

Chronicles of the Trail



Quarterly Journal of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro
Trail Association

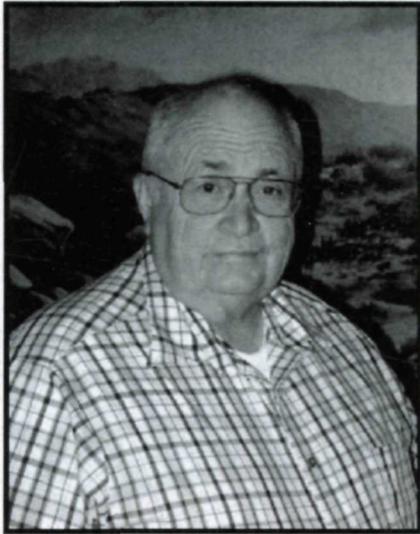
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January - March, 2007



Zebulon Montgomery Pike, who traveled southward over El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro two centuries ago this year.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE



Patrick H. Beckett

On December 13, 2006, a field trip was made to the Yost Escarpment on the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Some of those in attendance were Michael Romero Taylor and Kaisa Basthuli of the National Park Service; Sarah Schlanger, Lori Allen and Pam Smith of the Bureau of Land Management; Denise Alexander, Ti Hayes and Daniel Carey of the National Trust for Historic Preservation; Gary Wolff of the New Mexico Heritage Preservation Alliance; Nick Telles, leadership analyst for the New Mexico Senate Majority Office; and Patrick Beckett and Jean Fulton, representing CARTA. Jean also was representing Cornerstones. The purpose of the trip was to familiarize those individuals that had not been on the Jornada del Muerto portion of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro the significance of the trail and the Yost Draw overlook.

On the following day, December 14th, a meeting was held by most of those present on the previous day's field trip in the Mesilla Village town hall to discuss what should possibly be a joint consensus of planning for the New Mexico Spaceport and El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Some of the concerns were:

1. This section of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro had been traveled by Onate in 1598 and had been part of the primary route into New Mexico from the south until the advent of the railroad in 1881.
2. This section is one of the best preserved portions of the trail, which is especially important since Mexico, Spain and the United States are working together to nominate El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro to the World Heritage List of significant cultural and historic places.
3. The spaceport will create irreversible negative impacts on the trail. It is hoped the state and concerned parties can work together to re-investigate alternative sites for the spaceport to avoid adverse effects on the Camino Real.

4. Equal consideration needs to be given to the cultural values embodied by the trail, as much as the values given to the purported economic impacts of the spaceport development.
5. Incremental changes caused by future development of the area, spurred by the spaceport development, have not been adequately addressed.
6. While the Bureau of Land Management has established a five-mile buffer zone on either side of the trail, the New Mexico State Trust Lands do not currently offer this protection, and this needs to be addressed.

Those present at the December 14th meeting also voiced their support of the spaceport and support of the Jornada del Muerto portion of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro as a cultural resource on the most endangered listing. Jean Fulton, Secretary of CARTA, will work with the New Mexico Heritage Preservation Alliance, Cornerstones, and the National Trust for Historic Preservation to accomplish the endangered listing for the Jomada del Muerto section of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro.

On December 18th I met with Rick Holmans, New Mexico Cabinet Secretary of the Economic Development Department and Lonnie Sumpter the executive Director, Office for Space Commercialization of the Economic Development Department on CARTA's stand on the spaceport. The meeting was a pleasant one in which they outlined New Mexico's need for a rapid approval of the spaceport site. I spoke on the need to preserve El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, pointing out that the scenic overlook on Yost Draw is one of the best-preserved spots on the historic trail and CARTA's desire to have it moved further from its proposed location. We all agreed to try and keep each other informed and to try and minimize any impact on the trail and Secretary Holmans was open to dialog with CARTA at any time we wanted barring any other time conflict.

On December 22nd I met with Doña Ana County Commissioner McCamley, one of the leading proponents of the spaceport, on the issue. I expressed CARTA's concern about the location and our desire to have it moved further to the east and south of its current proposed location. He is very concerned about the time frame of the spaceport and was enlightened a bit about by the existing endangered cultural resource. We both agreed to keep to continue a dialog.

Matthew P. Holt of the Holt, Babington and Mynatt law firm has agreed to pro bono representation of CARTA on minor legal advice and representation.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Beginning with this issue of the *Chronicles*, we will be running a series on Zebulon Montgomery Pike—a celebration of the 200th anniversary of his historic journey down El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. The series has been edited and introduced by Leo E. Oliva, editor of the Santa Fe Trail Association Quarterly, *Wagon Tracks*, and member Pike Bicentennial Commission. Maps and photos have been provided by Hal Jackson, chairman of Pike Bicentennial Commission and author of *Following the Royal Road: A Guide to the Historic Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, University of New Mexico Press, 2006. We are grateful to Leo and Hal for their contribution to our journal.

The Bureau of Land Management and the National Park Service have begun certifying historic sites and interpretive facilities along the trail, an effort that will lead to increased visibility and recognition of the trail for visitors during the coming years. (See CARTA board member Cameron Saffell's report in News and Announcements.)

CARTA, and numerous others, remain deeply concerned about plans for locating the proposed Southwest Regional Spaceport south of Engle, New Mexico, in the Jornada del Muerto, directly astride one of the most pristine segments of the trail. Efforts are underway to persuade officials to move the location of the spaceport to the south and east, to an area beyond view from the trail. (See CARTA President Pat Beckett's report on the inside front cover and the National Trust for Historic Preservation's letter to the Federal Aviation Administration in News and Announcements.)

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CARTA looks forward receiving contributions to *Chronicles of the Trail*. The purpose of our publication is to stimulate interest in the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, encouraging readers to join in the adventure of memorializing and exploring one of the great historic trails of North America. Our target audience is the intellectually alive and curious reader who might also be interested in magazines such as the *American Heritage*, *Smithsonian*, or *Archaeology*. We can accept articles that range from 1,000 to 1,500 words up to 8,000 to 10,000 words in length. We can accept line drawings and black and white photographs, preferably in digital form, in a proportion that will fit in one or two columns.

JOIN CARTA

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Please note: For those who have not renewed their membership for 2007, this issue of the *Chronicles of the Trail* will be the last you receive. We encourage you to renew your membership as soon as possible. Ed



ZEBULON MONTGOMERY PIKE ON EL CAMINO REAL DE TIERRA ADENTRO, 1807, PART I

Edited with introduction by Leo E. Oliva, editor Santa Fe Trail Association Quarterly, Wagon Tracks, and member Pike Bicentennial Commission; maps and photos by Hal Jackson, chairman of Pike Bicentennial Commission and author of Following the Royal Road: A Guide to the Historic Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, University of New Mexico Press, 2006.

Captain¹ Zebulon Montgomery Pike, U. S. Army, was the first military explorer from the United States to travel El Camino Real (1807) and publish a detailed account of his experiences (1810). As part of the bicentennial observance of his Southwest Expedition (1806-1807) through a portion of the Louisiana Purchase and his detention by Spanish officials in New Mexico and Chihuahua, excerpts from his journal and his appendix on the "internal provinces" of New Spain are reprinted here (edited and annotated in several installments) as part of the history of El Camino Real.²

Pike, 1779-1813, was a career army officer who was selected for two exploring expeditions. Exploration was one of the main missions of the frontier army at the time of the Louisiana Purchase (1803), and a number of expeditions were planned to help determine where the new boundaries, which were not defined, might be and what this new land contained. The most famous of these was led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, 1804-1806. Pike was first sent, in 1805, with a small detachment to find the source of the Mississippi River, which he failed to do although he was close, and suffered terribly during the winter months before returning to St. Louis. From there he was sent to the Southwest by General James Wilkinson.

Pike's second expedition, 1806-1807, was designed to accomplish several goals, including the return of 51 Osage Indians to their villages in present western Missouri, accompany a delegation of Pawnees to their villages and seek

their friendship and their aid in contacting the Comanches, work out a peace agreement between the Kansa and Osage

tribes, make contact with the Comanches and try to arrange for peace between them and other tribes and also try to draw them into a close tie to the United States (the Comanches had been closely tied to Spain for some time). Pike was also to locate the headwaters of the Arkansas and Red rivers. General Wilkinson's son, Lieutenant James B. Wilkinson, was to accompany Pike part way and then lead a small detachment down the Arkansas River to the Arkansas Post. Part of his mission was to see if the Arkansas was navigable. In addition, Pike was to report on natural resources, lay of the land, Indians met

along the way, and anything else of interest to the U. S. Upon completion, he was to follow the Red River to the post at Natchitoches in Louisiana, where his expedition would end.

Pike was especially warned by General Wilkinson: . . . you may find yourself approximated to the settlements of New Mexico, and there it will be necessary you should move with great circumspection, to keep clear of any hunting or reconnoitering parties from that province, and to prevent alarm or offence; because the affairs of Spain and the United States, appear to be on the point of amicable adjustment,



Zebulon Montgomery Pike

*and moreover it is the desire of the president, to cultivate the friendship and harmonious intercourse of all nations of the earth, and particularly our near neighbours the Spaniards.*³

On July 15, 1806, Pike and his party left Fort Bellefontaine near St. Louis with the Osages they were escorting to their villages and a few Pawnees. With Pike were 23 men, including Lieutenant Wilkinson, Dr. John Hamilton Robinson (a civilian surgeon who was sent by General Wilkinson and not officially part of Pike's command as Pike would declare in Santa Fe), interpreter Antoine François "Baronet" Vásquez (called Baroney by Pike), one sergeant, two corporals, 16 privates (one of whom deserted within a few days), and a civilian volunteer (George Henry) who went as far as the Osage villages. They wore lightweight, summer uniforms and expected to complete the expedition by late fall, which would have been impossible considering the distances involved and the several missions assigned to the expedition. They would suffer terribly during the coming winter without adequate clothing and supplies.

Pike and his small band of soldiers, once described by him as a "Dam'd set of Rascals," worked hard to carry out their orders, with limited success. They returned the Osages to their villages, arranged a peaceful agreement between the Osages and Kansas, met with Pawnees at a village in present southern Nebraska where Pike learned an expedition of some 400 Spanish soldiers had recently visited, followed the "Spanish trace" from that village to the Arkansas River where Lieutenant Wilkinson and five of the soldiers left the expedition to explore down that river, while Pike and the remaining 15 men of his party proceeded upstream into present Colorado (where Pike tried and failed to climb the mountain that was later named Pikes Peak), followed the Arkansas River to a point near its source, and then became lost and wandered in the Rocky Mountains seeking the source of the Red River (which rises in Texas and not the Rocky Mountains), and in February 1807 constructed a small stockade on Conejos Creek, tributary of the Rio Grande (which Pike believed to be the Red River). Several of the men suffered from frostbite, and some had been left behind and were recovered later (all survived the winter).

Dr. Robinson left the stockade on February 7 and went to Santa Fe, where he claimed to be the agent of Illinois merchant William Morrison to collect a debt owed by Baptiste LaLande, whom Morrison had sent with trade goods but never been paid. Robinson's appearance in New Mexico resulted in troops being sent out, and they brought Pike and his men to Santa Fe. After meeting with Governor Joaquín del Real Alencaster there, Pike was sent on to Chihuahua to meet with Commandant-General Nemesio Salcedo. South of Albuquerque, Pike was reunited with Dr. Robinson, whom Pike had denied was a member of his military expedition. Lieutenant Facundo Melgares became their guard and guide. Melgares had led the expedition of Spanish troops to the Great Plains and the Pawnee village just prior to Pike's

venture. Almost everything known about Melgares's 1806 trip is obtained from Pike's journal, for the records of that Spanish expedition have not been found (it is possible they were destroyed by a fire at the archives in Chihuahua).

The two enemy soldiers, for such they were as military officers of nations competing for the region through which they both traveled at a time when both nations feared war between them might break out any time, became friends. As a guest of the Spanish government, Pike learned much about the Great Plains and the provinces of northern New Spain from Melgares and other officials, and that information along with Pike's own astute observations of the people and culture of the region was published in his journal and an appended report on the "internal provinces."⁴ As Stephen G. Hyslop noted, "Pike did not set out to reconnoiter Spanish territory, but his enforced journey to Chihuahua allowed him to do so."⁵ Pike requested of Governor Alencaster that his party be escorted to the Red River and objected to going to Santa Fe and Chihuahua. Mark L. Gardner concluded: "For a country extremely paranoid about its neighbors in North America, as Spain was, Spanish officials would have done well to have escorted Pike back across the border in the direction from whence he came."⁶ Interestingly, General Wilkinson considered Pike's Southwest Expedition a failure because he never met with the Comanches and failed to find the source of the Red River.

Pike joined El Camino Real at San Juan Pueblo, March 2, 1807, and followed it except for the Jornada del Muerto section between present Socorro and Las Cruces (Melgares followed the west side of the Rio Grande, March 14-18, to avoid that long, dry stretch of El Camino known as the Jornada), to Goajoquilla, now Jiménez, where he left it on May 6 to be escorted back across Durango, Coahuila, and Texas to the U. S. During all that time Pike was treated with respect as an officer of the U. S. Army and was warmly received by a number of Spanish officials (note how often he refers to Spanish military officers as "friend" in his journal). He was a guest at several fandangos during his period of detention. His soldiers enjoyed the hospitality of local residents, although at least seven of them were later imprisoned at Chihuahua until 1809, where one (Theodore Miller) was murdered by a fellow soldier (William Meek) who was detained until 1820.

As originally ordered by General Wilkinson, Pike ended his expedition at Natchitoches, Louisiana, July 1, 1807, but not exactly as planned. The following reprint of Pike's journal begins on February 16, 1807, at the stockade on Conejos Creek in present southern Colorado, when he was first contacted by Spanish soldiers, which provides orientation for what followed. The entries conclude in the next installment with that of May 6, when Pike left El Camino. Somehow Pike lost count of dates, placing his arrival in Santa Fe on March 3 when, according to Spanish records, it was March 2. The excerpts are reprinted from the 1810 edition, with original spelling; omissions are indicated by ellipses, inserts are in brackets, and annotations are in endnotes.

Pike's Journal

16th February,—Monday. I took one man and went out hunting, about six miles from the post, shot and wounded a deer. Immediately afterwards, discovered two horsemen rising the summit of a hill, about half a mile to our right. As my orders were to avoid giving alarm or offence to the Spanish government of New Mexico, I endeavoured to avoid them at first, but when we attempted to retreat, they persued us at full charge, flourishing their lances, and when we advanced, they would retire as fast as their horses could carry them; seeing this we got in a small ravine, in hopes to decoy them near enough to oblige them to come to a parley, which happened agreeably to our desires, as they came on hunting us with great caution; we suffered them to get within 40 yards, where we had allured them, but were about running off again, when I ordered the soldier to lay down his arms and walk towards them; at the same time standing ready with my rifle to kill either, who should lift an arm in an hostile manner; I then hollowed to them, that we were Americans, and friends, which were almost the only two words I knew in the Spanish language; when with great signs of fear they came up, and proved to be a Spanish dragoon and a civilized Indian, armed after their manner, of which we see a description in the *Essai Militaire*. We were jealous of our arms on both sides, and acted with great precaution. They informed me that was the fourth day since they had left Santa Fe; that Robinson had arrived there, and was received with great kindness by the governor. As I knew them to be spies, I thought proper to inform them merely, that I was about to descend the river to Natchitoches. We sat here on the ground a long time, and finding they were determined not to leave me, we rose and bid them adieu, but they demanded where our camp was; and finding they were not about to leave us, I thought it most proper to take them with me, thinking we were on Red river, and of course in the territory claimed by the United States.

We took the road to my fort, and as they were on horseback, they traveled rather faster than myself; they were halted by the sentinel, and immediately retreated much surprised. When I came up, I took them in, and then explained to them, as well as possible, my intentions of descending the river to Natchitoches, but at the same time told them that if governor Allencaster would send out an officer with an interpreter, who spoke French or English, I would do myself the pleasure to give his excellency every reasonable satisfaction as to my intentions in coming on his frontiers. They informed me that on the second day they would be in Santa Fe, but were careful never to suggest an idea of my being on the Rio del Norte. As they concluded, I did not think as I spoke; they were very anxious to ascertain our numbers, &c.; seeing only five men here, they could not believe we came without horses, &c. To this I did not think proper to give them any satisfaction, giving them to understand we were in many parties, &c.

17th February,—Tuesday. In the morning, our two Spanish visitors departed, after I had made them some trifling presents, with which they seemed highly delighted. After their departure, we commenced working at our little work [stockade], as I thought it probable the governor might dispute my right to descend the Red river, and send out Indians, or some light party to attack us; I therefore determined to be as much prepared to receive them as possible. This evening the corporal and three of the men arrived, who had been sent back to the camp of the frozen lads. They informed me that two men would arrive the next day; one of which was [Hugh] Menaugh, who had been left alone on the 27th of January, but that the other two, [Thomas] Dougherty and [John] Sparks, were unable to come. They said that they had hailed them with tears of joy, and were in despair when they again left them, with the chance of never seeing them more. They sent on to me some of the bones taken out of their feet, and conjured me by all that was sacred, not to leave them to perish far from the civilized world. . . .

18th February,—Wednesday. The other two boys arrived; in the evening I ordered the sergeant and one man to prepare to march to-morrow for the Arkansaw, where we had left our interpreter, horses, &c. to conduct them on, and on his return to bring the two lads who were still in the mountains.

19th February,—Thursday. Sergeant William E. Meek, marched with one man, whose name was Theodore Miller,⁷ and I took three other men to accompany him out some distance, in order to point out to him a pass in the mountain, which I conceived more eligible for horses than the one we had come. . . .

22^d February, Sunday.—As I began to think it was time we received a visit from the Spaniards or their emissaries, I established a look out guard on the top of a hill all day and at night a sentinel in a bastion on the land side. . . .

26th February,—Thursday. In the morning was apprized by the report of a gun, from my lookout guard; of the approach of strangers. Immediately after two Frenchmen arrived.

My sentinel halted them and ordered them to be admitted after some questions; they informed me that his excellency governor Allencaster had heard it was the intention of the Utah Indians, to attack me; had detached an officer with 50 dragoons to come out and protect me, and that they would be here two days. To this I made no reply; but shortly after the party came in sight to the number of, I afterwards learnt 50 dragoons and 50 mounted militia of the province, armed in the same manner, viz: Lances, escopates and pistols. My sentinel halted them at the distance of about 50 yards. I had the works manned. I thought it most proper to send out the two Frenchmen to inform the commanding officer that it was my request he should leave his party in a small copse of woods where he

halted, and that I would meet him myself in the prairie, in which our work was situated. This I did, with my sword on me only. When I was introduced to Don Ignatio Saltego and Don Bartholemew Fernandez, two lieutenants, the former the commandant of the party. I gave them an invitation to enter the works, but requested the troops might remain where they were; this was complied with, but when they came round and discovered that to enter, they were obliged to crawl on their bellies over a small draw-bridge, they appeared astonished but entered without further hesitation.

We first breakfasted on some deer, meal, goose, and some biscuit (which the civilized indian who came out as a spy) had brought me, After breakfast the commanding officer addressed me as follows: "Sir, the governor of New Mexico, being informed you missed your route, ordered me to offer you, in his name, mules, horses, money, or whatever you may stand in need of to conduct you to the head of the Red river; as from Santa Fe to where it is sometimes navigable, is eight days journey and we have guides and the routes of the traders to conduct us." "What, said I, (interrupting him) is not this the Red river," "No sir! The Rio del Norte." I immediately ordered by flag to be taken down and rolled up, feeling how sensibly I had committed myself, in entering their territory, and was conscious that they must have positive orders to take me in.

"He now" added "that he had provided one hundred mules and horses, to take in my party and baggage and how anxious his excellency was to see me at Santa Fe" I stated to him, the absence of my sergeant, the situation of the balance of the party and that my orders would not justify my entering into the Spanish territory. He urged still further until I began to feel myself a little heated in the argument and told him in a peremptory style, I would not go until the arrival of my sergeant with the balance of the party. He replied that there was not the least restraint to be used, only that it was necessary his excellency should receive an explanation of my business on his frontier, but that I could go now, or on the arrival of my party; but that if none went in at present he should be obliged to send in for provisions, but that if I would now march, he would leave an Indian interpreter and an escort of dragoons to conduct the sergeant into Santa Fe. His mildness induced me to tell him that I would march, but must leave two men, in order to meet the sergeant and party, to instruct him as to coming in, as he never would come without a fight, if not ordered.

I was induced to consent to the measure, by conviction, that the officer had positive orders to bring me in, and as I had no orders to commit hostilities, and indeed had committed myself, although innocently, by violating their territory, I conceived it would appear better to shew a will to come to an explanation than to be any way constrained; yet my situation was so eligible, and I could so easily have put them at defiance, that it was with great reluctance I

suffered all our labor to be lost without once trying the efficacy of it.

My compliance seemed to spread general joy through their party as soon as it was communicated, but it appeared to be different with my men, who wished to have a little dust (as they expressed themselves) and were likewise fearful of treachery.

My determination being once taken, I gave permission for the Spanish lieutenant's men to come to the outside of the works, and some of mine to go out and see them; and the hospitality and goodness of the Creoles and Metifs began to manifest itself by their producing their provisions and giving it to my men, covering them with their blankets, &c.

After writing orders to my sergeant, and leaving them with my corporal and one private, who was to remain, we sallied forth, mounted our horses, and went up the river about 12 miles, to a place where the Spanish officers had made a camp deposit, from whence we sent down mules for our baggage, &c.

27th February, Friday.—In the morning I discovered the Spanish lieutenant, was writing letters addressed to the governor and others; on which I demanded if he was not going on with me to Santa Fe. He appeared confused and said no: that his orders were so positive as to the safe conduct and protection of my men, that he dare not go and leave any behind; that his companion would accompany me to Santa Fe with 50 men, whilst he with the others would wait for the sergeant and his party. I replied that he had deceived me and had not acted with candor; but that it was now too late for me to remedy the evil.

We marched about 11 o'clock. . . . Distance 15 miles. Intensely cold, obliged to stop frequently and make fires. Snow deep.

28th February, Saturday.—We marched late. . . . Distance 36 miles. . . .

1st March, Sunday.—We marched early and although we rode very hard we only got to the village of L'eau Chaud or Warm Spring, sometime in the afternoon, which was about 45 miles. The difference of climate was astonishing, after we left the hills and deep snows, we found ourselves on plains where there was no snow, and where vegetation was sprouting.

The village of the Warm Springs or Aqua caliente (in their language) is situated on the eastern branch of a creek of that name, and at a distance, presents to the eye a square enclosure of mud walls, the houses forming the wall. They are flat on top, or with extremely little ascent on one side, where there are spouts to carry off the water of the melting snow and rain when it falls, which we were informed, had been but once in two years, previous to our entering the country.

Inside of the enclosure were the different streets of houses of the same fashion, all of one story; the doors were narrow, the windows small, and in one or two houses there

were talc lights [a kind of mica used for windows]. The village had a mill near it, situated on the little creek, which made very good flour.

The population consisted of civilized Indians, but much mixed blood.

Here we had a dance which is called the *Fandango*.

...
This village may contain 500 souls. The greatest natural curiosity is the warm springs, which are two in number, about 10 yards apart, and each afford sufficient water for a mill seat. . . .

2d March, Monday.—We marched late, and passed several little mud walled villages and settlements, all of which had round mud towers of the ancient shape and construction, to defend the inhabitants from the intrusions of the savages. I was this day shewn the ruins of several old villages, which had been taken and destroyed by the Tetaus [Comanches]. We were frequently stopped by the women, who invited us into their houses to eat; and in every place where we halted a moment, there was a contest who should be our hosts. My poor lads who had been frozen, were conducted home by old men, who would cause the daughters to dress their feet; provide their victuals and drink, and at night, gave them the best bed in the house.

...
We descended the creek of Aqua Caliente, about 12 miles, where it joined the river of Conejos [Rio Chama?] from the west. This river was about 30 yards wide, and was settled, above its junction with the Aqua Caliente, 12 miles, as the latter was its whole course from the village of that name. From where they form a junction, it was about 15 miles to the Rio del Norte, on the eastern branch of which was situated the village of St. John's [San Juan Pueblo on El Camino Real], which was the residence of the president priest of the province, who had resided in it 40 years.

The house tops of the village of St. John's, were crowded, as well as the streets, when we entered, and at the door of the public quarters, we were met by the president priest. When my companion who commanded the escort, received him in a street and embraced him, all the poor creatures who stood round, strove to kiss the ring or hand of the holy father; for myself, I saluted him in the usual style. My men were conducted into the quarters, and I went to the house of the priest, where we were treated with politeness: he offered us coffee, chocolate, or whatever we thought proper, and desired me to consider myself at home in his house.

As I was going some time after, to the quarters of my men, I was addressed at the door by a man in broken English: "My friend, I am very sorry to see you here: we are all prisoners in this country and can never return: I have been a prisoner for nearly three years, and cannot get out." I replied, "that as for his being prisoner, it must be for some crime, that with respect to myself, I felt no apprehension, and requested him to speak French, as I

could hardly understand his English." When he began to demand of me so many different questions on the mode of my getting into the country, my intention, &c.; that by the time I arrived in the room of my men, I was perfectly satisfied of his having been ordered by some person to endeavor to obtain some confession or acknowledgment of sinister designs in my having appeared on the frontiers, and some confidential communications which might implicate me. As he had been rather insolent in his enquiries, I ordered my men to shut and fasten the door; I then told him that I believed him to be an emissary sent on purpose by the governor, or some person, to endeavour to betray me, that all men of that description were scoundrels, and never should escape punishment, whilst I possessed the power to chastise them, immediately ordering my men to seize him, and cautioning him at the same time, that if he cried out, or made the least resistance, I would be obliged to make use of the saber, which I had in my hand; on which he was so much alarmed, that he begged me for God's sake not to injure him; that he had been ordered by the government to meet me, and endeavour to trace out, what, and who I was, and what were my designs, by endeavoring to produce a confidence in him, by his exclaiming against the Spaniards, and complaining of the tyranny which they had exercised towards him. After this confession, I ordered my men to release him, and told him, that I looked upon him as too contemptible for further notice, but that he might tell the governor, the next time he employed emissaries, to choose those of more abilities and sense, and that I questioned if his excellency would find the sifting of us an easy task.

This man's name was Baptiste Lalande, he had come from the Illinois to the Pawnees, to trade with goods furnished him by William Morrison, a gentleman of the Illinois, and from thence to New Mexico with the goods, which he had procured and established himself, and was the same man on whom Robinson had a claim. He returned into the priest's house with me, and instead of making any complaint, he in reply to their enquiries of who I was, &c. informed them, that when he left Louisiana, I was governor of the Illinois. This I presume he took for granted from my having commanded for some time the post of Kaskaskias, the first military post the United States established in that country since the peace; however the report served but to add to the respect with which my companion and host treated me. Having had at this place the first good meal, wine, &c. with the heat of the house, and perhaps rather an immoderate use of the refreshments allowed me, produced an attack of something like the cholera morbus, which alarmed me considerably, and made me determine to be more abstemious in the future. This father was a great naturalist, or rather florist: he had large collections of flowers, plants, &c. and several works on his favorite studies, the margin and bottoms of which were filled with his notes in the Castilian language. As I had neither a natural

turn for botany, sufficient to induce me to puzzle my head much with the Latin, and did not understand Castilian, I enjoyed but little of his lecture, which he continued to give me nearly for two hours on those subjects, but by the exercise of a small degree of patience, I entirely acquired the esteem of this worthy father, he calling me his son, and lamenting extremely that my fate had not made me one of the holy catholic church.

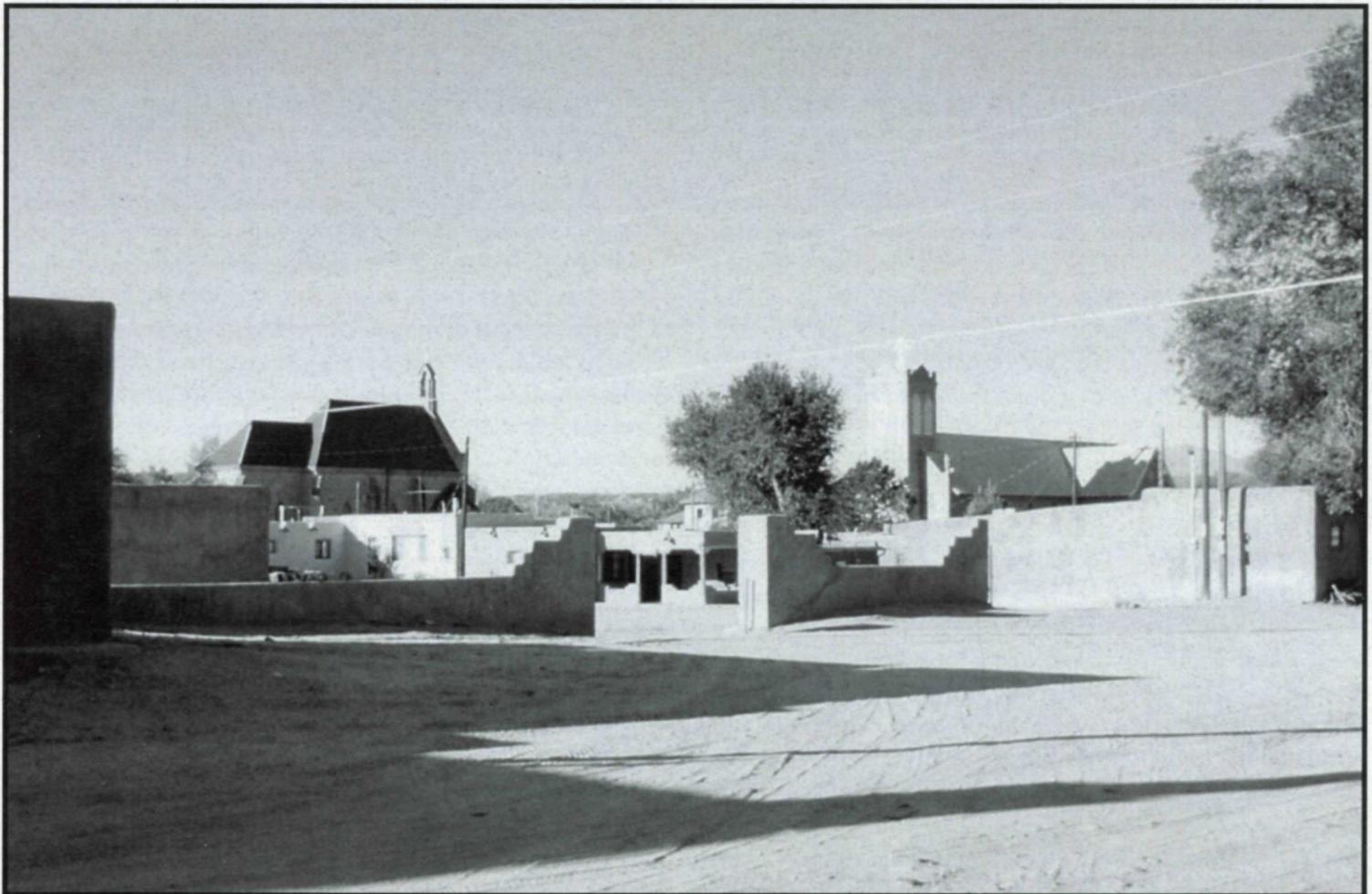
St. John's was enclosed with a mud wall, and probably contained 1000 souls; its population consisted principally of civilized Indians, as indeed does all the villages of New Mexico, the whites not forming the one twentieth part of the inhabitants.

3^d March, Tuesday.—We marched after breakfast, B. Lalande accompanying us, and in about six miles came to a village [Santa Cruz], where I suppose there were more than 2000 souls. Here we halted at the house of the priest, who understanding that I would not kiss his hand, would not present it to me.

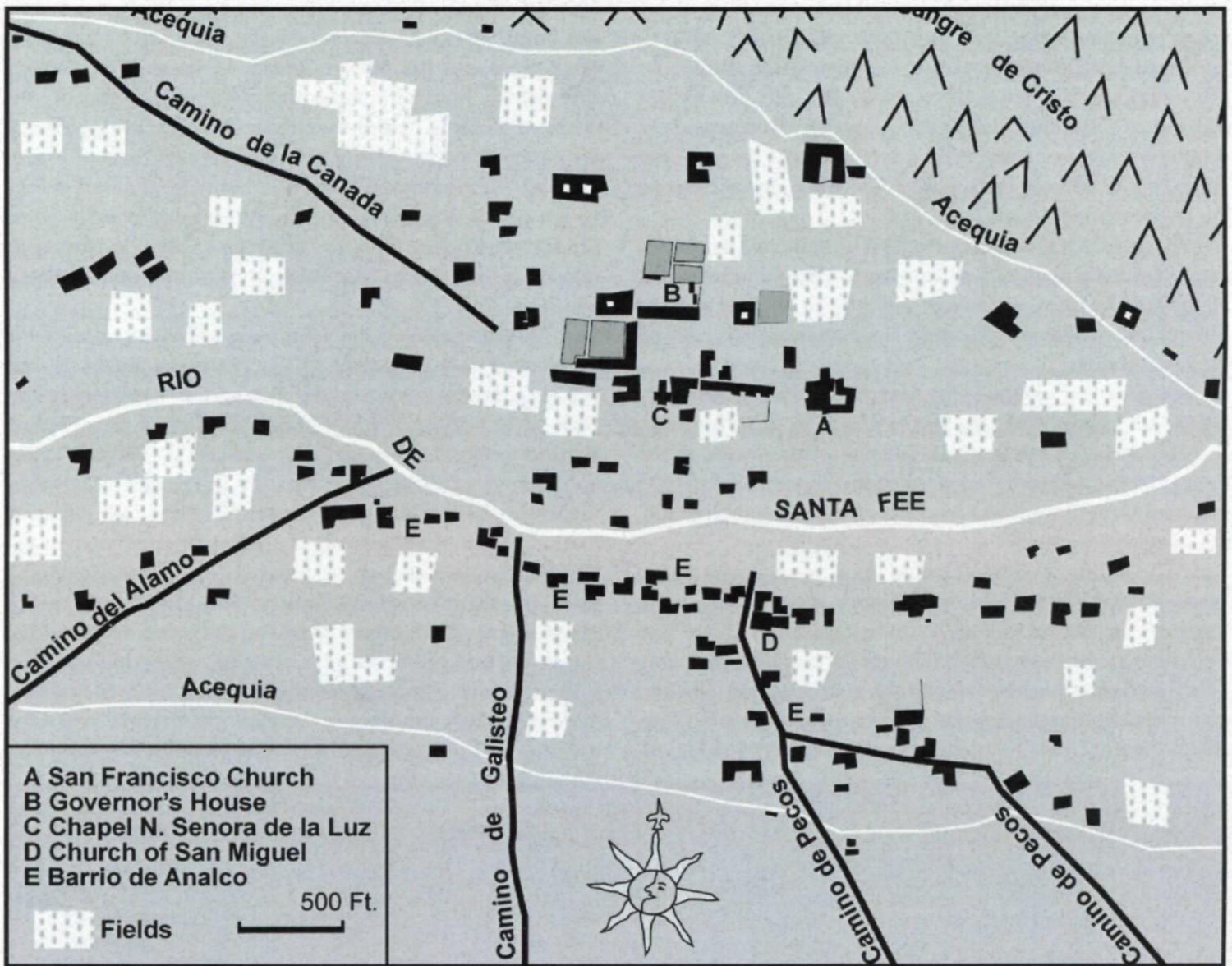
The conduct and behaviour of a young priest who came in, was such as in our country would have been amply sufficient forever to have banished him from the clerical association, strutting about with a dirk in his boot, a cane in his hand, whispering to one girl, chucking another under the chin, and going out with a third, &c. From this village [Santa Cruz] to another small village [Pojoaque] of

500 inhabitants, is seven miles. At each of those villages is a small stream, sufficient for the purpose of watering their fields. At the father's house we took coffee. From this village, it was 17 miles to another [Tesuque] of 400 civilized Indians. Here we changed horses and prepared for entering the capital, which we came in sight of in the evening. It is situated along the banks of a small creek, which comes down from the mountains, and runs west to the Rio del Norte. The length of the capital on the creek may be estimated at one mile; it is but three streets in width.

Its appearance from a distance, struck my mind with the same effect as a fleet of flat bottomed boats, which are seen in the spring and fall seasons, descending the Ohio river. There are two churches, the magnificence of whose steeples form a striking contrast to the miserable appearance of the houses. On the north side of town is the square of soldiers houses, equal to 120 or 140 on each flank. The public square is in the centre of the town; on the north side of which is situated the palace (as the[y] term it) or government house, with the quarters for guards, &c. The other side of the square is occupied by the clergy and public officers. In general the houses have a shed before the front, some of which have a flooring of brick; the consequence is, that the streets are very narrow, say in general 25 feet. The supposed population



Pike wrote "St. John's was enclosed with a mud wall,...." and this photo is of that same mud wall in San Juan Pueblo.



Joseph de Urrutia's map of 1766 of Santa Fe (here modified from the original). It is about what Pike would have seen in 1807.

is 4,500 souls. On our entering the town, the crowd was great, and followed us to the government house. When we dismounted, we were ushered in through various rooms, the floors of which were covered with skins of buffalo, bear, or some other animal. We waited in a chamber for some time, until his excellency [Governor Joaquín del Real Alencaster] appeared, when we rose, and the following conversation took place in French.

Governor. Do you speak French?

Pike. Yes sir.

Governor. In what character are you?

Pike. In my proper character, an officer of the United States army?

Governor. And this Robinson, is he attached to your party?

Pike. No.

Governor. Do you know him?

Pike. Yes, he is from St. Louis. (I had understood the doctor was sent 45 leagues from Santa Fe, under a strong guard, and the haughty and unfriendly reception

of the governor induced me to believe war must have been declared, and that if it was known Dr. Robinson accompanied me, he would be treated with great severity. I was correct in saying he was not attached to my party, for he was only a volunteer, he could not properly be said to be one of my command.)

Governor. How many men have you?

Pike. Fifteen.

Governor. And this Robinson makes sixteen.

Pike. I have already told your excellency that he does not belong to my party, and shall answer no more interrogatories on that subject.

Governor. When did you leave St. Louis?

Pike. 15th July.

Governor. I think you marched in June.

Pike. No, sir!

Governor. Well! Return with Mr. Bartholemew [Lieutenant Bartholemew Fernandez] to his house, and come here again at seven o'clock, and bring your

papers; on which we returned to the house of my friend Bartholemew, who seemed much hurt at the interview.

. . . At the hour appointed we returned, when the governor demanded my papers; I told him, I understood my trunk was taken possession by his guard: he expressed surprise, and immediately ordered it in, and also sent for one Solomon Colly [Cooley], formerly a serjeant in our army, and one of the unfortunate company of [Philip] Nolan.⁸ We were seated, when he ordered Colly to demand my name, to which I replied; he then demanded in what province I was born; I answered in English, and then addressed his excellency in French, and told him that I did not think it necessary to enter into such a catechizing; that if he would be at the pain of reading my commission from the United States, and my orders from my general, it would be all that I presumed would be necessary to convince his excellency that I came with no hostile intentions towards the Spanish government, on the contrary, that I had express instructions to guard against giving them offence or alarm, and that his excellency would be convinced that myself and party were rather to be considered objects, on which the so-much-celebrated generosity of the Spanish nation might be exercised, than proper subjects to occasion the opposite sentiments.

He then requested to see my commission and orders, which I read to him in French; on which he got up and gave me his hand, for the first time, and said he was happy to be acquainted with me as a man of honor and a gentleman; that I could retire this evening, and take my trunk with me; that on the morrow he would make further arrangements.

4th March, Wednesday.—Was desired by the governor to bring up my trunk, in order that he might make some observations on my route, &c. When he ordered me to take my trunk over night, I had conceived the examination of papers was over, and as many of my documents were entrusted to the care of my men, and I found that the inhabitants were treating the men with liquor; I was fearful they would become intoxicated, (and through inadvertency) betray or discover the papers; I had therefore obtained several of them and had put them in the trunk, when an officer arrived for myself and it, and I had no opportunity of taking them out again before I was taken up to the palace. I discovered instantly that I was deceived, but it was too late to remedy the evil.

After examining the contents of my trunk, he informed me, I must (with my troops) go to Chihuahua, province of Biscay, to appear before the commandant-general [Nemesio Salcedo]; he added, you have the key of your trunk in your own possession; the trunk will be put under charge of the officer who commands your escort. The following conversation then took place.

Pike. If we go to Chihuahua we must be considered as prisoners of war?

Governor. By no means.

Pike. You have already disarmed my men without my knowledge, are their arms to be returned or not?

Governor. They can receive them any moment.

Pike. But sir, I cannot consent to be led three or four hundred leagues out of my route, without its being by force of arms.

Governor. I know you do not go voluntarily, but I will give you a certificate from under my hand of my having obliged you to march.

Pike. I will address you a letter on the subject.

Governor. You will dine with me to day, and march afterwards to a village about six miles distant, escorted by captain Anthony D'Almansa, with a detachment of dragoons, who will accompany you to where the remainder of your escort is now waiting for you, under the command of the officer who commanded the expedition to the Pawnees.

Pike. I would not wish to be impertinent in my observations to your excellency, but pray sir! Do you not think it was a greater infringement of our territory to send 600 miles in [men to] the Pawnees, than for me with our small party to come on the frontiers of yours with an intent to descend Red river?

Governor. I do not understand you.

Pike. No Sir! Any further explanation is unnecessary.

I then returned to the house of my friend Bartholemew and wrote my letter to his excellency, which I had not finished before we were hurried to dinner.

In the morning I had received from the governor by the hands of his private secretary twenty one dollars, notifying to me that it was the amount of the king's allowance for my party to Chihuahua and that it would be charged to me on account of my subsistence; from this I clearly understood that it was calculated that the expences of the party to Chihuahua would be defrayed by the United States. I also received by the same hands from his excellency a shirt and neck cloth, with his compliments, wishing me to accept them "as they were made in Spain by his sister and never had been worn by any person;" for which I returned him my sincere acknowledgments, and it may not be deemed irrelevant if I explain at this period the miserable appearance we made and situation we were in; with the cause of it. When we left our interpreter and one man on the Arkansaw, we were obliged to carry all our baggage on our backs, consequently that which was the most useful was preferred to the few ornamental parts of dress we possessed. The ammunition claimed our first care, tools secondary, leather, leggins, boots and mockinsons were the next in consideration; consequently, I left all my uniform, clothing, trunks, &c. as did the men, except what they had on their backs; conceiving that which would secure the feet and legs from the cold, as preferable to any less indispensable portion of our dress. Thus, when we presented ourselves at Santa Fe; I was dressed in a

pair of blue trowsers, mockinsons, blanket coat and a cap made of scarlet cloth, lined with fox skins and my poor fellows in leggings, breech cloths and leather coats and not a hat in the whole party. This appearance was extremely mortifying to us all, especially as soldiers, and although some of the officers used frequently to observe to me, that "worth made the man," &c. with a variety of adages to the same amount. Yet the first impression made on the ignorant is hard to eradicate; and a greater proof cannot be given of the ignorance of the common people, than their asking if we lived in houses or camps like the indians, or if we wore hats in our country; those observations are sufficient to shew the impression our uncouth appearance made amongst them.

The dinner at the governor's was rather splendid, having a variety of dishes and wines of the southern provinces, and when his excellency was a little warmed with the influence of cheering liquor, he became very sociable. He informed me that there existed a serious difficulty between the commandant general of the internal provinces and the marquis Caso Calvo, who had given permission to Mr. [William] Dunbar, to explore the Ouchata contrary to the general principles of their government; and in consequence of which, the former had made representations against the latter to the court

at Madrid. After dinner his excellency ordered his coach; captain [Anthony] D'Almansa, Bartholemew and myself entered with him, and he drove out 3 miles. He was drawn by six mules and attended by a guard of cavalry. When we parted his adieu was "remember Allencaster, in peace or war."

Left a note for my sergeant, with instructions to keep up good discipline and not be alarmed or discouraged. As I was about leaving the public square, poor Colly (the American prisoner,) came up with tears in his eyes and hoped I would not forget him, when I arrived in the United States.

After we left the governor we rode on about three miles to a defile where we halted for the troops and I soon found that the old soldier who accompanied us and commanded our escort was fond of a drop of the cheering liquor, as his boy carried a bottle in his cochmelies (a small leather case attached to the saddle for the purpose of carrying small articles.) We were accompanied by my friend Bartholemew. We ascended a hill and galloped on until about ten o'clock; snowing hard all the time, when we came to a precipice [La Bajada] which we descended, meeting with great difficulty (from the obscurity of the night) to the small village where we put up in the quarters of the priest, he being absent.



On March 4th Pike left Santa Fe and "ascended a hill and galloped on until about ten o'clock." The hill is shown here at the village of Cieneguilla a few miles south of Santa Fe.



On March 4th, Pike says he “came to a precipice which we descended...” This is the drop at Las Bocas where Pike descended. Route 66 later took the same route.

After supper, captain D’Almansa related to me that he had served his catholic majesty, 40 years to arrive at the rank he then held, which was a first lieutenant in the line, and a captain by brevet, whilst he had seen various young Europeans promoted over his head; after the old man had taken his quantum sufficit and gone to sleep, my friend [Bartholemew] and myself sat up for some hours, he explaining to me their situation, the great desire they felt for a change of affairs, and an open trade with the United States. I pointed out to him with chalk on the floor the geographical connection and route, from North Mexico to Louisiana, and finally gave him a certificate addressed to the citizens of the United States, stating his friendly disposition and his being a man of influence. This paper he seemed to estimate as a very valuable acquisition, as he was decidedly of opinion we would invade that country the ensuing spring and not all my assurances to the contrary, could eradicate that idea.

5th March, Friday.—It snowing very bad in the morning we did not march until 11 o’clock. In the mean time Bartholemew and myself paid a visit to an old invalid Spaniard, who received us in the most hospitable manner, giving us chocolate &c. . . .

I bid adieu to my friend Bartholemew and could not avoid shedding tears: he embraced me, and all my men.

We arrived at the village of St. Domingo [Santa Domingo Pueblo] at two o’clock. It is as I supposed, nine miles on the east side of the Rio Del Norte, and is a large village, the population being about 1000 natives, generally governed by its own chief. The chiefs of the villages were distinguished by a cane with a silver head and black tassel and on our arrival at the public house; captain D Almansa was waited on by the governor, cap in hand, to receive his orders as to the furnishing of our quarters and ourselves with wood, water, provisions &c. for the house itself contained nothing but bare walls and small grated windows, and brought to my recollection the representation of the Spanish inhabitants, as given by Dr. [John] Moore in his travels through Spain, Italy, &c. This village as well as that of St. Philip’s [San Felipe] and St. Bartholemew [San Bartolomé], are of the nation of Keres, many of whom do not yet speak good Spanish.

After we had refreshed ourselves a little, the captain sent for the keys of the church: when we entered it, and I was much astonished to find enclosed in mud-brick walls, many rich paintings, and the Saint (Domingo) as large as life, elegantly ornamented with gold and silver: the captain

made a slight inclination of the head, and intimated to me, that this was the patron of the village. We then ascended into the gallery, where the choir are generally placed. In an outside hall was placed another image of the saint, less richly ornamented, where the populace repaired daily, and knelt to return thanks for benefactions received, or to ask new favors. Many young girls, indeed, chose the time of our visit to be on their knees before the holy patron. From the flat roof of the church we had a delightful view of the village; the Rio del Norte on our west; the mountains of St. Dies [Sandia] to the south, and the valley round the town, on which were numerous herds of goats, sheep, and asses; and upon the whole, this was one of the handsomest views in New Mexico.

6th March, Friday.—Marched down the Rio del Norte on the east side. Snow one foot deep. Passed large flocks of goats. At the village of St. Philip's, crossed a bridge of eight arches, constructed as follows, viz. the pillars made of neat wood work, something similar to a crate, and in the form of a keel boat, the sharp end, or bow, to the current; this crate or butment was filled with stone, in which the river lodged sand, clay, &c. until it had become of a tolerable firm consistency. On the top of the pillars were laid pine logs, length ways, squared on two sides, and being joined pretty close, made a tolerable bridge for

horses, but would not have been very safe for carriages, as there were no hand rails.

On our arrival at the house of the father, we were received in a very polite and friendly manner, and before my departure, we seemed to have been friends for years past.

During our dinner, at which we had a variety of wines, and were entertained with music, composed of bass drums, French horns, violins and cymbals; we likewise entered into a long and candid conversation as to the creoles, wherein he neither spared the government nor its administrators. As to government and religion, Father Rubi displayed a liberality of opinion and a fund of knowledge, which astonished me. He shewed me a statistical table, on which he had in a regular manner, taken the whole of the province of New Mexico, by villages, beginning at Tous [Taos], on the north-west, and ending with Valencia on the south, and giving their latitude, longitude, and population, whether natives or Spaniards, civilized or barbarous, Christians or Pagans, numbers, name of the nation, when converted, how governed, military force, clergy, salary, &c. &c.; in short, a complete geographical, statistical and historical sketch of the province. Of this I wished to obtain a copy, but perceived that the captain was somewhat surprised at its having been shewn to me.



On March 6th at San Felipe Pueblo, Pike crossed the Rio Grande "at the village of St. Philip's [San Felipe], crossed a bridge of eight arches,..." This is the San Felipe Pueblo on the west side of the Rio Grande. Pike's crossing was a bit upstream for this photo

When we parted, we promised to write to each other, which I performed from Chihuahua.

Here was an old Indian who was extremely inquisitive to know if we were Spaniards, to which an old gentleman, called Don Francisco, who appeared to be an inmate of father Rubi, replied in the affirmative; but says the Indian, "they do not speak Castillian," true replied the other, but you are an Indian of the nation of Keres, are you not? Yes. Well the Utahs are Indians also? Yes. But still you do not understand them, they speaking a different language. True replied the Indian; well, said the old gentleman, those strangers are likewise Spaniards, but do not speak the same language with us. This reasoning seemed to satisfy the poor savage, and I could not but smile at the ingenuity displayed to make him believe there was no other nation of whites but the Spaniards.

Whilst at dinner, father Rubi was informed one of his parishioners was at the point of death, and wished his attendance to receive his confession.

We took our departure, but were shortly after overtaken by our friend, who after giving me another hearty shake of the hand, left us. Crossed the river and passed two small hamlets and houses on the road to the village of St. Dies [Sandia], opposite the mountain of the same name, where we were received in a house of father Rubi, this making part of his domains.

— Continued next issue —

Sources

1. Pike, First U. S. Infantry, was promoted from lieutenant to captain during his expedition, effective August 12, 1806, which he did not learn until his return to the United States the following year.
2. The excerpts from Pike's journal and report reprinted here are from the first edition, *An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, and through the Western Parts of Louisiana, to the Sources of the Arkansaw, Kans, La Platte, and Pierre Jaun, Rivers, Performed by Order of the Government of the United States during the Years 1805, 1806, and 1807* (Philadelphia: C. & A. Conrad & Co., 1810). This first edition has been reproduced under the title *Sources of the Mississippi and the Western Louisiana Territory* (Readex Microprint, 1966). Serious students are encouraged to see editions by Elliott Coues, ed., *Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, 3 vols. (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1895), reissued in two volumes (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, 1965; reprinted, New York: Dover, 1987) and Donald Jackson, ed., *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, 2 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), both sets of which contain much supplementary information, records, and notes in addition to Pike's journals, maps, correspondence, and reports. See also Stephen Harding Hart and Archer Butler Hulbert, eds., *The Southwestern Journals of Zebulon Pike, 1806-1807*, new introduction by Mark L. Gardner (originally in two volumes, 1932

& 1933; reprint in one volume, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006).

3. Wilkinson to Pike, June 24, 1806, printed in Pike, *An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, and through the Western Parts of Louisiana*, 108.
4. Leo E. Oliva, "Enemies and Friends: Zebulon Montgomery Pike and Facundo Melgares in the Competition for the Great Plains, 1806-1807," *Kansas History*, 29 (Spring 2006): 34-47.
5. Stephen G. Hyslop, "One Nation Among Many: The Origins and Objectives of Pike's Southwest Expedition," *Kansas History*, 29 (Spring 2006): 13.
6. Mark L. Gardner, "Introduction," Hart & Hulbert, eds., *Southwestern Journals of Zebulon Pike*, 4-5.
7. Later, while in prison in New Spain, Meek and Miller had a fight in which Miller was killed, the only casualty of the expedition. Meek was held prisoner until 1820, and five other of Pike's soldiers were imprisoned at Chihuahua until 1809.
8. Philip Nolan, 1771-1801, led a party of more than 20 men from the United States into Texas in 1800 and built a stockade in violation of Spanish policy. They were catching wild horses and reportedly trading with Indians. Spanish troops killed Nolan in 1801 and captured those with him. These men were detained in New Spain, where Pike met some of them. Pike is in Albuquerque on March 7th. He mentions chatting with a priest but does not mention the San Felipe de Neri church, which had to be nearby. This version was begun in 1793, so Pike saw it when it was new.

MYTHS, THE MAN, MESTIZAJE, AND MEXICAN INDIANS

by Marc Thompson

Director, El Paso Museum of Archaeology

In addition to his numerous titles (Governor, Captain General, adelantado), Juan de Oñate y Salazar was a caudillo (a strong military and political leader) in 16th century Nuevo México. Don Juan differed from previous Spanish invaders because his expedition was one primarily of settlement as well as conquest and exploration. Here I examine Oñate's ethnicity, that of his family, accompanying settlers and Indians allies. Additionally, other data are reviewed to illustrate how Mexican Indian, Southwestern Indian, and Hispanic contact cultures produced hybrid peoples, places, policies and practices as part of the ongoing process of mestizaje.

Myths

Among the misconceptions or historical errors I have encountered in print, public presentations, and conversations with museum visitors are these. Oñate: (1) came from Spain, (2) named the Río Grande, and (3) established the first capital of New Mexico at Santa Fe. A recent article in the opinion pages of the El Paso Times included the following: "Oñate had boated all the way from Spain to Mexico, then walked all the way up to the Pass of the North...from Mexico City." Additionally, recent controversy in El Paso concerning the construction, naming, placement and significance of a three-story-high statue of Oñate on a rearing horse has divided the community into two camps, supporters and detractors, but it has not provided a forum for historical study, explication or consensus. This reductionism, or good vs. evil dichotomy concerning Oñate, has resulted in one-dimensional characterizations devoid of nuance, context or humanity. Likewise, some defenders of Don Juan's actions have suggested that the male captives from Acoma suffered only the loss of their toes, or that the punishments decreed by Oñate were never carried out.

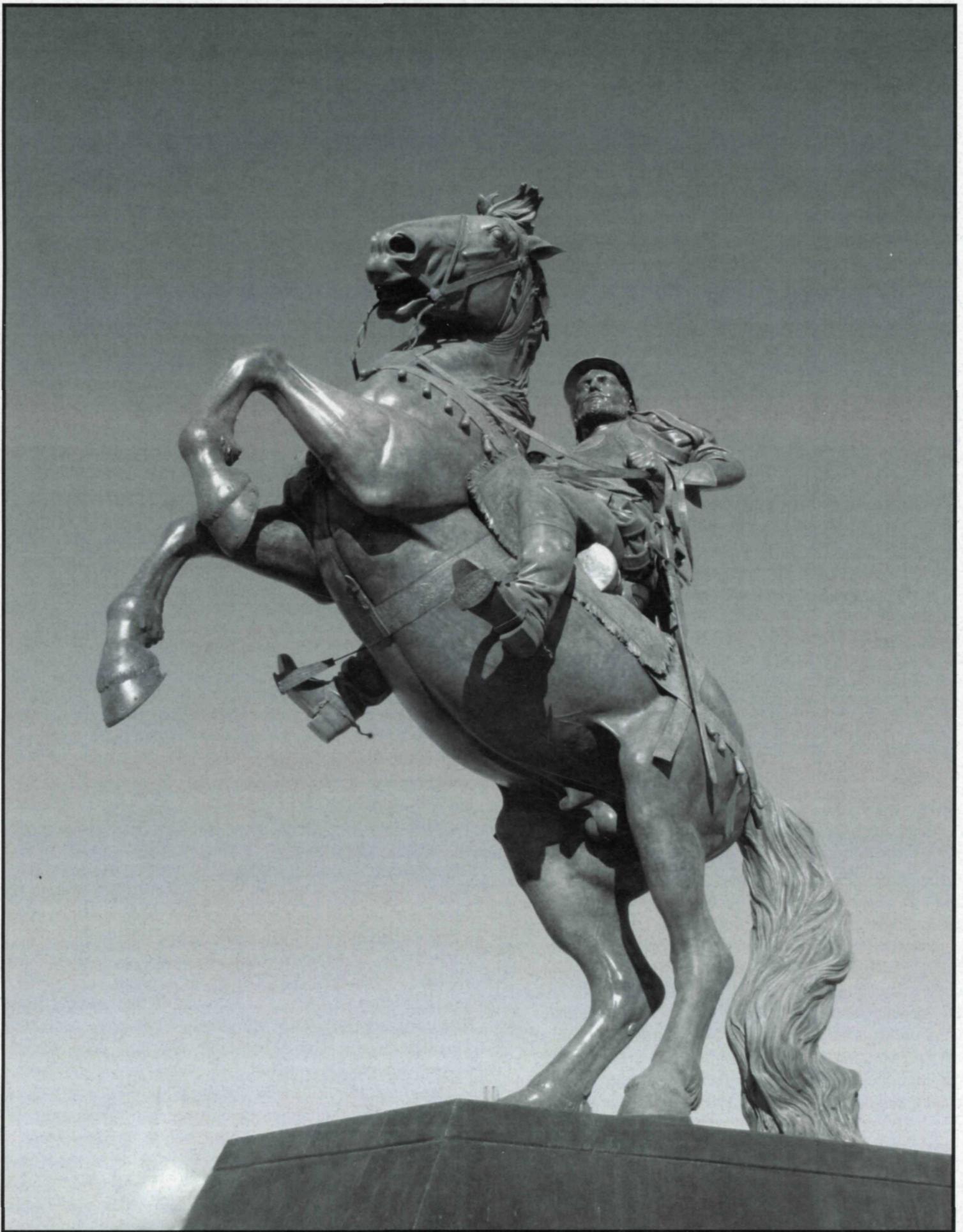
Although Spanish explorers are usually credited with discovering and naming the Río Grande, the river was well known to Indians in Colorado, New Mexico, Texas and México before the arrival of Europeans. Río Grande is Spanish for "great" or "big river." It was recognized as such by Pueblo and other Indians for centuries before European contact. In the Keresan, Tewa, Tiwa and Towa languages it was known as "big river," and referred to the largest body of running water in the area. Beginning in the 16th century, the Spanish called it El Río Grande del Norte, "the great river of the north" for the upper stream, and Río Bravo, "fierce" or "rapid river" for the southern portion. European explorers observed the mouth of the Río Grande as early as 1520 and Francisco Vásquez de Coronado saw the great river in 1542. Castaño de Sosa crossed the river downstream near Del Río, Texas, and named this portion El Río Bravo. By 1598, the name El Río Grande del Norte was in common usage.

The term El Paso "the pass," is a shortened version of El Paso del Río del Norte. In May of 1598, Oñate and his party

crossed the Río Grande from the west to the east bank. Oñate referred to this as El Paso del Río del Norte meaning "the pass of the river of the north," or "the pass across the river of the north." This "pass of the north" was a river crossing or ford at a bend in the Río Grande (now the site of Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, México, and El Paso, Texas). Oñate's use of the term did not, as is often believed, refer to the pass through the mountains, which runs east west.

The Man

Oñate was a *cuate*. He and his twin brother Fernando were scions of a wealthy Zacatecas silver mining family. Their father Cristóbal was a conquistador, a contemporary of Hernando Cortés, and he founded the town of Tequila in Jalisco in 1530. The surname Oñate is of Basque origin: it translates as "at the foot of the mountain pass." *Ona* is Euskera for foot. It is somewhat ironic that Juan's surname is associated with the words "pass" and "foot." The Oñates took their family name from a village in the Basque province of Viscaya southwest of the Pyrenees Mountains in Spain. Nueva Viscaya (approximating the modern Mexican states of Chihuahua and Durango) was named for the Basque province. The Tolosa, Ibarra and Zalvídar families were also Basques. Both Cristóbal and Juan de Oñate had nephews named Zalvídar. In addition to their Basque heritage, the Oñates, like all people from the Iberian Peninsula in the 16th century, were recipients of Moorish cultural heritage as well. This inheritance was reflected in Spain, New Spain, and New Mexico through architectural forms (dome-shaped hornos), toponyms (guada as in Guadalajara, from wadí, a watercourse), and other words such as adobe and acéquia. Juan de Oñate was a criollo (of European descent, but born in the New World). His father, born in Spain, was considered a peninsular. These distinctions became even more important when Latin American countries began to agitate for independence from Spain. Juan's wife, Isabel de Tolosa y Cortés de Moctezuma was a wealthy granddaughter of Hernando Cortés and the great granddaughter of the last emperor of México, Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin II. As a descendant of an Indian monarch and a



As a result of controversy, the three-story high sculpture of Oñate was re-named. Located near the El Paso International Airport, it is now called "The Equestrian."

European Marquis, she inherited high status from both. By birth she was a mestiza, i.e., the product of the union of a European and Indian. Irrespective of her social status, her children with Juan de Oñate were also mestizos.

Mestizaje

The term mestizo was one of at least 16, such as *Español*, *criollo*, *mulatto* and *Indio*, which formed part of the top down *castas* in the New World colonies of Spain. A mestizo was the offspring of a European (usually a male) and an American Indian (usually a female). Mestizos formed a proletariat, or working class poor first in New Spain, then in Nuevo México, and later in a neocolonial system fostered in the U. S. Many remained subordinated people, subalterns, and second or third class citizens. Low levels of schooling maintained this subordinate status. Although mestizos are the dominant and ascendant population in México, Peru, and parts of the Río Grande Valley, such as El Paso, elements of neocolonialism based on ethnic stratification, skin color, and access to political and economic power remain. Mestizaje represents acculturation, synthesis, and syncretism in the U.S. and Latin America. The term ladino is sometimes used interchangeably, but in Guatemala it signifies only cultural rather than genetic change, i.e., a Maya Indian can become a ladino (by leaving the village, speaking Spanish, and wearing western clothing), but he or she cannot become a mestizo.

When Oñate's party left Santa Barbara, it included criollos, mestizos, *conversos* (crypto-Jews), central Mexican Indians and Africans. Four hundred male colonists and 40 to 50 families were listed. The number of horseshoes (4,890), and horseshoe nails (79,000) were counted, but women, children, Mexican Indians and blacks were not enumerated, i.e., they didn't count. It is estimated that at least 500 to 1000 Mexican Indians, mostly Nahuatl speakers, accompanied the colonists.

Mexican Indians

Multiethnic parties and the recruitment of American Indian allies became common and were important contingents earlier in the 16th century Americas, beginning with the invasion and conquest of México. After having been repulsed along the coast of the Yucatan Peninsula, Cortés arrived at a place he named Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz on Good Friday 1519. He brought with him 530 Europeans from Cuba (eight of whom were women), several hundred West Indian natives, Africans, 16 horses, a few wolfhounds and mastiffs, 14 cannons, 13 harquebuses and 32 crossbows. At the island of Cozumel on the east coast of the peninsula he had rescued Jerónimo de Aguilar, a shipwrecked Spaniard, who had been a slave among the local Maya since 1511. Aguilar was a lay brother who had become fluent in Mayan and served as a trustworthy translator throughout the conquest and exploration of México. At Potonchan in Tabasco following his first major battle, Cortés received 20 Indian women as gifts from the defeated Maya. One of these women was from Coatzacoalcos and spoke both Mayan and Nahuatl. She was Malintzin, who was

baptized as Doña Marina and became known as La Malinche. She served both as translator and mistress to Cortés and bore him a son, Don Martín, one of the first recognized mestizos in New Spain.

In 1520, Cortés returned hastily to Veracruz from Tenochtitlan where he had been quartered. On the coast he defeated, and then recruited a force of 800 Spaniards with 80 horses and 1000 Cuban Indians sent to arrest and return him to Cuba. After Cortés later fled from Tenochtitlan on La Noche Triste, fewer than 400 Europeans and 20 horses survived. Luckily for Cortés 10 ships loaded with men and supplies arrived in the year 1521. By April he had 86 horsemen, 118 crossbowmen and harquebusiers, 700 foot soldiers with swords and bucklers, three large iron cannons, and 15 small brass field guns. Still another ship arrived with additional gunpowder and crossbows.

Guns, Germs and Steel?

In May of 1521 Cortés marshaled his forces for a return to and siege of Tenochtitlan. In addition to the 904 European men and 86 horses he had 13 brigantines constructed for the coming battle for control of the lake surrounding the island capital of perhaps 200,000 residents. Through luck, negotiation, intimidation, and the desire of central Mexican Indians to end the Mexica (Aztec) hegemony, the Indian allies numbered at least 100,000, and perhaps as many as 200,000. With fewer than 1000 Europeans, the Spanish army comprised less than one percent of the tactical force. Local Indians, including those from Tlaxcala, Texcoco, Hueotzingo, Cholula and Chalco who served as soldiers, laborers, porters, and cooks, represented 99 percent of the conquering army. Firearms, other steel weapons, and disease were important, as were horses and military strategy, but the overwhelming number of Indians carried the day. Spanish guns, both large and small, were slow to fire; steel arms and armor were in short supply; diseases, especially smallpox, infected Indians on both sides of the conflict; and the horses were vulnerable to attack on three sides (from foot soldiers and warriors in canoes, respectively) on the causeways leading into Tenochtitlan. Ultimately, the victory over the Mexica was an Indian, rather than a Spanish, one. Ironically, many Indians, especially those from Tlaxcala, aided the Spanish in their conquests elsewhere in Mesoamerica and the Southwest.

For example, as authority Richard Flint told me back in 2005, we have good (if slight in volume) documentary evidence for the Coronado expedition that groups from Tenochtitlan, Tlatelolco, Coyoacan, Patzcuaro and the Guadalajara area were represented. We have none, though concerning the Tlaxcaltecas. The Oñate colonization is a different matter. Still, there's even less direct documentary evidence. But the circumstantial evidence points strongly at Tlaxcaltecas in this case. First, before the New Mexico enterprise, Oñate himself had served as alcalde mayor of San Luis Potosí, which was the site of several large Tlaxcaltecan colonies that had been established in 1590. Oñate would have had ready access to recruitment among those settlements and also had years-long relationship with them...Probably the

strongest bit of documentary evidence is Joseph Urrita's 1768 map of Santa Fe, on which is depicted the Barrio de Analco on the south side of the Santa Fe River. A caption identifies the barrio as "Pueblo o barrio de Analco que debe su origen a los Tlaxcaltecas (sic) que acompañaron a los primeros Españoles que entraron a la Conquista de este Rein."

From other authorities, we know that Tlaxcala was originally known as Texcala and the inhabitants as Texcaltecas. Tlaxcalli translates as tortilla. Nahuatl-speaking Indians (primarily Tlaxcalteca and Mexica) established the barrio of Analco in Santa Fe. The church of San Miguel was built by these Indians under the direction of Franciscan padres about 1610. By 1680 Analco was referred to as a suburb of Santa Fe for Mexican Indian servants of Hispanic settlers. Analco refers to "the other side of the river" from Nahuatl *analli*: "river bank." The church was dedicated to the same saint (San Miguel) as the first church established by Oñate at New Mexico's first capital.

Following the conquest of México, Indians from Tlaxcala continued to assist Spaniards on the frontiers of New Spain in exploration, warfare, and colonization. At least one accompanied Antonio de Espejo in Texas and New Mexico from 1582 to 1583.

Recent and ongoing research by Richard and Shirley Flint has cast new light on the ethnicity of the participants in the expedition of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, 1539 to 1542. Described as Indians amigos, the native contingent with Coronado numbered at least 1,300 warriors from central (800) and western (500) México. Contrary to popular descriptions, Mexican Indians comprised 60 to 75 percent of the expeditionary force. Mexica (Aztec), Tlaxcalan and Tarascan men at arms were present as seasoned auxiliaries who accompanied a primarily civilian group of Europeans (Spanish and others), and servants.

Enter the Adelantado

Like Europeans before him in the New World, Oñate traveled with a multiethnic contingent. In some cases he was a trailblazer departing from well-established routes such as his crossing of the Jornada del Muerto, but this was a practical consideration for the wagons. Mostly, like Coronado and others, Oñate appears to have followed indigenous guides on locally known trails. The nature, extent, condition and length of these trails is unknown historically or archaeologically. This has led to the assumption that long distance and connected trails were established and used for trade from central México to northern New Mexico. To date, this remains an attractive assumption, but it has not been verified or tested. Likewise the term Camino Real may be an overstatement in all senses of the words. Ed Staski has pointed out in recent public presentations that the Camino Real was not really a road. It was a trail established by pedestrian, horse, and wagon traffic moving north and south. It was quite unlike built features such as roads in the Maya, Inca or Chaco Canyon areas. Likewise *real* also means "real, actual, or genuine" in Spanish. Yet there was never one real or royal road; there were multiple trails.

Dénouement

In my view, Oñate was an agent of culture change. When he established the first capital of New Mexico in 1598, he named it San Gabriel, but he simply occupied one half of a Tewa pueblo at the confluence of the Río Grande and the Río Chama. In 2006, the modern Tewa occupants of what Oñate called San Juan Pueblo returned to the original name and it is officially known again as Ohkay Owingeh. Oñate has been credited with the introduction of European animals, foods, Catholicism and the wheel. These were important at the time and remain so today. Above these introductions I would rank the introduction of mestizaje and domesticated chili. The ongoing genetic and cultural synthesis and the condiment were both 16th century imports from México. They, unlike other European imports, are emblematic of both the old and the New Mexico.

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TRAIL CERTIFICATION AND SIGNAGE DISCUSSIONS UNDERWAY

by Cameron Saffell, CARTA Site Certification Committee

Trail administrators Sarah Schlanger (Bureau of Land Management) and Mike Taylor (National Park Service) have begun work to certify the first high-potential historic sites and interpretive facilities for El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail (NHT). This is a major step forward that CARTA and trail officials anticipated as a means of increasing the visibility and recognition of this trail route—one that many residents and visitors to the region do not realize even exists.

Several high-potential historic sites and route segments are already officially part of the NHT. When Congress designated Camino Real as a national historic trail in October 2000, sites and segments already under federal management became automatically protected components of the NHT. New conversations now underway mark the first efforts to begin certifying non-federal sites and facilities identified in the trail's Comprehensive Management Plan (CMP).

Schlanger and Taylor met with representatives from about 20 facilities – mostly interpretive centers – to discuss the NHT certification process at workshops in Santa Fe and Las Cruces in early November. For many of these organizations, this is the first time they have had occasion to work directly with the NPS or BLM, so there were lots of questions about what is involved.

Certification is the establishment of a partnership between

the NHT and the certified site owner or manager. This legal agreement – which can be cancelled at anytime – permits certified sites to use the Camino Real trail logo and be recognized as an official component of the NHT. A major benefit to these partners is that with their sites certified, they can request guidance or assistance from NHT officials and experts in interpretation of the trail. All trail partners are also eligible to apply for Challenge Cost Share matching funds to help protect a trail property, make it accessible, research its history, or tell its story to visitors.

Certification partnerships are extremely flexible, allowing for sites to participate as much –or as little – as they want. Owners of a trail segment or historic property, for example, can allow limited public access at certain times. Certified interpretive facilities, which are usually open regularly, are places where visitors can gain an increased sense of context and understanding of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro.

Also attending the certification workshops was NPS landscape architect Steve Burns Chavez. He coordinates the design of signage for auto tour routes on national historic trails. He is also available to trail partners to help design and order signs for certified trail sites. He brought several examples of ideas and possibilities to share with the workshop participants.



El Camino Real
de Tierra Adentro
National Historic Trail

Tomé Hill
RIGHT .5 MILES



Examples of possible sign designs.
(Photos courtesy of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro)

Concurrent with the certification process, Taylor and Schlanger are working with government officials in Texas and New Mexico to develop plans for installing auto tour route signs, as well as additional signage to direct visitors from the auto tour route or major roadways to certified sites. They spoke with workshop participants about these efforts.

It appears that the first auto tour route signs will appear in El Paso County, Texas, where NHT officials are working with CARTA members associated with the county's historical commission, which has a strong working relationship with local governments and the Texas Department of Transportation. It is hoped that an interagency agreement and signage plan will be developed in early 2007 and that the first NHT signs will be erected by mid-year.

NHT officials expect to begin discussions next with the New Mexico Department of Transportation, followed by meetings with community officials along the trail in 2007 and beyond. Fully marking the auto tour route is dependent on local and federal funding, but NHT officials hope to have the entire route signed over the next couple of years.

After answering questions from those attending the workshop, Schlanger and Taylor asked the participants to take home copies of the one-page certification agreement and invited the organizations to "sign on the bottom line" and return it in the next few weeks.

Once these first group of facilities and organizations become certified, the next step is the production of the first official trail map and guide for the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT. Based on the familiar 4-inch by 8-inch folded brochure style with the black strip down one edge utilized at all

NPS facilities, the front side will have a map of the entire trail. The auto tour route described in the CMP will be supplemented by dots marking traditional Spanish communities, trail parajes, and places of interest. The latter will include all certified sites and trail segments. The back side will include a brief history of the trail and descriptions of certified sites and interpretive facilities that visitors can stop at to learn more about the trail—material that a CARTA committee will help draft.

Trail officials expect to make the first printing of the trail map and guide in mid-2007, including a second version translated in Spanish. Once available, CARTA and the certified sites will help distribute these brochures throughout the region—a next step in increasing the visibility and awareness of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail.

If you own or manage a historic trail segment or interpretive facility on the Camino Real, CARTA encourages you to become certified, too! For more information, contact CARTA, Mike Taylor (michael_taylor@nps.gov), or Sarah Schlanger (Sarah_Schlanger@blm.gov).



**EL CAMINO REAL INTERNATIONAL
HERITAGE CENTER
COMING EVENTS, 2007**

**Boy Scout Troop to Mark Trail, Late
April 2007**

The Heritage Center is making arrangements with Boy Scout Troop 85, based in Albuquerque, to finish marking a recreational trail that laid out by the BLM on September 30, 2006, during Public Lands Day. The Scouts are working on requirements for their Historical Trails patch and need to complete a two-day project, including a two-night stay onsite. The Heritage Center will be collaborating with Mike Bilbo from BLM. Bilbo is the Outdoor Recreation Planner/ NM Leave No Trace & Treadlightly Coordinator out of the Socorro Field Office. A preliminary meeting was held on December 21st with the Troop committee member Ted Cooley and Troop 85 representatives to plan for the project, which is scheduled to begin in late April 2007.

This will be the fourth Historical Trails project undertaken by Troop 85. Previous projects have included work at the village of Hillsboro, the ghost town of Chloride, and at the Heritage Center. Members of this troop have had a high percentage of military service, with significant number accepting commissions as officers in various branches of the armed services, one of which is on the list to be promoted to the rank of Colonel within the year. One of the enlisted personnel currently stationed at Kirtland is an Eagle Scout from this troop.

**Historic Forts Day at El Camino Real International
Heritage Center, Saturday,
February 24th, 11:00 am to 4:00 pm**

Discover forts along the ancient Camino Real through a buffalo soldier presentation; living history re-enactments of soldier camp activities including bullet-making, black powder demonstration, treadle sewing, open-fire cooking; video presentation. Free refreshments and children souvenirs. For info: 505-854-3600, www.elcaminoreal.org

**Día del Niño, Saturday, April 28th,
11:00 am to 4:00 pm**

A celebration of Mexican children's day will feature story telling, piñata breaking, a Mexican arts and crafts workshop, balloons and popcorn. Event will also include demonstrations of Spanish Colonial life along El Camino in commemoration of the Oñate Thanksgiving of 1598.

**Spring Fiesta, Saturday, June 9th,
11:00 am to 4:00 pm**

Learn more about the New Mexican environment and its wonderful resources through information booths and hands-on activities ranging from minerals, animals, and seedling planting. Event will feature special lecture presentations by Eliseo "Cheo" Torres on *curanderismo* and by the Valencia Xeriscape Club. Enjoy live entertainment and refreshments.

**Hispanic Heritage Celebration,
Saturday, September 15th,
11:00 am to 4:00 pm**

A celebration of Hispanic culture through special performances, video presentation, refreshments and more.

**Días de Muertos, Saturday, November 3rd,
11:00 am to 4:00 pm**

Papel picado workshop, storytelling, video presentation, refreshments, and viewing of *Días de Muertos* altar installation.

**Celebración de Ontoño:
El Camino Real International
Heritage Center Welcomes
Bosque del Apache,
Centers 2nd Anniversary Celebration, Saturday,
November 17th,
11:00 am to 4:00 pm**

Living history demonstrations of life along El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, staff-led tours, special performances, refreshments.

**Holiday Celebration of El Camino Real, Saturday,
December 15th, 11:00 am to 4:00 pm**

The Heritage Center is located 30 miles south of Socorro, I-25, Exit 115, east to Highway 1 frontage road, south 1.4 miles, turn east onto County Road 1598, then drive 2.7 miles to the Center.

Celebrate the winter holiday with special performances, a visit from Santa Claus, arts & craft project, piñata breaking, and delicious holiday treats.

For additional information, contact:

Claudia J. Gallardo
El Camino Real International Heritage Center
New Mexico State Monuments
PO Box 175
Socorro, New Mexico 87801
Phone 1-505-854-3600

elcaminoreal.org
nmstatemonuments.com
nmoca.com

The Heritage Center is located 30 miles south of Socorro, I-25, Exit 115, east to Highway 1 frontage road, south 1.4 miles, turn east onto County Road 1598, then drive 2.7 miles to the Center.

***Mary Daniels Taylor, wife of
Representative J. Paul Taylor (Ret.)
of Mesilla, age of 85.
July 8, 1922
January 10, 2007***

Beloved photographer, historian and author Mary Daniels Taylor passed away this morning at the Taylor family home in Mesilla, New Mexico. She was the wife of State Representative J. Paul Taylor who retired from the New Mexico Legislature in 2004. Together they raised seven children in their historic home on the Plaza in Mesilla which they have generously donated as a New Mexico State Monument. Over a 40-year period, Mary engaged in primary research in Mexican archives discovering unknown information on the Mesilla Valley and New Mexico that led to rewriting the history of the Mesilla area. Her book *A Place As Wild As the West Ever Was: A History of Mesilla, New Mexico 1848-1872* was published in 2004 by the New Mexico State University Museum Press. She was awarded Author of the Year Award in 2005 for her book by The Friends of Thomas Branigan Library. She was also given an award from the New Mexico State University Library (2004) "With gratitude for your inspiration in making possible the Durango Microfilm Project". Together with her husband, she received numerous awards including the Governor's Award of Honor for Historical Preservation and the Pasó Por Aquí Award. Mrs. Taylor is survived by her husband and six of her seven children: Robert Milton, Mary Dolores, Michael Romero, Mary Helen Catherine, Albert Patrick and Rosemary Marguerite.

New Mexico Department of Cultural Affairs



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