

Chronicles of the Trail



*Quarterly Journal of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro
Trail Association*

Vol. 6, No. 2

Spring 2010



"Francisca Chiwiwi - Isleta"



LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

Dear Members,

As the new interim President, I would first like to take the opportunity to thank Will Ticknor for his support and leadership as President of CARTA. Following Will's resignation in February, the Board appointed me to take over as interim President and Ben Brown to fill my role as International Liaison between now and October, when the new slate of officers and Board members is installed. Elections are coming up this summer. I urge you to submit your suggestions for President, Treasurer, Secretary or Board member to Claire Odenheim (claire@zianet.com) and Joy Poole (amusejoy@msn.com), nominating co-chairs. Please include name, contact information and a short paragraph about each potential candidate.

A highlight of this year was the strategic planning retreat held in Mountainair on March 12-14, at the Shaffer Hotel, where we waited for Pop Shaffer's ghost to join us at any moment in this 1923 Pueblo-Deco style National Historic Register building. We took over the old hotel. By Sunday it felt like home, the emerging camaraderie among us was palpable, and we had accomplished what we set out to do. I would like to thank and compliment Executive Director Jean Fulton for her tremendous amount of preliminary work that made this planning retreat a resounding success.

Of note was the opening night after-dinner presentation by guest speaker Steve Elkinton, Program Leader for the National Trails System (NPS) in Washington, DC, since 1989, and author of *The National Trails System: A Grand Experiment*. Steve spoke with authority about the strategic planning process, sharing with us his knowledge of how other national historic trail groups have dealt with the challenges that we face today, stressing the value of diversity in our leadership, membership and programming. Steve returned on Sunday morning to join some of us for a field trip to the spectacular Quarai Mission and Ruins.

With the expert professional guidance of Stacey Cox and Lisa LaRocque, outside facilitators, we looked at CARTA from its present state as a young trail association now to where we want it to be in five years. Issues that we examined included membership growth; organizational structure; education and outreach; programming; preservation, signage and interpretation of the trail; and financial sustainability. Cultural diversity was a common thread.

We'll be reviewing the plan with our Federal partners, the BLM and the NPS, and posting a draft on our website for membership review and comments. We want to hear from you our members, with your thoughts and suggestions. Ultimately, we want to produce a document that belongs to all of us.

Please mark your calendar in anticipation of our annual meeting in Santa Fe on Saturday afternoon, October 16, 1-4 PM, at a location yet to be determined. As I'm sure you're aware, Santa Fe is observing the 400th anniversary of its founding. CARTA is commemorating this celebration by participating in *The Threads of Memory: Spain and the United States*, an exhibition at the New Mexico History Museum of rare documents from Spain.

I'm looking forward to seeing all of you at our annual meeting!

Respectfully,

Tisa Gabriel

Chronicles of the Trail

Volume 6, Number 2

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CARTA

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FRONT COVER: "*Francisca Chiviwi – Isleta.*" Photograph by Edward S. Curtis, c. 1925, gelatin silver print, 8 in x 6 in. Courtesy Braun Research Library, Institute for the Study of the American West, Autry National Center, P.37651, www.theautry.org.

BACK COVER: *Vistas del Camino: Tortugas, New Mexico* Photograph by Miguel Gandert. Detail from photographic mural, "Alma del Pueblo," U.S. Courthouse, Las Cruces, NM. Official dedication will take place on Friday, 9 July 2010, 4 PM.

Membership in CARTA is open to all. Please see insert for membership categories and reduced institutional fee. A membership form is also found on our website.

Chronicles of the Trail is a quarterly publication of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro Trail Association. We welcome your articles, and your photographs for *Vistas del Camino* on the back cover. Please submit all material in electronic format (photos 300 dpi).

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CARTA's mission is to facilitate goodwill, cooperation, and understanding among communities, and to promote the education, conservation, and protection of the multicultural and multiethnic history and traditions associated with the living trail, El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro.

SAVE THE DATES!

Saturday, 16 October, CARTA'S ANNUAL MEETING, 1–4 PM (location in Santa Fe TBA)
Sunday, 17 October, *The Threads of Memory*, New Mexico History Museum, Santa Fe, 1–4 PM

CARTA'S NEW IMPROVED WEBSITE
www.caminorealcarta.org

FROM THE EDITORS



We are very grateful to those who have contributed their time and talent to CARTA and *Chronicles* over this snowy winter.

Stephanie Long volunteered to upgrade CARTA'S website. A resident of Las Cruces, she is Senior Curator of Collections for the City of Las Cruces Museums. Stephanie has worked as a software developer and occasionally returns to the tech-world for projects such as this—luckily for us! Head over to www.caminorealcarta.org and see for yourself what she has done to make the site more professional, informative and attractive. While you're there, please take a look at "Conquista, Reconquista, Desconquista..." the recently posted Spanish version of Enrique Lamadrid's essay in the Winter 2010 *Chronicles* on multiple layers of hidden messages in Indo-Hispanic rituals along the Camino. We have José A. Dominguez Jr. to thank for the excellent translation.

Once again *Chronicles* is fortunate to have Francisco Uviña's pen-and-ink drawings illustrating Hal Jackson's narrative about the adventures of James Kirker, "Apache Scalp Hunter," in the final installment of this lively tale. George Torok, CARTA's first president, has not been letting any grama grass grow under his feet, as evidenced by his comprehensive history of Isleta Pueblo, accompanied by evocative period photographs from the 1880s through 1920s. Just a few years after Mexican independence, an American doctor, Rowland Willard, headed west on the Santa Fe Trail and down through New Mexico to Chihuahua on the Camino Real. Thanks to Joy Poole's transcription of Dr. Willard's diary, you can read this previously unpublished firsthand account here in the *Chronicles*.

We would like to thank Laurie Frantz, an active CARTA member and director of New Mexico Scenic Byways, for directing funding from the Byways program to CARTA for *Chronicles* editing. Lastly, we want CARTA's officers and Board to know how much we appreciate their support and encouragement.

Catherine L. Kurland

Jean Fulton

ON THE HORIZON

The Threads of Memory: Spain and the United States (El Hilo de la Memoria: España y los Estados Unidos), from the *Archivo General de Indias* in Seville, Spain, opens its U.S. tour at the New Mexico History Museum in Santa Fe on October 17, 2010. In tandem with this groundbreaking exhibition, the Fall 2010 *Chronicles* will feature an interview with Frances Levine, Director of the History Museum and Palace of the Governors. Below is a preview of what's in store.



"New Mexico History Museum to open Archive of the Indies Exhibition"

The Archivo General de Indias is a historic archive responsible for the custody of more than eighty million pages of documents spanning over three centuries of Spain's history in the Americas. Among these are rare documents of American history that provide a far-ranging survey of Spanish settlements in North America and speak to the importance of the Hispanic roots of American culture. *The Threads of Memory* will be the first time that many of these documents have been displayed together in the United States. The bilingual exhibition contains primary documents of vital significance to the Southwest, New Mexico, El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro and the United States, bringing into focus the profound influence of Spain on our country. Before Jamestown was settled and long before Western Expansion defined us, Spanish explorers began documenting and colonizing the nation. They gave Europeans some of their first glimpses of a faraway land and planted the seeds of a culture that flourishes today. Among the archival treasures on view are the 1609 instructions to Governor Pedro de Peralta from the Viceroy of Spain establishing conditions for the founding of Santa Fe, and papers detailing aid given by Spain to the United States during the American Revolution. It will place New Mexico within the context of the Spanish settlement of the country. This exhibition will change American perspectives on our nation's founding history, shifting widespread perceptions of the country's origins from colonial New England to the southern and western Spanish borderlands.

— Frances Levine, Ph.D

The Threads of Memory will be on display at the New Mexico History Museum in Santa Fe from October 17, 2010, to January 9, 2011; the El Paso Museum of Art from January 23 to April 24, 2011; and the Historic New Orleans Collection from May 11 to July 10, 2011.

(above) A 1598 drawing of a buffalo accompanies "Account of the journey to the cows of Cibola" that Sgt. Major Vicente de Zaldívar made in the province of New Mexico. Photo courtesy of the Archivo General de Indias.

NEWS & NOTES

Up and Down El Camino Real

Insiders' Tours: Anthony (June 5) and Armendaris Ranch (Fall) Tours

Members **Jim Andress** and **Tom Harper** continue to coordinate with Ted Turner's Armendaris Ranch manager, Tom Waddell, to schedule "Insiders' Tours" of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro trail segments located on Ted Turner's private property north of Engle, New Mexico. A fall excursion is planned. In the meantime, please see the inside back cover for news of our first official "Insiders' Tour" on El Camino Real near Anthony, New Mexico, on Saturday, 5 June 2010! We are optimistic that this Insiders' Tour will be the first in a fruitful series of excursions out on the Trail, designed to entertain and educate our members. Thanks to Harper and Andress for their efforts on our behalf.

Mexico's National "Ruta 2010" Initiative



CARTA is still looking for a **volunteer** to explore Mexico's national calendar to keep our members apprised of designated *Ruta 2010* sites and upcoming events. This celebration commemorates the 200th

anniversary of Mexico's Independence from Spain and the 100th anniversary of the Revolution. Information about the routes and related historical events is available on the official Bicentennial website at www.bicentenario.gob.mx. Each route has maps in portable document format (PDF) that can be downloaded and printed. The site also provides information about historical figures involved in important events. Please let us know if you would like to track and highlight upcoming *Ruta 2010* sites and activities for our members.

Studying Cultural Landscapes: Hermosillo and Panuco, Mexico

Board member **Joy Poole** represented CARTA at the January cultural landscape colloquium in Hermosillo, Mexico. Nearly two dozen presentations were grouped into four sessions: "West and North Mexico," "AD 1450

to AD 1540: the Lost Century," "Collaborating Across Cultures," and "Archaeology and Society." CARTA's attendance is a first step in a broader undertaking that the BLM, NPS, and **Hal Jackson** envision for creating a bi-national academic and professional team to develop a cultural landscape study at Juan de Oñate's boyhood *hacienda* at Panuco, Mexico, or a similarly meaningful location. CARTA is looking for **volunteers** to serve on a task force to conduct the preliminary research and to help with the arrangements for assembling such a team. CARTA is in the process of applying for a BLM Challenge-Cost-Share grant to fund a cultural landscape study once the team is selected.

El Camino Real Cultural and Heritage Tourism Corridor Master Plan

CARTA is taking the lead in the long-term effort to create spur and loop trails from El Camino Real communities to the proposed statewide Rio Grande River trail, rather than teaming up with the nonprofit Groundwork Doña Ana (GWDA), which is still in formation. A task force comprised of GWDA steering committee members, community leaders, and CARTA members **Sandy Geiger**, **Paul Deason**, **Daniel Villa**, and **Meghan Berver** are carrying the effort forward. Developing the spur and loop trails into a larger Cultural and Heritage Tourism Corridor Master Plan was identified by the Board in the recent CARTA Strategic Planning process as the top "Trail Maintenance" priority. The task force will work over the next eight to ten months preparing a grant application for federal 2011 Scenic Byways funding. New CARTA member **Susan Morrison-Vega** has offered to take the lead on the application. We will be working closely with **Mike Taylor** (NPS), **Sarah Schlanger** (BLM), and Scenic Byways director and CARTA member **Laurie Frantz** throughout the process. A final draft of the grant application will be posted on our website for review and comment. If awarded, the funding will be used to hire a team of consultants to develop and implement the corridor master plan. **We are seeking "gateway community" representatives** to partner with us in this unprecedented CARTA endeavor!

CARTA'S Revamped Website: www.caminorealcarta.org

Stephanie Long, CARTA member and Senior Curator of Collections at the Branigan Cultural Center



(Las Cruces, NM), volunteered with Webmaster Russell Stein to upgrade CARTA's website, **www.caminorealcarta.org**. The revamped and revitalized site has renewed vigor and new opportunities for visitor interaction. A special shout

out to Stephanie for all of her hard work! Please watch the revised site for up-to-date news announcements, links to our partners, *Chronicles* with featured Spanish translations, papers from our September Symposium, and CARTA's Draft Strategic Plan. We are grateful to Stephanie for her enthusiasm and expertise, and to Russell for giving us such a good start.

Paul Deason Research (Vado to Fort Selden, NM)

Paul Deason continues his research with the Herbert W. Yeo Papers at the Branigan Public Library and the Rio Grande Historical Collection (RGHC MS 0094). As a longtime state surveyor and avocational archaeologist, Herbert Yeo conducted a lifetime of primary research along El Camino Real. Working with CARTA members **Mary Kay Shannon** and **Stephanie Long**, and with the Rio Grande Historical Collection archivists, Deason has arranged for the conservation of the highway map hand-annotated by Yeo himself. Deason also has culled trail-related information from a series of binders that Yeo compiled. The results of this important and timely research will contribute to the corridor master plan, including the development of El Camino Real community spur and loop trails. We look forward with much anticipation to Deason's final report due out this summer.

NPS Challenge-Cost-Share Grant Tentatively Awarded to CARTA for Documenting the Jornada del Muerto

Working with CARTA, filmmaker Jason VanCamp's Challenge-Cost-Share proposal and narrative to engage young film students in documenting the Jornada del Muerto has received tentative approval from the National Park Service. CARTA is working with Jason and NPS technical advisor Otis Halfmoon to submit a final application before the 1 June deadline. Board members **Richard Loose** and **Tom Harper** have offered to assist with aerial filming, using their unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs).

New CARTA "Speakers Bureau"

CARTA's Executive Director has participated in AM570 radio interviews, press releases, maintaining the United Way website, a nonprofits "Show-and-Tell" evening at the Branigan Cultural Center, Green Chamber of Commerce meetings, Mesilla Valley Economic Development luncheons, creating a CARTA panel at the Historical Society of New Mexico Conference, serving as a New Mexico Heritage Preservation Alliance Board member, a number of history-related conferences, a summer lecture series at the Las Cruces Railroad Museum, a presentation at the new Mesilla Valley Bosque State Park, and gave lectures at Alamogordo's Rotary Club and Leasburg Dam State Park. She will continue to take the lead in other activities designed to heighten public awareness and gain new members. But she can't do it alone! CARTA is looking for **a few good volunteers to form a "Speakers Bureau"** to help get the word out! Please let us know if and how you would like to participate.

Grant Awarded to the Rio Grande Historical Collection (Las Cruces, NM)

Thanks again to Board member **Claire Odenheim** for assisting with CARTA's successful effort to obtain a generous New Mexico Library Foundation grant for the remaining microfilm reels needed to complete the Durango Collection at the Rio Grande Historical Collection (RGHC). Once the reels have been purchased, we will notify the press to publicly thank the New Mexico Library Foundation.

Engineers Without Borders (Mendoceño, Mexico)

The New Mexico State University 2010 "Engineers Without Borders" project was focused along El Camino Real at Mendoceño, approximately ten miles south of Satevo. At the town's invitation, over their Spring Break the students installed new potable water piping, valves, and a simple flow control system for grateful residents. Disappointingly, CARTA did not participate in this year's project except for a small personal donation from the Executive Director. CARTA is looking for a volunteer to work closely with Engineers Without Borders while students are assisting communities along El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. This is an ideal opportunity for CARTA to actively engage (either through donations, expertise, or hands-on work) in worthwhile endeavors across the border.

National History Day (Albuquerque, NM)

Ms. Marie Julienne, a high school teacher from the Native American Community Academy in Albuquerque,



took her ninth-grade students on a research journey using the El Camino Real as the entry point for exhibits in this year's National History Day (NHD) competition, "Innovation in History: Impact and Change." The senior group's exhibit, "The Religious Conquest of Indigenous Cultures," included a four-foot long, hand-drawn map of the trail from Mexico City to Ohkay Owingeh. Although this project did not place in the 2010 State NHD Competition, the experience was empowering. Julienne tells us she looks forward to working with CARTA on El Camino Real related research during next year's competition, noting, "The trajectory of ideas motivated by the innovation of this ancient trail is so relevant to our youth." For more information on National History Day, go to www.nhd.org. To volunteer for National History Day 2011, please contact **Jean Fulton** or **Claire Odenheim**. Please help us identify additional teachers and students willing to participate in Camino Real research for next year's National History Day.

National Trust Cultural Resources Preservation Coalition

CARTA is grateful to members **Rob Spence**, **Rebecca Slaughter**, and **Stephanie Long** for offering to share the responsibility of representing us on the National Trust's Cultural Resources Preservation Coalition. This national coalition of stakeholders is invested in protecting resources from potential threats, particularly those imposed by wind and solar transmission lines and other massive undertakings. Our representatives will alert us to those issues that could potentially impact our Trail.

Public Lands Foundation Presents National Award to CARTA

The Public Lands Foundation presented CARTA with a Landscape Stewardship Certificate of Appreciation and Citation at the February Partnership for the National Trails System Leadership Council meeting in Washington, DC. The Foundation grants this recognition to honor private citizens and organizations who "work to advance and sustain community-based stewardship on landscapes" that include, in whole or in part, public lands administered by the Bureau of Land Management (BLM). The award recognizes CARTA in part for the organization's "outstanding leadership, vision, and purpose" in motivating others to work together to conserve and promote El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro.

Writes Linda Rundell, BLM NM State Director: "CARTA has been an invaluable partner... as we work to preserve and protect the historic sites and landscapes associated" with El Camino Real. She further acknowledges that CARTA members were "instrumental" in gaining national recognition for the Trail, and that CARTA's leaders and members continue to work "tirelessly" to protect the landscape and to make the Trail story accessible to the public.

The award narrative recognizes that "among its many other accomplishments," CARTA has helped to: organize public presentations, community meetings and professional alliances; assist the traditional community of Doña Ana in the preservation of historic streetscapes associated with the Trail; create a series of eight interpretive sites along the El Paso Riverwalk; and complete a survey and conditions assessment of all the historic markers associated with the Camino Real. The award acknowledges that CARTA serves as an important partner in land-use planning and landscape preservation on both sides of the shared international border, and sponsors cross-border colloquia and symposia. In 2007 alone, notes the award, the officers and directors of CARTA donated over 1,800 hours to preservation projects that have led directly to greater stewardship of the Trail's outstanding resources.

CARTA would like to thank the Public Lands Foundation and the Bureau of Land Management for this prestigious and significant award. To read the national award nomination, please visit www.caminorealcarta.org.

Hike the Hill

The Hiking Society kicked off its 13th annual “Hike the Hill” Trails Advocacy Week with dozens of participants walking from the Lincoln Memorial to the steps of the U. S. Capitol. In the days prior to the hike, outdoor enthusiasts and trail advocates learned grassroots lobbying skills to promote increased funding for celebrating our shared heritage, the hiking experience,



and our nation’s system of trails. Afterward, advocates met with federal land management agencies, members of Congress, and the Obama administration to request funding and policies that protect and promote trails and the hiking experience, including related land and nature conservation efforts.

Hike participants included local high school and university students, hiking groups, The Conservation Fund, Student Conservation Association, National Park Foundation, The Wilderness Society, American Trails, Outdoor Alliance, Congressional Trails Caucus, The Trust for Public Land, Partnership for the National Trails System, and representatives from the nation’s Rails-to-Trails, Historic, Scenic, and Recreational Trails.

IN MEMORIAM: Gail Martinez

Bertha Gallegos informed us that her dear friend and CARTA member Gail Martinez of Denver, Colorado, died on February 24, 2010. We mourn the loss of our member and extend our deepest sympathy to Gail’s loved ones.

From the Quarai Choir Loft to the Jornada del Muerto

Special thanks to National Park Service ranger Murt Sullivan for his delightful Sunday tour of the Quarai Mission at Salinas Missions National Monument, following the board’s strategic planning retreat in nearby Mountainair. Ranger Sullivan discussed several links between Juan de Oñate and El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Most memorable, perhaps, was his pointing out the choir loft where Bernardo Gruber made a very unwise decision that ultimately cost him his life.

Gruber, a trader from Sonora, was known to his friends as “El Aleman” (the German). An inebriated Gruber bragged to anyone who would listen to him during a Christmas Eve 1666 midnight Mass about a magic spell he had recently learned. After scribbling on small pieces of paper, he encouraged those standing in the choir loft to swallow the papers to protect themselves from all bodily harm. Once word reached the Inquisition’s agent at Santa Fe, Gruber was arrested for witchcraft.

After several years imprisoned in a makeshift cell at an *estancia* near present-day Albuquerque, Gruber escaped and fled southward on El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro with his Apache servant, Atanasio. They headed south through Lava Gate and across the desert. After a harrowing ride, Gruber, parched and exhausted, rested at a place called

Las Penuelas and sent Atanasio ahead for water. Although the facts are not clear, some say that the servant murdered Gruber. Suffice it to say that a month later



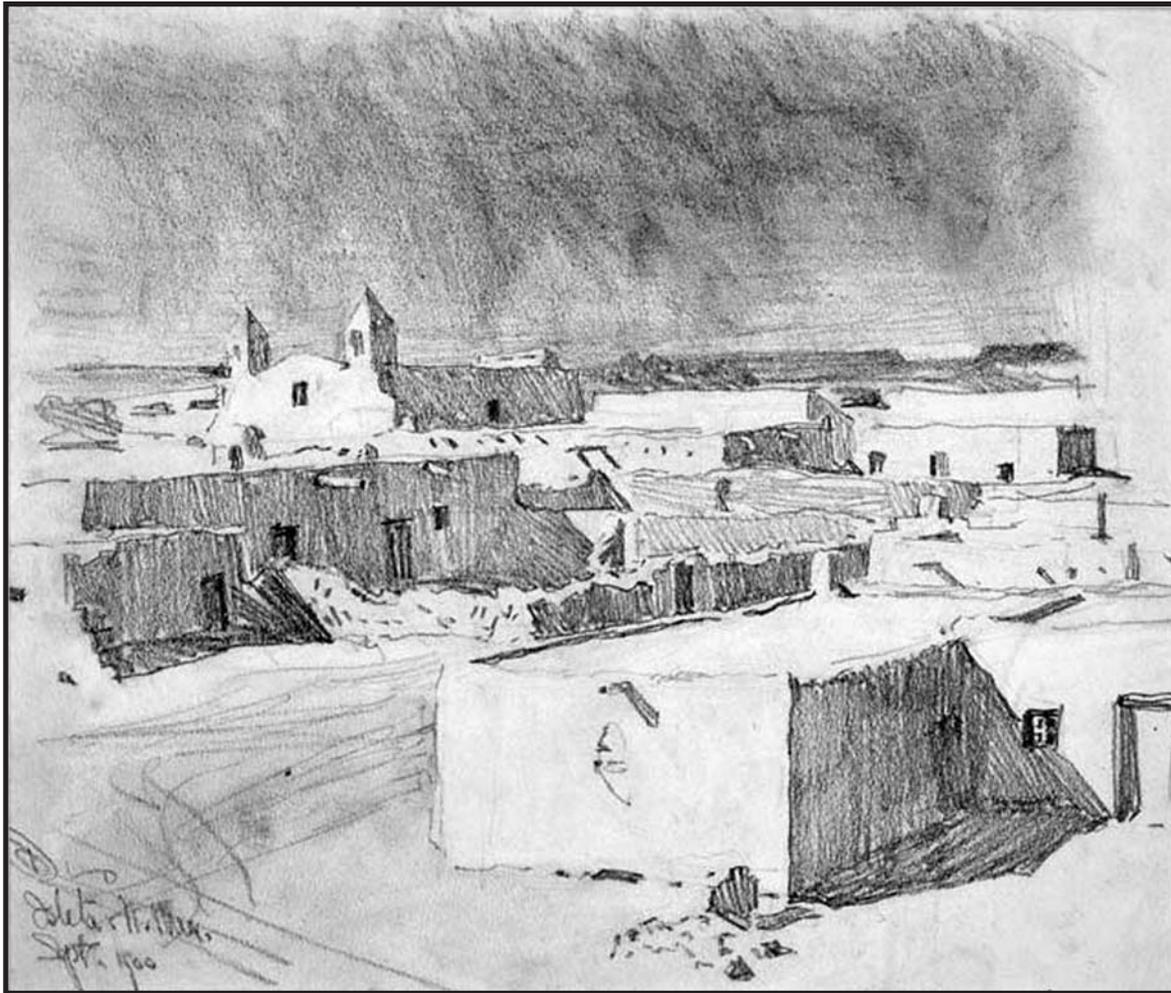
Jean Fulton, Murt Sullivan, Steve Elkinton

travelers accidentally found Gruber’s horse tied to a bush, dead. Nearby was a mass of red human hair, a skull, and a few gnawed bones. They gathered the solemn remains for burial and erected a cross that for many years was a familiar landmark known as *La Cruz del Aleman*, the Cross of the German. Although Aleman was neither the first nor the last individual to die in this barren stretch, the name *Jornada del Muerto*, Journey of the Dead Man, harks back to his unfortunate demise.

ISLETA Indian DETOUR



"Isleta Indian Detour," from "Couriercars," travel brochure published by Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company, Fred Harvey and Hunter Clarkson, Inc, Tours, 1933, imprint Chicago: Santa Fe, 1933, Chicago: Rand McNally & Co. Courtesy Museum of the American West, credit: Freeman, Autry National Center, MIMSY 95.144.1 www.theautry.org.



"Adobe Dwelling of Isleta, New Mexico," drawing by Maynard Dixon, pencil on paper, L: 10 1/4 in., W: 8 7/8 in., September 1900. Courtesy Museum of the American West, Autry National Center, 93.35.1, www.theautry.org.

ISLETA PUEBLO ON THE CAMINO REAL

by George D. Torok

About fourteen miles southeast of downtown Albuquerque the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail passes through Isleta Pueblo, an ancient Indian settlement on the Rio Grande. Many Isletans speak Tiwa, a branch of the Kiowa-Tanoan language family that is divided between Southern and Northern dialects. Isletans are Southern Tiwa and are culturally tied to two other surviving pueblos, Ysleta del Sur, Texas, and Sandia Pueblo, New Mexico. Sixteenth-century Spaniards encountered Southern Tiwa in a series of pueblos along the river between Isleta and Bernalillo, and called the region *Tiguex*. The native name for Isleta Pueblo, *Shiewipag*, means "flint kick-stick place," said to refer to the shape of the land where the pueblo is built. According to oral tradition, Tiwa ancestors came from the northwest, most likely descendants of the Anasazi, or

Ancestral Puebloan, culture of the San Juan basin. Tiwa Pueblo history includes a migration of people from the south, probably the Mogollon, who moved into the region and thrived until the fourteenth century. These two cultures blended at Shiewipag, which was founded in the mid-1300s, one of twelve major Tiwa settlements. The village was located at the junction of two major Pueblo trails, making it an important cultural center for the region. In the sixteenth century the main channel of the Rio Grande veered west about a mile north of the pueblo while a second one ran east of the settlement along the modern alignment. When both river channels were full the pueblo became an island, leading the Spanish to name the site *Isleta*.

During the winter of 1540-41 the Coronado expedition waged war against Tiwa pueblos on the Rio Grande,

including Isleta. The Spanish were so desperate for food and clothing that they plundered village stores and demanded goods from the natives. As tensions mounted, the Indian population began to resist and the Spanish became even more brutal and aggressive. They raided villages, burned men at the stake, and survived by looting the area until early spring when they continued east to the Pecos River. The Isletan Pueblo never forgot the treatment they received from the Spanish but were surprisingly cordial with later visitors. Forty-one years later the much smaller Rodriguez-Chamuscado expedition was graciously welcomed by the Tiwa at Isleta and left a detailed description of their hosts:

The men cut their hair short and leave on top...a sort of skull cap formed by their own hair. Others wear their hair long, to the shoulders, as the Indians of New Spain formerly did. Some adorn themselves with pieces of colored cotton cloth...with which they cover their private parts. Over this they wear, fastened at the shoulders, a blanket of the same material, painted with many figures and colors...Below the waist the women wear cotton skirts, colored and embroidered, and above, a blanket of the same material, painted and worked like those used by the men. They wear it after the fashion of Jewish women. They gird themselves over it with cotton sashes adorned with tassels. They comb their hair, which is long. (George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds., *The Rediscovery of New Mexico, 1580-1594*, 85.)

Oñate's massive expedition in 1598 frightened the Isletans. Fearing a repeat of events from the 1540s, they fled the site and avoided contact with the colonists. After New Mexico was officially settled Franciscan missionaries began their work among the pueblos. By 1612 Juan de Salas established the mission of *San Antonio de la Isleta*, St. Anthony of the Little Island, named for St. Anthony of Padua, a thirteenth-century Portuguese Franciscan. The next year a mission church was built and by the late 1620s it was described as one of the finest in the entire province. Twenty years later records show that the mission had added a convent with a church organ, and that the Franciscans were tending to 750 natives. Agriculture flourished on mission lands and the pueblo's strategic site, a boundary between Piro and Tiwa territory and a gateway to the Rio Abajo, made it an important settlement along the Camino Real. In the 1670s Tompiro Indians,

also descendants of the Mogollon, left the Salinas area and migrated northwest. Fleeing drought and Apache raids, they abandoned their native villages and settled in several Tiwa and Piro pueblos. This new influx of settlers expanded Isleta to a population of about two thousand by the end of the decade.

During the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, several major Indian settlements did not join in the assault on their Spanish rulers. In fact, some alerted authorities of the impending rebellion and remained loyal to the provincial government. For reasons that remain unclear, the Isleta Tiwa did not join in the initial attacks but later resisted when the Spanish returned. The written records of the Spanish and the oral traditions of the Tiwa differ, but little archaeological evidence has surfaced to support either claim. The Isletans appear to have been divided: some cooperated with the Spanish, some fled the pueblo, some joined the rebellion, and others were taken by force down the Camino Real to El Paso del Norte. As the revolt broke out on August 10, Lt. Governor Alonso García and a small band of soldiers found themselves in the midst of the rebellion, isolated in the Rio Abajo, the southern district of the province, below the Villa of Santa Fe. García received erroneous reports that Santa Fe had been taken by the rebels and that all Spaniards in the Rio Arriba had been killed. By nightfall, they had moved south to Sandia Pueblo where they gathered survivors and made a desperate retreat south on the Camino Real. The next day, the refugee train, led by García and his soldiers, entered Isleta Pueblo. Any plans to attack the Spanish were quickly abandoned as the 1500 men, women and children overwhelmed the pueblo. García returned north



St. Augustine Church, Isleta Pueblo, NM, 1897, New Mexico Department of Tourism Collection. Courtesy New Mexico State Records Center & Archives, no. 2805.

the next morning and spent two days trying to secure the area around Sandia, including his own hacienda, and to communicate with Governor Otermín in Santa Fe. Having received no word from the provincial capital

was at a site called *Santísimo Sacramento*, the Most Holy Sacrament, southeast of present-day Ysleta, Texas. On October 12, 1680, after a small temporary chapel was constructed, a Catholic mass was celebrated.



Isleta Pueblo, side view of church, c. 1890. New Mexico Department of Tourism Collection. Courtesy New Mexico State Records Center & Archives, no. 2809.

and becoming concerned about more impending attacks he collected his men and returned to Isleta. By then the refugees gathered at the pueblo were a desperate lot. They had fled their communities in the midst of attacks, had few provisions, and many were separated from friends and family.

On August 14 García called a general meeting of political and military officials, including the seven surviving missionaries, and a decision was made to abandon Isleta Pueblo and seek safety in the south. 317 Indians, mostly Isleta Tiwa, were joined by Piro and Tompiros along the trail, and marched south with the Spanish. Not all of the Tiwa went along. Some scattered as the fighting intensified and others escaped. A few remained behind, hiding in the vicinity of the pueblo. Others fled north to Sandia Pueblo and west into the Hopi lands. A few days later when Governor Otermín arrived at Isleta with his Santa Fe refugees, he found the pueblo deserted. He and five hundred survivors continued south along the trail and eventually met up with the García party. Together the two thousand Spanish and Indian refugees of the Pueblo Revolt crossed the Jornada del Muerto and arrived in El Paso del Norte in mid-October. They settled in temporary camps along the river, below the Pass. The refugee camp at the Pass

The Indians who went south with García earned a reputation as “friendly” Indians, loyal to the Crown and the Church. Why Isleta did not participate in the revolt and why so many Tiwa traveled south with the Spanish, remains unexplained. Some historians have argued that the loyalties of the Isleta Tiwa had always been suspect, and that

Popé intentionally did not include them in the rebellion. Others have pointed out that when the revolt began Spanish soldiers were already present at Isleta, deterring any planned or spontaneous attacks. Some have argued that the Tiwa were acting expediently, following the Spanish because they were the lesser of two evils in the midst of the chaotic revolt.

Governor Otermín attempted to re-conquer northern New Mexico the next year. On November 5, 1681, he left El Paso del Norte with an army of 146 soldiers, 112 Indian allies, missionaries and servants. The troops were poorly equipped and ill-prepared for the venture. Many were armed with only daggers and shields. They secured a few sites but Pueblo rebels held firm at most of the old mission settlements. Some Indians, mostly Tiwa and Piro, had remained behind and re-occupied Isleta. At first some of the Tiwa resisted, but Otermín was soon able to move in and establish a camp at the pueblo. He found the church and convent destroyed and burned. Crosses were scattered around the village and the churchyard was being used as a cowpen. Isletans blamed the destruction on Northern Tiwa and Tewa Indians who had raided the site. Tensions remained high between the Isletans and the Spanish. A few hoped that the Spanish might offer some protection from rival natives in the region, but

others were anxious about their return. As Otermín's men ventured into settlements further north they faced intense resistance and gained little ground. By January 1682 the governor, suspecting that another full-scale attack was imminent, ordered a retreat south. When the Spanish fled, they burned Isleta Pueblo and took 511 captives with them. Along the way, 126 escaped. The rest were taken down the Camino Real and were resettled near El Paso del Norte at *Pueblo de Sacramento de la Ysleta*, which became known as *Ysleta del Sur*, Southern Isleta. It will never be known exactly how many Tiwa were loyal to the Spanish, how many were forcibly brought south, or how many were simply trying to avoid being caught up in conflict. The events of the 1680s continue to generate controversy today, occasionally leading to tensions among the Pueblo, especially between the Tiwa people of Isleta Pueblo and the Tigua of Ysleta del Sur.

Governor Diego de Vargas arrived ten years later and found Isleta deserted and most of the old mission in ruins. Only the walls of the church nave remained intact. New Mexico was re-conquered and many old settlements were rebuilt, but it was not until 1710 that Fray Juan de la Peña gathered scattered Tiwa from surrounding communities and re-established *Misión San Agustín de la Isleta*, St. Augustine of the Little Island. St. Augustine, the fourth-century bishop of Hippo, served as its patron saint. Some of the Tiwa who fled west after the revolt and had settled in Hopi communities returned to the pueblo with Hopi wives. A few other Hopi came to Isleta, but after conflicts with the Tiwa they deserted the pueblo. The church was rebuilt, making use of the crumbling walls noted by de Vargas. Isleta grew slowly and several eighteenth-century epidemics devastated the Tiwa population. Spaniards and mestizos moved to the site during the eighteenth century and became a sizable portion of the population, especially after smallpox ravaged Pueblo communities throughout the province.

By the 1760s Isleta was stable and began to prosper. Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez, who inventoried the missions of New Mexico in 1776, described the pueblo as a community of "three beautiful blocks of dwellings" located in front of the church and convent, with a very

large plaza to the south. Outside the plaza were newer houses, "very prettily designed," made of adobe, but of Spanish rather than Pueblo design. He observed extensive agriculture around the village, including fields of wheat, maize, green vegetables, fruit orchards and vineyards. Livestock grazed the lands along the river. Domínguez counted 114 families at Isleta, with a total population of 454 people. By then the mission church had expanded and oversaw chapels in the nearby villages of Belén, Pararito, and Sabinal.¹

Agriculture and trade flourished in the early nineteenth century and Isleta prospered. The Camino Real passed east of the pueblo; most trail travelers camped in the open area along the banks and crossed the river to visit the village. By the Mexican era a new branch of the Camino along the west bank connected Isleta with Los Lunas and Los Lentos. Trade along the Chihuahua Trail brought Anglo-Americans to Isleta Pueblo by the 1840s. In 1846 scientist Friedrich Adolph Wislizenus described it as a "small village, with its church, green fields, and cluster of cotton and orchard trees, [which]



"Opening of the main acequia, Isleta Pueblo, New Mexico," c. 1894, photograph by Charles F. Lummis. Courtesy of Braun Research Library, Institute for the Study of the American West, Autry National Center, P.8593, www.theautry.org.

looks quite picturesque in the desert around us."² By mid-century several Tiwa developed successful commercial ventures and during the Civil War a few wealthy Isletans advanced funds to the Union forces as they secured the New Mexico Territory. In the late nineteenth century some Keresan Indians fleeing factional conflicts in nearby Laguna Pueblo moved to Isleta. They were granted land around Oraibi Hill and a house for their ceremonial

activities. The Lagunas revived the kachina cult which had been almost lost in Isleta. A kachina chief oversaw the ceremonies and guarded the sacred masks. An organization of Laguna Fathers, who were essentially medicine men, appointed their own governor and war chief, paralleling the duties of the Isletans. Many of the Lagunas left after a few years but those who stayed continued their rituals. The Lagunas also brought a polychrome style of pottery that is still common in the pueblo.

The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad reached Isleta in 1881. The railroad cut through tribal lands, disrupted traditional village life, and shook the local economy. But it also made the pueblo a popular destination for rail travelers and visitors to Albuquerque, just thirteen miles to the north. John Gregory Bourke, a U.S. Army captain who toured many of the pueblos of the Southwest and wrote prolifically of his impressions and experiences, visited Isleta Pueblo in November 1881. He found it to have a significant amount of Hispanic and growing Anglo-American influence, comparing it more to

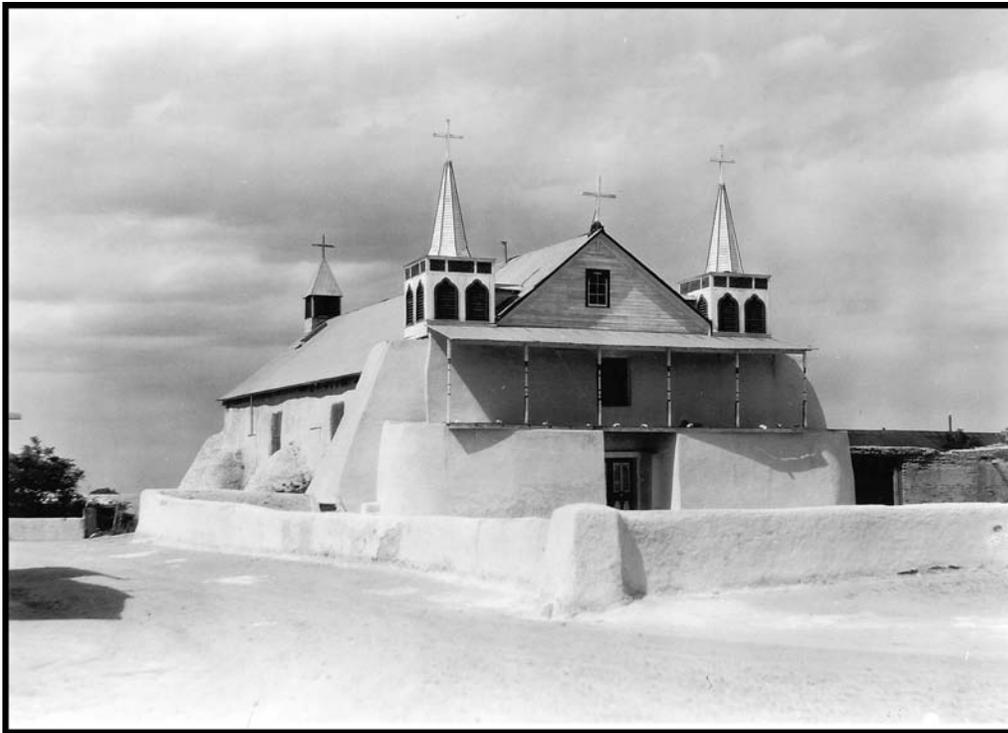
and described the dwellings as “neat, but humble, rooms large and well-ventilated.” They were furnished with old buffalo robes on the floor and Navajo blankets for bedding. Some, such as the home of the priest, had pine plank flooring. Bourke was served a lunch of hot coffee, onions scrambled with eggs, excellent fresh breads and peach turnovers. A mutton stew was served for breakfast. He was told that the houses in Isleta were owned by the women and that children belonged to the mother’s clan. Bourke visited the church and commented on the organ he heard, one of the few he had seen in New Mexico. The music was strange to him; he described it as “stridulous and strained” but “weird, soft and tender, not to be described.” He was also welcomed into the ceremonial kiva which he described as a circular, plastered structure above ground. Heavy pine beams supported an earthen roof, antelope horns were hung along the walls and a central fireplace provided heat and light.

The pueblo gained further fame through the writings of Charles F. Lummis, an eccentric newspaperman who lived in Isleta in the 1880s and had unprecedented

access to some of the sacred sites and ceremonies of the pueblo. Lummis became one of the early advocates of Native American rights, often citing his experiences at Isleta Pueblo. Pioneer anthropologist Adolph Bandelier also was a frequent visitor and recorded many ancient tribal practices. Photographers carefully documented and produced renderings of the people and village. George Benjamin Wittick, Edward Curtis [*see front cover—eds.*], and A.C. Vroman created some of the best-known images of 19th-century life in Isleta. Interest from the outside world brought new opportunities to the pueblo. Traditional crafts

were revived and the railroad provided a steady stream of visitors in the twentieth century.

Today, the inner core of the Isleta settlement remains much as it was in centuries past and, as a well-preserved Native-American village, it was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1975. The



Church at Isleta Pueblo, n.d., New Mexico Department of Tourism Collection. Courtesy New Mexico State Records Center & Archives, no. 2771.

a plaza settlement than the pueblos he had seen further north. He noted that the houses around the plaza were nearly all one-story adobes with doors opening to the ground and ovens often present. Old carretas and newer American-style wagons were found throughout the village. Bourke visited some of the Tiwa in their homes

pueblo's centerpiece is the St. Augustine Church which faces the large central plaza and may be the oldest continuously used church in the United States. When Isleta was re-settled in the early years of the eighteenth century, surviving segments of the original 1613 walls were incorporated into the new structure. During the eighteenth century repairs and improvements were made to the church, and a two-story convento with an arched portico was added and a large plaza area in front. By the 1770s the settlement had lost some of its Native-American appearance as individual Spanish-style dwellings were built around the plaza area. Major church renovations were carried out after the 1880s, as territorial and, later, Gothic and Anglo-American features were integrated into the structure. The facade was re-plastered and two wooden towers were added at the east and west end of the church. Boards covered the bare wooden floors and new icons and fixtures were placed throughout the interior. By the 1920s a tin roof and prominent Gothic turrets were added, making the church an eclectic mixture of designs and styles. After 1959 the church was restored to a more cohesive, traditional adobe style as many of the Gothic exterior features, such as the pitched roof, wooden steeples, crosses and spires, were removed. Cement plaster was applied to the exterior walls and belfries. The cluttered interior was cleaned and simplified and pews were installed. Natural light illuminated the church altar once again through the ancient clerestory, making the "light quality at Isleta one of the most beautiful and effective of all the mission churches." But many Isletans objected to the renovations made. The Tiwa argued that their ceremonial dances were to take place on the barren earth, not on the large concrete slab that the Anglos had poured. Other disagreements about the church and its disregard for Native-American traditions eventually culminated in the closing of St. Augustine by the archbishop. It was not until the mid-1970s that Isleta was once again recognized as a parish, a resident priest was assigned, and compromises were reached about the design and style of the church.

For centuries a coffin buried in the mission church was said to contain the remains of Father Juan de Padilla, the first Christian martyr of the Southwest, who came to New Mexico with the 1540 Coronado expedition. Padilla ventured into the Great Plains to work at the legendary city of Quivira and lost his life while trying to convert the Indian populations of the north. The story is told that Padilla's body was brought to Isleta after the original 1612 church had been constructed and was interned in the church nave, a common practice in colonial New Mexico.

Father Padilla's coffin was said to rise to the surface every few years allowing believers a glimpse of the martyred father and a chance to have contact with the entombed body. In the nineteenth century many people in the Isleta area claimed to have small pieces of the old padre's clothing which were thought to have miraculous healing powers. In 1959 the wooden coffin and mummified body were exhumed during the remodeling and examined by a pathologist. The body was determined to be that of a much later priest, Fray Juan José Padilla, who was buried in the sanctuary in the mid-eighteenth century, two hundred years after the Coronado expedition. It was placed once again in the log coffin and this time buried beneath a concrete floor, unable to rise the surface again.

Today the structures in the immediate area of the church are the heart of the old seventeenth century village. Spreading east, west, and south of the plaza are later residences dating from the last three centuries. Most reflect the simple one-story, adobe style linear dwellings that were common in pueblo villages.

Isleta's great kiva is typical of Rio Grande kivas. The single, round structure south of the main plaza symbolizes the world. It is entered from the top through a ladder. Inside the kiva the roof represents the sky and is supported by four large wooden pillars which are periodically purified by medicine men. Just below the ladder entrance is a fireplace where the flames are lit with a cedar bark torch from the chief's house and shrubs from the western hills of the pueblo are burned. Horns of deer and buffalo hang on the surrounding wall. Outside steps leading to the rooftop are located on the south side. Secular meetings are not permitted in the kiva, which is reserved for rituals and ceremonial dances.

Today almost five thousand Isletans live on more than 200,000 acres of reservation land around the old pueblo. Isleta Pueblo has maintained many of its cultural, spiritual, and social traditions, including tribal and social divisions common to many of the Rio Grande pueblos. Isleta Tiwa have both patrilineal and matrilineal traditions, but men have customarily held more power and prestige in the pueblo. Aside from the family, children are placed in Corn groups, social and ceremonial associations that guard and promote rituals and traditions in the pueblo. Children are also members of moieties and are alternately placed in the father or mother's moiety. As a member of a moiety, each is responsible for participating in and preserving tribal rituals, especially an annual dance. Two medicine societies also serve the pueblo.

By the early twentieth century buffalo hunting, plant

and herbal foraging, and mineral prospecting declined, but agriculture continued and the pueblo produced corn, beans, and squashes. Railroads and highways created strong ties to the Albuquerque economy. Major regional roads, which still parallel the old Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, and a modern interstate system have provided a steady flow of visitors. By the 1970s Isleta had a mixed economy of tourism, agriculture, and light manufacturing. Many residents worked in military, commercial, and government operations in the Albuquerque area. By the 1990s Isleta expanded with the development of recreational and entertainment facilities. Today, the pueblo runs profitable commercial and entertainment enterprises that attract thousands of visitors from around the world. Few people venture into the old historic village center, but many enjoy the tribe's casino and resort, lakes, fishing area, and golf course. New Mexico's Rail Runner Express station, located on NM 47, keeps Isleta well connected with communities along the old Camino Real.

Isleta Pueblo welcomes visitors and remains a popular tourist destination, especially in the summer months. Tiwa is still spoken throughout the reservation, although English is the most commonly used language. In the mid-twentieth century there was a revival of pottery, turquoise, silver, and gemstone traditions. Today artisans from the pueblo produce a variety of fine vessels and jewelry available in shops around the pueblo and in area galleries. Early ceramic traditions may have continued into the nineteenth century but much of the red and grey pottery style available today is influenced by the Laguna migration. Tiwa breads also are a popular product.

Visitors can tour the historic village and church and witness several traditional ceremonies as long as they respect the pueblo's modest restrictions. The pueblo maintains a yearly cycle of ceremonies and celebrations. The main one takes place on August 28, the feast day of St. Augustine. A harvest festival follows in the early days of September. During the celebrations traditional dances are performed in the main plaza.

ENDNOTES

¹ Adams and Chavez, *Missions of New Mexico*, 206.

² Wislizenus, *Memoir of a Tour*, 26.

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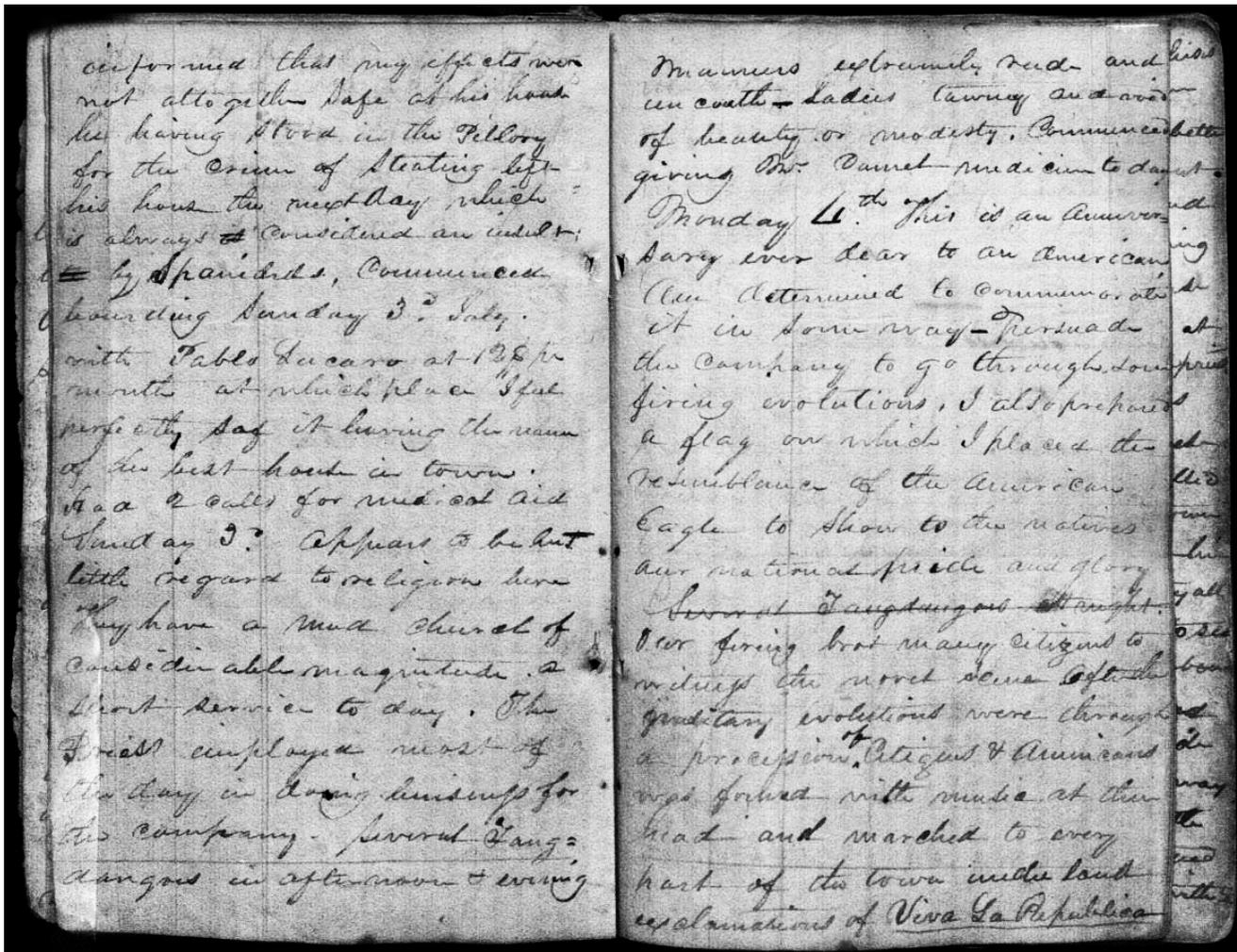
GEORGE D. TOROK is a native of Buffalo, New York, and completed his Ph.D in history at the State University of New York at Buffalo in 1991. He has been a history professor at El Paso Community College since 1994. He served as CARTA's first president in 2003 and as a board member until 2009. His primary focus has been bringing regional history to the public. Dr. Torok has published numerous scholarly articles, a history and guide to Kentucky coal mining towns, and is currently completing a manuscript on El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail.



"Women carrying baskets along railroad tracks near Isleta Pueblo, New Mexico," photograph by George Wharton James (?), late 1800s to early 1900s. Courtesy George Wharton James Collection, Braun Research Library, Institute for the Study of the American West, Autry National Center, P.8488, www.theautry.org.

THE DIARY OF DR. ROWLAND WILLARD (1794-1884), Part I

Transcribed by Joy Poole



Pages from Dr. Willard's diary (actual size)

Dr. Rowland Willard's diary is one of the earliest primary sources documenting travel and daily life along the Santa Fe and El Camino Real trails. For this reason the National Park Service, Long Distance Trails and CARTA funded a Challenge-Cost-Share grant to transcribe, edit and annotate this American physician's journal, which the Yale Collection of Western Americana at the Beinecke Library obtained in 2005. We are grateful to Board member Joy Poole for making this important contribution to the Chronicles.

Joy Poole's success in making Dr. Willard's observations accessible nearly two hundred years later is praised by historian David J. Weber in a letter to Joy: "What a job you did of annotating this. And I know from trying to decipher it at the Beinecke how very difficult the job of transcribing it must have been. This is an enormously impressive piece of work. My hearty congratulations... This is going to be very valuable for people tracing the comings and goings of various Americans in

this period as well as for those interested in medicine. Sure is a lot of bleeding going on!"

The following excerpt from Dr. Willard's diary begins with his arrival in Taos in July 1825, and concludes with his departure from Santa Fe that fall. In the next issue of the Chronicles, Dr. Willard continues his journey south along the Camino to the city of Chihuahua.

EDITORS

Transcribed by Joy Poole. Annotated by Joy Poole and Ben Brown with additional assistance from Frank Norris of the National Park Service. Map designed by Brooke Safford, Outdoor Recreation Planner/GIS Specialist, National Park Service.

POCKET DIARY—5 in. (14.5 cm) H by 3 ½ in. (9 cm) W
Paper over wood slat, partial back cover—leather binding.

EDITORIAL REMARKS

When editing this historical document we made numerous editorial decisions regarding these 19th-century diary passages to assist the modern-day reader. Dr. Willard's penmanship was quite small. In various instances it was difficult to distinguish between the letters *a* and *o*, or *n* and *r* for example. When words contained double letters, the acceptable style at that time was to insert a capital letter, for example *F*, *M* or *S* in place of *ff*, *mm* or *ss*. We have spelled out these words with the double letters in lower case. Willard's spelling of English words was usually decipherable, but proper names could be spelled any number of ways, and Spanish words were often spelled phonetically. In many of these instances, we have placed the word in square brackets after Willard's word. The difficulty with proper names centers on the numerous spellings of a given name in English. For example, on July 10th and subsequently, it is impossible to determine whether Stephen's surname was Majors, Marrs or March. The confusion over proper names is further compounded by Dr. Willard's spelling of Spanish names such as Bisente for Vicente. Additional complications result if Spanish names were used in lieu of English, like Jorge versus George. In the early Spanish documents, the Spanish recordings of the English names were sometimes literal, as with FuerteBrazo for Armstrong. Dr. Willard struck out some entries with a single line. Where possible we have deciphered these strike-outs and left them intact. When ending a thought, or more likely for emphasis, Dr. Willard often wrote a dash or an underline. There are numerous abbreviations using a superscript. Some examples include Col for Colonel or Spts for Spirits. These abbreviations have been spelled out within square brackets. Punctuation was often lacking in Dr. Willard's diary, so we have inserted punctuation when necessary to improve the intelligibility of the diary. We have discarded the original format of the entries in favor of a chronicle organized by the days and/or dates. When Dr. Willard was traveling, there were instances when he lost track of the day and/or date. In a few cases he wrote two entries on the same day. We have enclosed the actual dates or days of the week in square brackets. Finally, there are passages that are indecipherable, and we have marked them accordingly. Despite these idiosyncracies, Dr. Willard left a valuable account of travel along the Santa Fe and El Camino Real trails, a mere four years after Mexican independence opened New Mexico to international trade.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Courtesy of the Rowland Willard – Elizabeth S. Willard Papers, Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, and Challenge-Cost-Share Project funds from the National Park Service, Intermountain Region through El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro Trail Association (CARTA).

The following historians graciously contributed to the historical accuracy of this diary transcription. John Bloom of Las Cruces, NM, David Clapsaddle of Larned, KS, Clint Chambers, M.D. of Lubbock TX, Mike Dickey of Arrow Rock, MO, Harry Myers of Santa Fe, NM, Marc Simmons of Cerrillos, NM, Richard Salazar of Santa Fe, NM, Luis Urías Hermosillo of Chihuahua, MX and David Weber of Dallas, TX.

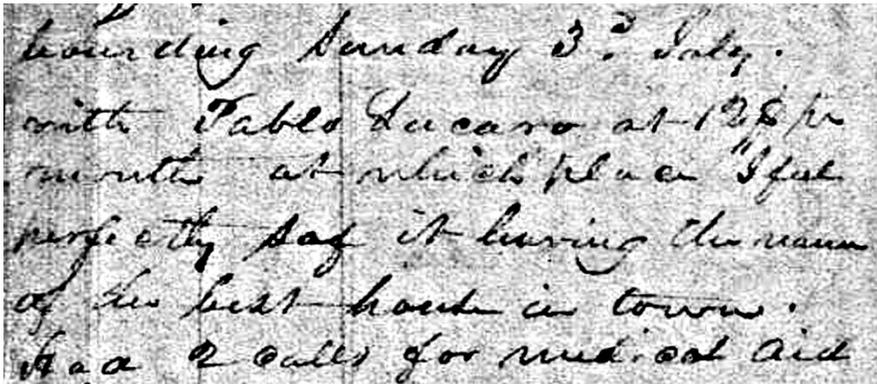
BIOGRAPHY

Dr. Rowland Willard was born in Westfield, New York, on August 4, 1794, and died in Haddonfield, New Jersey, on March 10, 1884. He traveled the Ohio River system during his youth. He studied carpentry and music, and in 1817 moved to St. Charles, Missouri, where he studied medicine for the next eight years. He was a founding member and officer of the St. Charles Missouri Freemasons Grand Lodge #3 (later renamed Hiram Lodge #3) between 1819 and 1822. As noted in his diary, he left St. Charles in 1825, and traveled to Taos, New Mexico, along the Santa Fe Trail. From Taos he traveled south along the Camino Real (Chihuahua Trail), administering medical advice in Indian pueblos and establishing a successful medical practice in Chihuahua, Mexico. Three years later, he returned to the United States via Matamoros and New Orleans. Willard attended Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia from 1828 to 1829, after which he moved to Cincinnati to purchase land for investment. He also established a medical practice there, which grew to include a wholesale drugstore. In 1829 Timothy Flint published a brief account of Willard's travels in the *Western Monthly Review*. The account was later reprinted as an appendix to James Ohio Pattie's *Personal Narrative* in 1831. Willard married Elizabeth S. Borland (b. 1814) in Cincinnati, Ohio, on June 27, 1832. After their conversion to the Baptist faith a year later, the couple moved to Covington, Kentucky, where Dr. Willard helped to establish the Western Theological Institute. They then moved to Oswego, Indiana. Three sons survived childhood; Dr. Lyman L., Dr. Nelson L. and Rowland Jr., Ph.D. The Willards retired to Haddonfield, New Jersey, in 1867, where Dr. Willard died seventeen years later.

Dr. Rowland Willard's Diary [July 1, 1825-September 29, 1825]

Friday 1st July encamped last night half way up the mountains fine grass wood & water. Heavy showers last night Started last morning at 6 passed several snowbanks this day. road exceedingly steep and rocky. traveled this day 25 miles. encamped in 12 mile of TauSe [Taos] The atmosphere on the mountains feels like the month of march. Strawberries and other vegetation in a blossom. Everything exhibits the opening of spring.

Saturday 2^d morning fine gard last night. Every man buisy this morning in shifting clothes and washing off some of the grease which has become almost indelible. Started this morning at 6. Meet 10 or a dozen Spaniards 3 miles from town who came to meet us to prevent our smuggling or hiding goods in the mountains All goods were taken into custody except my own, which I was permitted to take. and was conducted to the house of the Alkalde¹ where I meet with a friendly reception. but on being informed that my effects were not altogether safe at his hand he having stood in the Pillory for the crime of Stealing left his house the next day which is always considered an insult (to) by Spaniards.



boarding Sunday 3^d July.
with Pablo Luceero at 12\$ per
month at which place I feel
perfectly saf it having the name
of the best house in town.
Had 2 calls for medical aid

Close-up of Sunday, 3rd July entry.

Sunday 3^d July² Commenced boarding [boarding] with Pablo Luceero³ at 12\$ per month at which place I feel perfectly saf it having the name of the best house in town. Had 2 calls for medical aid.

Sunday 3d. Appears to be but little regard to religion here. They have a mud church of considerable magnitude. a short service today. The Priest employed most of the day in doing business for the company.

Several Fangdangoes⁴ in afternoon & evening. Manners extremely rude and uncouth_ Ladies tawney and void of beauty or modesty. Commenced giving Mr. Carrel⁵ medicine today.

Monday 4th. This is an anniversary ever dear to an American Am determined to commemorate it in some way- Persuade the company to go through & on firing evolutions. I also prepared a flag on which I placed this resemblance of the American Eagle to show to the natives our national pride and glory. Several Fandangoes all night Our fireing brot many citizens to witness the novel scene after the military evolutions were through a procession of Citizens & Americans was formed with music at the head and marched to every part of the town under loud exclamations of Viva La Republica The recreation of the day was claded⁶ by two crowded Fangdangoes, where every American was invited.

This was somewhat moved to the Americans to see the singularity of dress manners and stile and manoeuvres in conducting the dance. The Priest⁷, Alcalde and first caracters of the place were present⁸

Tuesday 5th Emloy most of this day in reading and writing and feel much relieved from the fatigue of the journey. Ate some chile in the evening which made me quite ill for a few hours.

Wednesday 6th. Bled⁹ Mr. Storrs¹⁰ & a Frenchman, gave medicine to an other. also obtain a case of mercurial spent most of the day in town.

Thursday 7th Custom House Officer arrives today. The company much

agitated consequent to high duties. He however seems disposed to favor the Americans as much as possible and evade the law. The requisitions of the law is that all good shall be rated at the Chihuahua prices to which they add 25 percent and afterwards charge on that aggregate 15 percent. There were many articles of goods found to be contraband. which the customhouse officer sent to St. Fee [Santa Fe]. ~~Paid the old alcalde for 3 meals of vituals and considered which man & Co firing~~

Friday 8th Sent for this forenoon to pay duties on

medicines. Went to see the CH Officer and learn the law He agreed to go to my bourding house a mile distant and examine them and save me the trouble of bringing them in. according to the order of the Alcade.

Saturday 9th nothing of importance this day. Gave L Cary a dash of pills yesterday & bleed Migel Saxanago [Santiago?]

Sunday 10th Bleed Stephen MajorS¹¹ [marrs?]and gave him medicine for the fever also bled my landlord and gave his lady pills. This evening Monday Beheal [Vigil] the CH Officer came to see my medicine but could not understand them got me to draw off the invoice and calculate the amount of duties (amt 6.50) and on finding the amt so small refused taking anything signifying that he would pay it himself.

Monday 11th. Attend to my patients in town 1 or 2 each a day. the rest of the time employ in reading.

Tuesday 12th Gave Stephen March Sundry medicines to take with him to St. Fee.

Wednesday 13th Nothing of importance today Save an operation with the Catheter on an Indian who laboured under Ischuria¹² the operation some what difficult but succeeded in ~~drawing his water~~

Thursday 14th. Was visited again by my Indian patient who was again obliged to submit to another operation with the Cathuter, also bled an old Lady and gave medicine for sore eyes. Many wanting medicine but no money to pay for it.

Friday 15th Commenced giving medicine to Preno[Preino] for a twelve years venereal agres [agree] to cure him for 35 dollars

Saturday 16th Bleed 2 Frenchman Vausau and Victor and attend to my other patients in town.

Sunday 17th walked to town in the morning. Spent most of the day in reading. Called on at night to visit Mr. P Ballio¹³ under fever. Stayed all night.

Monday 18th. received a message from the priest at the St. Cruise [Santa Cruz] wishing me to come and see his lady labouring under consumption. Started in the afternoon called on Mr. Ballio gave him a dose of physic and extracted the first bone from a ladies [indecipherable word] Called again at the young Priest gave medicine to two patients Put up at Lauren Cordivo [Cordiva] Bleed him and Lady well treated. attended a Fangdango in the evening.

Tuesday 19th Visited an old Lady this morning and Start for Santa Cruse. reached the Priests at ½ past 9. distance 50 miles and ragged mountains to cross. Felt extremely unwell in the evening from sour stomach.

Wednesday 20th. Priest absent last night returned this morning. Saw his woman who is unable to speak loud and much afflicted with a bad cough. and from a history of the case was labouring under the Phthisis Pulmonalis¹⁴ gav her medicine

Thursday 21st patient some better make preparations to return but unable to find the horse and conclude to stay until morning.

Friday 22^d Started for Taus [Taos] a little after sunris.

Called at an Indian village to see the priest who was not up but was treated with a plate of bread and a tankard of wine. Called a gain in another little town at the alkade house gave him physic, pressed me to stay all day - was called from there to see a neighboring woman labouring under Rheumatism. Bleed and gave her physic. Made several other calls on the way arrived at Cordivos a little after ten ock. Much fatigued and quite unwell. retired

with our supper.

Saturday 23^d Arrived this morning before breakfast at my bourding house. Saw all my patients which I found doing well had an attact of collic in the evening, but soon got relief

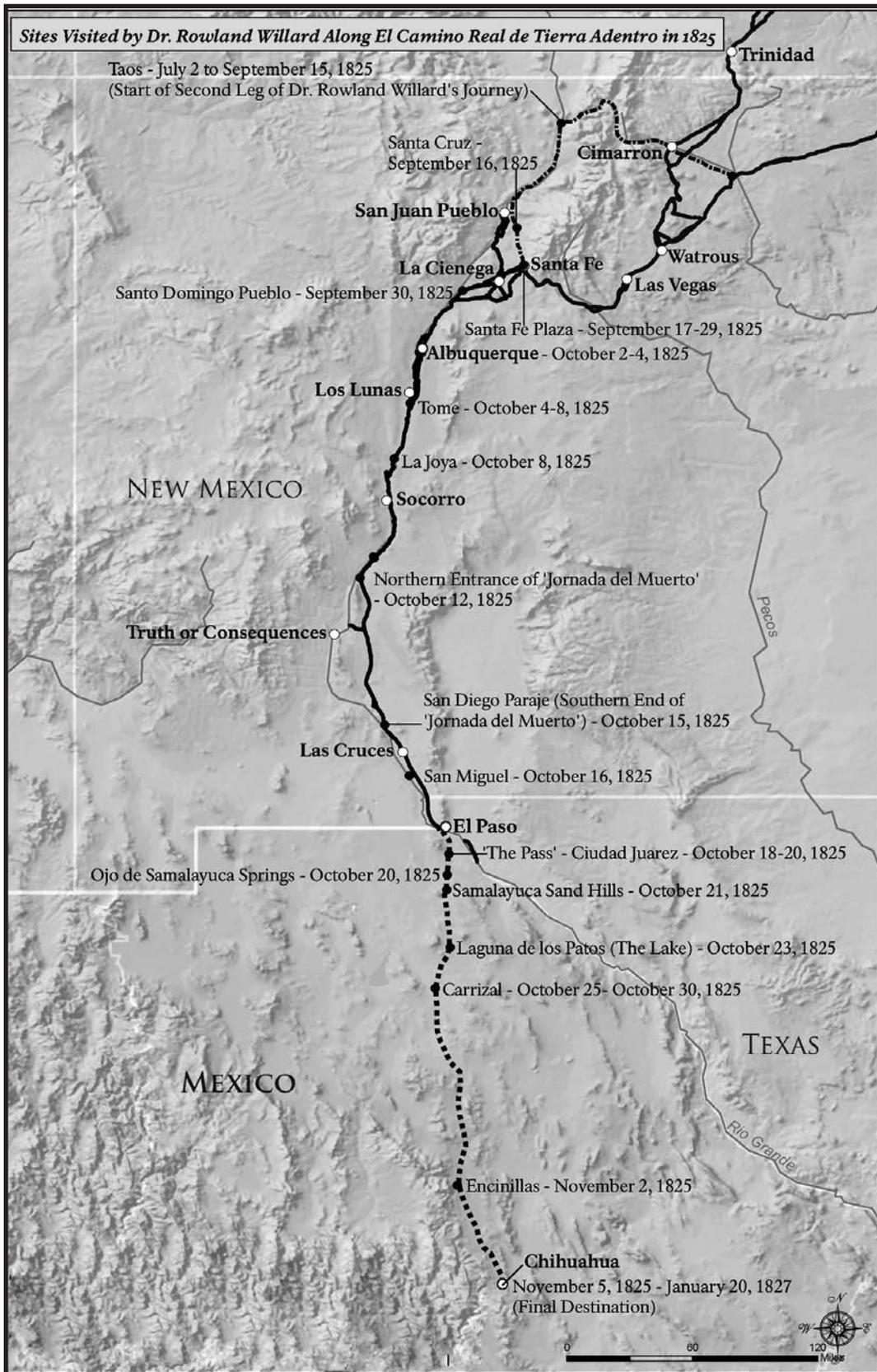
Sunday 24th remained at home this day and attended class to my Books. Let Mr. Chambers¹⁵ have physic for Indian.

Monday 25 Bleed a Spaniard for Mr. Preino. This is an anniversary of S^t. James with the Spanish who spent the day in recreations.

Tuesday 26th Start this morning to visit some of the little villages below. received a polite invitation to attend a Fandango this eve. Mr. Anderson returned home with me and persuades me to go back with him again, and start in the morning with him to visit a warm Spring 3 miles distant from his lodgings. Agree to go Called at the Fangdango in few minutes persuaded me to dance.

Wednesday 27th. Started this morning after breakfast to visit the spring, which we found worthy [of] our attention. The water is a little more than blood warm and of a slight brackish tast These waters are said to have cured several cases of rheumatism & some other diseases. Mr. Walsh left today gave him medicines to take with

Meet 10 or a dozen Spaniards 3 miles from town [Taos] who came to meet us to prevent our smuggling or hiding goods in the mountains.



"Sites visited by Dr. Rowland Willard Along El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro in 1825." Map designed by Brooke Safford, National Park Service.

him. left medicine for the alkades [alcalde] wife.

Thursday 28th Nothing of importance transpires today. Save the Patch¹⁶ [Apache] nation of Indians have retreated to this settlement for safety from the Navihos. Lucero takes my horses.

Friday 29th. My patients mostly off my hands. dull times and no money received a letter yesterday from Capt. Morris at Santa Fe with the compliments of the Gov. and the Priest at the St. Cruis [Santa Cruz] wishing me to visit them. Mr. Rubedois¹⁷ [Robidoux] company started on Wednesday last for Missouri being absent, neglected to write by them. Sent for this evening to visit Sr. Lucero labouring under plurisy¹⁸ [pleurisy] at the same time visited the Alcade Lady.

Saturday 30th. visited my patients as yesterday. Mr. Baillios hunters have returned after 90 miles travel for fear of Indian depredations. having been followed by them several days.

They start again today a different course.

This company was robbed of 17 horses the first evening after they started. but sent back and got more.

They are determined however to persevere but are obliged to git licenses for trapping within this Territory.

Felt indisposed this evening from colic pains consequent to eating S[our]. Cheese.

Sunday 31st. health very good this morning though was quite ill untill after midnight. weather quite sultry and the earth very much parched there having been no rain (save a few sprinkles twice) for more than a month. Went to town in the afternoon was called to two places, one to a woman who was taken she a chiefs and remained so 24 hours before I saw her. was almost astonished on entering the house to find it thronged with men, women & children in so much that I was unable to approach her. She was held by her husband and suffecating for breath. This was a scene of superstition. they had got a small bell which they rang constantly together with incesant prayers. I told my interpreter to order this house cleared of the throng and to give her air. believing her to be somewhat spas anabic I immediately bled her. My interpreter informed me that inquiry was made if

there were no womin present under her counsel as they will not suffer a woman of that discription to remain in service in presence of the sick. They are also particular in the choice of a bandage for the area which bled. cautiously avoiding (the lower portion of women's shirt) certain things Before I left an Indian Chief called on me labouring under the dropsy¹⁹ took him home with me and gave him medicine. Pulled a tooth for another Indian when I returned.

Monday 1st Augt. Another month had passed away and from 170 \$ practice have received but 26 dollars though the majority of charges are good. Visit my patients in town found them better my Speechless patient able to talk fluently. Was sent for this afternoon to a man who had fallen from his horse and at the same time recieved a kick in the breast. Bled him & c__ Was informed in the evening by my Landlord who returned from the prairie

that my horses had left his gang and gone to some American herd.

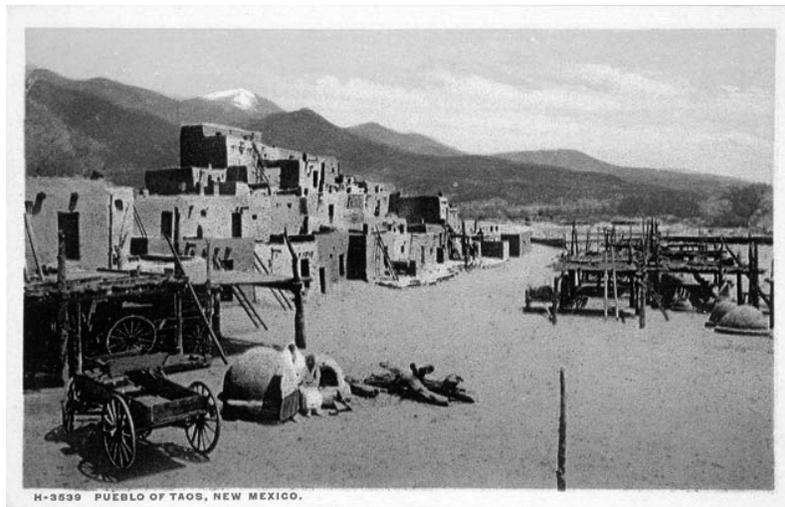
Tuesday 2^d. Sent a boy for my horses this morning who returned with then in the evening. Was visited by a man from St. Cruise 50 miles distant labouring under a protracted case of the stricture or gravel.²⁰ took consider able pains to learn his complaint and on inquiry found he had

nothing to pay accordingly dismissed him. Was attacked in the night with a violent ear ache which lasted 5-6 hours and [then] left me.

Wednesday 3^d Bleed 2 men in town gave one an Emetic²¹ to take tomorrow morning a considerable shower fel yesterday for this country though but barely laid the dust

Thursday 4th called on to visit a patient in town before breakfast found him severely exercised with medicine, but doing well. Visited Mr. Rennison²² 4 miles below found him convelasent. ~~Made a proposition to take my mare to Missouri. Keep her and to breed and give me the mare and half the colts when I return or send for them. I agree to his proposition.~~

Friday 5th Spend this day in reading a light shower today
Saturday 6th nothing of consequence transpires today remain at home it being a pleasant retreat.



"Pueblo of Taos, New Mexico." Postcard, H-3539, c. 1930, Detroit Publishing Co., distributed by Fred Harvey. Courtesy Museum of the American West, Autry National Center, 89.119.42, www.theautry.org.

Sunday 7th a few shower to day which is very unusual in this country at this time of year

rode to town where I found it in complete confusion it being made a day of Sport then was dancing making ever lasteing who[o]ping and holloring as is the practice of this country.

Monday 8th Called on early this morning by the Alcade to visit his lady. Did do. Attended a fangdango in the evening from special invitations. Little satisfaction to be realized amongst them.

Tuesday 9th Mr. Rennison came to stay with me a while being in delicate health.

Wednesday 10th Visited the Indian Chief of the Tause [Taos] tribe find him very ill of the dropsy. expressed abundant gratitude for my compliment by setting me the best that his house could afford consisting of soup. meat, flour bread, corn cakes.

rasberries, and black currands. &c. and pressed me to take with me when I left.

Thursday 11th nothing transpires today of importance rode to the distillery²³ for Spt^s [spirits] of wine.

Friday 12th visited Severcues this morning found the old Lady better. Called at Sr. Lanars opened his servt. Girls & ordered a sabre [Previous sentences illegible.] made afternoon visited the Pueblo villiage called on my Indian patient

found him ill. glad to see me. me and my company conclude to visit the Cath^c [Catholic] priest who we found in fine humour. had much conversation on different subjects such as geography, politicks, &c. urged us to stay all night & would not take no for an answer until I argued the necessity of visiting a patient that evening when he consented.

Saturday 13th went to town this morning found several of my Missouri friends wrote 2 letters in the afternoon to my friends in Missouri.

Sunday 14th Sent for early this morning to visit a man at the Ranch[os de Taos] who has a Polypus²⁴ in the node and a Polypus or fungus excreciance²⁵ [excrecence] in the eye and of an enourmous size. he begs me to excise the excreciense [excrecence] feeling willing to run

all risks trusting in his God. Agree to visit him again. gave medicine to a young Lady for slight spasms in the stomach and returned home. was called on in the evening to visit a man afflected with phynmosis [unknown illness] unable to pay me, bleed and give him medicine.

Monday 15 Sent for to visit young Cordivo under fever and a lance arm from Bleding Staid all night better in the morning.

Tuesday 16 returned from Sr. Cordivos this morning on foot afternoon visited my patients at the Ranch with Mr. Baillio cause by Cardivos house On my return found the family Considerably agitated from a near encampment of Indians

Wednesday 17th visited a woman in town labouring under the Plurisy [Pleurisy] also visited my patient with a lame arm. and found they had neglected him arm highly inflamed and some fever. gave him a dose of Salts²⁶ returned home.

Thursday 18th Showers on the mountains for several days past the air feels like the fall of the year. visited Cordivo today.

Friday 19th visited Cordivo found him much better the inflamation having considerably abated.

Saturday 20th visited Cordivo attended a Fangdango in the evening at Sr. Lanars retired early. the manners and costomes seem to improve a little,

Sunday 21st visited my

sick patient at the Ranch²⁷ and performed an opperation on his eye by extracting the same. This was a painful task, the eye being obliterated in a great measure and the socket filled with a morbid exrecense forming a very considerable protubercule and firmly based upon the bone in and about the socket. Left him considerably exhausted. felt something indisposed from a slight fever after my seven hours.

Monday 22^d visited my patient at the Ranch. Found him quite comfortable. heavy showers in afternoon with considerable hail.

Tuesday 23rd²⁸ visited my patient at the Ranch.

Wednesday 24th visited Cordivo [Cordiva] & my man at the Ranch, got caught in a heavy shower.

Thursday 25 visited the Ranch in the afternoon the

*Visited the Indian Chief
of the Tause [Taos] tribe
find him very ill of the dropsy.
expressed abundant gratitude for
my compliment by setting me the
best that his house could afford
consisting of soup. meat, flour
bread, corn cakes. raspberries, and
black currands. &c. and pressed
me to take with me when I left.*

Americans begin to collect in order to organized for their departure.

Friday 26th visited Cordivo by the ranch – find him nearly well.

Saturday 27 visited the Ranch by Cordivo in company with an interpreter. Sold my necklace for a [indecipherable word]. Gave a fangdango in the evening.

Monday 29 visited the Ranch found Capt. Means²⁹ & some other Americans.

Tuesday 30th Purchased cloathes of Clapton. Attended a Fangdango in the evening at Mr. Beards.

Wednesday 31st Visited the Ranch by Cordivos. My friends advise me to remain in this part of the country a year longer efore I go below in order to git the language and having seen a letter from a Sonoran stating the scarcity of medicine

conclude to stay on another year in order to obtain medicine from Missouri and accordingly send out a bill to that effect.

Thursday 1st September Mr. Rennison came to stay with me last night. His proposes sending me a suit of clothes next season I agree

to go and encamp with the company who start today for Missouri. made fifteen miles when we overtook a part of the company that started yesterday a light shower in the evening

Friday 2^d night cool. Mr. Cave was quite sick last night with fever. bled him. better this morning. Was requested to assist in enrolling and organizing the [eastbound] company. Elected RW Morris Captain divided them into 17 masses there being 75 or 80 in all. It is supposed they have 700 head of horses & mules.³⁰ Parted with company after breakfast and returned much fatigued.

Saturday 3^d. Visited the Ranch felt something melancholy since Americans left here

Sunday 4th came to a determination to leave this place and spend the winter and spring at the pass³¹.

Monday 5th begin to settle my business and prepared for a start.

Tuesday 6th Settled with my landlord allow him 12 dollars a month for board. visited the Ranch afternoon

Wednesday 7 Spend most of my time in reading

Thursday 8 nothing of importance.

Friday 9 Called on to visit a woman in town afflicted but with a pain in her face and says she has discharged large amount from her nose with some fever.

Saturday 10 Visited Ranch treated 2 new patients, one with fever the other Rheumatism. Occupied from the 10

to the 15th in preparing to start to the Pass but have had but little success in collecting.

Friday 15th³² Started from Taos travelled 18 miles Called at Cordivos in the morning for money due he refused to pay cussed and quit him.

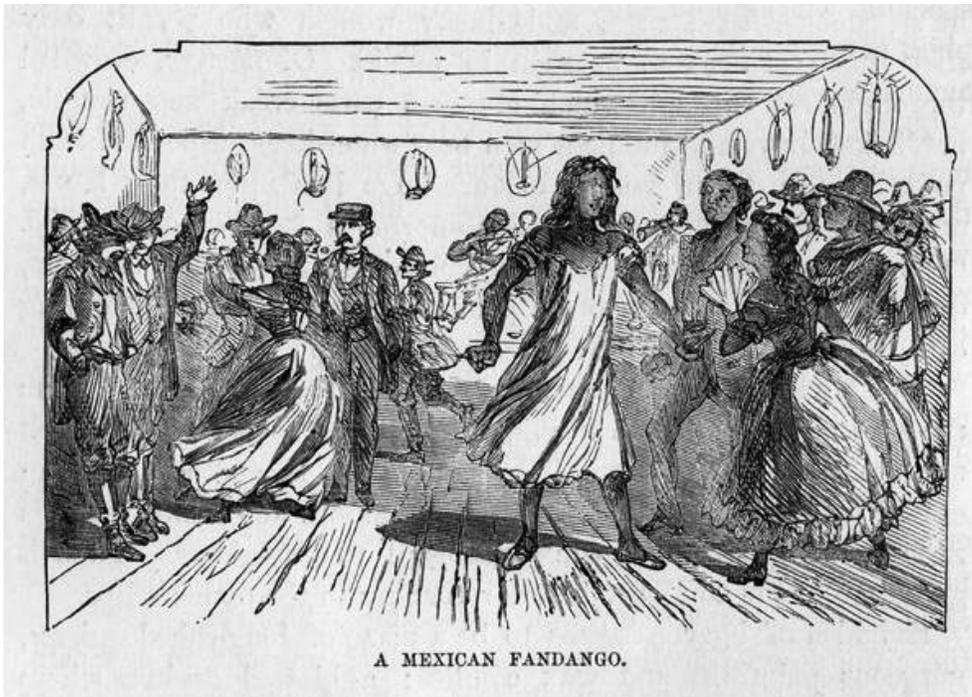
Saturday 16th Started at day brake called at the John Andrews bled and gave him physic called at

Priest Rados³³ who appeared glad to see us reached Santa Fee at sunset put up with Sr. Vigill who treated me well.

Sunday 17. This place contain a bout 2000 Inhabitants the major part of them quite poor.

and the country arround it entirely barren it was founded the beginning of the 17 century now in a State of decline. This day is cool and rainy.

Monday 18th The mountains are white with snow this morning and the mercury stands at 50 FH [Fahrenheit]. attended a Fangdango in the evening given by the Americans.



*"A Mexican Fandango," engraving. Albert D. Richardson, Beyond the Mississippi..., (Hartford, CT: American Publishing Company, 1867) 242. <http://books.google.com>.**

Tuesday 20 treated Sr. Vigills lady for an accute Rheumatism was very successful in relieving her. Called on today to visit the Govr.³⁴ found him slightly indisposed gave him a dose of Physic and several visits. Attended another Fandango at night.

Wednesday 21st Visited the Governor found him in tolerable health though with a slight pain in his head and some fever. Bled him and gave him Crm. Tart³⁵ also opened an absess on his daughter's knee. The Governor approves much interest in my behalf and presents me with a first rate mule like wiche he offers giving me letters to the first men in Chauaua [Chihuahua] &c.

Thursday 22 weather cool Visited the Governor found him restored to health Daughter succeeding fast. pay her a visit. 2 or 3 times a day

Friday 23 remains cool and snow remains on the mountain. Visit the Governoras usual.

Saturday 24th weather more pleasant Fangdango tonight and one last night.

Sunday 25th attended church this morning worship service to the same denomination in Missouri. Fangdango at night.

Monday 25th nothing of importance transpires except the mail arrives and learns the news of a war between Rusia, France & Spain against England North & Spanish America.

Tuesday 27th Nothing of importance today save Campbell, Emmonds³⁶ & Storrs leaves for the Pass.

Wednesday 28th Expected to have started for the Pass today Ward not ready.

Thursday 29. All ready to start to day but our interpreter is detained for debt.

Thursday 29 Started from St. Fee at 8 ock and camped in the Canion³⁷ [Canyon] 15 miles.

JOY POOLE was the first director of El Camino Real International Heritage Center for New Mexico State Monuments. She collaborated with architects and builders on the award-winning "ship in the desert" Heritage Center south of Socorro, wrote a successful NEH planning grant for the interpretive plan, and worked with a team of national scholars on the permanent exhibition Traveling El Camino Real. Joy, a charter member of CARTA, currently serves on the Board and resides in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

[The endnotes in this excerpt correspond to numbers 34 to 59 in Poole's transcription of the entire diary. —Eds.]

ENDNOTES

1 The use of the title *alcalde* today usually refers to a Mayor or local official. According to Simmons, "The following terms all make their appearance in New Mexico's colonial records, *alcalde mayor*, *alcalde ordinario*, *teniente alcalde*, *alcalde constitucional*, *alcalde de barrio* and *alcalde de agua*. Each of these was a distinct expression of a different rank or function embodied in a separate official, and thus to speak simply of an *alcalde*, without a qualifying adjective, is to promote ambiguity." Simmons, Marc. *Spanish Government in New Mexico*. Albuquerque. 1968. pp. 160-161.

Sometime after June 8, 1825, Pedro Martin was temporarily serving as the Constitutional Alcalde of Taos with Pablo Lucero and Blas Trujillo as his assistants. Earlier in 1825, Severino Martinez (the father of Padre Martinez) had served as Constitutional Alcalde and it appears Severino Martinez would again resume the duties of Constitutional Alcalde by December of 1825 and into the year 1826. Correspondence, Spanish Archives of New Mexico (SANM I) Microfilm Roll 9 of the translations, Record 1297.

2 The date has two entries.

3 In June of 1825, Pablo Lucero witnessed a water document for the Constitutional Alcalde Pedro Martin. Presumably Lucero was a Lt. Alcalde for Taos. Spanish Archives of New Mexico (SANM I). Microfilm Roll 9 of the Translations, Record 1297. According to the 1850 Federal Census Pablo Lucero, 68, a farmer was married with 6 children. (Retrieved on 10-21-2009 from <http://search.ancestrylibrary.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&rank=1&gsfn=Pablo&gsln=Lucero>)

4 A fandango is a popular dance somewhat similar to, or at least culturally equivalent to, what many know a *social* or *barn dance*. Willard attended at least five fandangos: Monday 4 July, 1826; Tuesday 26 July, 1826; Tuesday 20 September, 1826; Friday 22 December, 1826; Friday 22 December, 1826 and Monday 25, December, 1826. Some



The Home Cyclopedia Of Health And Medicine, by Henry Hartshorne. Publisher: W. E. Scull. Copyright 1902, W. E. Scull.

were part of political festivities such as July the 4th, others for religious festivities such as Christmas, and others to celebrate the arrival of travelers.

5 Febeanes Carel is listed on July 9 in the Custom House Records Santa Fe for 1825 with a factura from Columbia, April 26. Weber, The Extranjeros. 1967. p. 17.

6 Claded would seem to mean dressed, so in this case it would seem as if Dr. Willard wished to say that the day was dressed or distinguished by two fandangos.

7 It is uncertain who the priest is that Dr. Willard references. Antonio Jose Martinez appears to have been the *cura engardo* or pastor in charge of both Abiquiu and Taos in 1825. Yet Martinez doesn't become the *cura propio* or irremovable pastor of Taos until July 23, 1826 when he succeeds Father Jose Mariano Sanchez Vergara. Chavez, Fray Angelico. But Time and Change: The Story of Padre Martinez of Taos, 1793-1867. Santa Fe: NM 1981. pp. 24-27.

8 This is the first written account of the American celebration of the 4th of July in the Territory of New Mexico.

9 *"From the 1790's to about the middle of the 1800's was essentially the age of Heroic medicine (allopathy), and a few allopathic physicians in the United States dominated medical philosophy and education. To practice allopathic medicine, a doctor needed only a sharp lancet to slice into a vein or leeches to suck blood from his patient, suction cups to enhance blood flow from small incisions or to withdraw "toxins" from an inflamed part of the body, ipecac to produce vomiting, calomel to empty the bowels, and mustard to make a plaster to burn blisters on the skin. The ancient therapies were based on the premise that toxins could be extracted from a sick body via bodily fluids. Even after allopathy began to lose it luster, many frontier doctors still insisted that clysters (enemas), cathartics, and sometime cupping were the answer to most complaints."* Steele, V. Bleed, Blister and Purge: A History of Medicine on the American Frontier. Missoula. 2005.

10 Augustus Storrs would eventually be appointed consul by the American government and residing in El Paso del Norte by February of 1826. Weber, The Extranjeros. 1967. p. 22.

11 Dr. Willard's penmanship is extremely small and coupled with his spelling very hard to decipher. The surname might have been written as Majors, Marrs, Marsh or March. A Stephan Mury[?] is listed on July 9 in the Custom House Records Santa Fe for 1825 with a factura from Columbia, April 25. Weber, The Extranjeros. 1967. p. 17.

12 Ishuria is defined as retention or suppression of urine. (Retrieved November 8, 2009 from <http://medical-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/ischuria>.)

13 "William Shirley Williams 'Old Bill' had a friend in Taos, Paul Baillo, who likewise had lived among the Osages, where both men had taken Indian wives now conveniently forgotten. Apparently in 1824 Baillo had left for Taos, possibly with Ceran St. Vrain. Perhaps already, and certainly by 1826, Baillo entered into partnership with Ceran, equipping trappers. It was Baillo who went out to meet Sibley's road markers and led them across the pass into Taos Valley. George Sibley, incidentally, had been a partner of both Paul Baillo and Lilburn Boggs, Juliannah Bent's husband, in the Indian trade at Fort Osage". Lavender, D. Bent's Fort. New York:1954. p. 374.



Diagram of blood-letting points. Feldbuch der Wundarzney (Field Book of Surgery), 1519, illustrated with woodcuts attributed to Hans Wechtlin.

14 Consumption of the lungs; strictly applied to the tuberculous variety. Phthisis is an archaic name for tuberculosis. (Retrieved on November 8, 2009 from Rudy's List of Archaic Medical terms at www.antiquusmorbus.com/English/EnglishP.htm.) "Until recently the view has been universal, that pulmonary phthisis consists in the formation of tubercles in the lungs, which sooner or later soften and break down. According to the Nomenclature of the Royal College of Physicians of London, Phthisis now includes two general varieties. 1. As allied to scrofula: general constitutional disease with or without scrofula, Tuber-culo-pneumonic and tuber'cular phthisis, 2. Destructive disintegration of pulmonary tissue, having its source in chronic or acute pneumonia, Acute and chronic pneumonic phthisis. According to the most recent theories of the nature of phthisis pulmonalis, the affection may occur in non tuberculous persons, who may never become tuberculous; it may be caused by chronic inflammatory processes in the lungs, such as bronchial catarrh, and especially chronic catarrhal pneumonia, which is

preceded by bronchitis, the air cells and smaller air-cells being next involved and filled with the products of the inflammatory processes." Dunglison, Robley, M.D., LL.D., Medical Lexicon. A Dictionary of Medical Science: Containing a concise explanation of the various subjects and terms of Anatomy, Physiology, Pathology, Hygiene, Therapeutics, Medical Chemistry, Pharmacology, Pharmacy, Surgery, Obstetrics, Medical Jurisprudence and Dentistry; Notices of Climate and of Mineral Waters; Formulae Official, Empirical, and Dietetic Preparations; with The Accentuation and Etymology of the Terms, and the French and Other Synonyms. Philadelphia: 1874. p. 792.

15 David J. Weber states, "Chambers is a curious and obscure figure. In 1812, he joined the ill-fated McKnight expedition to Santa Fe and, like James Baird, suffered captivity until 1820." Weber also identifies Baird and Chambers as "pioneer industrialists" in 1824. Baird and Chambers built what is thought to have been the first distillery in Taos. Weber, David J. The Taos Trappers: The Fur Trade in the Far Southwest, 1540 – 1846, Norman, OK. 1970, Pp. 60, 72-3, and 115-118. Luis de Fies with Samuel Chambres [Chambers] is listed and given Guia # 51 on Dec. 20 1827 in the Book of Guias for Santa Fe/ 1826-1828. Weber, The Extranjeros. 1967. p 33.

16 Presumed to be Jicarilla Apache.

17 Dr. Willard indicates Robidoux' company left Taos on July 27, 1825. On August 30, 1825, "Robideaus party from Tous" returned to the Council Bluffs. These fur returns may have been brought in by Francois or Louis Robidoux. Barry, L. The Beginning of the West, Topeka, 1972. p. 115. Francisco Ruidu [Robidoux], Miguel Rubidu, and Antonio Rubidu all declared as merchants and without passports are listed in the February 1826 Report on Foreigners written by Governor Antonio Narbona. Weber, David J. The Extranjeros Selected Documents from the Mexican Side of the Santa Fe Trail 1825-1828. Santa Fe: 1967. p. 19-22.

18 Pleurisy: An inflammation of the lining of the lungs that can lead to drowning or the lungs collapsing.

19 An old term for the swelling of soft tissue due to excess water retention. (Retrieved October 20, 2009 from www.medterms.com/script/main/art.asp?articlekey=13311.)

20 Gravel – A deposit of small calculous concretions in

the kidneys & urinary bladder; the disease causing it. Steele, Volney. M.D. Bleed, Blister and Purge: A History of Medicine on the American Frontier. Missoula, MT. 2005.

21 An *emetic*, such as syrup of ipecac, is a substance that induces vomiting when administered orally or by injection. An emetic is used medically where a substance has been ingested and must be expelled from the body immediately (for this reason, many toxic and easily digestible products such as rat poison contain an emetic). Inducing vomiting can remove the substance before it is absorbed into the body. Ipecac abuse can cause detrimental health effects. (Retrieved on November 8, 2009 from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vomiting#Emetics>.)

en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vomiting#Emetics.)

22 John Remison [Rennison] is listed on July 8 in the Custom House Records Santa Fe for 1825 with a factura from Franklin, April 30. Weber, The Extranjeros. 1967. p 17

23 According to an email communication from David Weber on November 30, 2009, the distillery could have been one that Peg-leg Smith claimed to have started in 1824-25. Weber, David J. "William Workman: A Letter from

Taos, 1826," New Mexico Historical Review 41 (April 1966): pp.155-161.

24 Polypus is another word for polyp. (Retrieved on November 11, 2009 from www.thefreedictionary.com/polypus.)

25 An excrescence could be a growth, wart or tumour that is either useless or disfiguring.

26 Epsom Salts in conversation with Dr. Clint Chambers of Lubbock, Texas in July of 2009.

27 Modern usage would tend to suggest that the "Ranch" would refer to Rancho de Taos, but it is not clear that such generalized usage was common in the early nineteenth centuries.

28 The question mark is Willard's notation. He apparently was uncertain of the date.

29 John Means is listed as #24 in December of 1826 who paid duties to the Custom House Officer Juan Vigil of the Public Treasury of the Federation. Weber, The Extranjeros. 1967. p 27.

30 Willard's diary entry is corroborated by the *Missouri Republican*, a St. Louis newspaper account dated October 24, 1825 as given by Archibald Gamble, the secretary



Woman applying leeches, <http://medleech.com>

for the commissioners marking a road from the frontier of Missouri, to the confines of the New Mexico, and for treating with the intervening Indian tribes, that the survey had been completed to the boundary line of the United States... "The expedition reached the boundary line early in Sept. and remained in camp until the 21st, waiting for the authority to continue the surveys through the Mexican territory." The commissioners were Major Sibley, Colonel Reeves, and Colonel Mather. At North Bend, on the return, " a company of 20 adventurers with a great many mules and horses laden with merchandize, arrived from Missouri, bound for Santa Fe; and an hour afterwards a company of 81 persons, returning from Santa Fe, also arrived at their camp."

This company carried

"In Silver,	\$18,568
Gold	182
Beaver Fur, 2044 @ \$5	\$10,220
Mules 416, Jacks and Jennets 25,	
Horses 189 = 630 @ \$25 =	\$ 15,700
	Total of \$44,670."

Barry, Louise. The Beginning of the West. Topeka, KS. p.126. and Nebraska Historical Society Publications, Lincoln, v. 20. pp. 46-47.

31 Assume he is referring to El Paso del Norte which today is Ciudad Juárez.

32 Dr. Willard's dates are in error here and not in synchronization. He straightens out the days and dates on Tuesday the 20th.

33 Priest Manuel Rada. According to an email communication from David Weber on November 30, 2009. Rada arrived in New Mexico in 1821. That year he was assigned to the parish of Santa Cruz de la Cañada, where as a secular priest, he served until his election to congress in October 1828 by the voters of New Mexico Territory. Rada also served as pastor at San Juan pueblo (1826-28) and as vicar for the Rio Arriba parishes (1826-28). Weber, David, Northern Mexico on the Eve of the United States Invasion. 1976. New York. pp. 17-18.

34 Prior to 1825 New Mexico territorial history had both a political or civic governor and a military governor. Antonio Narbona was the first governor to serve in both capacities from 1825-1827. New Mexico State Records Center and Archives. Spanish Archives of New Mexico. SANM Record 1297.

35 Chrominum Tart was a drug used in the 19th century.

36 Richard Campbell is listed on April 7 in the Custom House Records Santa Fe for 1825. Both Richard Campbell and Ira A. Emmons are issued guias #13 and #10 for Sonora dated Sept. 23, 1825 under Miscellaneous Guias. Weber, The Extranjeros. 1967. pp. 17, 24.

37 Santa Fe Canyon north of La Cienega, New Mexico.

*New Mexican Pastimes

The engraving on page 23, "A Mexican Fandango," is an illustration from a book by Albert D. Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi: from the Great River to the Great Ocean: Life and Adventure on the Prairies, Mountains, and Pacific Coast, 1857-1867*. (Hartford, CT: American Publishing Company, 1869).

Dr. Willard appears to have spent many evenings at fandangos in New Mexico (see endnote no. 4). The engraving originally accompanied Richardson's story about a fandango in El Paso that he attended in 1859: "On the platform at one end, three musicians without coats were hard at work. All entered into the amusement with enthusiasm; and participants and lookers of both sexes were smoking. When a woman rose to dance she handed her cigarette to a neighbor to smoke until she returned....Many had beautiful, luminous eyes, and all a grace of motion rarely seen in their English or American sisters." Several decades after Dr. Willard penned his impressions, Richardson confirmed the ongoing popularity of fandangos. "Dancing, a passion with the ancient Aztecs and mingling in all their religious exercises, continues the staple amusement of their mixed descendants. There were three or four fandangoes in Santa Fe every night, the Mexicans always participating with wonderful zest. "

Richardson was a keen observer of the local pastimes. Here he describes a gambling scene. "At the Santa Fe hotel I often saw three monte banks in a single room in operation from daylight until midnight. They were attended by a motley crowd of Indians, Mexicans and whites

darkening the saloon with tobacco smoke. The deep silence was broken only by the jingle of coins and the suppressed breath of players. Enormous piles of silver weighed down the tables, and frequently ten thousand dollars changed hands in ten minutes."



"Gambling in Santa Fe," engraving. Albert D. Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi*. . . (Hartford, CT: American Publishing Company, 1867) 252.

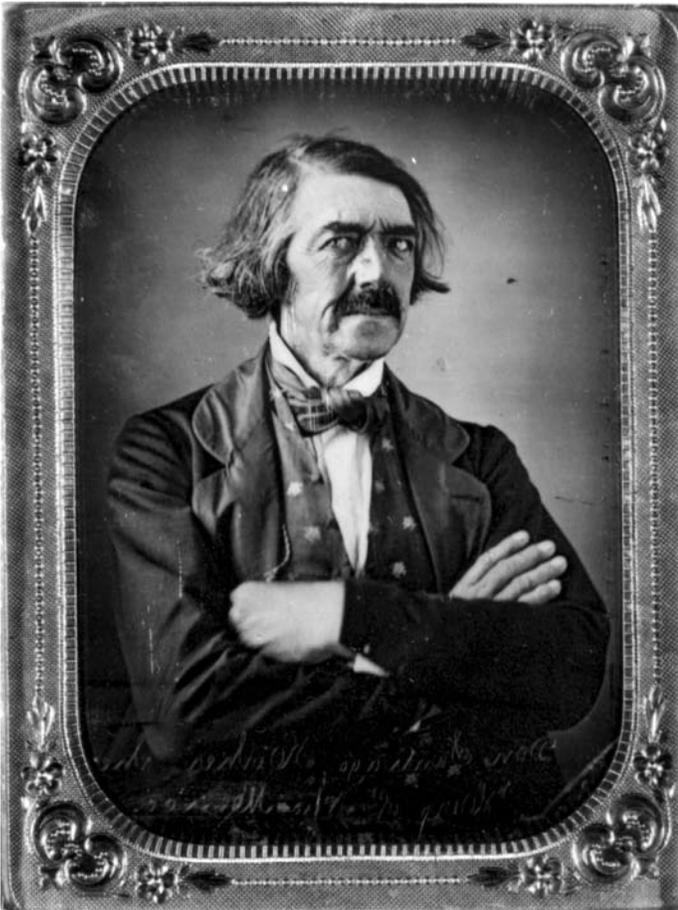
— Editors

Richardson, 242-243, 251-52, 254.

DON SANTIAGO KIRKER, APACHE SCALPER, Part II

by Hal Jackson

Drawings by Francisco Uviña



Daguerrotype of James Kirker by Thomas M. Easterly, July 1847. "Don Santiago Kirker, the King of New Mexico" is scratched on the bottom of the image (reversed).

Hal Jackson's portrayal of James Kirker began in the last issue of the Chronicles with Kirker abandoning his family in New York, going into business with fellow Scotch-Irish immigrants in St. Louis, and heading west to New Mexico and Chihuahua in the 1820s, just after Mexican independence. He married and had children with a Mexican wife, and gained infamy both as a gunrunner providing weapons to the Apaches, which they used against the Mexicans, and later as a mercenary Apache hunter, working for the Mexicans, whose villages the Indians raided for horses and supplies. —Eds.

The Last Kirker Projecto

On May 24, 1846, the Chihuahua government called for another Kirker-style attack on the Apaches. The Indians were clearly winning the war and drastic measures were called for. Pleas for help brought forward only one volunteer: Santiago Kirker. He was to raise troops in any manner he chose, and Mexicans, for the first time in a bounty situation, were to be included. Again the bounty was fifty pesos for each Indian killed or captured.

In early July something happened in Galeana, north of San Buenaventura. It is known that at least 130 Indians were killed. Mexicans from nearby communities of Casas Grandes and San Buenaventura had been asked to help in the attack. Kirker and his men were at Galeana as well. It is not clear from official reports and newspaper accounts what role Kirker played in what was really an unprovoked attack on a group of Apaches, who said they were at Galeana seeking peace.

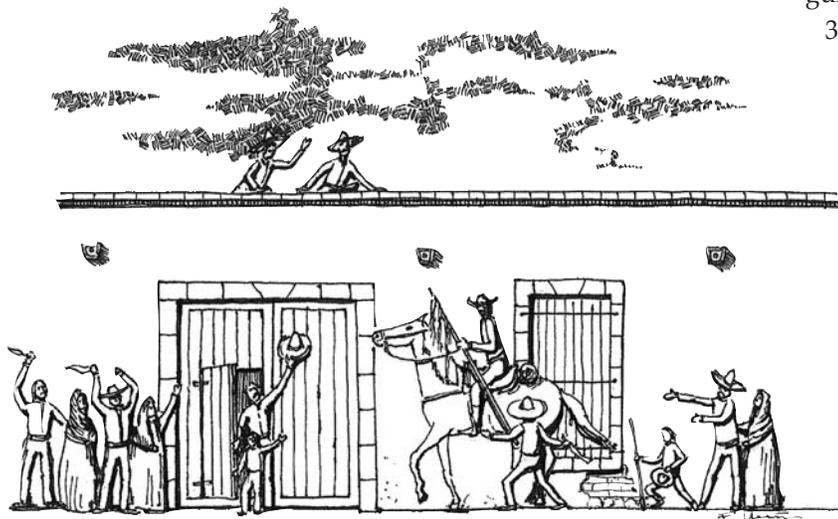
George Ruxton's version of events at Galeana differs from official accounts. First, he has Don Santiago "sending several kegs of spirits" to the Apaches to "prepare them" for his attack. This certainly can't be true as Apaches would have sensed a trap if whiskey had been sent by Kirker.

Galeana becomes the signal battle in the Kirker story. Kirker's biographer, Ralph Adam Smith, points out inconsistencies in the different versions. Kirker was at Galeana, Mexicans likely did most of the killing, and Kirker and his Delawares and Shawnees did the scalping. James, with scalps on poles (according to Ruxton), entered Chihuahua to an ecstatic crowd. Victory celebrations did occur in the capital on July 10, 1846. The scalps were still up as late as November 10, when Ruxton departed Chihuahua for New Mexico.

The Galeana battle was the last in Mexico for Kirker (at least against Indians). What was the result of the many Kirker wars against the Apaches? Scalp hunting and the bounty system are repugnant to most Americans, but were these strategies effective? William Griffen, in his detailed study of the northern border wars

between 1832 and 1849, felt the Mexican policies were counterproductive. His detailed analysis showed three times as many Mexicans killed by Apaches as Apaches killed by Mexicans or men like Kirker. This author feels that the Spaniards learned early on, in the struggle for the Silver Road in Zacatecas, that peace by purchase was a superior strategy: provide the Indians with necessary goods at select points and they will slowly acculturate into the majority population.

Did Kirker (and others) use cunning and surprise in their attacks on Apache camps? Of course they did. Both sides used the same tactics. Kirker, in an interview in 1847, claimed he and his men killed 487 Apaches while losing but three men. Even if we grant Kirker the remarkable success that he claimed, we have to think about what happened as a result of his success. Smith's assessment of Kirker was that "his expeditions likely provoked more suffering, as a result of retaliatory raids, than they prevented."



The American Invasion

After Galeana and the celebration in Chihuahua, Kirker went northwest to await further orders from the governor. The biggest concern of the Mexicans at this time was not the Apache threat, but the invading American army under Stephen Watts Kearny. Kearny occupied Santa Fe on August 18, 1846, a scant month after Galeana.

Both Mexicans and Americans, who were on the brink of war, sought Kirker's services. James Wiley Magoffin, who had been instrumental in orchestrating the peaceful occupation of Santa Fe by the Americans, traveled south in an attempt to replicate his peace dialogue in

Chihuahua. Instead, he was arrested and incarcerated there. Kirker likely met with Magoffin either in El Paso del Norte or in Chihuahua after he was jailed. Kirker decided to join the American side and presented himself and some of his Delawares the evening of the battle of Brazito (Christmas Day, 1846), just southeast of present-day Las Cruces. Col. Doniphan welcomed him, and made him guide and interpreter. The Americans, however, did not completely trust James and kept a close eye on him.

Marching downstream along the Rio Grande, Kirker predicted the U.S. forces would not meet any organized resistance. Doniphan and the other officers were skeptical of Kirker's prediction but it turned out to be correct, as did his future predictions. He knew the country and he knew the Mexicans very well. The Mexican forces defeated at Brazito had passed through El Paso del Norte and hurried south to Chihuahua city.

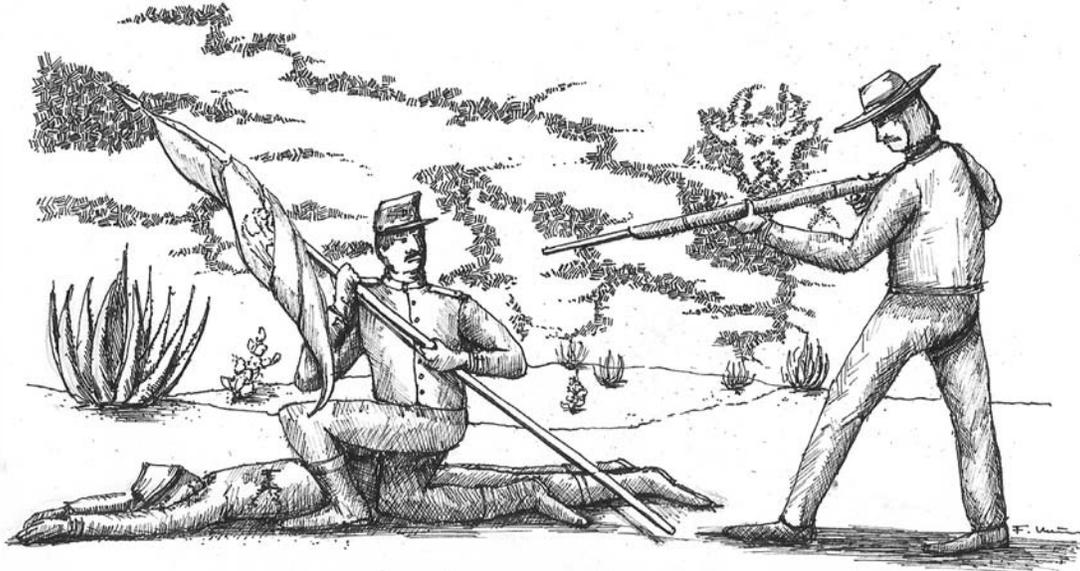
Many confirm that Kirker was a very important figure as Doniphan marched toward Chihuahua, and at the battle at Sacramento. Finally, on February 8, Kirker guided a group of Missouri Volunteers and over 300 traders' wagons out of El Paso del Norte.

Shortly thereafter the traders were required to organize themselves into an infantry battalion, but some fifty wagons escaped from Doniphan's control and made it to Chihuahua with their cargoes.

Kirker and some troops were sent ahead of the main party to reconnoiter Carrizal, on the *Camino Nacional* (Camino Real). Carrizal was a presidio, and it was thought that it might still be fortified and garrisoned. There were no Mexican soldiers at Carrizal when Kirker arrived, and he and the American soldiers occupied it.

In late February he went on to the hacienda at Encinilla owned by Governor Trías. He found that the Mexican troops had left the night before he arrived. The next hurdle was to be a major one as Mexican forces, all 4,220 of them, were entrenched at the ford of the Rio Sacramento. The site was directly on the Camino Nacional. Perhaps one of Kirker's Delaware or Shawnee companions provided the plan of battle for Doniphan. If a good plan had not been adopted, there likely would have been a Mexican victory because their artillery completely covered the Camino.

The battle plan called for a swing to the right, off the Camino Nacional, and then a charge up a small embankment, which would allow the army to attack on the Mexicans' left flank. This plan also meant that most



of the Mexican artillery would not be a force in the battle because it was focused on the Camino Nacional, which the Mexicans assumed the Americans would be forced to use. (For a map of the Sacramento battle site, see Jackson, *Following the Royal Road*.)

Kirker challenged Squire Collins, whom he had met over drinks and argued with the night before, to join him in silencing the battery remaining on the American right. Thus we have Kirker, Collins, and Major Owens, one of the traders, leading the charge. Owens must have had a death wish (he did, in fact, have family problems), for he was garbed all in white. The charge worked to perfection and the Mexicans were totally bewildered. Owens was killed in the charge, the only American death the day of the battle. Several Americans were wounded and died later. The entire Mexican front broke and within an hour the battle was over, the Mexicans in full retreat, a retreat that passed through Chihuahua city and didn't stop for a hundred miles beyond.

Don Santiago remained with Doniphan in Chihuahua,

and later went with the army to Saltillo and a meeting with General Wool. Kirker expected to be paid for his services when he reached Saltillo, but neither he nor any of the traders ever received any pay.

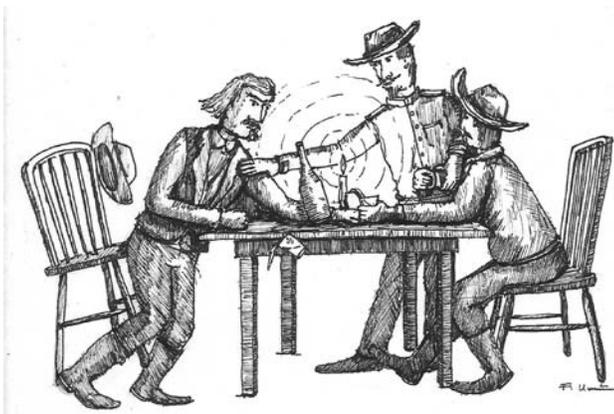
Doniphan, his troops, and Kirker continued south to Matamoros on the Rio Grande, where they caught a boat for New Orleans. After a short voyage to that city, Kirker took a paddle wheeler up the Mississippi to St. Louis, where he arrived on July 1, 1847.

Kirker Heads West Again

While Kirker was in St. Louis he gave an interview to Charles Keemle of the *St. Louis Saturday Evening Post and Temperance Recorder*. (This interview is reprinted in McGaw.) Kirker told Keemle his life story in thirteen paragraphs. Included in the interview was a likeness of James from a daguerreotype taken by Thomas M. Easterly in July 1847. On the bottom of the image, someone scratched "Don Santiago Kirker, the King of New Mexico."

James was anxious to return to the Southwest to find out what might have happened to his family, whom he had left behind in Mexico when his adventures with Doniphan began. He went west with the Third Regiment of Missouri Mounted Volunteers, reaching Santa Fe in mid-October 1847.

Apparently James entered the hotel business in Santa Fe, a fact mentioned in the *Santa Fe Republican* in December. His family, meantime, continued to live in El Paso del Norte, Mexico, and James could not bring them north because Trías was still governor of Chihuahua and there remained a price on Kirker's head.



Kirker Gets Gold Fever

President Polk had addressed Congress in December 1848, telling them (actually confirming rumors) about the gold strike in California earlier that year. Thus, the Forty Niners began the rush to the West in January 1849. Some men, and a few women, went by way of Panama, others around the Horn, and still others across Mexico. But we are concerned here with those traveling overland, either by the northern route of the Oregon-California Trails or the Santa Fe Trail, the preferred route in winter. Kirker left Washington in January 1849, arriving in St. Louis on January 24, and in late April headed up the Missouri on a steamboat to Independence Landing. Either on the steamboat or at Independence, Kirker was persuaded to guide a group of wealth seekers to California. This next episode of his life was documented in a book by one of the participants, Charles Pancoast.

Pancoast was a Quaker and a member of the Peoria Pioneers, the group that engaged James. Another group, the Jacksonville Pioneers, tagged along with Kirker because of his reputation as a mountain man and Indian fighter. On May 15, 1849, Kirker and his entourage departed for the West by way of the Santa Fe Trail. It really was an interesting trip. His clients were greenhorns with no trail experience, and not skilled at shooting, hunting, or protecting themselves. If the trip hadn't been so dangerous, their escapades might have been humorous. The first major event occurred on June 10 near Fort Mann on the Arkansas River, when the caravan met Chief Buffalo Heart and a large contingent of Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Kiowa warriors. Relations improved when the chief showed Kirker a letter that he carried from Indian agent Thomas Fitzpatrick. It was all James could do to keep someone in his own group from panicking and firing a weapon. Eventually the party moved on untouched.

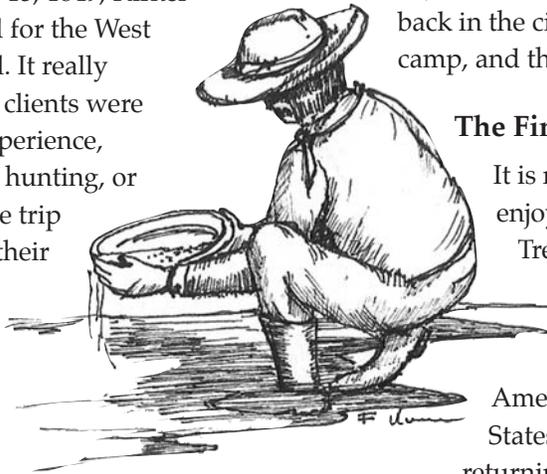
From Fort Mann and the encounter with Buffalo Heart, Kirker led the caravan to a point near today's Pueblo, Colorado. These were gold seekers, and James thought they could find the metal here in the Rockies. They panned the Arkansas and the Greenhorn rivers with little success, and each day without gold their faith in James diminished.

Next, James led the party south, letting them pan

other streams, but his mind was on his home in New Mexico. Crossing Raton Pass, Kirker used the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail, finally dropping into the small community of Rayado, New Mexico. At this time Rayado was the home of Kit Carson. According to Pancoast, Carson was there when Kirker and the group arrived. Pancoast described Carson's home as a "two story log affair, surrounded by adobe walls for purpose of fortification."

There were a dozen or so Americans and Mexicans plus twenty Indians at the Carson home. Apparently Carson was somewhat reserved when the party arrived, but Pancoast described him as "very garrulous" in the evening. The next day, James led the party south on the Santa Fe Trail, passing through San Miguel del Vado. From San Miguel, the usual crossing of the Pecos, he went southwest, leaving the Santa Fe Trail, and found a camp for the party at Galisteo, south of Santa Fe.

James soon departed the Galisteo camp and went to Santa Fe to be reunited with his daughter Petra. We know it was in the summer of 1849, because the *Santa Fe Republican Extra* had a notice wherein James Kirker was back in the city. James never did return to the Galisteo camp, and the party left for California without him.

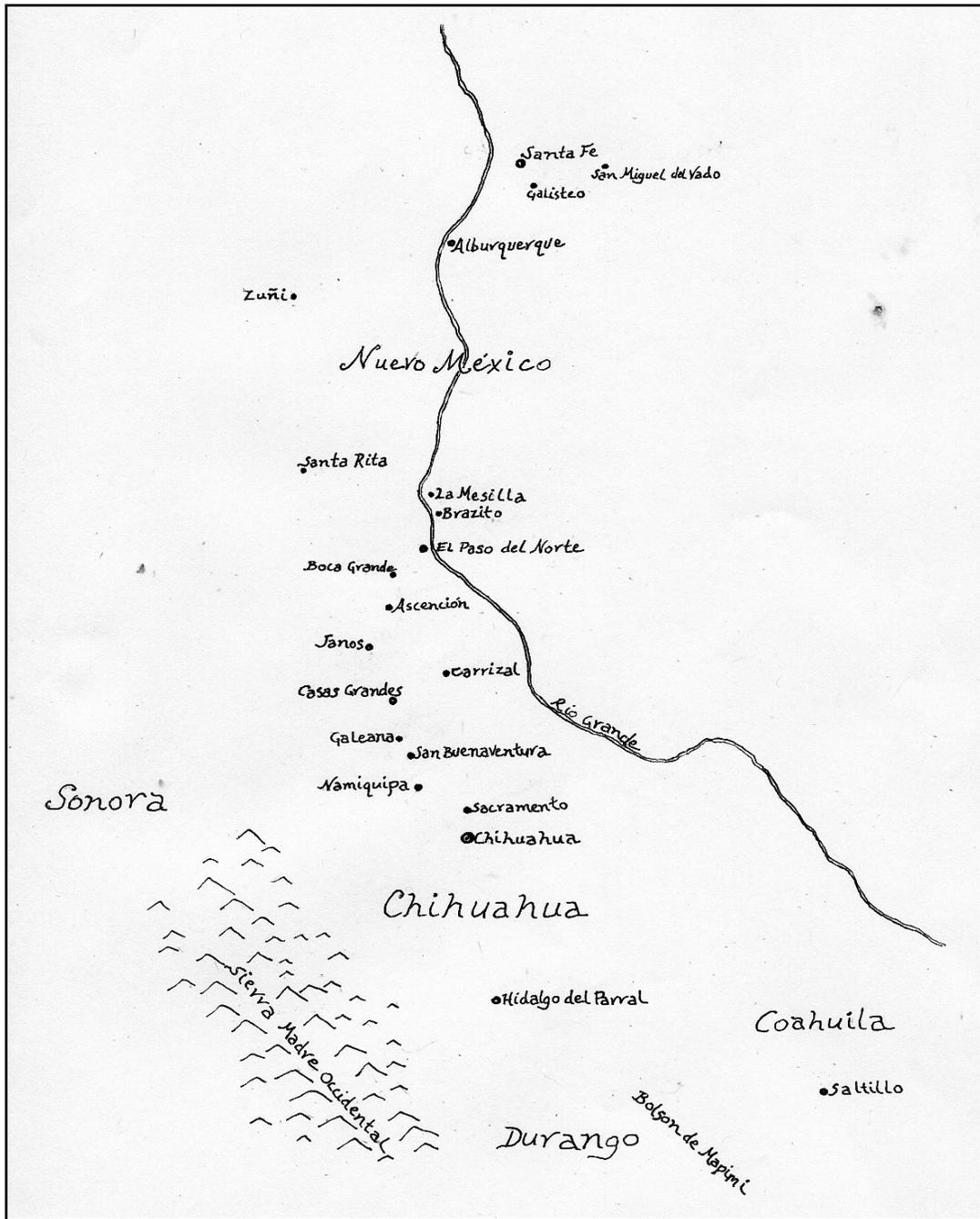


The Final Chapter

It is not known what occupation Kirker enjoyed between summer 1849 and fall 1850. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed on February 2, 1848. At the insistence of the Mexicans, Article 11 was added to the Treaty, requiring the Americans to prevent the Indians in the United States from raiding across the border into Mexico, returning north to sell the stolen livestock to the Americans, many on their way to the California gold fields and in desperate need of the animals.

However, at the conclusion of hostilities, the Americans withdrew their forces from the border area and never met their obligations of Article 11. This meant the Mexicans were on their own in the struggle against Apache incursions, relying on "Quirquismo," Kirker-style warfare and rewards. According to one source, the last scalp bounty was paid in 1886, although raiding continued until 1891.

There is no evidence that James Kirker went back to fighting Apaches on his return to New Mexico in 1849. It is highly unlikely that he would risk crossing the border since he was still a wanted man. He moved to California in early 1850, settling in Contra Costa County just north



Map of James Kirker's travels, drawn by Francisco Uviña.

of Mt. Diablo, near the Carquinez Straits, accompanied by a handful of his Delaware Indians. He had left his wife and family in Mexico. It is known that he was in San Francisco on October 29, 1850, attending a celebration of California's newly acquired statehood. After the celebration, James boarded a ship, the *Sagamore*, which was to take him to his home. A ship's boiler exploded killing fifty people, but James, although hurled into the air, survived. Kirker died in the fall of 1852 at the age of fifty-nine.

Kirker's Families

His first wife Catharine and son James B. Kirker continued living in New York City. James served in the Civil War as a captain in the Irish Legion, and retired as a major in June 1866. He never married. He died in 1868, survived by his mother, Catharine, who died a wealthy woman in the city in 1870.

Many of James's descendants from his marriage to Rita García still live in southern New Mexico. His daughter Petra married Sam G. Bean, older brother of noted Texan Judge Roy Bean. Sam Bean worked to bring all of the Kirker clan out of El Paso del Norte to Mesilla, New Mexico. Mesilla became part of the United States after the Gadsden Purchase in 1853. The three sons of James—Rafael, Santiago, and José—joined Sam and Petra in Mesilla.

Thoughts On Kirker

What is one to think of this man of the West, James Kirker? On one hand he was a bigamist, abandoned two families, and by his own admission killed over 450 Indians. On the other hand, he tried to make the Southwest safer for settlers (in his own mercenary way), and he contributed to the American cause in the war against Mexico. He did take scalps, as they were required by Mexican law in order to be paid for his services. Recall that three times as many Mexican settlers lost their lives to Apaches as did Apaches to men like Kirker.

Smith, in his biography of Kirker, outlines in detail the positives and negatives about James. He concluded, as I will, with the following: "However, enough information about him exists to show that the history of the American West was more dramatic because of his coming this way. He makes it easier for us to understand why Theodore Roosevelt said that the Scotch-Irish were 'bold frontiersmen'—and to comprehend why Matt Field said that James Kirker was 'a man of great enterprise and skill.'"

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This is an edited and shortened version of an article Hal Jackson wrote for Wagon Tracks (November 2006), the journal of the Santa Fe Trail Association, which he thought would be of interest to CARTA members because of Kirker's many escapades along the Camino Real. Judging from reader response to the first installment in the Winter 2010 Chronicles, he got that right!

Jackson assisted with a BBC crew on a documentary of Kirker, "King of the Wild Frontier," which was aired in the U.K. this spring, and possibly will be picked up by PBS. He was pleased with the DVD that he viewed in advance. "I can say they did a fine job of bringing Kirker to life." —Eds.

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assisting with field assessments and documentation of historic buildings as the Architectural/Technical Manager, where he currently performs contract work.

SABORES DEL CAMINO: Chocolate

by Catherine López Kurland

What is it about chocolate?

In the early 1600s, a bishop in the Spanish Colonial city of Chiapa Real (San Cristóbal de las Casas) made the fatal error of prohibiting the consumption of chocolate in the cathedral because of the commotion caused by Indian servants preparing and serving it. The delicate ladies, who required their *jícaras*, or small cups, of chocolate to sustain them during high Mass, refused to go along with the order. When the bishop then threatened excommunication, he mysteriously fell ill and died after drinking a cup of chocolate.¹

Chocolate held an exalted position in Mayan and Aztec civilizations, in Spanish Colonial America, in Spain, and now, it seems almost certain, in Ancestral Puebloan (Anasazi) culture. There is evidence of chocolate in Chaco Canyon as early as AD 1000, which possibly arrived there from Mesoamerica along an Indian trail that the Spanish later called *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*.

It is believed that the Olmec civilization of Mesoamerica was the first to cultivate the cacao tree (*Theobroma cacao*), c. 1500 B.C., and the name “cacao,” originally pronounced *kakawa*, derives from their proto-Mixe-Zoquean language group.² “Chocolate” comes from the Nahuatl

word *cacahuatl*, meaning “cacao water.”³ Both the Maya and Aztecs regarded cacao as sacred. The Spanish observed that the Maya and the Aztecs reserved it for religious ceremonies, royalty, esteemed guests, and distinguished warriors, and there is evidence that lesser mortals also enjoyed cacao on special occasions, albeit a diluted version.⁴ To consume chocolate illicitly was to invite certain death. The Maya and Aztecs transformed

the cacao seeds into a liquid beverage through a complex labor-intensive process. The Maya preferred it hot and the Aztecs cool,⁵ but both valued the froth above all. For both, cocoa beans were used as currency—money did grow on trees! According to a 16th-century Aztec document, in Tlaxcala the daily wage of a porter was 100 beans. He could buy a tamale with one bean, a good turkey hen with 100 full beans or 150 shrunken beans, and fish wrapped in maize husks for three beans.⁶ Cacao beans were worth enough to be counterfeited!⁷

Spanish conquerors soon came to appreciate this New World beverage as much as the locals. Once it became evident that all but the wealthiest colonists would have to do without their daily glass of wine because of the crown’s prohibition against planting wine grapes,⁸ they embraced chocolate as their own, exchanging some of

the native ingredients with Iberian imports. Christopher Columbus is credited with being the first person from the Old World to have had contact with cacao beans, in 1502, on a great Mayan trading canoe. Although he may not have known what they were, he observed that they were highly valued. His son Ferdinand, wrote of cacao seeds, which he called almonds: “They seemed to hold these almonds at a great price; for when they were brought on board

ship together with their goods, I observed that when any of these almonds fell, they all stopped to pick it up, as if an eye had fallen.” Just a couple of decades later, Hernan Cortés and the colonists began to fully appreciate cacao. As it had been a source of sustenance for Aztec soldiers, so it was for Spanish ones as well. Cortés called it “the divine drink which builds up resistance and fights fatigue. A cup of this precious drink permits man to walk for a whole day without food.”⁹ Soon Spaniards—not



Mayan chief forbidding a person to touch a foaming pot of chocolate
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mayan_people_and_chocolate.jpg.

only soldiers—on both sides of the Atlantic were enjoying the exotic new beverage—the ladies especially, according to the accounts of the day.¹⁰

The first documented record of a cacao bean shipment arriving in Spain from New Spain was in 1585. However, decades earlier, in 1544, a group of Dominican priests brought a delegation of Mayan nobles over to pay a visit to Prince Philip (Philip II), and among the gifts they brought were receptacles of beaten chocolate.¹¹ Shipping records show that chocolate gained a secure place in Spanish life between 1590 and 1610,¹² transported initially as fully processed chocolate, needing only water, and later as untreated cacao, which some enterprising Spanish learned to convert into chocolate. The English, Dutch, French and Italians followed suit, but not right away, and not to the extent of the Spanish, for whom it became the national beverage. At first English and Dutch privateers actually threw the cacao beans, which they regarded as “sheep dung,” overboard from captured Spanish ships. As the demand for this fashionable drink grew in Spain and, eventually, in other European countries in the 17th century, so did its value as an export crop from New Spain.

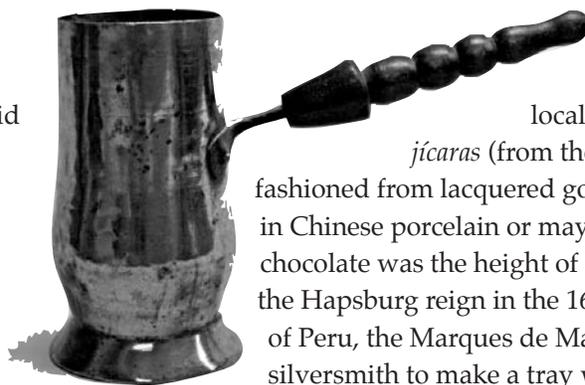
Cacao was a luxury for Mesoamericans, Spanish colonists and inhabitants of the Old World. The cacao tree grows only under specific conditions: within a warm and humid band twenty degrees north and south of the Equator, in an understory protected from direct sunlight. As this zone was outside the Aztec lands, they had to import cacao, force others to pay tribute to them in the form of cacao beans, and wage territorial wars over contested cacao-growing regions.

Growing and converting cacao pods into a chocolate beverage was complex. Within the pod, the beans are encased in a sweet white pulp, from which they must be extracted. (The fresh pulp is said to be a delicious treat, “tree-fresh cacao.”) The beans were then fermented, dried, roasted and winnowed. Then the roasted beans, or nibs, were ground on a hot metate. The resultant cacao powder was flavored, and shaped into solid “bricks” or “wafers” for storing or transporting, ready to be mixed with water and vigorously stirred to produce a chocolate liquid topped with the prized froth. Fine criollo cacao (the most prized and rare variety) was converted into a cool beverage for Aztec nobles with a variety of spices, herbs

and sweeteners: usually chile (*capsicum annum*); often vanilla, “ear flowers” (a spicy plant whose exact identity is not known), or achiote (giving it a bloodlike color); and sometimes a touch of honey¹³ or agave syrup. The less fortunate did have chocolate for rites-of-passage rituals, but made do quite happily with lesser quality cacao that was often mixed with maize, making a nutritious beverage (the original *champurrado*).

The Spanish and Creoles preferred chocolate flavored with imported cinnamon (from Southeast Asia), anise, and black pepper; avoided vanilla for medical reasons (bad for the nerves); added plenty of cane sugar—a crop Columbus introduced to the New World and Cortés cultivated in vast plantations; and drank it warm, as did the Maya, who had introduced them to chocolate.

The Spanish also regarded a billowy mass of foam as the best part of all, which the Maya and Aztecs produced by pouring the liquid from a great height into a vessel. The Spanish created a special implement used to this day: a grooved wooden beater, or *molinillo*, that is rolled between the palms until the froth appears on top. They even designed a chocolate pot, or *chocolatera*, with a hole in the lid for the *molinillo*, and a perpendicular handle to



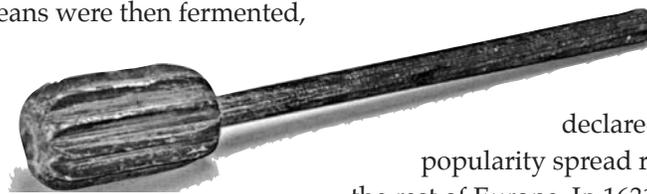
grasp while roiling the liquid. The Spanish colonists adopted the

locals’ small handleless cups, *jícaras* (from the Nahuatl word *xicalli*), fashioned from lacquered gourds or clay, and later in Chinese porcelain or mayólica. When drinking chocolate was the height of Baroque fashion during the Hapsburg reign in the 1600s, the Spanish viceroy of Peru, the Marques de Mancera, commissioned a silversmith to make a tray with a rimmed holder in the center for the *jícara*, to prevent accidental spills.

Thus the *mancerina* was created, first in silver and later in porcelain and mayólica as well.

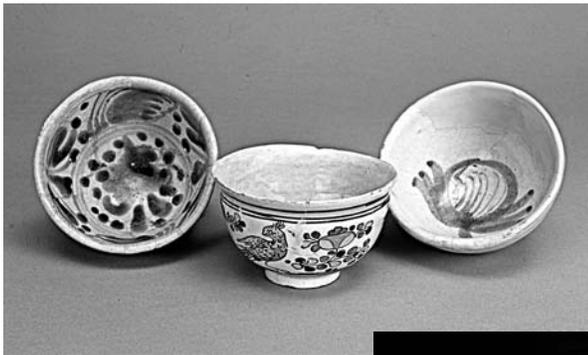
The Catholic Church was uncertain about whether or not to ban the exciting New World food, but once the Royal Physician to Phillip II declared it to be of medicinal value its popularity spread rapidly in Spain and throughout the rest of Europe. In 1631 a Spanish physician, Antonio Colmenero de Ledesma, wrote the first recipe for hot chocolate in his book, *Curioso tratado de la naturaleza y calidad del chocolate* (*A Curious Treatise of the Nature and Quality of Chocolate*), which was published in 1644 and disseminated throughout Europe.

Chocolate reached England in the 1650s, at almost



the same moment as tea and coffee, and then made its way back across the Atlantic to the colonies. In 1727 an Englishman named Nicholas Sanders added milk, creating a variation that remains the Anglo standard to this day. Although Americans enjoyed drinking chocolate, it never attained the level of popularity that Thomas Jefferson predicted: "The superiority of chocolate for health and nourishment will soon give it the same preference over tea and coffee in America that it has in Spain."¹⁴ His enthusiasm may have arisen from his recent arrival in Paris, where chocolate had been a fashionable court beverage since the marriage of Spanish princess María Theresa, daughter of Philip IV, to Louis XIV in 1660.

In New Spain, convents, already centers of culinary creativity, in the 1600s gained acclaim for their chocolate, which became a regular fixture in the lives of the elite. "Early in the morning housewives ordered the preparation of hot chocolate to be accompanied by



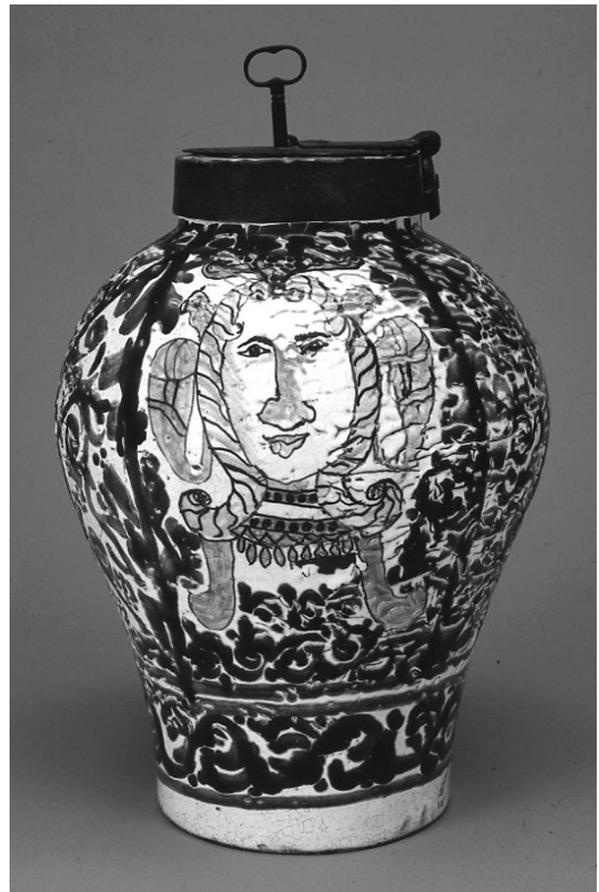
bread, doughnuts, *puchas* or some other delicacy... After the afternoon siesta, at around three or four o'clock, it was nearly obligatory to drink a cup of hot chocolate, homemade by nuns, who used precise amounts of cocoa, sugar, almonds, cinnamon and vanilla."¹⁵

The nuns themselves were not denied this pleasure, for they even had special rooms for drinking chocolate, "since partaking of the most popular drink of the colonial era represented a time of camaraderie and diversion within the rigid observance of convent rules. Grinding cocoa was an activity in which each and every sister participated, from the abbess on down."¹⁶ The sisters were also known



(upper left) *Chocolate Cups/Jícaras*, mayólica, Mexico City or Puebla, 1650-1750. L: cup in de Vargas display. Courtesy Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe, NM. Photo by Paul Smutko.

(above) *Mancerina*, mayólica, 20th century, after an 18th-century *mancerina* produced in Alcora, Spain. Courtesy El Rancho de las Golondrinas, La Ciénega, NM.



Chocolate Storage Jar/ Chocolatero with locking lid and key; mayólica, 1650-1700, Puebla, Mexico, 16 in. H; 10 1/2 in. D. Collection of Michael Haskell. Courtesy of the Museum of International Folk Art, Santa Fe, NM. Photo by Paul Smutko.

for their solid chocolate confections, despite the common misconception that it was enjoyed only as a beverage until the 19th century.¹⁷

During the early colonial period in New Mexico, chocolate was a luxury enjoyed by the wealthy, who kept it under lock and key; an important ration for soldiers, who sustained themselves on ready-to-beat chocolate in wafer form (just add water and stir); a favorite of the friars, who were accustomed to drinking it in the monasteries; and a special-occasion treat for others. Eventually, as it became more available, hot frothy chocolate became a requisite component

of morning and afternoon rituals in the northern borderlands.

According to archaeologist Cordelia (Dedie) Snow, the earliest recorded mention of chocolate in New Mexico

was in a 1600 inventory for a Camino Real shipment: “eighty small chocolate boxes that cost four pesos each.” Notations for sugar and other ingredients associated with chocolate, along with sherds of small handleless Chinese porcelain cups from pre-Revolt excavations at the Salinas Missions and the Palace of the Governors, offer support for its early appearance in New Mexico.¹⁸ A household inventory from Governor Bernardo López de Mendizábal and his wife, Doña Teresa Aguilera y Roche de Mendizábal, included a “chocolate cup from Puebla.” The inventory was taken in 1662 after they were arrested for secretly practicing Judaism. During the subsequent trial before the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Mexico City, one of their servants described how she had served hot chocolate to the Governor and Doña Teresa at home in the Palace of the Governors.¹⁹

Beginning in 1609, caravans brought supplies up the Camino Real every three years for mission personnel in New Mexico, “including chocolate, a luxury item,”²⁰ and goods for others living in the northern borderlands. Chocolate was considered a “delicacy” for the colonists, along with sugar, tobacco and liquors,²¹ and a special-occasion beverage, as suggested in

an entry from Alphonzo Raél de Aguila’s last will and testament in 1745, which included “four china chocolate mugs ‘purchased in Chihuahua for fiestas.’”²² However, chocolate was not a luxury but a necessity in the military. In *Santa Fe Found: Fragments of Time*, an exhibit at the Palace of the Governors, among a small group of artifacts associated with Diego de Vargas there is a 17th-century Mexican mayólica cup for chocolate, “a staple for his troops.” (See photo p.36) Father Francisco Vargas wrote in a letter to Governor de Vargas dated July 6, 1695, that they had been providing soldiers chocolate refresco (cold chocolate) during quiet spells “between [Apache] raids.”²³



Unglazed cylinder jars, 10 in. H x 4 in. D; from Pueblo Bonito, Chaco Canyon, AD 1000-1125. American Museum of Natural History, New York. Photograph by Marianne Tyndall, courtesy of Patricia Crown.

The governor also recognized the value of chocolate for making peace. “Before his return to Santa Fe, on a chilly afternoon on September 15, 1692,” de Vargas, in the hopes of meeting with Puebloan leader Tupatú, invited another Puebloan, Don Luis, into his tent, “greeting him kindly with warm words and chocolate.”²⁴ It appears de Vargas did not have to do without it himself—he left over 100 pounds of chocolate to his family and friends in his will!²⁵

Chocolate was more widely available by the 19th century. In 1815 the merchandise in Manuel Delgado’s store in Santa Fe included sixteen pounds of chocolate, among other items that archaeologist David H. Snow describes as “everyday items one might expect to find in a well-stocked frontier mercantile store.”²⁶ Delgado, who owned El Rancho de las Golondrinas in nearby La Ciénega had copper chocolate pots, jícaras and

mancerinas among his personal possessions at the time of his death.²⁷

For merchants traveling on the Camino Real in 1840, called *El Camino Nacional* during the Mexican period, chocolate was a critical source of sustenance, as it had been for Aztec warriors and Spanish soldiers. During merchants’ forty-day journeys from Santa Fe to Chihuahua, “their only meal—a small piece of meat, chile colorado, beans and tortillas—lasted twenty-four hours except for a cup of chocolate and a

piece of bread.”²⁸

By 1846 when Susan Magoffin, a young American bride, ventured down the Santa Fe Trail, New Mexicans were drinking chocolate twice a day. “We have chocolate every morning on rising, breakfast at 10 o’k [sic], dinner at two, chocolate again at dark, and supper at 9 o’clock.”²⁹ Josiah Gregg, another American traveling about the same time, bestowed his highest praise on the chocolate beverage he encountered in New Mexico: “...no one can hesitate to do homage to their incomparable chocolate, in the preparation of which the Mexicans surely excel every other people.”³⁰

Half a millennium before the Spanish brought the treasured cacao on the 1600-mile journey north to New Mexico on El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, Ancestral Puebloans or Mesoamerican traders might have carried it on that very same route to Chaco Canyon.

In January 2009, Patricia L. Crown, Distinguished Professor of Anthropology at the University of New Mexico, found evidence of cacao in Chaco Canyon from AD 1000–1125. The function of 166 unglazed cylindrical jars at Pueblo Bonito, made of local clay, had long puzzled archaeologists, especially Dr. Crown. After learning that the Maya had used vessels of almost identical shape and size for chocolate, she had some sherds tested. Cacao residues were positively identified!³¹

Among the questions surrounding this exciting discovery is how the cacao arrived at Chaco from Mesoamerica. In what form? Raw or processed? For what purpose? A cache of 102 jars were found in one room at Pueblo Bonito, suggesting ritual use. And by what routes? Dr. Crown looks forward to expanding the time period and geographical area of her cacao research, which might confirm the possibility that the very first chocolate in North America arrived via El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro!³²

What is it about chocolate? Why did the Maya and Aztecs regard it as sacred, and value it like gold? Why might Spanish ladies have murdered a bishop for it? Why did Ancestral Puebloans transport it to Pueblo Bonito, over 1600 miles from its source? The answer is—chemistry. Chocolate contains caffeine and theobromine (the chocolate biomarker), which are both alkaloids and stimulants; serotonin, a mood-lifting hormone; and phenylethylamine, an antidepressant and anti-stress agent. Or, as 16th-century Franciscan Bernardino de Sahagún observed, chocolate “. . . gladdens one, refreshes one, consoles one, invigorates one.”³³ And it tastes so good!

CATHERINE LÓPEZ KURLAND is co-editor of *Chronicles of the Trail* and a member of CARTA'S Board of Directors. She is a historic preservationist and lives in Santa Fe.

Captions and photo credits, page 35:

Chocolate Pot/Chocolatera, brass, Spain, 19th century.
Courtesy of Museum of Spanish Colonial Art, Collections of the Spanish Colonial Arts Society, Inc. (2001.48)

Molinillo, wood, Mexico or New Mexico, 19th century.
Courtesy of Museum of Spanish Colonial Art, Collections of the Spanish Colonial Arts Society, Inc. (L5.1956.58)

ENDNOTES

- 1 Sophie D. and Michael D. Coe, *The True History of Chocolate* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 1996), 185-186.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 39.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 118. The Coes dispute the generally held belief that “chocolate” derived from *chocolatl* or *xocoatl*. Chocolate terminology is confusing. Cacao is the raw bean, chocolate the processed product, either a beverage or solid confection, and cocoa is a term used since the 1800s for the hot beverage.
- 4 Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008) 28.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 86.
- 6 Coe, 98.
- 7 Patricia Crown reports that archaeologists have discovered counterfeit ceramic cacao beans. Lecture, “Chaco Chocolate: The Recovery of Cacao at Pueblo Bonito,” Renesant Institute for Lifelong Learning, Santa Fe, NM, March 1, 2010.
- 8 Carla Rahn Phillips, “Mercado, modas y gustos: las cargazonas de ida y vuelta,” in *España y América: Un océano de negocios. Quinto Centenario de la Casa de la Contratación, 1503-2003*, catalog for an exhibition in honor of the 500th anniversary of the House of Trade in Seville, Spain. (Seville: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2003), 187-202.
- 9 “Chocolate in History,” www.chocolate.org/conquistador.htm.
- 10 Donna Pierce, “Mayólica in the Daily Life of Colonial Mexico,” in *Cerámica y Cultura: The Story of Spanish and Mexican Mayólica*, ed. Robin Farwell Gavin, Donna Pierce, and Alfonso Pleguizuelo (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003) 249.
- 11 Coe, 133.
- 12 Norton, 141-142.
- 13 Produced by the honey wasp (*Brachygastra mellifica*).
- 14 Thomas Jefferson to John Adams, Paris, 27 November 1785, *Adams Papers*, University of Virginia Press. Founders Early Access, <http://www.rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/FOEA-03-01-02-0386>.
- 15 Maria Cristina Suarez y Farias, “Of Colonial Ambiance and Flavor,” *Artes de Mexico*, no. 36 (1997): 81. *Puchas* are a type of pastry.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 80.
- 17 Coe, 136.
- 18 Cordelia Thomas Snow, Lecture, “Luxury Goods Transported over the Camino Real,” New Mexico History Museum, Santa Fe, January 14, 2010.

19 Pierce, 264.

20 James, Ivey, "Seventeenth-Century Mission Trade," *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, comp. Gabrielle G. Palmer, Cultural Resource Series, no. 11 (Santa Fe: Bureau of Land Management, 1993) 63.

21 Moorhead, Max L. Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road: Trade and Travel on the Chihuahua Trail* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958) 49.

22 David H. Snow, "Purchased in Chihuahua for Feasts," *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, comp. Gabrielle G. Palmer, Cultural Resource Series, no. 11 (Santa Fe: Bureau of Land Management, 1993) 143.

23 Louis E. Grivetti, *Chocolate: History, Culture and Heritage*, Howard Yana-Shapiro, (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2009) 428.

24 José Antonio Esquibel, "The Tupatú and Vargas Accords: Orchestrating Peace in a Time of Uncertainty, 1692-1696," *El Palacio* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 17.

25 Frances Levine, "The Palace of the Governors: A Witness to History," in *Santa Fe: History of an Ancient City*, ed. David Grant Noble (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2008) 113.

26 David H. Snow, 142.

27 Pierce, Donna, "Chocolate...or How America Invaded Europe," *El Paraje*, (September 2001) 5.

28 Susan Calafate Boyle, *Los Capitalistas: Hispano Merchants and the Santa Fe Trade* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997) 31.

29 Susan Shelby Magoffin, *Down the Santa Fe Trail and Into New Mexico: The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin, 1846-1847*, ed. Stella M. Drumm (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1926, 1962) 208.

30 Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, ed. Max L. Moorhead (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954) 110.

31 Jeffrey Hurst, senior scientist for Hershey, who had confirmed cacao residues in Mayan vessels, found the same chemical profile in samples of potsherds from Pueblo Bonito.

32 Baby scarlet macaws and copper bells are known to have come from Mesoamerica to Chaco Canyon at that time.

33 In moderation, that is. The sentence begins, "When an ordinary amount is drunk. . ." Bernardino de Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain*, Book 11, *Earthly Things*, Aztec translated into English by Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson, no. 14, part 12 (Santa Fe: School of American Research, 1963) 119-120. Thanks to librarian Laura Holt at SAR for showing me these pages.

RECIPE: Hot Chocolate

*T'awe Qu'o'sebe' q:po' kakaw' **

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www.worldtreechocolates.com

In order to replicate Mesoamerican or Ancestral Puebloan styles of drinking chocolate one must use fine quality unsweetened chocolate. Here is a recipe that may reflect the Ancestral Puebloan style of drinking chocolate.

INGREDIENTS

- 1 ½ oz unsweetened chocolate, finely chopped
(not cocoa powder)
- 1 C purified water (tap water will leave unpleasant flavors)
- 1 tsp farmers market honey (or any flavorful unheated / unprocessed honey)

DIRECTIONS

Heat water until just hot. Add chopped chocolate and let sit for about 5 minutes. Add honey. Stir and whisk until frothy. Pour into a warmed ceramic cup.

*The Tewa word for honey is: qu'o'sebe' q:po' and the word for honey wasp is: t'awe. The Tewa speaking peoples live in the regions of New Mexico along the Rio Grande River and are the descendants of the Ancestral Puebloan peoples.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to Mark Sciscenti for generously sharing his vast knowledge of chocolate. The traditional recipe above is from his comprehensive website, www.worldtreechocolates.com.

It was through Mark that I learned that Dr. Crown would be giving a lecture at the Renesan Institute for Lifelong Learning, which President Ron Mandelbaum kindly invited me to attend. Renesan is one of Santa Fe's hidden treasures; their lectures and field trips are posted on www.renesan.org.

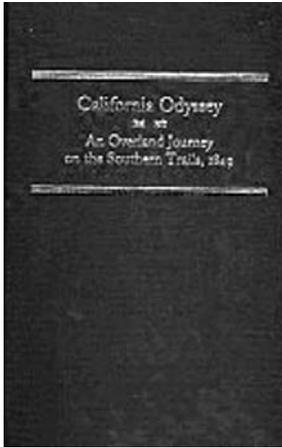
Dr. Crown gave a stimulating talk, clearly explaining the process leading to her findings, with good images — and humor! She also gave me permission to publish her photograph of the cylinder jars, for which I am very grateful.

Many thanks to Patricia Crown, Robin Gavin, David McNeece, Josef Díaz, Jana Gottshalk, Paul Smutko, and Kate Nelson for graciously providing photographs and/or permissions for this article.

BOOK REVIEW

by Jo Tice Bloom

William R. Goulding, *California Odyssey: an Overland Journey on the Southern Trails, 1849*
Patricia A. Etter, editor



William R. Goulding, *California Odyssey: an Overland Journey on the Southern Trails, 1849*, edited by Patricia A. Etter with foreword by Howard R. Lamar. Arthur H. Clark Company, Norman, Oklahoma, 2009. Hardcover; \$45.00.

William R. Goulding, a maker of fine surgical instruments, trekked from his home in New York City to San Francisco by the southern route in 1849. When he set out, he intended to look for gold. When he arrived in San Francisco, he changed his mind and took passage by sea back to New York. Throughout his adventure he kept a journal, which has now been edited by Patricia Etter and published by Arthur H. Clark Co. Goulding's almost daily entries describe the route in detail from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to San Francisco.

Following trails pioneered by Captain Randolph B. Marcy from Fort Smith to Santa Fe, and by Captain Philip St. George Cooke from Santa Fe to the Yuma crossing, Goulding and his New York Knickerbocker Exploring Company traversed plains, mountains, desert and the California coastal area. The size of their group grew and ebbed as some followed different routes or pursued other activities. Goulding, however, never wavered from his journey, although he sometimes stopped for several days to give the men and animals a rest, or to learn about a community.

Arriving in Santa Fe, he visited fellow medical professionals, talked with military officers, and generally enjoyed the hospitality and sights of the small town. After attending a fandango initiated by the local ladies, Goulding's opinion of Santa Fe inhabitants rose a bit.

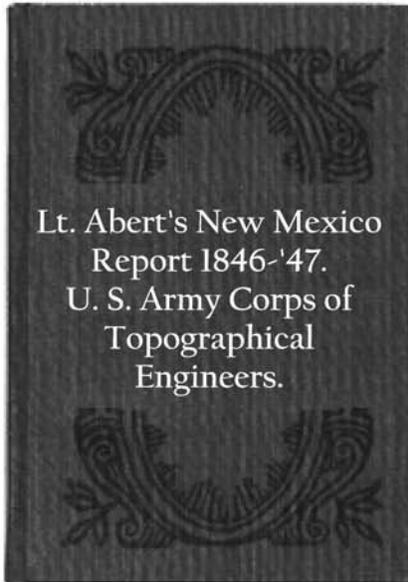
Leaving Santa Fe, the small group of six men started down the Santa Fe River, cut across some mesa land, and eventually reached the Rio Grande. Their route followed the Camino Real much of the way to Albuquerque. Leaving Albuquerque, the party stayed on the east bank, tracing the Camino Real south to Lemitar. Goulding described the country as "mostly barren, sandy and hilly with a small scattering of casas and ranchos in the distance." At Polvadera, they attended a funeral and a fandango, which they found interesting. The party crossed the Rio Grande at Lemitar.

From Lemitar south to present-day Truth or Consequences, the party followed the west bank of the river. Several days were spent in the Socorro area. From Truth or Consequences Goulding and his party turned southwest following Cooke's route. The descriptions of El Camino Real are short but engaging. The whole journal is fascinating.

Etter has provided good maps, making the journal easy to follow. The editing is excellent. A fine bibliography and index are included. For anyone interested in travels of the '49ers and others across the trans-Mississippi West, this is a must-read.

JO TICE BLOOM is a retired history professor who is currently teaching New Mexico history at the New Mexico Farm & Ranch Heritage Museum. She lives in Las Cruces with her husband, John Porter Bloom.

2010 Upcoming Special Events

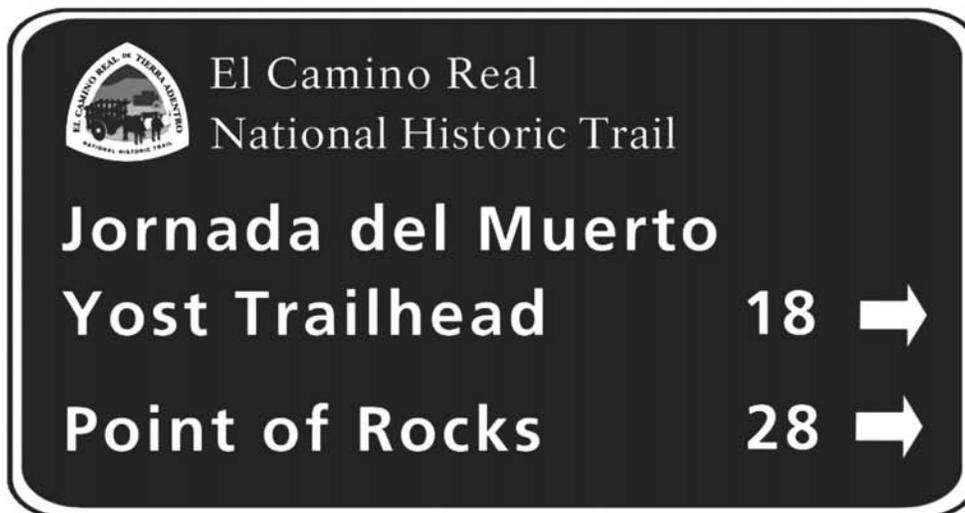


First in an Exciting Series of "Insiders' Tours"

El Camino Real with Lt. J. W. Abert (Saturday) 5 June 2010

We will accompany Lt. J. W. Abert as he retraces his steps along El Camino Real in central New Mexico. Our tour leaves Socorro at 10:00 AM from the parking lot of the Socorro Springs Brewery at 1012 California Street. The lieutenant will take us to the locations that he describes in his New Mexico Report (1846-47). We will lunch at his last campsite before reaching Socorro. A \$20.00 fee covers your lunch, the drivers, and handouts. Space will be limited. Please make your **reservations on or before 29 May** by calling 575.528.8267, or email jeanfulton@earthlink.net. Please join us for a fun and educational foray on El Camino Real!

Unveiling of Federal El Camino Real Wayside Exhibits in the Jornada del Muerto:
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Our New Web Site at: www.caminorealcarta.org



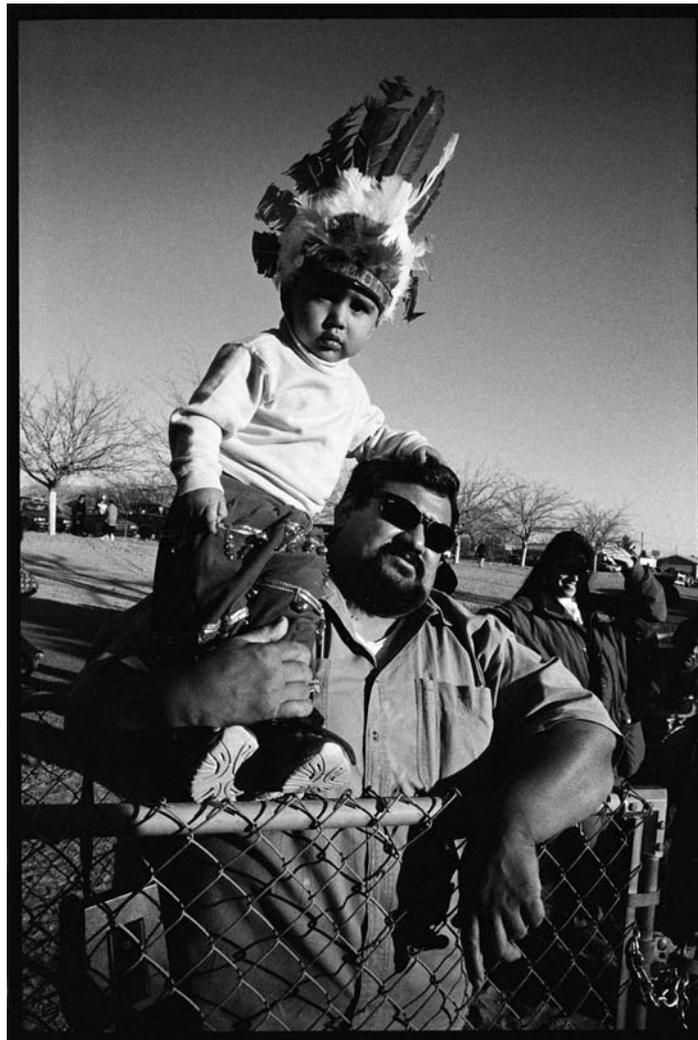
Highway signage directing visitors to El Camino Real in the Jornada del Muerto



*El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro
Trail Association (CARTA)*

PO Box 15162

Las Cruces, New Mexico 88004-5162



Tortugas, New Mexico, from photographic mural, "Alma del Pueblo"