of Laguna, where we unhitched and remained until the baggage wagon came up. As we entered the village, the inhabitants were getting in motion for the day; some of the young maidens were in the pens milking the cows and goats, while others, with earthen jars upon their heads, were carrying water from the stream. Being athirst, I followed the steps of the water carriers to the holes in the bank of the creek, but found the water a brackish, nauseous compound, hardly fit for man or beast; but, instead of drinking the stuff, I visited the goatpens, and purchased a cup of new milk fresh from the fountain head. On the opposite side of the town there is a clear and beautiful spring, which boils up from beneath a sand bank. Before Mr. Gorman's family came to live at the pueblo, the Indians would not touch the water, alleging as a reason that they knew the devil was in it, because it boiled up so. Seeing that Mr. Gorman's family used it with impunity, they concluded they might possibly be mistaken about Old Nick being in it, and commenced to use it themselves, which they have ever since continued to do.

"Mr. Gorman is a Baptist missionary, and has resided at the pueblo some 2.5 years. The Indians have elected him a member of their community, with all the rights and privileges of a full-born Indian. He sits with them in the estufa in council when affairs of state are discussed, and preaches to them on the Sabbath in the village church, and, upon the whole, he is exercising a good influence over this simple minded people.

"The pueblo of Laguna stands upon a rocky knoll on the west bank of the Gallo, and at the distance of a few hundred yards presents rather a picturesque appearance. The population is reckoned at about 1,000 souls. It is built without order, and the houses are generally small; none of them are more than 2 stories high, and the upper story recedes from the lower, so as to form an uncovered terrace. They are generally of mud, though a few are built of stone. The rooms are small, low, and badly ventilated, and a few small pieces of foliated gypsum set in the thick wall admits the light. The entrance is by means of ladders from the outside to the roof, when you descend into the interior through a small hole just large enough to admit an ordinary sized person. They pull the ladder up after them on the roof or terrace, and thus render themselves secure from intruders. The rows of houses are separated by narrow lanes. In the center of the village is a small plaza, surrounded by 2-story houses, with 3 narrow places of entrance, within which they hold their dances and feasts. They dress pretty much the same as the other Pueblos; but, according to custom, a large number of the children were running about naked. This is a modern pueblo, and is said not to be more than 200 years old, and one of the headmen gave me the following account of its first settlement: That a long time ago, their ancestors were at

expression of respect. The town is built upon a sandstone ledge, the southern base of which is washed by the San Jose. The streets are narrow and winding and in some places very steep, requiring stone steps. The houses are constructed of stone and adobe, the walls projecting above their flat roofs from 12 to 15 inches. They are kept neat inside and out, and there is a general air of cleanliness throughout the pueblo, no doubt greatly owing to the natural drainage of the sloping sides of its rock foundation. Except the large court where the dances are held, but few of the buildings are more than 1 story high; about the court they are 2, and sometimes 3. The town, conforming with the irregular surface on which it is built, presents a pleasing picture from nearly every point of view outside its walls. The Catholic mission, erected in the earlier days of the Spanish rule, occupies the apex, commanding views of a large part of the town, far up and down the valley, and far to the south, beyond the sand hills, where are the mesas She-nat-sa and Tim-me-yah. Near the mission, in front and a little below, is the schoolhouse, the walls of which resemble the battlements of a mediæval castle. This old pueblo furnishes the quaintest and drollest of street scenes: there were children in scanty clothing, playing with good natured, gaunt looking mongrel dogs, and riding young burros, regardless of the dirt and fleas with which their canine companions were covered and heedless of the uncertain hind legs the otherwise patient and stupid asses possessed; the women glide (almost flit) about attending to their various duties, some bringing ollas of water, poised upon their heads, from the spring a mile away, and others occupied at the dome-shaped ovens, from which they draw forth large, rich looking loaves of bread; groups of old gossips, men and women, whose usefulness was limited to the caring for their very young grandchildren, who contentedly rested upon the backs of their gray-haired elders, securely held there in the folds of variously colored blankets; men going to the fields and coming in with loads of bright corn and dark melons, carried in brightly painted modern wagons, drawn by scrubby horses, and in primitive carts pulled along behind sleepy oxen, with yokes attached to their horns. Hens and chickens were scratching everywhere for stray kernels of corn, sometimes stealing upon the tempting piles of ears, husked and unhusked, that lay about the yards and housetops, only to be driven off by the watchful maidens engaged in husking and storing away. A great deal of the corn is red, and I asked Colonel Marmon if they ever had "husking bees". "No", he replied, "and therefore the New England game of forfeits when a red ear is found has never been introduced among the young people". The people of Laguna, as to customs, habits, dances, and ceremonies, are similar to the other New Mexico Pueblos. (*a*)

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the point of starvation where they then lived, and that 4 men were sent out to seek a place for a new home. In their search they arrived at the place where Laguna now stands, where they found good water and fertile land. They returned and gave the information to their people, and in a short time they changed their residence, and the whole of them removed to this point. It is also said that at the time of the rebellion of 1680, the inhabitants fled to Zuñi to escape the fury of the Spaniards.

"The children of Mr. Gorman have acquired the Indian dialect so as to speak it with almost the same fluency as their mother tongue. Taking Master James, about 12 years of age, with me as interpreter and guide, I wended my way to the pueblo on a tour of sightseeing. We first went to the house of the cacique, which we entered by ascending an outside ladder to the terrace, across which we passed into the building. In the room were seated several Indians upon the floor, all employed in some useful occupation. The cacique himself was painting a new tinaja (earthen pot), which he was covering with numerous rude figures in black and red. None of them rose from the floor to welcome us, but gave the usual guttural salutation and continued at their work. Young Gorman chatted with them a few minutes, when we bade them good-by, and climbed down the ladder into the street again. Having expressed a desire to see their god, Montezuma, my young guide led the way to the house where the famous deity is kept. This is the most cherished, and probably the only one still retained of all their ancient heathen gods. It is greatly in vogue in a dry time, when it is brought forth from the sanctuary, and, with dancing and other rites, they invoke it in favor of rain, but whether it has ever been able to bring refreshing showers to the parched earth is a question open to discussion. We picked up one of the headmen on the way, who accompanied us. We ascended a ladder as before, and entered a small and badly lighted room, where we found a shriveled up old Indian, entirely naked, except a small cloth about his loins and moccasins upon the feet. Master James made known the object of our visit, and told him we were not Mexicans, and would neither injure nor carry away the god, which assurance was necessary, as none of that race are permitted to look upon it. A conference was now held between the man that accompanied us, the old keeper, and an old hag of a woman, who had come in in the meantime, and in a few minutes we were informed that we could see Montezuma. The old woman was dispatched to bring it in, who returned after a short absence, carrying something in her arms, wrapped up in an old cloth, which she placed carefully upon the floor. The cloth was then removed, and their favorite god stood before our eyes. I was much disappointed in its appearance, it being a much ruder affair than I was prepared to see. I had expected to see something in imitation of man or beast, but there was presented to our sight an object that neither resembled anything upon the earth, in the heaven above, nor in the sea beneath, and I felt that it could hardly be sinful in the poor, ignorant Indians to fall down and worship it.

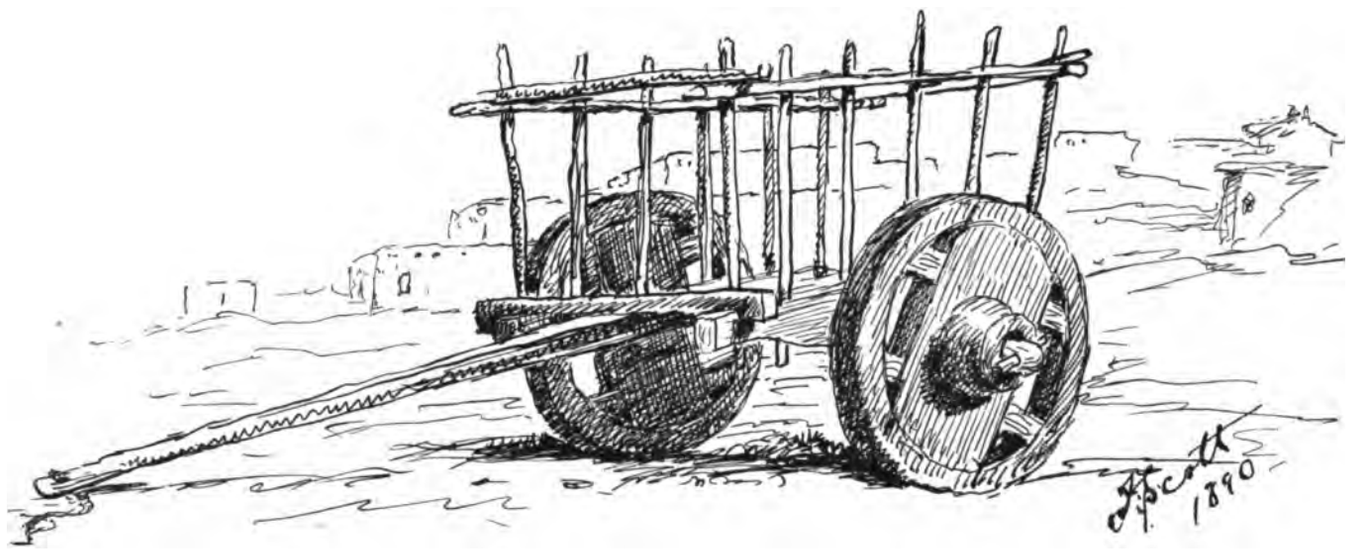
"The god Montezuma is made of tanned skin of some sort, and the form is circular, being about 9 inches in height, and the same in diameter. The top is covered with the same material, but the lower end is open, and one-half is painted red and the other green. Upon the green side is fashioned the rude representation of a man's face. 2 oblong apertures in the skin, in the shape of right angled triangles, with the bases inward, are the eyes; there is no nose, and a circular piece of leather, fastened about 2 inches below the eyes, represents the mouth; and 2 similar pieces, 1 on each side, opposite the outer corners of the eyes, are intended for the ears. This completes the personnel of the god, with the addition of a small tuft of leather upon the top, which is dressed with feathers when it is brought out to be worshiped upon public days. The 3 Indians present looked upon it with the greatest apparent veneration, who knelt around it in the most devout manner, and went through a form of prayer, while one of the number sprinkled upon it a white powder. Mateo, the Indian who accompanied us, spoke in praise of Montezuma, and told us that it was god, and the brother of god. After contemplating this singular spectacle for a few minutes, we withdrew, quite astonished at what we had seen. Who would have believed that within the limits of our Union, in the middle of the nineteenth century, there was to be found such a debased form of heathen worship?"

a Of the dance at the pueblo of Laguna in 1884, Mr. Lummis, in "A Tramp Across the Continent", writes:

"Laguna is the most picturesque of the pueblos that are easily accessible; and as the railroad runs at the very base of the great dome of rock upon which the quaint, terraced houses are huddled, there is no difficulty in reaching it. On the summit of the rock is the plaza, or large public square, surrounded on all sides by the tall housewalls and entered only by 3 narrow alleys. We hastened up the sloping hill by one of the strange footpaths which the patient feet of 2 centuries have worn 8 inches deep in the solid rock, and entered the plaza. It was a remarkable sight. The housetops were brilliant with a gorgeously appareled throng of Indian spectators, watching with breathless interest the strange scene at their feet. Up and down the plaza's smooth floor of solid rock the 30 dancers were leaping, marching, wheeling, in perfect rhythm to the wild chant of the chorus, and to the pom, pom of a huge drum. Their faces were weirdly besmeared with vermilion, and upon their heads were war bonnets of eagle feathers. Some carried bows and arrows, some elaborate tomahawks (though that was never a characteristic weapon of the Pueblo Indians), some lances and shields, and a few revolvers and Winchesters. They were stripped to the waist and wore curious skirts of buckskin reaching to the knee, ponderous silver belts, of which some dancers had 2 or 3 apiece, and endless profusion of silver bracelets and rings, silver, turquoise, and coral necklaces and earrings, and sometimes beautifully beaded buckskin leggings. The captain or leader had a massive necklace of the terrible claws of the grizzly bear. He was a superb Apollo in bronze, fully 6 feet 3 inches tall, and straight as an arrow. His long, raven hair was done up in a curious wad on the top of his head and stuck full of eagle feathers. His leggings were the most elaborate I ever saw, one solid mass behind of elegant

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A CART AT PUEBLO OF LAGUNA, New Mexico, 1890.

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At Laguna, New Mexico.



A Laguna Indian, Laguna, New Mexico.



Laguna Women passing the cattle chute near the station. New Mexico.



At Laguna, New Mexico A boy just from the school at Albuquerque, New Mexico.



Ex-Governor of Laguna, New Mexico.



Baking Bread, at Laguna, New Mexico.

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A GATE-WAY IN LAGUNA, New Mexico.



The ruins (ancient) on the Mesa She-nat-sa about 2½ miles south of Laguna, New Mexico.



AT LAGUNA, New Mexico.



AT LAGUNA, New Mexico.



AT LAGUNA, New Mexico.



DANCING COURT IN THE PUEBLO OF LAGUNA, New Mexico.

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From the town we walked to the spring, a little more than a mile away. Following the path along and around the foot of a high hill of lava and volcanic rock, beneath which crops out a sandstone ledge, we came to the fountain, which I was told had never failed in its supply during the most severe droughts. Colonel Marmon told me it had always been the favorite trysting place of the young. The pretty group we found there did not regard our presence as intrusive in the least. Down the smooth sides of the sand rock are deep grooves worn by the children, who use it on pleasant days for the innocent pastime of sliding. We climbed up over this spot to the lava and volcanic rock and onto the top of the hill. From the summit I was shown the ancient shores and now fertile bed of the lake that was once there, and from which the pueblo takes its name, Laguna. Here I saw for the first time a live horned toad. Colonel Marmon called my attention to it, and certainly there was never a more invulnerable looking little batrachian; it was almost repulsive, 3 inches long, a small head, large elliptically shaped body, 4 legs of nearly equal length, and a short, pointed tail, wide at the base, all covered with a suit of armor of bony or shell-like substance; there was the casque, or helmet, with horns for plumes, the gorget, arm pieces, gauntlets, backpiece, and jambes, each in place, and most exquisitely jointed. One morning, with Robert Marmon, I rode over to the mesa She-nat-sa. It is nearly 3 miles south, between a billowy sea of sand hills and the mesa Tim-me-yah. It was accessible only on the east side. Leaving our horses, we walked up the rather narrow and difficult path, and spent a great part of the forenoon examining and poking about in its ancient ruins. They cover an area of about 10 acres, the entire surface of the mesa. Mr. Marmon found a copper bracelet, which he gave me, and I was further fortunate in finding a stone ax of considerable size and weight and many pretty pieces of broken pottery. The place was undoubtedly selected as an abode on account of its position and natural defensive strength. The country for many miles about can be seen from any part of the silent mesa. In the days when it was peopled, and the lookout sat in the old watchtower, the marauding Indians of the plains could not approach without being discovered in time to signal the herders to come in with their flocks and the husbandman to leave the fields. That part of the plain north to the San Jose river was used in those early days for agricultural purposes; the canals and ditches, dug and graded for irrigation, are mostly buried under the sand hills. The sand hills are literally moving from the southwest to the northeast, the changes being noticeable after the high winds that prevail at different times of the year. Remains of the old canals and ditches are constantly coming to light, which must have been buried during centuries. To the south and west the plain gradually rises up to the Tineh and Coyote mesas; on the south, looking far over Laguna, are the beautiful peaks of the San Mateo mountains, which rise over 11,000 feet above the sea, and away to the northeast down the San Jose valley stand the glistening walls of the mesas of the Cañon Cajoe, all affording pleasing views. We descended to where our horses were, mounted, and reached home just in time to escape a severe sand storm, which began about noon and continued for 2 days.

Several small villages belonging to the Laguna government are Mesita Negra, about 5 miles east; Paguate, 10 miles north; Encinal, 9 miles northwest; Paraje, 6 miles a little north of west; Santa Ana, 4 miles west; Casa Blanco, 6 miles west, and Seama, 8 miles west. The people of these smaller towns, aside from the corn they cultivate, raise abundance of fruit, such as grapes, peaches, plums, melons, etc. The San Jose valley might all be under cultivation; but, considering the great difficulties the natives have to overcome in the way of irrigation, it is astonishing that they accomplish as much as they do. Mr. Marmon accompanied me to Acoma, and on our way he pointed out the fields which the Lagunians cultivate, and where they expended much patient toil in building a large dam for the storage of water to use in times of drought. Under the direction of a competent engineer these very worthy and industrious people could easily accomplish this work, which would be of everlasting benefit to them. Kind nature has provided the means. There is stone of every size and already fashioned, cement, clay, gravel, etc., and willing hands ready to begin the undertaking for no other consideration than the common good

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beadwork. He carried in his hand a long, steel-pointed lance, decorated with many gay-colored ribbons, and he used this much after the fashion of a drum major.

"When we first arrived upon the scene, and for half an hour thereafter, the dancers were formed in a rectangle, standing 5 abreast and 6 deep, jumping up and down in a sort of rudimentary clogstep, keeping faultless time and ceaselessly chanting to the 'music' of 2 small bass drums. The words were not particularly thrilling, consisting chiefly, it seemed to my untutored ear, of 'Ho! o-o-o-h! Ho! Ho! Ah! Ho!' but the chant was a genuine melody, though different in all ways from any tune you will hear elsewhere. Then the leader gave a yelp like a dog, and started off over the smooth rock floor, the whole chorus following in single file, leaping high into the air and coming down, first on one foot and then on the other, one knee stiff and the other bent, and still singing at the top of their lungs. No matter how high they jumped, they all came down in unison with each other, and with the tap of the rude drums. No clog dancer could keep more perfect time to music than do these queer leapers. The evolutions of their 'grand march' are too intricate for description, and would completely bewilder a fashionable leader of the german. They wound around in snake-like figures, now and then falling into strange but regular groups, never getting confused, never missing a step of their laborious leaping. And such endurance of lung and muscle! They keep up their jumping and shouting all day and all night. During the whole of this serpentine dance the drums and the chorus kept up their clamor, while the leader punctuated the chant by a series of wild whoops at regular intervals. All the time, too, while their legs were busy, their arms were not less so. They kept brandishing aloft their various weapons in a significant style that 'would make a man hunt tall grass if he saw them out on the plains,' as Phillips declared. And as for attentive audiences, no American star ever had such a one as that which watched the Christmas dance at Laguna. Those 800 men, women, and children all stood looking on in decorous silence, never moving a muscle nor uttering a sound. Only once did they relax their gravity, and that was at our coming.

"My nondescript appearance, as I climbed up a house and sat down on the roof, was too much for them, as well it might be. The sombrero, with its snakeskin band; the knife and 2 six-shooters in my belt; the bulging duck coat; long fringed, snowy leggings; the skunkskin dangling from my blanket roll, and last, but not least, the stuffed coyote over my shoulders, looking natural as life, made up a picture I feel sure they never saw before, and probably never will see again. They must have thought me Pa-puk-ke-wis, the wild man of the plains. A lot of the children crowded around me, and when I caught the coyote by the neck and shook it, at the same time growling at them savagely, they jumped away and the whole assembly was convulsed with laughter. For hours we watched the strange, wild spectacle, until the sinking sun warned us to be moving, and we reluctantly turned our faces westward."

it would be. Mr. Marmon told me that a great deal of bad feeling existed between Laguna and Acoma on account of a storage reservoir which they had built together for mutual benefit. Many Laguna families own and hold fields in the valley of Acoma up to a line separating their territory from that of their neighbors, which had been agreed upon in years long gone by, and their rights recognized down to the present time; but last summer the people of Acoma denied them water from the reservoir, in consequence of which their corn crops were very poor. Laguna sent a delegation of their principal men to confer with a similar body at Acoma and demand their rights. Acoma claimed that there was not sufficient water for their own use, which statement Laguna denied, charging that Acoma was carelessly or intentionally wasting the water. They came to no settlement. The governor of Laguna then appealed to the Indian agent at Santa Fe, who paid no attention to his grievances. Finally, through another source, word was sent impressing upon the agent the urgency of the matter and the necessity of its immediate attention and settlement. He came down, went over to Acoma, asked what the trouble was, and was told to "go to hell"; he disobeyed the order and went back to Santa Fe, and the cornfields of the Lagunians, in the valley of Acoma, went dry.

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Acoma is but 16 miles from Laguna, and the road by way of Casa Blanco is very good, from which point it leads up a gentle ascent to the upper valley or plain. Reaching the top the first object of interest that attracts the eye is the mesa Encantado, standing in the middle of the plain, its perpendicular walls of red sandstone rising 1,000 feet. Our way lay to the right of this enchanted table rock and through a considerable growth of stunted timber, pine and cedar, beyond which, to the right and left, the mountains rise to great heights and take every form imaginable; gothic spires, towers, domes, and eastern mosques are distributed, one after another, in grand array. Among the most curious to me were Roca Ventana and Olla (pronounced Ole-yra). All have Spanish names, which the natives use in designating them.

ACOMA.

Reaching the open plain, we came within view of the rock of Acoma, and were in a little while watering our horses at the reservoir, over which the 2 pueblos are quarreling. The water was very low and there were evidences of recent neglect. The rock of Acoma bears the pueblo of that name. It seems unreasonable that such a site should have been selected by its founders for a habitation except for protection against the more warlike tribes that infested the great plains, roaming at will, preying upon their fields, and later their herds. The distance to wood and water, the enormous daily labor required to provide for the necessaries of life, could not have been endured through all the centuries the Indians have lived there but for the absolute security the natural fortress gave them. Its walls of sandstone rise 200 feet out of the plain and are studded with deep recesses and grottoes that look more and more gloomy and forbidding as they are approached. Arriving at the southwest side of the rock, we left our team in the shadow of one of the towering monoliths that have been separated by erosion from the parent mesa and took a short cut along the ridge of an immense sand hill, the upper end of which banks against the rock about halfway up. Originally there was but one path that led to the top, the larger one of two now used; the other has been made practicable by the sand drift which has formed in recent years. The climb from where the sand stops is steep and difficult, and in some places steps have been cut out of the solid rock. We, however, reached the summit in safety, and after a few minutes' walk over its rough surface, entered the pueblo. (*a*)

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a Mr. C. F. Lummis thus writes of the pueblo of Acoma:

"Cubero is the nearest station to the most wonderful aboriginal city on earth, cliff built, cloud swept, matchless Acoma. Indeed, it is probably the most remarkable city in the world. Perched upon the level summit of a great 'box' of rock, whose perpendicular sides are nearly 400 feet high, and reached by some of the dizziest paths ever trodden by human feet, the prehistoric town looks across the wilderness. Its quaint terraced houses of gray adobe, its huge church (hardly less wonderful than the pyramids of Egypt as a monument of patient toil), its great reservoir in the solid rock, its superb scenery, its romantic history, and the strange customs of its 100 people, all are rife with interest to the few Americans who visit the isolated city. Neither history nor tradition tells us when Acoma was founded. The pueblo was once situated on top of the mesa Encantata (enchanted table-land), which rises 700 feet in air near the mesa now occupied. 400 years ago or so, a frightful storm swept away the enormous leaning rock, which served as a ladder, and the patient people, who were away at the time, had to build a new city. The present Acoma was an old town when the first European, Coronado, the famous Spanish explorer, saw it in 1540. With that its authentic history begins, a strange, weird history, in scattered fragments, for which we must delve among the curious 'memorials' of the Spanish conquerors and the scant records of the heroic priests. 13 miles south, up a valley of growing beauty, we came to the home of these strange sky-dwellers, a butte of rock nearly 400 feet tall and 70 acres in area.

"We were handsomely entertained in the comfortable and roomy house of Martin Valle, the 7-times governor of the pueblo, a fine-faced, kindly, still active man of 90, who rides his plunging bronco to-day as firmly as the best of them, and who in the years since our first meeting has become a valued friend. With him that day was his herculean war captain, Faustino. I doubt if there was ever carved a manlier frame than Faustino's, and certain it is that there never was a face nearer the ideal Mars. A grand, massive head, outlined in strength rather than delicacy; great, rugged features, yet superbly moulded withal; an eye like a lion's, nose and forehead full of character, and a jaw which was massive but not brutal, calm but inexorable as fate. I have never seen a finer face, that is, for a man whose trade is war. Of course, it would hardly fit a professor's shoulders. But it will always stand out in my memory, with but 2 or 3 others, the most remarkable types I have ever encountered. One of the council accompanied us, too, a kindly, intelligent old man named José Miguel Chino, since gone to sleep in the indeterminate jumble of the gray graveyard.

"In a 'street' paved with the eternal rock of the mesa were a hundred children playing jubilantly. It was a pleasant sight, and they were pleasant children. I have never seen any of them fighting, and they are as bright, clean-faced, sharp-eyed, and active as you find in an American schoolyard at recess. The boys were playing some sort of Acoma tag, and the girls mostly looked on. I don't know that they had the scruples of the sex about boisterous play. But nearly every one of them carried a fat baby brother or sister on her back, in the bight of her shawl. These uncomplaining little nurses were from 12 years old down to 5. Truly, the Acoma maiden begins to be a useful member of the household at an early age!

"Coming back from an exploration of the great church, with its historic paintings and the dizzy 'stone ladder' where the patient moccasins of untold generations have worn their imprint 6 inches deep in the rock, I found the old governor sitting at his door, indulging in the characteristic 'shave' of his people. He was impassively pecking away at his bronze cheeks and thinking about some matter of state. The aborigine does not put a razor to his face, but goes to the root of the matter, plucking out each hirsute newcomer bodily by pinch of finger nails, or with knife blade against his thumb, or with tweezers.



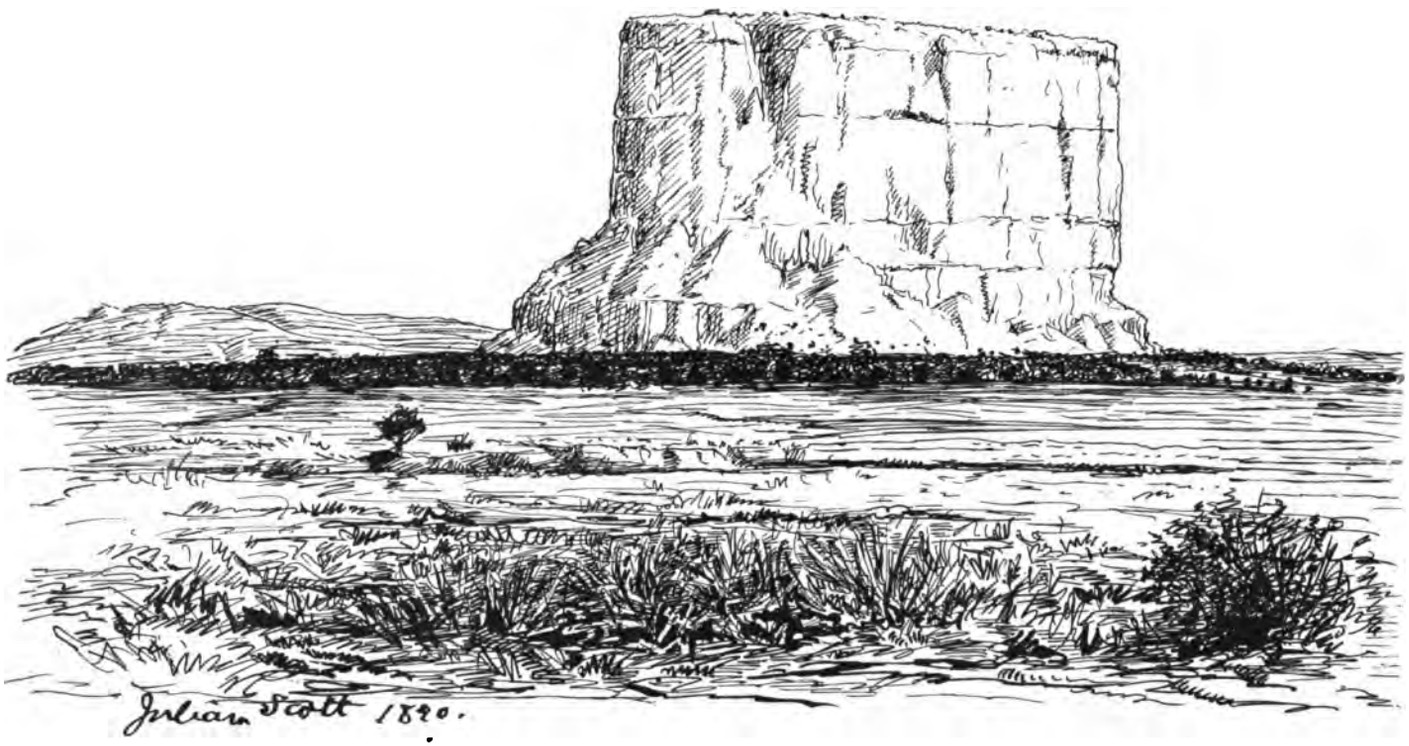
The Rock and Pueblo of Acoma, New Mexico, 1891.
The Elevation on the top of the rock is the Pueblo.

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MESA ENCANTADO, New Mexico, 1890.

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Pueblo of Acoma, showing Reservoir

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Acoma.



In the Pueblo of Acoma, New Mexico.



At Acoma, New Mexico



The Valley of Acoma, New Mexico.



At Acoma, New Mexico.



The Rock of Acoma, New Mexico. Looking South.

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The pueblo of Acoma consists of several long rows of 3-storied buildings, all facing the south, built of flat stone and rubble. The upper stories are used for dwellings, the lower for storage. From the sides they present the appearance of 3 giant steps, the lowest reached by a forest of ladders. There are narrow partition stone stairs that lead to the upper stories. These landings are the private front yards and balconies. We found the silversmith of Acoma, in an almost nude state, taking a sun bath on one of them, his aged wife and children about him, occupied with some little work of a domestic nature. He sat upon the earth floor and leaned against the wall of the house. Tied about his head was a red scarf, around the neck a common string, from which was suspended a beautiful arrowpoint of white quartz, which looked still whiter by contrast with the dark, reddish brown breast upon which it lay. A small blanket, one end of which he sat upon, was thrown carelessly across the lap, and his ankles were covered with a sort of knit leggings, intended to reach the knees, but which had fallen down in wrinkles, and looked all the more picturesque. Emaciated and weak, he did not look up until spoken to, when his long, gray locks fell back, exposing a pair of large turquoise earrings that would have delighted any lady to possess. I bought from one of his daughters a silver ring set with a pretty piece of turquoise and was obliged to pay her an additional price for putting it on my finger. She would make a good worker in any church fair. Near the silversmith's, in one of the upper dwellings, we got dinner, my first in an Indian pueblo. We sat on the floor. The first course was watermelon, then came a kind of mutton stew, with vegetables, mostly chili, and piping hot, served in large bowls, and a kind of hard graham bread, served in one of the curious Apache willow baskets. The coffee (?), made of parched peas, over which boiling water was poured and allowed to stand for a time, was very pleasant. The meal altogether we thoroughly enjoyed. North of the town is a great natural reservoir, where the people obtain the water ordinarily used. That part of the mesa is slightly lower than the town and receives the rainfall of a considerable area, through which source and melting snow the reservoir is supplied. Their drinking water is obtained from springs far away from the rock, though I was told many of the families used that of the reservoir, which must be very unhealthy. On the southern side of the pueblo, commanding an extended view of the country below and beyond, stands the old Spanish mission, facing the east. It is built of adobe, and its thick south wall is wasting away, as are also its huge towers, once square, which rise just high enough above the roof to admit of belfries. Attached to the north side of the church is a structure of considerable dimension, inclosing an open court. Except the northern end, where it is 2 stories, it is 1 story high. A corridor runs entirely around the inner side, with large oblong openings that look out upon the court and give light to the passageway, through and out of which entrance is made to the many dismal cells, sleeping places, no doubt, of the Franciscan friars in the early times. The second story is reached by a winding, stone stairway, leading up from the junction of the north and east corridors to a small hall connecting with a suite of cheery rooms that look to the south upon the court and a pavilion, flanking the northeast corner of the building.

The rooms had been frescoed, but it must have been long ago, for much of the decoration has disappeared, though enough is left to show the simple and neat Indian design of line and color. The pavilion is a pleasant retreat; its floor is of cement, and the balustrade, columns, and ceiling are of curiously carved wood, much cracked and decayed by age. It overlooks the pueblo, the plain below, and far mountains. This apartment, so suggestive of superiority, was probably occupied by the head of the religious order.

The walled yard in front of the church has been, since the edifice was raised, the burial place of Acoma's dead, and many thousand bodies are said to be interred there. There would be a rich find, should the place ever be dug up, of old pueblo pottery, ornaments of silver and beads of shell and turquoise, and other kinds, which the natives, in earlier times invariably buried with their dead. The church was locked, but we found a door within the annexed building, which admitted us to the gallery by climbing some much worn adobe stairs. The hour was getting late, and the diminishing light would not permit of our seeing distinctly the altar and decorations at the other end of the long auditory. We met a young, intelligent looking Indian as we left the churchyard, who, speaking in good English, asked to talk with us. He said he was educated at Carlisle and had returned to Acoma, his former home, to live, but was forced to go away and had taken up a temporary abode at the small station 14 miles north on the railroad, called McCarty. He desired to live and dress as white people did, but had been publicly whipped

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The governor's 'razor' was a unique and ingenious affair. He had taken the brass shell of a 45-60 rifle cartridge, split it nearly to the base, flattened the 2 sides, filed their edges true, and given them a slight spread at the fork. Thus he got a pair of tweezers better adapted to his work than the American style. With this he was coolly assaulting his kindly old face, mechanically and methodically, never wincing at the operation.

"As we talked in disjointed Spanish, I saw a very wonderful thing, such a thing as is probably not to be seen again in a lifetime. An old crone came in carrying a 6-months' babe. She was 100 years old, toothless (for a wonder, for Acoma teeth are long-lived), snow-haired, and bony, but not bent. She and the infant were the extremes of 6 generations, for it was her great-great-great-great-grandchild that dangled in her shawl. I saw the grandmother, great-grandmother, and great-great-grandmother of the child afterward, the mother being absent at Acomita. Poor old woman! Think of her having cared for 5 generations of measles, croup, colic, and cholera infantum!

"There was a wonderful foot race that day, too, between half a dozen young men of Acoma and an equal number from Laguna. There were several hundred dollars' worth of ponies and blankets upon the race, and much loud talking accompanied the preliminaries. Then the runners and the judges went down to the plain, while every one else gathered on the edge of the cliff. At the signal, the 12 lithe, clean-faced athletes started off like deer. Their running costume consisted of the dark-blue patarabo, or breechclout, and their sinewy trunks and limbs were bare. Each side had a stick about the size of a lead pencil, and as they ran they had to kick this along in front of them, never touching it with the fingers. The course was around a wide circuit, which included the mesa of Acoma and several other big hills. I was told afterward that the distance was a good 25 miles. The Acoma boys, who won the race, did it in 2 hours and 31 minutes, which would be good running, even without the stick kicking arrangement."

by order of the governor of Acoma for continuing to wear his hair short and refusing to comply with some other trivial orders that were intended to make him give up his new ideas. He had long been convinced that education was the only salvation of his people, and sadly regretted that a large majority were opposing the government's efforts to enlighten them. His brother and he, he said, owned a herd of sheep and goats; that his brother believed in the new road, but would remain at home and look after their joint interests while he went out into the world to further improve himself; that it was his intention to take his young wife to Albuquerque and put her in the government school there; that he would find work at his trade, slating, and devote his leisure time to mathematics. He hoped his people would open their eyes to the new condition and throw off their sleepy old ways. At this moment a pretty little Indian woman rode up astride a burro with gay trappings. He told us she was his wife, which she understood, and gave in acknowledgment a graceful nod of the head and one of the sweetest of smiles.

Continuing, he said, "If you can say a good word for us do so, please; we ask no other assistance, for we both are young and can look after ourselves, but before saying good-by let me give you my address", and he wrote in my notebook his "white name" thus: "Jas. H. Miller, Pueblo of Acoma, P. O. McCarty, Valencia Co., N. M." Shaking hands, he jumped on the burro behind his wife, and they soon disappeared down the trail. All the while we were there the governor could not be found, though his house was visited several times. We descended by the old trail and met numerous herds of horses, burros, sheep, and goats coming up, followed by their attendants, who made the rock walls ring with occasional song and merry laughter. Marmon's horses neighed as we approached, and all were soon ready for the return, which was made easily and in quick time, owing to our good team, the long, brilliant twilight, and a quartering moon. The next morning I met Captain Pradt, and we spent several days together.

Mr. Marmon enumerated the Zuñis for the Eleventh Census and encountered considerable opposition at the beginning of his work, but was successful. He gave me a paper containing some complaints and requests which the Zuñis desired he should make known to the proper authorities in Washington, which I afterward gave to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs while journeying from Fort Wingate to Keams Cañon.

When I got back to Fort Wingate in December it was to find the post almost deserted and much uneasiness among many of those who remained because of their rather unprotected situation. The Navajos were quarreling among themselves over a recent killing, committed by one Pinto, who had collected his followers to resist the extraordinary demand for horses, sheep, goats, and beads made by the relatives of the dead Indians as an offset to their loss. All sorts of rumors were whispered about. It was impossible to get any conveyance to Zuñi, and the situation necessitated my going to Gallup for transportation; so, after a day's rest under the hospitable roof of Dr. Washington Matthews, the post surgeon, I went there and made arrangements, and had the good luck to again meet Captain Pradt, of Laguna, who willingly consented to accompany me.

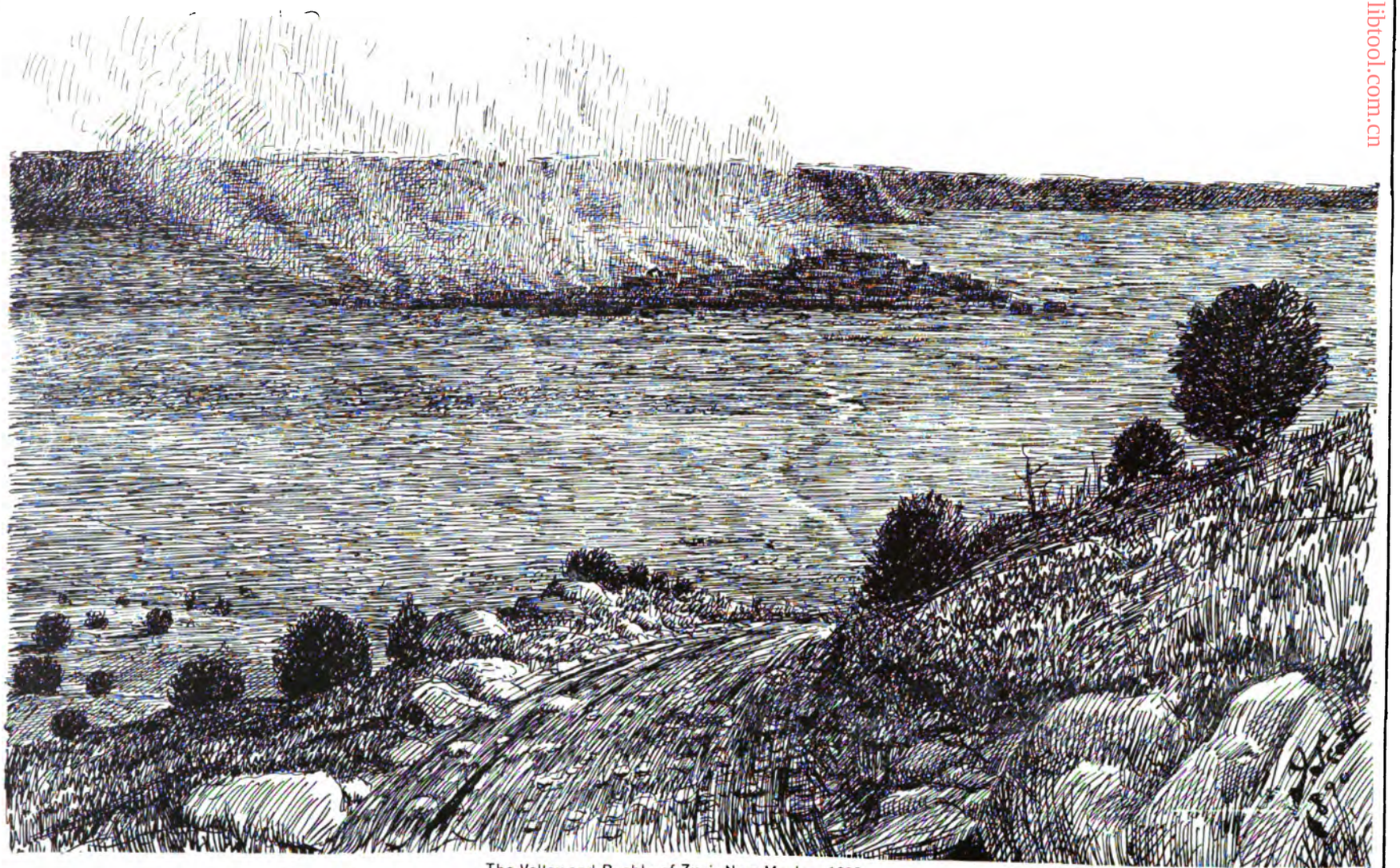
The morning of our departure was not encouraging. We reached Monsheimer's ranch, which is adjacent to that of Pinto's, in the Zuñi mountains, a little before noon, a distance of 12 miles. It rained and snowed. On the upper ridges and levels a great deal of snow had fallen. The gathering darkness found us at the camp of a small number of Navajos, among the piñons, at the upper end of a large valley, where they had taken their herds of sheep and goats for grazing. We passed them, and about 9 o'clock made our camp in an abandoned Navajo hogan (hut). The roads were so heavy from melting snow and rain that we only reached Dan Dubois' the next day, 18 miles farther on. The roof of his ranch leaked. A great part of the night was "put in" with Indian gossip and stories. Dubois married the daughter of the great Navajo chief, Manulito, and has a great deal of influence among the Navajos, and is called by them "the old man".

ZUÑI.

The next day, just at sunset, we came in sight of Zuñi. It lies in a great plain, or valley, through which the Zuñi river runs, and the view was most welcome and beautiful. The great expanse of landscape before us, under the glowing twilight, bathed in reflected gold and purple, in the center of which picture, far off in the plain in indistinct outline and somber aspect, rested the pueblo, with a curtain of smoke lazily rising upward and toward the east, made certainly an entrancing scene.

We drove to Mr. Graham's, the post trader, who, anticipating our arrival, made it a pleasant one by providing an excellent, warm supper and inviting to meet us many of the principal men, among whom I shall remember the thoughtful and finely cut face of Patricio Pinor, the ex-governor, and the staunch friend of Mr. Cushing.

On account of the severe storm that had prevailed for a number of days the streets of the town were in a horrible condition, and looked as if they were never cleaned. They are now higher than the ground floors of the houses, though they were evidently once on the same level. Some of the terraced buildings are 5 stories high, reached by clumsy ladders and narrow partition steps of adobe or stone. All those visited were very clean inside, but as a general rule cheerless and sadly lacking in comforts. "Doby" (adobe) or stone benches, 12 or 14 inches high, are built along the sides of the rooms, sometimes on one side only, affording about the only seats. Sheepskins and small blankets are provided to make these seats more comfortable. In a corner is always to be found a large and



The Valley and Pueblo of Zuni, New Mexico, 1890.
Looking South West. As seen during the
growing twilight.

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PUEBLO OF ZUNI, 1890.

prettily decorated olla, filled with water, and a gourd by its side for a dipper. The people use bowls of their own make about the size of a washbowl to mix their bread in. Only the inside of these bowls are decorated. Among other bits of their pottery the canteen, or small water jug, is very pretty, and they bestow great pains on its ornamentation. To its ears they tie gaudy looking sashes of different colors and design, made broad so as to enable them to more easily carry the burden of precious water when on a long journey. Almost every family possesses from one to a number of willow baskets, some of which come from the Moqui country, some from the far Cojonino, and others from the Apaches. These baskets are made in the fashion of a shallow bowl, or more like a saucer, except those from the second Moqui mesa, which are the large oval, and almost flat. The Cojonino basket is so perfectly braided that it will hold water; they, however, are seldom used for any other purpose than holding meal, corn, or bread. I saw the greatest quantity of dried peaches wherever I went, a fruit which stands in high favor with the Zuñis as well as with the Moquis. When stewed they are quite delicious, and the natural flavor of the peach is not lost in the process of drying or stewing.

The Zuñi people pay little attention to the great fertile valley or plain in which they live. It could all be put under cultivation and exceed in products a hundredfold more than their requirements, but they pass out of the plain and plant their fields in the little side valley, where they have even set out their peach orchards. I asked the reason for this, and learned it was a "policy" adopted by their wise men; that the plain in greater part was once under cultivation, but when the white men began to come they made a change. The plain was naturally very rich and productive wherever irrigated, but to keep the white man off they took possession of the little valleys and watering places on its border, by doing which their great valley and home are the better protected, and the change only requires a little extra labor. The old Catholic church is in a dangerous condition; its walls are giving way, and it is no longer used for religious services. The buildings of the Presbyterian mission are very good, except the roofs of both the school and dwelling. I found that both of these houses had been flooded during the recent storm, all on account of the roofs. All the bedding was out in the sun drying. Everything had received a liberal drenching, as though it was a Baptist institution. The superintendent and her assistant seemed to take the situation philosophically.

There is one curious occupation I found the people engaged in, an occupation that never occurred to my mind before, that is, eagle farming; yes, the national bird, emblem of our great republic, has been brought to this! His dizzy flights through the pathways of the sky have been arrested, his pinions clipped, and for a home, instead of the inaccessible cliffs of the Nutria and Prescado and Toillenny, he has squalid quarters on the banks of the Zuñi just outside of the pueblo. It is in this way that they obtain so many eagle feathers for their own use and trade among other tribes.

One morning while Captain Pradt and I were looking at the sad and homesick looking birds, one of the subchiefs came up and began a conversation with the captain. He seemed very much in earnest and did most of the talking at first. I learned he was the one who had made the complaints and requests which Captain Pradt had faithfully written out, and which I had handed to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. When it was explained to him how many such matters there were to look after, and how necessary it was for each to be settled in turn, he was satisfied, and expressed a strong hope that "Washington" would favor the requests made. The principal complaints they make are against the Navajos, who steal their cattle, sheep, goats, asses, and horses. The people of this pueblo, in common with the people of Acoma and Laguna, want an agent to live near them, and one who will take an interest in their affairs and who understands them; they are anxious to "lean on" the treasury of the United States, and, like all Indians, expect much help from the national treasury.

The pueblo embraces in its government 3 other towns, Nutrias, Pescado, and Caliente. They are all, of course, within the Indian reservation, and distant from Zuñi proper from 8 to 15 miles.

The civil government consists of a governor, who is appointed by the caciques, or heads of the different orders, or gentes. This governor holds office from 1 to 3 years, at the option or pleasure of the caciques.

The governor appoints an assistant, or lieutenant governor, but the person selected to fill the position is suggested by the caciques. The lieutenant governor acts in the absence of the governor. The governor, too, appoints 6 deputies, whose duties are to see that all the governor's orders are obeyed. This constitutes the machinery of their so-called civil government. Back of this power there is a greater one, which is not seen but felt, the council of the caciques, headed by the chief of the bow, who hold secret meetings and settle all questions within their body that pertain to the management of public affairs. In all there are some 8 caciques, 1 or 2 of whom are reported to be women.

There are 17 orders, or gentes, in this pueblo. Mr. D. D. Graham, the Indian trader there, gave me the figures. Unlike the Moquis, the places of meeting of the different orders are in houses above ground instead of in kevas, or estufas, under ground, and into which descent is made by ladders.

There are about 263 houses in the pueblo, including those which have recently been built on the outskirts of the old town. There are a few small courts, or squares, through the town, where dances are held at the call of the caciques, and where children, dogs, and burros gather to play and rest on the shady sides during the daytime.

The rows of houses, connected as they are, encircling the courts and spanning the covered ways that lead from street to street or court to court, might properly be called one vast communal dwelling or beehive. They are built in terraces from 2 to 5 stories high, their walls being of stone, rubble, clay, and "adobe" bricks. The lower and upper stories are principally, though not wholly, used for living apartments. The aged and very old are relegated to the ground floors. The dwellings, as a rule, inside and out, are very tidy; the walls are whitewashed with a preparation of their own invention and make, consisting of burnt gypsum, ground to a powder, making plaster of paris, and mixed with water and a little flour. The mixture is put on with the aid of strings of wool, not twisted but matted together like a mop. The women not only do this work, but are the housebuilders as well.

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The appointments of a Zuñi dwelling are simple. There is in the corner of the main room a fireplace, where the cooking is done. The "doby" (adobe) or stone bench, before noted, is covered with a sheepskin or blanket, laid to make the seats more comfortable.

The beds consist of sheepskin and blankets, generally of Navajo make, which are rolled up during the day and spread out at night, and more than one family will occupy a room at a time. I know this to be a fact. One morning I had occasion to call on Da-co-ny, the bead maker; it was not early, but I found him and his wife in bed. Under the impression that I was intruding, I backed out, but he loudly called "come in", and I ventured back only to find that there were 2 other couples in the same room, and that the Zuñis on retiring remove all their clothing.

2 or 3 ollas, or water jars, constitute the larger vessels they use, while earthen trays, bowls, and dippers are employed for mixing dough, and dishes peculiar to them. They generally eat out of a large bowl of clay in common; whether it be a stew or boiled meat it makes no difference. Some of the families use all the modern household appliances.

Few of them possess chairs or tables; boxes, however, which they get from traders, supply the places of these articles; but as a rule they sit on their heels or on an old blanket folded into a wad or on the conventional bench of stone covered with clay and gypsum whitewash. The rooms are all lighted by small windows. Some buildings, the more modern, have the factory sash and 6 by 4 glass, but the old dwellings still have the quaint gypsum plates in every conceivable irregularity, which are placed so as to light the bins where they grind their corn upon inclined slabs of stone (metáte), using long and quite heavy pieces for the purpose. These bins about complete the list of household furniture, and while I have mentioned them last, they are by all means the first of their necessities.

Bows and arrows are seen sometimes hanging on the walls, and very often a good repeating rifle. Occasionally the old mortar and tetherstone and the stone hammer and ax, also the stone dart and spearhead, can be found among the very old people; but these relics of the past are fast disappearing. The little stone fetiches, which the men belonging to the different orders carry when hunting, are supposed by them to possess charms which bring good luck. These talismen are now very scarce, and an Indian owning one will part with most anything else before letting it go.

The Indians are agriculturists and cultivate the fields that border the great basin in which they live, also the side cañons and little valleys through which streams run and where irrigation is made easy. It is a very primitive agriculture, however. The whole of the valley could be made productive, but its usefulness is permitted to waste, and it mostly lies fallow by reason of the conservative policy of the caciques to let it alone and duly keep under cultivation the fields where they are now located, and so keep off the white man. Their principal agricultural products are corn, wheat, oats, beans, chili, onions, pumpkins, and melons of all kinds. They also have numerous peach orchards, which are situated in the sand hills and along the little washes that skirt and come into the valley. On the east, south, and west sides of the pueblo are numerous walled gardens, as many as 200, in which are raised chili, beans, onions, and melons. Some of these gardens are in terraces rising up from the river bank toward the top of the mound on which the older part of the pueblo stands. The women plant and wholly care for these gardens. The women are most decidedly the best "men" in all the pueblos.

The manner of life of these Indians can be taken as a type of the methods of the other 18 pueblos of New Mexico. During the dry season they patiently toil, keeping their fields well watered from the river, from which the women carry the water in ollas on their heads. The men weave blankets and sashes similar to those made by the Moquis, and they make a simple kind of willow basket, but not so fine as those of the Moquis, the Apaches, or the Navajos. Most of the families possess one or more specimens of these finer baskets, which they have obtained in trade. The dress and toilet of the women is similar in all respects to that of the Moquis, except the odd cart wheel hairpuffs worn by the young women. Their places for holding religious ceremonies differ from those of the Moquis (in estufas). The places of worship, instead of being built underground or excavated out of the solid sandstone, are large rooms, established in such parts of the pueblos as will best conduce to secrecy. Some of their religious ceremonies evince the nature of phallic worship. They do not have the snake dance, which seems to be confined to the Moquis.

The Presbyterian school is doing well, even better than ought to be expected. Were the energetic teachers, Miss De Sette and Miss Pond, upheld by the usual force back of a government school, their school, no doubt, would equal any of the schools established by Congress, and which have been filled by kidnapping expeditions under the

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AN ACOMA (New Mexico) WOMAN with Water Jar
"Tinajas," 1890.



PATRICIO PINOR OR PALOWABTE, Ex-Gov. of Pueblo of Zuni, 1890.

New York Engraving & Printing Co.

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ON THE HOUSE-TOPS AT ZUNI 1891.


ZUNI WOMEN CARRYING WATER TO TOWN.


EAGLE CAGE.


STREET SCENE IN ZUNI.


ZUNI.


WOMEN CARRYING WATER FROM THE ZUNI RIVER TO THE GARDEN.


STREET IN ZUNI.


OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH ZUNI.

New York Engraving & Printing Co.

protection of troops among the self-sustaining Indians, or by starving such tribes as receive fortnightly rations or issues of beef, flour, etc., every 2 weeks, into bringing in their children. The population about equals that of the Moquis, and there is as much need of a government school on the Zuñi reservation as on that of the Moquis. If the government's school policy, to establish schools and maintain them among self-supporting Indians in localities where they are citizens, is to continue, then there should be a school established here.

While the people in habits and customs are generally similar to the other Pueblos, they are very tenacious in holding to their ancient faith, and, while manifesting the same desire for educational aid and agricultural implements, they wish to hold to their old religion and desire to worship after the manner of their fathers, adopting only such parts of the white man's ways as will be of practical use to them. The Zuñis, in common with all other Indians, are very superstitious, and regard with great fear a supposed witch. A person charged with witchcraft, brought before the caciques for trial, if found guilty, is promptly executed. Their mode of execution is extremely cruel. A persistent thief is regarded as beset of the devil and his fate is the same as that of a witch. If he escapes, he will surely never return to the pueblo. There are, however, more suspected witches in banishment than thieves. A year ago, in 1890, an old woman was charged with the sin of having brought a plague of grasshoppers into the valley. She was friendless, and there was no one to defend her. The cacique declared her a witch and she was hung up. Her cries were heartrending. An old friend let her down. She ran away, but was followed and killed with stones. Her son, who was regarded as calculated to do great future harm, was strung up alongside of his mother. His arms were bound behind him with wet thongs of rawhide and he was then stood up in the sun, and the rawhide drying and contracting he suffered dreadfully. He was let down in 4 hours, when he asked for a cigarette; he was hung up again, and in 8 hours he died, or rather a friend killed him with a stone.

The place of execution is a little, low annex (adobe) to the old Catholic church, on its southwest corner. The hands of the victims are tied behind them at the elbows with thongs of rawhide, then they are suspended by their pinioned arms to the ends of beams that support the roof, and which project over the entrance. They there hang without food or water until life is spent, which is sometimes several days. Their sufferings may be imagined. May this not be a relic of the Inquisition? The executions take place where the victims of the Inquisition are said to have been confined or executed. Instances are told of victims being released after suffering these tortures for a time through their concocting some strange and unnatural story, which the caciques (wise men) more readily believe than the simple truth. Sometimes this hanging torture is inflicted upon persons from whom they wish to obtain certain information concerning the victims, and if silence is persisted in they must hang until they die.

No reports, I understand, have been made of these executions. I think the government ought to investigate them and put a stop to such inhuman practices. An Indian named Saco is now living at the pueblo of Acoma in exile, having been charged with witchcraft; another, named Santo Ago, lives at Tewa.

Mr. Edward Keegan, of Gallup, and Mr. Earnes, of Ramah, have witnessed such an execution at Zuñi. Frank Harker, the clerk for Mr. Graham, Indian trader here, has seen a number of persons so executed. This barbarous practice should be abolished at once by the government, and the laws of the United States and the territory of New Mexico be at once enforced in all the pueblos.

Recently these Indians pursued and shot down 2 Mexicans, well known for their sobriety and industry, for no reason under heaven except some horses had been stolen and Mexicans or white men were suspected. These 2 men were found in the Zuñi country on their way home and were without horses; but nevertheless they were murdered. Photographs were taken of them and sold to curious travelers, but no official inquiry was ever made into the matter so far as known, and the Indians go on doing very much as they please in spite of all. They want the assistance of the government, which can be seen in many ways, besides aids to agriculture and mechanics. Missionary work alone will not aid this people. At the present time they want something more than the ideas of a new religion instilled into them, and they can not get practical aid too soon. They want the force and power of the United States made known in a proper and dignified way.

The United States Indian agency at Santa Fe is quite ornamental.

The Zuñis have always been an imperious people. Evidence exists that prior to the Spanish occupation they were the dominant Pueblos, and since then they have lorded it (when possible) over the adjacent Indians. In their methods of punishment they are barbarous and villainous. No one outside knows what they do within the pueblos of New Mexico in the matter of administering their own laws. The United States should know.

LAGUNA, ACOMA, AND ZUÑI.

My observation in the 3 pueblos of Laguna, Acoma, and Zuñi is, that the so-called control of these people by the United States government is absurd, useless, and harmful to them. It makes them expectant, and they hurry to Santa Fe to the United States Indian agent on small matters. Their civilization from a Saxon standpoint is nominal, still they are more provident than their New Mexican neighbors. These people should at once be dropped by the nation and required to assume the duties of citizenship, to which they are legally entitled.

The Indians of Laguna, Acoma, and Zuñi have a great many intensely interesting traditions. Their religious beliefs are founded upon a theology of their own, and while this theology is unlike the christian science of God it greatly resembles it on the moral side; their superstitions are endless, growing out of ignorance, of course.

The Indians of Acoma and Laguna speak the same language as those of the pueblos of Zia, San Domingo, Cochiti, Santa Ana, San Felipe, Taos, and Isleta, in New Mexico, and Tewa, on the first Moqui mesa, in Arizona. They live by agriculture and stock raising; besides, they manufacture a large amount of pottery, which they sell to tourists and in the large towns accessible to them and along the Atlantic and Pacific railroad.

Their stock consists of horses, cattle, burros, sheep, and goats. They raise corn in their fields. Wheat was once one of their chief products, but it is not now. It is not so reliable as corn, and they are able to purchase flour of the traders as cheap as they can produce it. Their garden stuffs are chili, onions, melons, pumpkins, beans, and fruit, such as apples, peaches, and grapes. Their meat supply is from sheep, goats, and cattle.

I found it very difficult to get at any figures respecting the number of acres these pueblos have under cultivation or the amount of corn or wheat they raise; neither could I find any way to ascertain the size of their herds, scattered as they were on the mesas and through the cañons for grazing. It is very difficult to get information from these Indians, and particularly so if they even suspect you of being a government agent.

I asked a Laguna man how many horses he had; he answered by holding up both of his hands, meaning 10; then, on inquiry of another what the number of his horses was, he gave me the same reply. I found out that the men were part owners in the same 10 horses. There were others in this partnership, all belonging to the same family.

The fields are scattered through the San Jose and Acoma valleys and along the little streams and washes in side cañons where water can be stored and irrigation is practicable. Where there is a spring, however small, there, too, is a garden, large or otherwise, according to the water supply.

The seasons for crops are very irregular; but the people try to raise as much corn over their annual consumption as possible, to guard against a future small crop or a famine; so, in a good year they will have for storage and to barter double the amount they will consume, and perhaps more. From all I could learn after a good deal of "talk" and much smoking of cigarettes and old pipes and many inquiries I have made the estimate of the number of acres of corn they cultivate.

Acoma has a population of 566 souls. Allowing for consumption, waste, barter, and storage (surplus) 1 pound a day per capita, a total of 3,689 bushels a year, and 12 bushels per acre of yield on the average, 308 acres may be given as under cultivation at Acoma.

	BUSHELS.
Consumption, including waste, etc	1,475
Stored for contingency	1,475
For barter, about	739
Total	3,689

Enough vegetables and melons are raised for both consumption and trade.

Laguna is situated 16 miles northeast of Acoma and is directly on the Atlantic and Pacific railroad. The people are similar in every essential to those of Acoma, and speak the same tongue. I was told by one of their old governors, Santa Ago, that Laguna was originally settled by a colony consisting of disaffected members of all the pueblos, and whose languages they still speak.

The soil in the San Jose valley, in which Laguna stands, is similar to that of the valley of Acoma, and the advantages for irrigating, although much better, are not improved, owing to a lack of engineering skill. The average yield of corn and estimates of consumption, etc., are about the same as for Laguna.

Laguna has a population of 1,143. Consumption of corn per day per capita for the year is within a fraction of 7,450 bushels, and allowing 12 bushels yield per acre, 621 acres may be given as under cultivation.

	BUSHELS.
Consumption, including waste	2,980
Storage for contingency	2,980
For barter, about	1,490
Total	7,450

Vegetables and melons are raised for consumption, trade, and storage.

By this estimate I may do these people an injustice; they may produce more corn to the acre, but such cornfields as I saw were not promising.

There is a class of chronic grumblers in Laguna, which is largely composed of those educated at Carlisle and other government schools. They come back feeling better than their fellows and become useless mouths. This class, or faction, wishes to have the lines of their grant extended so as to include a large tract of land, and because the extension is not made they show discourtesy to government officials who visit them. The government seems to be engaged in contributing to the discontent of the Indians by turning loose on them these educated loungers.

The Lagunians are out of sorts with their neighbors of Acoma because of a contest over a reservoir, in which they claim a part ownership. The matter was taken up by the newly appointed United States Indian agent, I believe, who decided that Laguna was to have an equal share of the water of the reservoir, and should pay Acoma $500 for this right. Laguna will not accede to the arrangement, and her people are discontented. They feel badly, too, at the change of school teachers.

The people of Laguna, Acoma, and Zuñi want the government to give them a police force (the members to be taken from their own people) sufficiently large to protect, not only their interests against the bands of horse thieves, but to regulate and keep in submission some of their own unruly ones. Of course, they expect Uncle Sam to pay the members of the force for their services.

So far as I was able to observe, the people of the 3 large pueblos, Laguna, Acoma, and Zuñi, resemble each other in all particulars. The people of Laguna are in some respects more advanced than the other Indians in the direction of household comforts, many of the families there having in use modern beds, chairs, and tables, but all of them, including the other Pueblos, have taken up with the modern tin coffeepot, teacups and saucers, plates, knives, forks, and spoons, and are adopting modern ways of cooking.

While nearly all the men have adopted in part the dress of the white race, principally the waistcoat, the women cling to the old blanket dress, queer, clumsy, deerskin leggings and moccasins, and small tunics of some one color; a few wear calico waists. The dress of the women is like that of the Moquis, except the manner the young women have of putting up their hair; otherwise the costumes of both men and women are the same as described in my report on the Moquis, and I feel it is unnecessary to repeat the description.

That the Indians of the 3 pueblos are improving from year to year is certain, but the evolution from their former state to a higher condition is unquestionably slow, and will be so long as they depend on the national government. The United States should at once take this matter in hand. With them, as with the Moquis, they are jealous of their own religious beliefs, and suspect that the interest taken in their welfare is only to force upon them the doctrines of a new faith.

The testimony of whites and progressive Indians was that the death rate was decreasing.

The lands of these Indians are secured to them by United States patents of date 1863, or reserved, and they have an agent, who resides at Santa Fe. While nominally under control of the United States they are self-supporting in all these pueblos. The people manufacture pottery, blankets, jewelry, and clothing, in addition to engaging in general agriculture. I found that the census of Laguna, Acoma, and Zuñi had been most satisfactorily taken by the United States enumerators.

Colonel Walter G. Marmon, of Laguna, requested me to add to my report the following respecting Indian schools and issue of fruit trees for the Pueblo Indians:

Let there be a compulsory school law passed by Congress complete in itself, giving full power to collect from each tribe such children as are wanted for the schools; the government Indian boarding schools in the states and territories where the tribes are located to be primary and industrial schools, the term to be 5 years. At the end of the 5-year term let all pupils who have shown ability be sent to a higher grade of schools away from their people, such as Carlisle and Lawrence, or to colleges in the east until they graduate. (a)

Issue of fruit trees should be made to Indians. Let it be a requirement before issue that the Indian shall fence in and properly prepare the plot of ground where he intends to plant his orchard. Let it be the duty of the agent who issues the trees to inspect each plot, and if properly prepared then make the issue. This to apply to the Navajos as well as to the Pueblos.

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a A most comprehensive scheme; but why should the United States give an Indian this education and not its other citizens, and what is the reservation Indian to do when he gets this higher education? Loaf?

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