Josiah Gregg: Map of the Indian Territory, Northern Texas and New Mexico, Showing the Great Western Prairies

1844

Josiah Gregg was one of the first Americans to paint a comprehensive picture both of the details of trading to Mexico on the Santa Fe Trail, and of the exotic natural history, customs, and cultures of New Mexico. He traded between 1831-1840, and in 1844 published Commerce of the Prairies, including this map.

Images:
2: Rabbit Ear Mounds

1821-1844

Quote: (05 July 1838) The next day's march brought us in front of the Rabbit-Ear Mounds, which might now be seen at a distance of eight or ten miles south of us, and which before the present track was established, served as a guide to travellers. The first caravan of wagons that crossed these plains, passed on the south side of these mounds, having abandoned our present route at the 'Cold Spring,' where we encamped on the night of the 1st of July. Although the route we were travelling swerves somewhat too much to the north, that pursued by the early caravans as stated above, made still a greater circuit to the south, and was by far the most inconvenient.

As we were proceeding on our march, we observed a horseman approaching, who excited at first considerable curiosity. His picturesque costume, and peculiarity of deportment, however, soon showed him to be a Mexican Cibolero or buffalo-hunter. These hardy devotees of the chase usually wear leathern trousers and jackets, and flat straw hats; while, swung upon the shoulder of each hangs his carcase or quiver of bow and arrows. The long handle of their lance being set in a case, and suspended by the side with a strap from the pommel of the saddle, leaves the point waving high over the head, with a tassel of gay parti-colored stuffs dangling at the tip of the scabbard. Their fusil, if they happen to have one, is suspended in like manner at the other side, with a stopper in the muzzle fantastically tasselled.

The Cibolero saluted us with demonstrations of joy; nor were we less delighted at meeting with him; for we were now able to obtain information from Santa Fe, whence no news had been received since the return of the caravan the preceding fall. Traders and idlers, with equal curiosity, clustered around the new visitor; every one who could speak a word of Spanish having some question to ask: "What prospects?" -- "How are goods?" -- "What news from the South?" -- while the more experienced traders interested themselves chiefly to ascertain the condition of the custom-house, and who were the present revenue officers; for unpropitious changes sometimes occur during the absence of the caravans. [Gregg, Josiah]

Images:

A cibolero, or buffalo hunter, drawn from an image in Santa Cruz de la Cañada.

3: Santa Fe

1831-1840

Quote: A few miles before reaching the city, the road again emerges into an open plain. Ascending a table ridge, we spied in an extended valley to the northwest, occasional groups of trees, skirted with verdant corn and wheat fields, with here and there a square blocklike protuberance reared in the midst. A little further, and just ahead of us to the north, irregular clusters of the same opened to our view. "Oh, we are approaching the suburbs!" thought I, on perceiving the cornfields, and what I supposed to be brick-kilns scattered in every direction. These and other observations of the same nature becoming audible, a friend at my elbow said, "It is true those are heaps of unburnt bricks, nevertheless they are houses -- this is the city of SANTA FE." [Gregg, Josiah]

Overview: Santa Fé

Santa Fe was for centuries the end of the Camino Real, and has almost always been the seat of government in New Mexico. Most of the original town was built between 1610-1612, and centered around the plaza. The barrio of Analco, across the Río de Santa Fé from the plaza, was one of the main genízaro settlements of New
Mexico from its founding at least until the late eighteenth century

The Casas Reales, or the Palace of the Governors, was built in 1610 when Santa Fé was established. People took refuge in it during the Indian siege of August 1680. Subsequently, this seat of government was occupied by the Pueblo rebels, again by the Spanish, by the Mexican Provincial governors, by U.S. General Kearny, the Confederate Army, and a string of American Territorial governors. [Long Distance Trails Group--Santa Fe, National Park Service, New Mexico State Office, Bureau of Land Management]

Quote: Every calculation based on experience elsewhere fails in New Mexico...
--Lew Wallace, Governor of Territorial New Mexico, 1878-1881

Images:

House in Santa Fe
San Miguel church, the oldest in America

Links:
Santa Fe- Official Visitor Site -- http://santafe.org/
Palace of the Governors: Museum of New Mexico -- http://www.palaceofthegovernors.org/

4: Albuquerque

1844

Quote: As soon as Armijo received intelligence of the catastrophe [Gov. Perez' murder], he hurried to the capital, expecting, as I heard it intimated by his own brother, to be elected governor; but, not having rendered any personal aid, the 'mobocracy' would not acknowledge his claim to their suffrages. He therefore retired, Santa Anna-like, to his residence at Albuquerque, to plot, in imitation of his great prototype, some measures for counteracting the operation of his own intrigues. In this he succeeded so well, that towards September he was able to collect a considerable force in the Rio-Abajo, when he proclaimed a contra-revolucion in favor of the federal government. About the same time the disbanded troops of the capital under Captain Caballero, made a similar pronunciamento demanding their arms, and offering their services gratis.

The 'mobocratic' dynasty had gone so far as to deny allegiance to Mexico, and to propose sending to Texas for protection; although there had not been any previous understanding with that Republic. [Gregg, Josiah]

Overview: Albuquerque

Albuquerque was founded as a villa in 1706 in a rich agricultural region of New Mexico. Its Old Town plaza was the original town center. Evidently, the decision to settle the "Bosque Grande of Doña Luisa" was made in 1698. A manuscript from February 1706 showed that Governor Cuervo y Valdés authorized the actual settlement, which took place shortly thereafter. A church, dedicated to Saint Francis Xavier, was later rededicated to San Felipe, in honor of His Majesty the King.

The name was changed to Albuquerque after the United States militarily occupied New Mexico. [Long Distance Trails Group--Santa Fe, National Park Service, New Mexico State Office, Bureau of Land Management]
Albuquerque in 1857, with a view of San Felipe de Neri Church, the plaza, and the Sandia Mountains in the background

Links:
City of Albuquerque website -- http://cabq.gov
Albuquerque Convention and Visitors Bureau -- http://itsatrip.org
Office of the State Historian: 1706 - Founding of San Francisco de Alburquerque --
http://www.newmexicohistory.org/filedetails_docs.php?fileID=1466

5: Pueblo of Taos

1831-1844

Quote: Though this was their most usual style of architecture, there still exists a Pueblo of Taos, composed, for the most part, of but two edifices of very singular structure -- one on each side of a creek and formerly communicating by a bridge. The base-story is a mass of near four hundred feet long, a hundred and fifty wide, and divided into numerous apartments, upon which other tiers of rooms are built, one above another, drawn in by regular grades, forming a pyramidal pile of fifty or sixty feet high, and comprising some six or eight stories. The outer rooms only seem to be used for dwellings, and are lighted by little windows in the sides, but are entered through trapdoors in the azoteas or roofs. Most of the inner apartments are employed as granaries and store-rooms, but a spacious hall in the centre of the mass, known as the estufa, is reserved for their secret councils. These two buildings afford habitations, as is said, for over six hundred souls. There is likewise an edifice in the Pueblo of Picuris of the same class, and some of those of Moqui are also said to be similar. [Gregg, Josiah]

Overview: Taos Pueblo

Taos Pueblo, a Tiwa-speaking pueblo, was probably constructed between 1000-1450 AD.

The mission church of San Geronimo, originally built in 1619, was originally destroyed during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. The Franciscans rebuilt it to see it destroyed again during the Mexican American War, and finally rebuilt in its current form in 1850.

09 January 1969:

Quote: [New Mexico] Senator [Clinton] Anderson has been against the ruling issues [giving full title for the Blue Lake area to the Taos] And these are Senator Anderson's reasons for this...

"If Taos demand land other than [word omitted], that would be discriminated in favor of religious groups. Without challenging the sincerity of Taos Indians' religious beliefs, it is inconceivable that it is conceivable that the religious importance they place on the land they diminish in succeeding generations if this occurred to the Indians, a scarcely populated group, will own a large area of land, preserved with continued population growth indicate that the public good is better served than ownership of this land is returned to the United States. There is evidence that not all pueblo residents gives the same importance to the religious beliefs and practices, it is inconceivable that some would consider economic and social developments more important than the values of their traditional religious beliefs and with the [word omitted] to receive the land title.

In other words, there are some of us that run around saying I would rather get the money than get back the Blue Lake area and the land isn't that valuable. So... If we have someone like this, we should first point out the dangers involved in this.

First of all our government structure is built upon religion, our livelihood is religion, our stem of life is religion, and when religion is lost then the government structure fails, the people will leave... and when the people leave.... without Indians there won't be tourists... and without tourists there won't be state revenue, and without state revenue we will all suffer. The state of New Mexico depends on tourist trade and... from the standpoint of preservation I would think that these Senators and those that are concerned with our state's
government would consider that strongly in their favor.

--anonymous informant, Taos Pueblo; discussing arguments for and against giving the Taos people title to their sacred place of origin, held by the Forest Service. Interviewer: Patricia Gregory. [University of New Mexico, Department of History]

Images:

![Taos Pueblo](image)

Links:
Taos Pueblo website -- http://taospueblo.com

6: San Felipe Pueblo

1844

Quote: Some of these villages were built upon rocky eminences deemed almost inaccessible: witness for instance the ruins of the ancient Pueblo of San Felipe, which may be seen towering upon the very verge of a precipice several hundred feet high, whose base is washed by the swift current of the Rio del Norte. [Gregg, Josiah]

Overview: San Felipe Pueblo

San Felipe is a Keres-speaking pueblo. Although it evidently moved at some point, San Felipe has remained an important pueblo throughout the colonial, Mexican, and U.S. periods.

Whether San Felipe was located on the east bank or atop a mesa on the west bank, as it has been described over the centuries, the paraje would have been adjacent to the east bank of the river alongside the Camino Real.

Trade with the pueblo would have occurred on either side of the river. Notwithstanding the location of the paraje, lodging in the pueblo during the colonial period was common.

San Felipe has endured more change than some pueblos, thanks to its location. Recently, the railroad and the interstate have come barreling through San Felipe. The pueblo operates numerous businesses near I-25, while the pueblo itself is located farther west. [Long Distance Trails Group--Santa Fe, National Park Service, New Mexico State Office, Bureau of Land Management]

Quote: I was living up from, just outside southeast, yeah, southeast of [word omitted] on the other side of 85 there. We were in this canyon here and we used to have some sheep and all, dad used to have some sheep and I was living up there... Well at that time I have, I don't know just how many sheep we had. I know that we didn't have very much, I think just about 30-40 sheep. That is as much as we had...

Well, I don't know if I am correct, maybe about '41 or '42....now...it was before that maybe around '39, cause I was a little boy at that time too...

Q: There weren't any fence separating the grazing land from the railroad tracks?
A: Yeah, there was a fence around it but he, the big dog that over that land, and then coming back from the reservation there, to get them into the corral... the big dog that come around and start chasing these sheep and I was too small to turn them back and so we just ran straight into the railroad track and the train went by... and kind of killed all those sheep... and we lost all of that things....

Q: What did your father do after all the sheep were killed?
A: And then he start farming and trying to get things for us, get back on our feet again... and we start raising some chickens to get some eggs and all that... and so it was end of the summer when we were working on the farm.... and my daddy was farming and he planted corn and wheat and when the winter comes we would go in and sell those back into grocery stuff and that is what my dad did... the time of my life...

Q: So your entire income came from when your father was farming and the time that you were shepherding?
A: Right...

Q: The train killed all the sheep didn't it.
A: Yeah.

--Anonymous informant at San Felipe. Interviewer: Martin Murphy [University of New Mexico, Department of History]
8: Zuñi

1831-1840

Of these [western pueblos], the Pueblo of Zuni has been celebrated for honesty and hospitality. The inhabitants mostly profess the Catholic faith, but have now no curate. They cultivate the soil, manufacture, and possess considerable quantities of stock. Their village is over 150 miles west of the Río del Norte, on the waters of the Colorado of the West, and is believed to contain between 1000 and 1500 souls. [Gregg, Josiah]

Overview: Zuñi Pueblo

The Zuñi were the first puebloans encountered by the Moorish slave Estevanico, sent by Fray Marcos de Niza as an advance scout. Estevanico died at the ancient village of Hawikku, but de Niza fled back to Mexico City to spread the astounding word about the glorious city he had seen.

Espejo describes the "Zuñi province" as Mazaque, Quaquuma, Aguico, Alona, Quaquina, and Cana." Hodge identifies the indigenous names as "Mátsaki, K'iákima, Hálona, Kwákina, Hákikuh, and K'iánawa."

Because of its isolation, the Zuñi were able to maintain their traditions during the Spanish and Mexican periods, but after New Mexico became American territory, they lost much of their traditional land base. Visitors to Zuni can learn more about the A:shiwi at the historic mission, or the A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center.

24 January 1970:

Quote: A: Well this is Tom Idaque, and I want to tell you my life story this morning, while this friend of mine is visiting me, and how I was surprised to see him. I though that if we don't see each other on this earth, we would see each other up yonder, but he is come this morning, and I was glad to see him. I didn't look for anyone to come this morning. So, I was glad to see him and talk with him and now I am going to tell about my life, what I done in my young days. In 1900 I went to school in Albuquerque, New Mexico and I went to school for three years and I come back home and I didn't know, I don't talk very good English. I don't talk very good English yet, but I can understand more than that time. Only think that I learn how to talk was working among the white folks around here and some other places, and so only, think I done in my young days was breaking horses, riding wild horses and things like that and I been out in the country most of the time, I never live much in Zuni.....

Oh, there is a lot of things what they used to tell us around here, they grown in the herbs and things like that, they use it for some good purposes but now, young people use everything today and they have forgotten all of those things, they pick them up and nothing grows up there, clean, we put them in a sack and send them away to dry up and I never put them in a sack yet and I usually put them in something where the dirt won't get in and keep it clean.

Q: Is there some of the Zuni plants that have made their way into the commercial market that you know of?

A: Oh, they do, they raise a lot of in summer time, they raise water melons and cantaloupe and things like that, they took them out and when somebody, they only raise it for their own use, but sometimes they raise more than they can use and sometimes they go out and take it to market.

Q: They grow squash, several varieties of squash?
A: Quite a bit, they raise them too, and...

Q: They had that before the coming of the Spaniards though, didn't they?

A: Oh yeah, yeah, and all colors of corn, yellow and blue and white and kind of a black looking corn and then one was a speckled just like a different colors and it....

Q: Yeah, the grain is never the same and it is speckled and spotted.

A: Yeah, and they are still raising them and then of course, they still use them corn and stuff like that for their own old time way about somethings that they do in the way back they are still using them and different colors of corn and in the winter time when they have doing the ceremonies then they use, they make the cornbread out of it. They use white corn and blue corn, to make it on a hot rock and they just some paper bread like that.

Q: You use a hot rock and that fat rock is above on the ground a ways....

A: And there is a fire under it and heat up and they... they take the... some like to make it like stir up for hot cakes and they dip their fingers in there and they run it up and make it quite a bit and then when it cooks then they just turn it over and lay it in a pan and keep it up like that until you get a big pot, and then roll it up and in different so that....

Q: The corn was ground first wasn't it?

A: Fine, into flour, and then make it that way.

Q: Make it into a mush, into a kind of a soup...

A: Yeah, a kind of a soup like and then they spread that on a rock and...

Q: Put that right over the heated rock, that rock is usually sandstone?

A: Yeah, and then they smooth it on the top so that this paper bread won't stick on the rock. They... after they finish it then they polish it with different kind of stuff, and it gets slick just like a glass and then when it gets hot, then you just put that on there and it don't stick on there, it just cooks up and dries up on a rock, and roll it up and ready to eat, and that is they way that they do that with all their ceremonies that they do, they don't eat the bread like an other time, but they do that once a year, and now once a year, but years ago, they used to do it every year, and they make it that way, the corn the main, and bread like, in place of bread, but the Zunis are a little bit different than the other Indian out east, you take round San Felipe and Santo Domingo, Jemez, they still eat stuff like that...

Q: The outsiders seem to think that the Indians have kept the old corn and developing it like he once did, he is still developing it, isn't he?

A: Oh yeah, it is still that way and the Zunis took care of them, and even if it doesn't rain, they go out there and work on it and keep the dirt stirred up so that the moisture, will anything that you plant it out in the, the different soil, well if the moisture is not there well it is not going to grow and the dirt is stirred up on the top and loose enough good so that the moisture will hold better, in there and if the big ground baked down hard, then there won't grow anything there....It don't hold out good, like if it was stirred up. Anything that is loose right around the roots, it would hold the moisture better, maybe quarter of an inch, or one inch, is dry but it is down below, loose dirt, it helps hold in moisture. That is what helps.

Q: And they plant that, how many grains in a hill?

A: Oh, about they plant about four corn in there and sometime you put three and if some other look like something there and dig it out, then they plant it over again....When they are fixing up, after everything is growed up, some new corn, they either took the shucks off and, or shell it and dry the grain, or they took it that way, just the way they roast it or sometimes they just throw sweet corn together and put a big hole and put them in there and cook it that way for their winter. The only things.... different tribes, and Zunis and Laguna do that, and just to watch the corn and just when it starts to get real old and not too hard, but just enough, you like to roast them, maybe about a truck load or so come up to the place and you dug a hole and you build a fire for all day after they heat all of them it is dig like a well and so many feet around and when they get the heat up good, then all of that truck load or wagon load of corn in there and they covered them up, cover them right tight and the steam will cook them.

Q: They left the husks on them didn't they?

A: Yeah, either till after they cook, they shell it or leave it like that, just dry it and after they tie them together in bunches and hanged them up and after they dried up then they put them away for winter use and it doesn't make, when it takes those, after, maybe put up, after being put up for four or five months and you cook it there is nothing different than picking them off the stalks fresh and taste good just like in the summer time....and that is just the way that they fix it for you.... Yeah, I have seen that, but they don't do too much of that nowadays hardly....and only those...Indians that I was telling you about, Jemez, San Felipe and Santo Domingo
and all of those, they are still doing it and the Zunis don’t, the trouble with the Zunis are they are all out somewhere working, working for the railroad, and some of them employed by the National Forest and the forest service and many other workers and none of them Zunis they stay home to do anything, only the real old people they are still raising their corn and pumpkins and things like this and squash all kinds of something like that, they still plant them and took care of them and raise them, the young people don’t do that anymore hardly.

--Tom Idaque, Zuni Pueblo. Folsom C. Scrivner, interviewer. [University of New Mexico, Department of History]

Images:

Across the roofs of Zuni

Zuni Pueblo man weaving on a loom

Links:
Pueblo of Zuñi official site -- http://www.ashiwi.org/
Visiting Zuñi Pueblo -- http://www.zunitourism.com

9: Moqui

1831-1840

Quote: The "seven Pueblos of Moqui" (as they are called) are a similar tribe living a few leagues beyond [the Zhuñi]. They formerly acknowledged the government and religion of the Spaniards, but have long since rejected both, and live in a state of independence and paganism. Their dwellings, however, like those of Zuni, are similar to those of the interior Pueblos, and they are equally industrious and agricultural, and still more ingenious in their manufacturing. The language of the Moquis or Moquirtos is said to differ but little from that of the Navajoes. [Gregg, Josiah]

Overview: Hopi

Although the Hopi mesas are today in Arizona, they were long considered part of New Mexico. Early maps show the cities of Totoneac, as discovered by Coronado’s troops, and Moqui Province shows up on nearly every map of New Mexico made for centuries after.

Spanish annals tell of repeated efforts to Christianize the Hopi, yet today the Hopi remain among the most traditional of the Pueblos. Many other Puebloans took refuge in Hopi after the Pueblo revolt, particularly the residents of Tiguex.

Quote: The Hopis had forgotten about the other tribes by this time and did not know where they were. They were hoping to see the Eastern Star so that they could settle down and not travel any more. Well, finally the Bear Clan did see the Eastern Star and they were ready to settle down but they didn’t know just where would be a good place for them. They thought that they would do better cultivating by depending on rain, so they went out onto the Painted Desert to Shung-opovi (the place by the spring where the tall weeds grow). Being out here in such a desolate place they thought that they would be safe from other people, who would not think that they had anything worth taking.

By that time, the other Hopis were down around the vicinity of Sunset Crater, Canyon Diablo, and the Little Colorado River. [Nequatewa, Edmund]

Images:
Three Native American (Hopi) women pose outdoors, they wear belted mantas and shawls; one holds a bundle over her shoulder, one wears a headband, and one wears her hair in side whorls. Possibly Walpi Pueblo, Arizona.

Links:
Hopi Cultural Preservation Office -- http://www.nau.edu/~hcpo-p/

10: Navajos

1844

Quote: The Navajoes are supposed to number about 10,000 souls, and though not the most numerous, they are certainly the most important, at least in a historical point of view, of all the northern tribes of Mexico. They reside in the main range of Cordilleras, 150 to 200 miles west of Santa Fe, on the waters of Rio Colorado of California, not far from the region, according to historians, from whence the Azteques emigrated to Mexico; and there are many reasons to suppose them direct descendants from the remnant, which remained in the North of this celebrated nation of antiquity. Although they mostly live in rude jacales, somewhat resembling the wigwams of the Pawnees, yet, from time immemorial, they have excelled all others in their original manufactures: and, as well as the Moquis, they are still distinguished for some exquisite styles of cotton textures, and display considerable ingenuity in embroidering with feathers the skins of animals, according to their primitive practice. They now also manufacture a singular species of blanket, known as the Sarape Navajo, which is of so close and dense a texture that it will frequently hold water almost equal to gum-elastic cloth. It is therefore highly prized for protection against the rains. Some of the finer qualities are often sold among the Mexicans as high as fifty or sixty dollars each.

Notwithstanding the present predatory and somewhat unsettled habits of the Navajoes, they cultivate all the different grains and vegetables to be found in New Mexico. They also possess extensive herds of horses, mules, cattle, sheep and goats of their own raising, which are generally celebrated as being much superior to those of the Mexicans; owing, no doubt, to greater attention to the improvement of their stocks. [Gregg, Josiah]

Overview: Navajos

The earliest arrival of the Navajo into the Four Corners region may have been around the year 1000. Over time, the Navajo and their Puebloan neighbors developed a symbiotic relationship: The Navajo traded goods resulting from their hunting and gathering economy for agricultural goods from the more sedentary Puebloan peoples. This symbiotic relationship resulted in the sharing of cultural traits.

The Navajo today reside on a 16-million-acre reservation-- the largest Indian reservation in the United States. The reservation surrounds the present Hopi Indian Reservation. A tribal President and a tribal council govern the Navajo Reservation. The reservation is broken up into administrative districts called chapters. [Long Distance Trails Group--Santa Fe, National Park Service, New Mexico State Office, Bureau of Land Management]

1976:

Quote: We hear about the sacred mountain-- the San Francisco Peaks (Dook' o' oosthilid) -- being disrupted by the white people for some housing and developments. We, as Navajos, love our sacred mountains-- Blanca Peak (Sis Naajini) is in the east, Mount Taylor (Tsodzilth) is in the south, the San Francisco Peaks (Dook' o' oosthilid) are in the west and the La Plata Range (Dibé' Nitsaa) stands in the north. Then, we have Huerfano Mountain (Dzilth Na' oolthii) and the Gobernado Knob (Ch'ool'i'i); and we dwell within the big area bounded by those mountains. We do not want them harmed or destroyed. To us the mountains are sacred, and there are holy beings living in them. That is why we do not want them harmed. To become a part of these sacred mountains we have sacred mountain soil charms in our posession, which we cherish. They are our guidance and our protection. All we ask is that the white people leave our sacred mountains alone. [Johnson, Broderick, ]
1976:

Quote: My name is Ch'ahadinini' Binali, I am 94 years old. The clan of my father was the Meadow People (Halstool). He was Hopi; they just wandered into our tribe.

My grandfather on my mother's side, whose name was Mr. White, and a brother of his named Mr. Blind, along with their maternal granddaughter, came into our tribe. Not long after, other grandchildren were born. One of them was Mr. Slim, another was Little Yellowman. The youngest, who was my father, was born for the Meadow People clan; so I was born for it also. he was married into the Near the Water clan (To' ahani), and from that came the slim relationship of all relatives of the Hopi tribe who became Navajos. I have many relatives on my father's side at Fluted Rock. Anyhow, my real clan is the Towering House People (Kinyaa'áa nil), on my mother's side.

This clan came originally from White Shell (Changing) Woman. It was at the base of San Francisco Peaks that it came into being. Under that peak is where Changing Woman arrived from Gobernador Knob, a place which is in New Mexico. Before she came she had twin boys whom she brought along. She took them near San Francisco Peaks to some traditional hogans at that place. There they learned the Blessing Way chant.

Changing Woman then left toward the West where she was supposed to live with the Sun on an island in the middle of the ocean. When she arrived at San Francisco Peaks she had said to the twins, "My journey is come to an end, and I am going back to where I belong. My children, you have learned all of the Blessing Way chant from me." The two winds would be the air for the twins to help them go to her later. The process would mean the creation of their souls, and then they would become beings. [Johnson, Broderick, Editor]

Images:

Navajo woman poses on horseback at Shiprock.

11: Pueblo of Jemez

1844

Quote: The numerous tribes that inhabited the highlands between Rio del Norte and Pecos, as those of Pecos, Cienega, Galisteo, etc., were known anciently as Tagnos, but these are now all extinct; yet their language is said to be spoken by those of Jemez and others of that section.

Several of these Pueblos have been converted into Mexican villages, of which that of Pecos is perhaps the most remarkable instance. What with the massacres of the second conquest, and the inroads of the Comanches, they gradually dwindled away, till they found themselves reduced to about a dozen, comprising all ages and sexes; and it was only a few years ago that they abandoned the home of their fathers and joined the Pueblo of Jemez. [Gregg, Josiah]

Overview: Jemez Pueblo

Jemez (from Ha'mish or Hae'mish, the Keresan name of the pueblo- Bandelier). A village on the north bank of the Jemez River, about 20 miles northwest of Bernalillo, New Mexico.

According to tradition the Jemez had their origin in the North, at a lagoon called Uabunatota (apparently identical with the shipapulima and Cibobe of other pueblo tribes), whence they slowly drifted into the valleys of the upper tributaries of the Rio Jemez-- the Guadalupe and San Diego-- where they resided in a number of villages, and finally into the sandy valley of the Jemez proper, which they now occupy, their habitat being bounded on the south by the range of the west division of the Rio Grande Keresan tribes-- the Sia and Santa Ana.
Castañeda, the chronicler of Coronado's experience of 1541, speaks of 7 pueblos of the Jemez tribe in addition to 3 others in the province of Aguas Calientes, identified by Simpson with the Jemez Hot Springs region.

Espejo in 1583 also mentions that 7 villages were occupied by the Jemez, while in 1598 Oñate heard of 11 but saw only 8.

...the Jemez were induced to abandon their pueblos one by one, until about the year 1622 they became consolidated into the two settlements of Gyusiwa and probably Astialakwa, mainly through the efforts of Fray Martin de Arvide. These pueblos are supposed to have been the seats of the missions of San Diego and San Joseph, respectively, and both contained chapels probably from 1618.

Astialakwa was permanently abandoned prior to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, but in the meantime another pueblo (probably Potoqua) seems to have been established, which became the mission of San Juan de los Jemez.

About the middle of the 17th century the Jemez conspired with the Navajo against the Spaniards, but the outbreak plotted was repressed by the hanging of 29 of the Jemez....

When Vargas came in 1692 the Jemez were found on the mesa in a large pueblo, but they were induced to descend and to promise the Spaniards their support.

The Jemez, however, failed to keep their word, but waged war during 1693 and 1694 against their Keresan neighbors on account of their fidelity to the Spaniards....In July 1694, he [Vargas] again went to Jemez with 120 Spaniards and some allies from Santa Ana and Sia. The mesa was stormed, and after a desperate engagement, in with 84 natives were killed, the pueblo was captured. In the month following, Vargas (after destroying this village, another on a mesa some distance below, and one built by their Santo Domingo allies 3 leagues north) returned to Santa Fe with 361 prisoners and a large quantity of stores.

From this time on, the only then existing pueblo of the Jemez reoccupied was San Diego, or Gyusiwa, which was inhabited until 1696, when the second revolt occurred, the Indians killing their missionary and again fleeing to the mesas... but in June of the year mentioned they were repulsed by a small detachment of Spaniards...

The defeated Jemez this time fled to the Navaho country, where they remained several years, finally returning to their former home and constructing the present village, called by them Walatoa, “Village of the Bear.”

In 1728, 108 of the inhabitants died of pestilence. In 1782 Jemez was made a visita of the mission of Sia. [Hodge, Frederick Webb]

07 October 1971:

Quote: During the expansion of the American frontier the Indian was always in the way... they moved him out of the way, transported him away from his natural home ground... and on the way they made him forced to forget his culture, he lost his language and his culture and what little he had left he practiced it, maybe wherever he was moved to... and so they don't have all of what they had originally and just about every Indian nation had a conflict with the American government one way or another, everybody had it. they lost, all of them lost a good bit of their land except the pueblos.

We never had any conflict with the American government because we were first under the care of the Spanish government and then the Mexican government and then after the Mexican American War the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty made it possible or kept the American government from doing what they did to other Indian tribes.

See, Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty granted that we lived as we always have. The American Government does not interfere with us... and because of our relationship with the Spanish for so long since 1600... more or less, let's say, peacefully.... although there were some problems before 1680... after the revolt or after 1692 and very possibly, let's say, 1700... there was relatively peace and little more understanding between the pueblos and the Spanish... which again led to the pueblo peoples' displeasure of the Navajos or Apaches.... or even the Kiowa and Comanche because those were nomadic Indian who raided the pueblos who the pueblos were then forced to be in alliance with the Spanish. Therefore, the Spanish begin to live with the pueblos very closely as far as the, getting equal voting rights... and everything about the pueblos and the Spanish was equal... a bill was passed at one time denying Indians to buy liquor but that bill said, but not the pueblo Indians that live among us, because they were equal to the Spanish.

And we were not considered Indians until 1912... pueblos because we had lived with the Spanish people called that, Barbarios... barbarians... and we were, pueblos, Indios de los Pueblos... Indians of the Towns. Therefore, you know our living styles were closer together... in fact it is proved that these two groups developed... you know, this is what we have today, native food, what most people call "mexican food," which is a combination of pueblo and Spanish.

...What we say also is that we benefitted by Spain losing some of their early battles you know, in Europe... because during all the English Spanish wars, you know they were so, all their attention was there and they more or less neglected the colonies out here and that was our good luck because we almost converted the Spanish colonies to the pueblo life.

But this is the system that we both have you know when Mexico took over... you know... New Mexico life I
guess you can call it... and Mexico took over after the Spanish government was unable to do much in this area... and Mexican government took over and they didn't do any more than take administrative control... and things were status quo and I don't think they have brought about any improvements and I don't think that they took anything away either.

But these are things that was in favor of the pueblos the fact that Spain was involved in their wars in Europe...and we were able to, you know, adjust our lives to live with the Spanish.

--Joe Sando, Jemez. Margaret Szasz, interviewer. [University of New Mexico, Department of History]

Images:

Soda Dam in the Jemez Mountains
Ruins of the Jemez Church of San Diego at Gyusiwa

Links:
Office of State Historian: N Scott Momaday on Jemez --
http://www.newmexicohistory.org/filedetails_docs.php?fileID=1608

12: Salinas

1844

The salt lakes east of the Manzano Mountains have been in use since paleolithic humans first made mammoth jerky.

Susan Magoffin spent the first year of her marriage traveling down the Santa Fe trail and El Camino Real to El Paso, to live with her new husband's family. Her trip coincided with the Army of the West's invasion of New Mexico, and her diary chronicles the exciting events of that year, as well as her first contact with the people and customs of New Mexico.

What Susan does not discuss, and perhaps never knew, is the role of her husband's family in the negotiations to hand over New Mexico.

Quote: Besides the mines of metals which have been discovered, or yet remain concealed in the mountains of New Mexico, those of Salt (or salt lakes, as they would perhaps be called), the Salinas, are of no inconsiderable importance. Near a hundred miles southward from the capital, on the high table land between the Rio del Norte and Pecos, there are some extensive salt ponds, which afford an inexhaustible supply of this indispensable commodity, not only for the consumption of this province, but for portions Of the adjoining departments. The largest of these Salinas is five or six miles in circumference. The best time to collect the salt is during the dry season, when the lakes contain but little water; but even when flooded, salt may be scooped up from the bottom, where it is deposited in immense beds, in many places of unknown depth; and, when dried, much resembles the common alum salt.

The best, however, which is of superior quality, rises as a scum upon the water. A great many years ago, a firm causeway was thrown up through the middle of the principal lake, upon which the carretas and mules are driven, and loaded with salt still dripping with water. The Salinas are public property, and the people resort to them several times a year, --in caravans, for protection against the savages of the desert in which they are situated. Although this salt costs nothing but the labor of carrying it away, the danger from the Indians and the privations experienced in an expedition to the Salinas are such, that it is seldom sold in the capital for less than a dollar per bushel. On the same great plain still a hundred miles further south, there is another Salina of the same character. [Gregg, Josiah]

Overview: Salinas

The salt marshes near modern-day Estancia, which are today all but forgotten, figured largely in the attracted of the province potential conquerors described for the benefit of their faraway audiences.
Aside from the ordinary natural advantages which the Tiguan pueblos of the Salines enjoyed, the region afforded some peculiar inducements. Not the least was its proximity to a country rich in game. The levels between the Salines and Galisteo were favorite haunts of the antelope, and the buffalo also may formerly have approached the Salines. The mountains in the west abound in bears, deer, and turkeys.

To what extent the great deposits of salt may have been an inducement to the Tiguas for establishing themselves in their vicinity is uncertain. The natives were acquainted with salt as a condiment in times anterior to the Spanish era, and it is not unlikely, therefore, that this commodity may have been one cause of the original settling of the Tiguas east of the Manzano chain. That a limited commercial intercourse resulted from it seems quite probable.

To the Spaniards in Southern Chihuahua the Salines soon became very important. Salt from Manzano was carried in the seventeenth century as far as Parral for the reduction of silver ores, and the salt trains had become a resource for the Apaches also. But by 1670 the Apaches had intercepted all communication with the Salines, and the trains returning from Southern Chihuahua were compelled to remain at El Paso del Norte. They were probably the last that carried salt to Parral, for in that year, or very soon after, the missions at the Salines had to be abandoned. [Bandelier, Adolph Francis Alphonse]

Images:

Gathering salt from the salinas

Salt Lake near Estancia

Links:
Office of the State Historian: Salineros in Estancia Valley --
http://www.newmexicohistory.org/filedetails_docs.php?fileID=21361

13: Ruins of Gran Quivira

1831-1840

Among these ancient ruins the most remarkable are those of La Gran Quivira, about 100 miles southward from Santa Fe. This appears to have been a considerable city, larger and richer by far than the present capital of New Mexico has ever been.

Many walls, particularly those of churches, still stand erect amid the desolation that surrounds them, as if their sacredness had been a shield against which Time dealt his blows in vain. The style of architecture is altogether superior to anything at present to be found north of Chihuahua - being of hewn stone, a building material wholly unused in New Mexico. What is more extraordinary still, is, that there is no water within less than some ten miles of the ruins; yet we find several stone cisterns, and remains of aqueducts eight or ten miles in length, leading from the neighboring mountains, from whence water was no doubt conveyed. And, as there seem to be no indications whatever of the inhabitants' ever having been engaged in agricultural pursuits, what could have induced the rearing of a city in such an arid, woodless plain as this, except the proximity of some valuable mine, it is difficult to imagine...

By some persons these ruins have been supposed to be the remains of an ancient Pueblo or aboriginal city. That is not probable, however ; for though the relics of aboriginal temples might possibly be mistaken for those of Catholic churches, yet it is not to be presumed that the Spanish coat of arms would be found sculptured and painted upon their facades, as is the case in more than one instance. The most rational accounts represent this to have been a wealthy Spanish city before the general massacre of 1680, in which calamity the inhabitants perished -- all except one, as the story goes; and that their immense treasures were buried in the ruins. [Gregg, Josiah]

Overview: Gran Quivira
Las Humanas pueblo was an important trading center between the plains and the Rio Grande, for many years before and after the Spanish entrada.

In the summer of 1629 Fray Francisco Letrado arrived at the large pueblo of Cueloce, called Las Humanas by the Spaniards. Fray Alonso de Benavides had begun the evangelical effort in the pueblo with a brief visit two years earlier in the first half of 1627, and had established the advocacy of the mission as "San Isidro" because of the date of that visit.

Over several years, the puebloans helped the Franciscans to build the mission, and though the priests filled in the pueblo's kivas, the residents of Las Humanas resisted total conversion, and altered above-ground rooms to serve instead. By the second half of the 17th century, raiding Apaches, bent on revenge for Spanish and puebloan slaving raids, coupled with drought and disease, proved too much for the community. Both the pueblo and the mission were abandoned by 1672. [National Park Service]

Quote: But the Piros also had crept up towards the coveted salt lagunes of the Manzano. The picturesque valley of A-bó, northeast of Socorro, contained at least two of their villages, A-bó proper, and Ten-a-bó, probably the ruin called to-day " El Pueblo de los Siete Arroyos." Lastly, still east of it, at the foot of the Mesa de los Jumanos, there was Ta-bir-a, now famous under the misleading surname of " La Gran Quivira." It lay very near the range of the New Mexican Jumanos, so that it is not unlikely that the Pueblo de los Jumanos, mentioned as a Piros village, is but another name given to Tabira. [Bandelier, Adolph Francis Alphonse]

01 July 1970:

Quote: I have often heard that our people came from Grand Quivira in Isleta, from that neighborhood, Manuelo said he was Tewa and he was very old man when he passed away still tells my grandpa that to tell us.... I recall one time we went rabbit hunt and he was with us-- there are ruins in Grand Quivira, there was a church there......It's nothing but ruins now and...why did you come over there... how did the Spaniards make the people come or just want to come or what or nobody knows any more.

--Tony Lucero, Isleta del Sur. Folsom C. Scrivener, interviewer. [University of New Mexico, Department of History]

Images:

ruins of Gran Quivira & mission church

Links:
National Park Service: Salinas Pueblo Missions -- http://nps.gov/sapu

14: Llano Estacado

The most notable of the great plateaux of the Prairies is that known to Mexicans as El Llano Estacado, which is bounded on the north by the Canadian river-- extends east about to the United States boundary, including the heads of the False Washita and other branches of Red River-- and spreads southward to the sources of Trinity, Brazos and Colorado rivers, and westward to Rio Pecos.

It is quite an elevated and generally a level plain, without important hills or ridges, unless we distinguish as such the craggy breaks of the streams which border and pierce it. It embraces an area of about 30,000 square miles, most of which is without water during three-fourths of the year; while a large proportion of its few perennial streams are too brackish to drink of.

I have been assured by Mexican hunters and Indians, that, from Santa Fe southeastward, there is but one route upon which this plain can be safely traversed during the dry season; and even some of the watering-places on this are at intervals of fifty to eighty miles, and hard to find. Hence the Mexican traders and hunters, that they might not lose their way and perish from thirst, once staked out this route across the plain, it is said; whence it has received the name of El Llano Estacado, or the Staked Plain. [Gregg, Josiah]
Overview: Llano Estacado

The Llano Estacado, or Staked (Palisaded) Plains, encompasses part of eastern New Mexico and the Texas panhandle, and is the largest tableland in the US. The Llano Estacado lies at the southern end of the High Plains section of the Great Plains of North America and is part of what was once called the Great American Desert. The Canadian River forms the northern boundary, and the Caprock Escarpment, which at a distance Coronado believed was a fortification, forms the eastern. The Mescalero escarpment, at the edge of the Pecos River Valley, forms the western edge. This area is arid, with few permanent water sources.

Quote: I reached some plains so vast, that I did not find their limit anywhere I went, although I travelled over them for more than 300 leagues ... with no more land marks than if we had been swallowed up by the sea ... there was not a stone, nor bit of rising ground, nor a tree, nor a shrub, nor anything to go by. [Castañeda, Pedro Reyes]

15: Texan Santa Fe Expedition: McLeod Surrenders

1841

Gregg refers to the disaster of the 1841 Texan Santa Fe expedition many times, and to the consequences for relations between Texans and New Mexicans, but he declines to elaborate on the incidents of 1841, referring readers instead to George Wilkins Kendall's popular account.

Quote: On arriving at the Laguna Colorado, a small sheet of reddish water south of the Angosturas, the advance of General McLeod was opposed by the Mexicans under Colonel Archlute. Out of more than two hundred men, it was now found that the Texans could muster but about ninety who were really fit for active service, and these would have been obliged to act on foot entirely, as their horses had been either run off in the stampede on the Palo Duro, or kept so closely within the lines that they could not obtain grass enough to sustain their strength.

Many of the men who had lost their horses, weak and dispirited from long marches and want of food, had secretly thrown away their arms to lighten themselves upon the road, and, in the mean time, that subordination, without which all efforts are useless, was in a measure lost.

In this desperate condition, unable to hear a word concerning the fate of either Colonel Cooke or of two small parties they had sent out, and with the promise of good treatment and that their personal effects would be returned to them, a surrender was made. Many of the men, as well as officers, were ready and willing to bide the issue of an action in case their advance was opposed; but they were overruled by the majority, and thus was the fate of the expedition sealed. The men had no sooner laid down their arms than they were searched, robbed, tied, and most grossly insulted, and then, with hardly provisions enough to sustain nature, marched hurriedly to San Miguel. [Kendall, George Wilkins]

16: Texan Santa Fe Expedition: Cooke Surrenders

1841

The captured prisoners of the Texan Santa Fe division were harshly punished by the New Mexican authorities under Governor Armijo. After their surrender, some were executed: "They were then taken to a prairie near the town, denied a burial, and were finally devoured by wolves!" writes Kendall, the chronicler of the expedition.

After being marched in chains down to Mexico City for trial, the Texans were imprisoned for two years, until diplomatic efforts from the United States succeeded in freeing them.

Quote: Immediately after the execution of Rowland, detachment after detachment of mounted men left the plaza for Anton Chico, where we now learned that Captain Sutton and Colonel Cooke, with their men, were encamped. Next the two pieces of cannon were dragged off in the same direction, surrounded and followed by a motley collection of Indians, and badly-armed, half-naked, wretched Mexicans, whom Armijo dignified with the title of rural militia. By the middle of the day the town was completely deserted, except by the women and children, and some two hundred of the chosen troops and friends of the Governor; for, great warrior as he was, he contrived to keep the prudent distance of some thirty miles between himself and the Texans, so long as they had arms in their hands. The plans of the very valiant and most puissant Armijo were laid with consummate skill so far as his own personal safety and that of his property were concerned. He had now surrounded Colonel Cooke with at least a thousand of his men, while there were but ninety-four Texans in all. ...

The hours flew swiftly by, couriers constantly departing to, and arriving from, Anton Chico. At one time it was represented to us that a dreadful battle was raging -- then, that the parties would come to terms. At sundown, a Mexican came riding into the square with the intelligence that the Texans had all surrendered. [Kendall, George Wilkins]
17: Texan Santa Fe Expedition: Snively Surrenders

Gregg does not note on his map the route of the second Texan Santa Fe Expedition, but describes it briefly in Commerce of the Prairies, as well as other punitive measures the Texans took against New Mexicans traveling in the disputed territory between the 100th meridian and the Rio Grande.

President Tyler had greenlighted Colonel Jacob Snively to assemble a punitive force to enter New Mexico from the Republic of Texas, but had warned them against straying into U.S. territory. [Kansas State Historical Society]

Quote: The traders arrived soon after, escorted by about two hundred U. S. Dragoons under the command of Capt. Cook. Col. Snively with a hundred men being then encamped on the south side of the Arkansas river, some ten to fifteen miles below the point called the 'Caches,' he crossed the river and met Capt. Cook, who soon made known his intention of disarming him and his companions, -- an intention which he at once proceeded to put into execution. ...

Capt. Cook with his command soon after returned to the United States, and with him some forty of the disarmed Texans, many of whom have been represented as gentlemen worthy of a batter destiny. A large portion of the Texans steered directly home from the Arkansas river; while from sixty to seventy men, who elected Warfield their commander, were organized for the pursuit arid capture of the caravan, which had already passed on some days in advance towards Santa Fe. They pursued in the wake of the traders, it is said, as far as the Point of Rocks (twenty miles east of the crossing of the Colorado or Canadian), but made no attempt upon them -- whence they returned direct to Texas. Thus terminated the 'Second Texan Santa Fe Expedition,' as it has been styled; and though not so disastrous as the first, it turned out nearly as unprofitable. [Gregg, Josiah]

18: Padillas

Visiting the illustrious Chaves family in Las Padillas gives Gregg the opportunity to reflect on the growing animosity between Texans and New Mexicans. The Texas Expedition of which Gregg speaks was intended to encourage New Mexicans to join Texas in their bid for independence from Mexico, but the Texans were captured, and cruelly marched south to Mexico City for trials and imprisonment. The treatment of the Texans, reported by George Kendall, shocked many outside New Mexico, and the United States intervened diplomatically to effect the prisoners’ release in 1842.

Quote: So little apprehension appeared to exist, that in February, 1843, Don Antonio Jose Chavez, of New Mexico, left Santa Fe for Independence, with but five servants, two wagons, and fifty-five mules. He had with him some ten or twelve thousand dollars in specie and gold bullion, besides a small lot of furs.

As the month of March was extremely inclement, the little party suffered inconceivably from cold and privations. Most of them were frost-bitten, and all their animals, except five perished from the extreme severity of the season; on which account Chavez was compelled to leave one of his wagons upon the Prairies. He had worried along, however, with his remaining wagon and valuables, till about the tenth of April, when he found himself near the Little Arkansas; at least a hundred miles within the territory of the United States.

He was there met by fifteen men from the border of Missouri professing to be Texan troops under the command of one John M'Daniel. This party had been collected, for the most part, on the frontier, by their leader, who was recently from Texas, from which government he professed to hold a captain's commission. They started no doubt with the intention of joining one Col. Warfield (also said to hold a Texan commission), who had been upon the Plains near the Mountains, with a small party, for several months -- with the avowed intention of attacking the Mexican traders.

Upon meeting Chavez, however, the party of M'Daniel at once determined to make sure of the prize he was possessed of rather than take their chances of a similar booty beyond the U. S. boundary. The unfortunate Mexican was therefore taken a few miles south of the road, and his baggage rifled. Seven of the party then left for the settlements with their share of the booty, amounting to some four or five hundred dollars apiece; making the journey on foot, as their horses had taken a stampede and escaped. The remaining eight, soon after the departure of their comrades, determined to put Chavez to death, -- for what cause it would seem difficult to conjecture, as he had been, for two days, their unsuspecting prisoner. Lots were accordingly cast to determine which four of the party should be the cruel executioners; and their wretched victim was taken off a few rods and shot down in cold blood. After his murder a considerable amount of gold was found about his person, and in his trunk. The body of the unfortunate man, together with his wagon and baggage, was thrown into a neighboring ravine; and a few of the lost animals of the marauders having been found, their booty was packed upon them and borne away to the frontier of Missouri....
The unfortunate Chavez (whose murder, I suppose, was perpetrated under pretext of the cruelties suffered by the Texans, in the name of whom the party of M'Daniel was organized) was of the most wealthy and influential family of New Mexico; and one that was anything but friendly to the ruling governor, Gen. Armijo. Don Mariano Chavez, a brother to the deceased, is a gentleman of very amiable character, such as is rarely to be met with in that unfortunate land. It is asserted that he furnished a considerable quantity of provisions, blankets, etc., to Col. Cooke's division of Texan prisoners. Señora Chavez (the wife of Don Mariano), as is told, crossed the river from the village of Padillas, the place of their residence, and administered comforts to the unfortunate band of Texans. Though the murder of young Chavez was evidently not sanctioned by the Texans generally, it will, notwithstanding, have greatly embittered this powerful family against them—a family whose liberal principles could not otherwise have been very unfavorable to Texas.*

* This family is very distinct from one Manuel Chavez (who though Gov. Armijo's nephew, is a very low character), a principal agent in the treacheries practised upon the Texan Santa Fe Expedition. [Gregg, Josiah]

**Overview: Los Padillas**

The history of Spanish settlement at Los Padillas extends back to the seventeenth century. Its use as a paraje was increased in the nineteenth century when more travelers began using the road along the west bank of the Rio Grande. The foremost landowners during this time were the Chavez family, who offered hospitality to many travelers. [Long Distance Trails Group--Santa Fe, National Park Service, New Mexico State Office, Bureau of Land Management]

**Images:**

José Francisco Chaves, nephew of Don Antonio José, served as territorial representative from 1875 until his assassination in 1904

**19: Tomé**

1844

*Quote:* It has been customary for great malefactors to propitiate Divine forgiveness by a cruel sort of penitencia, which generally takes place during the Semana Santa.

I once chanced to be in the town of Tomé on Good Friday, when my attention was arrested by a man almost naked, bearing, in imitation of Simon, a huge cross upon his shoulders, which, though constructed of the lightest wood, must have weighed over a hundred pounds. The long end dragged upon the ground, as we have seen it represented in sacred pictures, and about the middle swung a stone of immense dimensions, appended there for the purpose of making the task more laborious.

Not far behind followed another equally destitute of clothing, with his whole body wrapped in chains and cords, which seemed burled in the muscles, and which so cramped and confined him that he was scarcely able to keep pace with the procession. The person who brought up the rear presented a still more disgusting aspect. He walked along with a patient and composed step, while another followed close behind belaboring him lustily with a whip, which he flourished with all the satisfaction of an amateur; but as the lash was pointed only with a tuft of untwisted sea grass its application merely served to keep open the wounds upon the penitent's back, which had been scarified, as I was informed, with the keen edge of a flint, and was bleeding most profusely. The blood was kept in perpetual flow by the stimulating juice of certain herbs, carried by a third person, into which the scourger frequently dipped his lash.

Although the actors in this tragical farce were completely muffled, yet they were well known to many of the by-standers, one of whom assured me that they were three of the most notorious rascals in the country. By submitting to this species of penance, they annually received complete absolution of their past year's sins, and, thus 'purified,' entered afresh on the old career of wickedness and crime. [Gregg, Josiah]

**Overview: El Cerro Tomé**
Tomé Hill, a natural landmark, served all travelers from prehistoric times into the historic period. A seventeenth-century road ran to the east of the hill. After the river changed its course in the early eighteenth century and the town was founded (in 1740), the main road shifted to go along the valley and by the plaza. [Long Distance Trails Group--Santa Fe, National Park Service, New Mexico State Office, Bureau of Land Management]

20: Casa Colorada

1831-1844

Quote: The houses of the villages and ranchos are rarely so spacious as those of the capital, yet their construction is much the same. Some very singular subterrene dwellings are to be found in a few places. I was once passing through the village of Casa Colorada, when I observed some noisy urchins just before me, who very suddenly and mysteriously disappeared. Upon resorting to the spot, I perceived an aperture under a hillock, which, albeit considerably larger, was not very unlike the habitations of the little prairie dogs. [Gregg, Josiah]

Quote: (28 May 1598) On the 18th, in the morning, mass was said, and we took communion in order to enter the first settlements with good luck. We traveled nearly four leagues and camped for the night across from the second pueblo, called Qualacu, toward the bank of the river, which we had been following. The Indians, suspicious and excited, had abandoned the pueblo. We reassured them with gifts of trinkets. In order not to frighten them we went to the bank of the river, where we remained, living in tents, for a month. This was both because of the sickness of the father commissary who had grown worse and to provision the army with maize. Diego de Zubía, the purveyor general, brought the provisions. [United States Senate]

Overview: Casa Colorado

Casa Colorado may have been a seventeenth-century landmark. It began its existence as a community early in the nineteenth century.

On 19 May 1760, after coming to Sevilleta, Bishop Tamarón passed the ruins of the house they called Colorada, and from that point on they began to see pens of ewes, corrals, and small houses (Adams 1953:201). Given that this is the only colonial era mention of this place and that at the time it was already in ruins, perhaps a pre-revolt estancia which was located there gave its name to the area.

The modern settlement of Casa Colorado was born of a petition for a community grant in 1823. [Long Distance Trails Group--Santa Fe, National Park Service, New Mexico State Office, Bureau of Land Management]

21: Socorro

1831-1844

Quote: But as New Mexico is more remote from the usual haunts of the Apaches, and, in fact, as her scanty ranchos present a much less fruitful field for their operations than the abundant haciendas of the South, the depredations of this tribe have extended but little upon that province. The only serious incursion that has come within my knowledge, was some ten years ago. A band of Apache warriors boldly approached the town of Socorro on the southern border, when a battle ensued between them and the Mexican force, composed of a company of regular troops and all the militia of the place. The Mexicans were soon completely routed and chased into the very streets, suffering, a loss of thirty-three killed and several wounded. The savages bore away their slain, yet their loss was supposed to be but six or even. I happened to be in the vicinity of the catastrophe the following day, when the utmost consternation prevailed among the inhabitants, who were in hourly expectation of another descent from the savages. [Gregg, Josiah]

Overview: Socorro

Socorro has been steeped in New Mexico history since Don Juan de Oñate stopped off during his entrada on June 14, 1598. The site was then occupied by Pilabo, the northernmost Piro Indian pueblo; the Oñate documents called it “Piloque.” Oñate was in advance of the main body of colonists. The caravan, still struggling through the desert behind him, was in desperate need of provisions. Of the Piro Indians, Oñate said, they “gave us much corn.” The pueblo was renamed Socorro (succor, help) to commemorate the gift.

While Oñate continued north, two priests remained behind to do missionary work among the Indians. Fray Alfonso was so successful that he became known as “The Apostle of Socorro.”

The two priests built a modest church, to be replaced by a larger structure between 1615 and 1626. Here Fray Zuñiga and Fray Antonio de Arteaga planted the first grapes to be raised in New Mexico.
In late 1681, after the Pueblo Revolt, Governor Don Antonio de Otermin returned to the north in a half-hearted attempt at reconquest. He reached Socorro in November and found the community abandoned and the church profaned. He burned what supplies and provisions were left to keep them from falling into the hands of rebel Indians. He was unsuccessful in negotiating peace. The Indians had “returned to idolatry” and were unwilling to accept the resumption of Spanish rule. On January 2, 1682, Otermin gave up his attempt to reassert Spanish rule and started back toward El Paso.

Ten years later, on August 21, 1692, Don Diego de Vargas set out from El Paso for the reconquest of New Mexico. His force consisted of sixty Spaniards and a hundred friendly Indians. Within four months de Vargas restored twenty-three pueblos to Spain’s empire. By September, 1693, de Vargas was back in El Paso gathering an expedition for resettlement. He was not as lucky this time; his force met with resistance. The battle to occupy Santa Fe was short, but it took most of 1694 to subdue the remainder of the pueblos.

During the recolonization, the former residents of Socorro did not return. Except for travelers and caravans on the Camino Real, Socorro was deserted and dormant until 1816 when the Spanish Crown awarded land to twenty-one families by the Socorro Grant.

The settlers depended upon agriculture and raising cattle and sheep. They settled on the hillside and valley floor, irrigating their crops from mountain springs and the Río Grande. There were fields of wheat and corn, vineyards and orchards, and pastures. As protection from the Apaches, they built adobe houses facing a central courtyard.

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century, life in Socorro settled into a leisurely if not lazy agrarian pattern, punctuated by occasional Apache raids and the arrival of travelers on the old Camino Real, now usually called the Chihuahua Road by the Santa Fe traders.

Socorro was the last stop before or the first stop after crossing the Jornada del Muerto, and the residents learned to profit from their position.

The 1850s brought changes. Fort Craig was built some twenty miles to the south, and Socorro became an “army town,” a trading center and rendezvous for officers and men from the fort. After the Civil War erupted, freighting and storing supplies created a bustle that completely transformed the village. [Long Distance Trails Group--Santa Fe, National Park Service, New Mexico State Office, Bureau of Land Management]

Images:

San Miguel Mission, Socorro

Links:

22: Ruins of Valverde

1831-1844

In about ten days’ drive we passed the southernmost settlements of New Mexico, and twenty or thirty miles further down the river we came to the ruins of Valverde. This village was founded about twenty years ago, in one of the most fertile valleys of the Rio del Norte. It increased rapidly in population, until it was invaded by the Navajoes, when the inhabitants were obliged to abandon the place after considerable loss, and it has never since been repeopled. The bottoms of the valley, many of which are of rich alluvial loam, have lain fallow ever since, and will perhaps continue to be neglected until the genius of civilization shall have spread its beneficent influences over the land. This soil is the more valuable for cultivation on account of the facilities for irrigation which the river affords; as it too frequently happens that the best lands of the settlements remain unfruitful for want of water. [Gregg, Josiah]
Overview: Valverde

This paraje was called Contadero during the seventeenth century and Valverde by the late eighteenth century. Regardless of its name it was a natural paraje as well as the site of a nineteenth-century town and civil war battle. [Long Distance Trails Group--Santa Fe, National Park Service, New Mexico State Office, Bureau of Land Management]

First Wagon Route to Santa Fe

1821

While out on a trading and trapping expedition, Captain Becknell got word that New Mexico was no longer under Spain's rule, and closed to foreign trade, but was now a part of independent Mexico. He turned his party to Santa Fe, sold his goods for a tidy sum, and returned to the U.S., where his enthusiastic reports lured many more Americans to the Santa Fe trade.

Later travelers, as Gregg noted, tended to go north of Rabbit Ear Mounds, and from there into Las Vegas.

Quote: During the same year, Captain Becknell, of Missouri, with four trusty companions, went out to Santa Fe by the far western prairie route. This intrepid little band started from the vicinity of Franklin, with the original purpose of trading with the Iatan or Comanche Indians; but having fallen in accidentally with a party of Mexican rangers, when near the Mountains, they were easily prevailed upon to accompany them to the new emporium, where, notwithstanding the trifling amount of merchandise they were possessed of, they realized a very handsome profit. The fact is, that up to this date New Mexico had derived all her supplies from the Internal Provinces by the way of Vera Cruz; but at such exorbitant rates, that common calicoes, and even bleached and brown domestic goods, sold as high as two and three dollars per vara (or Spanish yard of thirty-three inches). Becknell returned to the United States alone the succeeding winter, leaving the rest of his company at Santa Fe. [Gregg, Josiah]

Images:

Driving oxen in a wagon train

Links:
National Park Service: Santa Fe Trail National Historic Trail -- http://nps.gov/safe/
Office of State Historian: Letter by Becknell to Mexican Governor Baca --
http://www.newmexicohistory.org/filedetails_docs.php?fileID=399

Gregg Route 1839

1839

Quote: The blockade of the Mexican ports by the French also offered strong inducements for undertaking such an expedition in the spring of 1839; for as Chihuahua is supplied principally through the sea-ports, it was now evident that the place must be suffering from great scarcity of goods.

Being anxious to reach the market before the ports of the Gulf were reopened, we deemed it expedient to abandon the regular route from Missouri for one wholly untired, from the borders of Arkansas, where the pasturage springs up nearly a month earlier. It is true, that such an attempt to convey heavily laden wagons through an unexplored region was attended with considerable risk; but as I was familiar with the general character of the plains contiguous to the north, I felt little or no apprehension of serious difficulties, except
from what might be occasioned by regions of sandy soil.

I have often been asked since, why we did not steer directly for Chihuahua, as our trade was chiefly destined for that place, instead of taking the circuitous route via Santa Fe. I answer, that we dreaded a journey across the southern prairies on account of the reputed aridity of the country in that direction, and I had no great desire to venture directly into a southern port in the present state of uncertainty as to the conditions of entry. [Gregg, Josiah]

Images:

Regular Route of the Santa Fe Caravans

1821-1888

William Becknell blazed the Santa Fe Trail after Mexico declared independence from Spain and opened up trade with the U.S.. Josiah Gregg was one of the first commercial traders on the trail, and his popular account of his travels, Commerce on the Prairies, inspired many others to follow in his footsteps (or wagon ruts, as the case may be).

In 1846, when Mexico ceded the southwest to the United States, the Santa Fe Trail became a heavily-traveled commercial freighting route to New Mexico and the gold fields of Colorado. It remained in use until 1880, when the railroad came to Santa Fe.

Quote: At last all are fairly launched upon the broad prairie -- the miseries of preparation are over -- the thousand anxieties occasioned by wearisome consultations and delays are felt no more. The charioteer, as he smacks his whip, feels a bounding elasticity of soul within him, which he finds it impossible to restrain; even the mules prick up their ears with a peculiarly conceited air, as if in anticipation of that change of scene which will presently follow. Harmony and good feeling prevail everywhere. The hilarious song, the bon mot and the witty repartee, go round in quick succession; and before people have had leisure to take cognizance of the fact, the lively village of Independence, with its multitude of associations, is already lost to the eye. [Gregg, Josiah]

Images:

Links:
National Park Service: Santa Fe National Historic Trail -- http://www.nps.gov/safe/
**Route of Col. Cookes Division**

1841

Gregg’s route does not quite match the description Kendall gives. Two days after separating from the main party, Kendall writes of reaching “a vast and yawning chasm, or canon, as the Mexicans would call it, some two or three hundred yards across, and probably eight hundred feet in depth!” He later describes the canyon as running north and south, and finds a crossing at the southern end. A more probable route for Cooke’s division is across the northeastern corner of the Llano Estacado, where the escarpment is, indeed deep and precipitous.

Kendall and some merchants broke off from the main party, and were arrested in advance of the others. They had already sent notice back to McLeod to come, and were unable to reach Col Cooke to let him know of the ambush Armijo had waiting. [Kendall, George Wilkins]

*Quote:* However impolitic it may be considered to divide a command, in this instance such a course could not be avoided. We were completely lost, and without power of moving forward; our provisions, which had for weeks been scanty, were now almost entirely exhausted; the men were enfeebled by long marches, with only poor beef enough each day to support nature; and in addition we were surrounded by a large and powerful tribe of well-mounted Indians, scouring our vicinity, and always on the look-out to pick off any small party that might be sent out to hunt, or for other purposes. All these reasons considered, it will at once be seen that but two courses offered: one, to destroy the wagons, and to retreat hastily towards Texas; the other, to divide the command, and send one party forward with orders not to return until the settlements were reached. I will not say the wiser course was adopted; but in answer to any one who may blame the leaders of the expedition for dividing the command, I would remark that few men, under the circumstances, would have advised to the contrary....

The party detailed by General McLeod to march in advance, was placed under the command of Captain Sutton, an excellent officer. It consisted of eighty seven officers and privates, with merchants, travellers, and servants enough to swell the number to ninety-nine. Among the officers were Captain Lewis, and Lieutenants Lubbock, Munson, Brown, and Seavy, the latter acting as adjutant: the civilians were Colonel Cooke, Dr. Brenham, Major Howard, Messrs. Van Ness, Fitzgerald, Frank Combs, and myself. We were all well armed and mounted on the best horses in camp, and deemed ourselves able to cut our way through any party of Indians that may dare to attack us. [Kendall, George Wilkins]

**Route of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition 1841**

1841

*Quote:* Texas claims, as I have just stated, the Rio Grande as her western boundary; yet, so isolated were Santa Fé, and such of the settled portions of New Mexico as were situated on the eastern side of that stream, that the new republic had never been able to exercise jurisdiction over a people really within her limits.

The time had now arrived, so thought the rulers of Texas, when rule should be exercised over the length and breadth of her domain-- when the citizens of her furthest borders should be brought into the common fold -- and with the full belief in their readiness and willingness for the movement, the Texan Santa Fe Expedition was originated.

On its arrival at the destined point, should the inhabitants really manifest a disposition to declare their full allegiance to Texas, the flag of the single-star Republic would have been raised on the Government House at Santa Fe; but if not, the Texan commissioners were merely to make such arrangements with the authorities as would best tend to the opening of a trade, and then retire. [Kendall, George Wilkins]

**United States/ Mexican Border**

1821-1846

While Gregg’s map includes a careful outline of the “Indian Territory,” Missouri, and Arkansas, he avoids drawing international boundaries. Crossing the Arkansas River at the Caches generally meant you had left the United States, but with the annexation of Texas the year before, the issue was still unresolved, and as Colonel Cooke noted, the boundary unsurveyed.

*Quote:* (30 June 1843) Gentlemen, your party is in the United States; the line has not been surveyed and marked, but the common judgment agrees that it strikes the river near the Caches, which you know is above this; some think it will strike as high as Chouteau’s island, sixty miles above the Caches. Now the best authorities on national law agree that no power, in its warfare against another, has the right to enter a
neutral's territory, there to lie in wait for its enemy, or there to refresh himself, afterward to sally out to attack his force, or his citizens, or his property; and it is the right of the neutral in such cases to disarm the intruders and send them where they please, through or out of their territory.

--Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, to Colonel Jacob Snively, leader of the second "Texan Santa Fe Expedition." [Kansas State Historical Society]

Links:
Full Text of Adams-Onís Treaty, designating the international boundary --
http://www.tamu.edu/ccb/dewitt/adamonis.htm

Josiah Gregg: Map of the Indian Territory, Northern Texas and New Mexico, Showing the Great Western Prairies : 1844

Josiah Gregg was a trader on the Santa Fe Trail from 1831 to 1840 and based his famous and popular The Commerce of the Prairies on those experiences. The book included extensive descriptions of New Mexico's geography, geology, and culture. Gregg also practiced law and medicine and was an experienced amateur botanist whose contribution is remembered in the specific names of several native plants including Catclaw Acacia, Night-Blooming Cereus, and Autumn Sage. Gregg's Map of the Indian territory, Northern Texas and New Mexico, Showing the Great Western Prairies focuses on the trails, rivers and settlements from Independence to Santa Fe.

In addition to the Santa Fe Oregon Trails, Gregg shows the routes taken by himself in 1839 and 1840, the Texas-Santa Fe Expedition in 1841, Pike in 1806, Long in 1820, and Boone in 1843. Gregg also shows many of the resident tribes and distinguished prairie versus timber terrain in map tints.

Gregg later served as a newspaper correspondent during the Mexican War, participated in the 1849 Gold Rush, and finally perished while leading an emergency winter expedition from an isolated mining camp. Scale 1:3,600,000.

Atlas Citation: [Eidenbach, Peter]
Map Credits: Rumsey Collection Image No. 2351001

TIMELINE: SHifting Alloyances

1800

In 1800, Napoleon signed the secret Treaty of Ildefonso with Spain, stipulating that France should provide Spain with a kingdom if Spain would return Louisiana to France. Napoleon's plan for dominating North America collapsed when the revolt in the French colony of Saint-Domingue succeeded, forcing French troops to return defeated to France. As Napoleon's New World empire disintegrated, the loss of Haiti made Louisiana unnecessary.

Nov 1801

Philip Nolan, a surveyor who worked for Louisiana Trader James Wilkinson, and (who had established trade into Texas and had a wife & child in San Antonio de Bexos) left Louisiana to invade Texas with 30 countrymen, was killed en route by Spanish forces under Pedro de Nava. Nolan is sometimes credited with being the first to map "Texas for the American frontiersmen, but his map has never been found. Nonetheless, his observations were passed on to General James Wilkinson, who used them to produce his map of the Texas-Louisiana frontier in 1804.

1803

On November 30, 1803, Spain's representatives officially transferred Louisiana to France. Although the French representative was instructed to transfer Louisiana to the United States the next day, twenty days actually separated the transfers, during which time Laussat became governor of Louisiana and created a new town council. During this time he is issued secret instructions in which France lays claim to the Rio Grande from the mouth (Rio de las Palmas on the Gulf) to the 30th parallel. "The line of demarcation stops after reaching this point... the farther we go northward, the more undecided is the boundary."

This becomes the basis for the Texian claim to eastern New Mexico.

On December 20, 1803, the French officially gave lower Louisiana to the United States. The United States took formal possession of the full territory of Louisiana, although its boundaries were vaguely defined, in St. Louis
three months later, when France handed over the rights to upper Louisiana.

1804
Jean Baptiste La Lande stole a wagon team and expatriated to New Mexico, becoming the first American to move there.

1805
Admiral Lord Nelson defeats the Spanish navy at Trafalgar, precipitating the end of Spanish military force.

James Pursley arrives in New Mexico trying to drum up trade with the Plains tribes, and stays in Santa Fe as a carpenter.

1806
Expedition headed by General Wilkinson and Lieutenant Zebulon Pike travels west with secret instructions to scout out the northern Spanish territories. Dr. John Robinson joins the expedition at the last minute, but becomes a valued member of the party.

1807
Robinson meets Don Nemesio Salcedo, Captain General of Internal Provinces.

Salcedo refuses his attempt to defect.

1812
Robinson meets with Secretary of State James Monroe, who is concerned that filibustering activity might provoke war with Spain; appoints Robinson to the post of envoy to Nemesio Salcedo.

Robinson goes from Natchitoches through Texas, meeting Bernardo Gutierrez de Lara and Augustus Magee. He also meets with Salcedo, who suspects him once again of spying, and refuses to enter negotiations.

1813
Robinson publishes inflammatory epistles in favor of Mexican revolution (see Liberty Showering Her Blessings), is dismissed by the State department.

Texas declares independence in April.

Royal forces reclaim it in September.

King Joseph Bonaparte (Napoleon's brother) flees Wellington, Ferdinand VII returns to the throne.

1814
Robinson disputes with Toledo about leadership of the revolutionary force.

Moves to New Orleans, offers support to Governor Claiborne, is refused, takes a post in the militia, in a hospital near New Orleans

1815
Robinson sails for Veracruz to help the revolution. He writes for support to President Madison, including a copy of the new Mexican constitution, and remains with the Republican Army for 18 months (through the end of 1816).

1816
Robinson retires from his commission as Brigadier General in the Mexican Revolutionary Army.

1817
Robinson condemned by Spanish envoy Onís, engages in verbal battle in papers, settles in Natchez.

1819
John Quincy Adams, President Monroe's Secretary of State, negotiates a treaty with Luis de Onis to define the boundary of Texas (the Adams-Onís Treaty Line). Under the Florida Treaty, Spain cedes Florida and Texas west to Sabine River.

1821
Texas becomes a province of Mexico following the revolution.

Mexico combines Texas & Coahuila, opens immigration to large numbers of Americans into Texas.

William Becknell takes wagons across what will become the Santa Fe Trail.
Regular route established along Santa Fe Trail "led directly to the San Miguel by way of the Cimarron River instead of following the Arkansas to the mountains direct to San Miguel instead of by way of Taos."
(Chittenden)

Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri petitions the Senate, to make the Santa Fe Trail a permanent road "to draw from the bosom of the wilderness an immense wealth which now must be left to grow and perish where it grows or be gathered by the citizens of some other government to the great loss of Missouri."
Commissioners mark out a road from Missouri to the Mexican boundary. Sibley surveys a new, longer road.

1824

Mexican constitution establishes Texas and Coahuila as sister states, as with New Mexico and Chihuahua.

1835-1836

Texans revolt against Mexico, and fight for independence, claiming all land to the Rio Grande.

Texas rebels capture General Santa Anna at the Battle of San Jacinto, and win a surrender with the Treaty of Velasco, which stipulates that the "limits of Texas would not extend past the Rio Grande." However, Mexico never ratifies this treaty.

1837

United States grants formal recognition to the Republic of Texas.

New Mexicans overthrow centralist governor Albino Perez, Manuel Armijo rises to power in 1838.

The government offers large land grants to both native citizens and to American merchants such as St. Vrain, Maxwell, and Mirabeau.

1841

Texas expedition led by Brigadier General Hugh McLeod, and accompanied by journalist George Wilkins Kendall, travels across the Llano Estacado to ask New Mexicans to join Texas in independence or to open trade. Governor Armijo has the Texans captured, brutally mistreated, and forced to march in chains to Mexico City, where they remained imprisoned for several years.

1843

Texas sends two raiding parties to New Mexico in retribution for the mistreatment of the Texas-Santa Fe Expedition.

Taos gets closed as a port of entry.

1844

Question of Texas central to United States presidential election, and popular support of annexation sweeps James K. Polk into office.

1845

Annexation of Texas; formally admitted as a state December 29, 1845.

State constitution supports Texas' claims to all lands extending to the Rio Grande.

1846

Polk declares war with Mexico, and General Zachary Taylor invades Mexico along the Rio Grande in Texas.

United States forces led by General Stephen Kearny seize New Mexico, and Governor Armijo is persuaded to surrender without a battle.

Colonel Alexander Doniphan writes the code for governing the Territory of New Mexico.

New Mexico is designated the Ninth Military Department of the United States.

1847

Rebels in Taos lead an uprising against the American government, and kill Governor Charles Bent.

1848

Mexico signs the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which cedes lands in California, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico to the United States. The boundary of New Mexico is described in relation to Disturnell's map, which showed erroneous distances.

1848 Fort Bliss established.
1849
The Department of Interior established. Interior would manage most of the lands in New Mexico for some time to come.

1850
The Texas boundary compromise required Texas to release claims to lands in eastern New Mexico, in exchange for a settlement of debts. As part of the Compromise of 1850, New Mexico was finally admitted as a territory, with the issue of slavery to be decided by New Mexicans.

1851-1853
Fort Bliss abandoned for Fort Fillmore

1852-1860
Cantonment Burgwin established to control Taos rebels. The fort was decommissioned in 1860 and the soldiers moved to Fort Garland or Fort Union.

1852 Boundary Survey
1st international boundary commission established in accordance with the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.
This survey runs into difficulties establishing the boundary line, and the Americans realize that the line as surveyed does not give them a transcontinental railway route.

1853
Gadsden Purchase from Mexico expands New Mexico territory.

1854
Fort Bliss moved to Magoffinsville.

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