

Chronicles of the Trail



Quarterly Journal of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro Trail Association

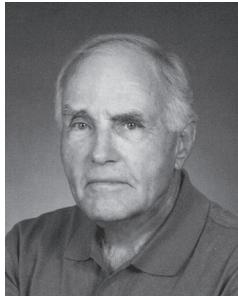
Vol. 9, No. 1

Winter/Spring 2013



Quarai Ruins, Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument, New Mexico

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE



Greetings,

This February marks one year since I assumed office as CARTA's acting president. Last November I was elected to my first regular term. It has been an interesting and for the most part a rewarding year. We have reorganized staffing and committee assignments, worked to untangle problems with past procedures and projects, and have set our sights on new programs and activities.

Board elections were held and we bade farewell to termed-out members with genuine gratitude for their services and strong hopes for their continued active participation with CARTA. We welcomed new officers and board members with grateful expectation for their service and new ideas for ways to grow CARTA and its potential. I have not been disappointed.

This is also the anniversary of Troy Ainsworth's appointment as our new executive director. Troy stepped into a position that had seen the departures of his two predecessors under less than happy circumstances. The portents for success were, to say the least, uncertain. I am happy to report that Troy has met the challenges of his job with grit, determination, and good humor. All who have dealt with him will, I think, attest to his near matchless attitude of can-do cooperation. We also benefit from his having a long list of contacts among the civic, academic, and historical preservation communities. Troy has lived up to my desire to see our executive director become the professional we need at the helm of CARTA's affairs. He agrees with me and appreciates the fact that our officers and board members have almost without fail risen to the occasion when their assistance was needed. Things are looking better.

And better. On February 28th, CARTA's office moved up the trail from Las Cruces to Los Lunas. The facts that a majority of our board members live in the northern part of the state, the headquarters of our federal partners are located in Albuquerque and Santa Fe, and the availability of modern, lower cost office space in Los Lunas were strong factors favoring the move. Also, our executive director lives in Los Lunas and for the past year has been commuting to Las Cruces every week—without complaint. But spending so much time on the road did not lend itself to the efficient use of his time. Therefore, your board voted to authorize the move. You are all invited to visit CARTA's new office in the Transportation Center (railroad depot) at Los Lunas whenever you're in the neighborhood.

We are busy preparing for "Los Caminos Reales de América: An International Symposium," which will take place in conjunction with CARTA's Annual Meeting. It will be held in El Paso, Texas, September 27th–29th this year. The responses from potential presenters for the symposium so far are indicative of a truly interesting program. Ben Brown, our former international liaison, heads the organizing committee. More details will follow. I hope you will try to attend.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Sim Middleton".

Sim Middleton

Membership in CARTA is open to all. Please see the membership form on our website: www.caminorealcarta.org

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.



New Mexico Heritage Preservation Award Winner

Vol. 9, No. 1

Chronicles of the Trail

Winter/Spring 2013

CONTENTS

President's Message	inside front cover
Editor's Letter	2
Symposium: "Los Caminos Reales de América"	3
Hike the Hill: Two Reports from Washington	4
Troy Ainsworth and Jere Krakow	
Tiguex: <i>En el Cruce de los Caminos</i>	6
Richard Flint	
Encuentros de los Antepasados: <i>Flood, Salvage Archaeology, and Community</i>	21
Enrique Lamadrid with Jerry Gurulé	
Photographs by Miguel Gandert	
Snowshoes in the Desert: <i>Reverend John Dyer on El Camino Real</i>	22
Larry Castillo-Wilson	
Dead Man's Journey	24
Jay W. Sharp	
Photographs by Jay W. Sharp	
Southwest Summer Institute, June 2013	30
Heritage Preservation Month: <i>New Mexico's Historic Roadside Markers</i>	32
Exhibition: New World Cuisine	34
Book Review	36
The Casads: A Pioneer Family of the Mesilla Valley <i>by Rick Hendricks</i>	
Reviewed by Henrietta Christmas	
Letter from the Executive Director	inside back cover

CARTA

OFFICERS

PRESIDENT:	Sim Middleton, Las Cruces
VICE-PRESIDENT:	Enrique Lamadrid, Albuquerque
SECRETARY:	Kristen Reynolds, Albuquerque
TREASURER:	Rob Spence, Hatch
INTERNATIONAL LIAISON:	Tisa Gabriel, Santa Fe

DIRECTORS

Miguel Chávez, Santa Fe
Paul Harden, Socorro
Jere L. Krakow, Albuquerque
Barbara Kuhns, Las Cruces
Catherine López Kurland, Santa Fe
David W. Love, Socorro
Vernon G. Lujan, Española
Lolly Martin, Santa Fe

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Troy M. Ainsworth, Los Lunas

FRONT COVER: *Quarai Pueblo Ruins with Nuestra Señora de las Purísima Concepción mission church towering over the standing walls. Photograph by Jay W. Sharp.*

BACK COVER: *Parishioners of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary church in Alameda, New Mexico, on their way to reinter their antepasados. Photograph by Miguel Gandert, 2013.*

EXECUTIVE EDITOR: Catherine López Kurland

SAVE THE DATE!

September 27–29

SYMPOSIUM & ANNUAL MEETING, EL PASO

EL CAMINO REAL DE TIERRA ADENTRO TRAIL ASSOCIATION

CARTA, PO Box 1434, Los Lunas, NM 87031-1434

(575) 528-8267 cartadirector@yahoo.com

www.caminorealcarta.org

Printed by State of New Mexico Printing & Graphics Services



EDITOR'S LETTER

Dear Reader,

You might have noticed a new return address on this issue. Yes, CARTA has moved from the little office in Las Cruces to Los Lunas. Over time the range of members has grown geographically, extending northward along the Camino Real. You can learn more about our centrally located Middle Rio Grande headquarters in the President's Message and the Executive Director's Letter.

Looking ahead to late September, CARTA will be presenting a major international bilingual symposium in El Paso. Since last year, former CARTA international liaison Ben Brown has been endeavoring to draw an outstanding slate of scholars from the Americas and Spain for "Los Caminos Reales de América" and working tirelessly to organize this three-day event. Continue to check our website for details as they are finalized.

There are a number of articles in this issue with a somewhat macabre or supernatural cast. And it's not even Day of the Dead! Preeminent Coronado historian Richard Flint has honored us with an original article, a thorough look at 16th-century Spanish expeditions in the Southwest, focusing on their encounters—often brutal—with the Tiquex, near the future Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Fair warning to the reader: no holds barred here. In "Dead Man's Journey," Jay Sharp relates the story of the unfortunate Sr. Grüber, after whom the Jornada del Muerto was named, and longtime CARTA member Larry Castillo-Wilson describes a premonition experienced on the Camino Real. Enrique Lamadrid and Jerry Gurulé and photographer Miguel Gandert venture close to home to witness the reinterment of early Nuevo Mexicanos from Alemeda, a town that was swept away by torrential floods.

There are numerous opportunities ahead for savoring the riches of our region. The class that led me down (or up) the trail to our Camino Real, "Heritage Corridors: Learning from El Camino Real and Route 66," is being offered this June, along with several others in the Southwest Summer Institute at UNM. May's calendar is always filled with a variety of enjoyable events connected with Heritage Preservation Month; this year's theme is New Mexico's Roadside Markers, with special attention to Historic Women's Markers. One sumptuous feast that will be on view until the end of the year is the exhibition at Santa Fe's Museum of International Folk Art, *New World Cuisine: Histories of Chocolate, Mate y Más*. Don't miss it!

Genealogist and CARTA member Henrietta Christmas ends the interior pages of this journal with a rave review of State Historian Rick Hendrick's latest book, *The Casads: A Pioneer Family of the Mesilla Valley*. We wish to thank Jay Sharp and Miguel Gandert for the compelling cover photographs, and offer our sincere gratitude to Julie Newcomb and Kristen Reynolds for their astute copyediting.

It has been awhile since we acknowledged our new CARTA members in print. With pleasure, we would like to welcome Julianne Burton-Carvajal, George C' de Baca, Renee Capels, Kraig Carpenter (El Camino Real Financial Advisors), Miguel and Elizabeth Chavez, Carol Clark, Jeffrey Cunningham, Will S. Harvey, Terrence K. Helsin, Bruce Jackson, Los Lunas Museum of Heritage and Arts, Harry and Marjory Lucker, Vernon J. Lujan, Lolly Martin, Phyllis Martinez, Charles and Susan Mize, Kristen and David Reynolds, Jerry L. Rogers, Santa Barbara (CA) Trust for Historic Preservation (Jarrell C. Jackman), Jacobo de la Serna, Chris Wilson, and Tommy Young. If we have left anyone out, please accept our apologies—and be sure to let us know so that we can thank you in our next issue.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Catherine".

Catherine López Kurland

Chronicles of the Trail is a publication of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro Trail Association (CARTA).

Past issues of *Chronicles* are posted to our website one year after publication.

*The purpose of this journal is to stimulate interest in El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro and encourage readers to join in the adventure of memorializing and exploring one of the great historic trails of North America. We look forward to receiving manuscripts and photographs for *Chronicles of the Trail*. We prefer material in digital format, and photographs at 300 dpi. Please send your submissions to ckurl@mac.com.*

CARTA ANNOUNCES:

“LOS CAMINOS REALES DE AMÉRICA”

International Symposium and CARTA Annual Meeting

Friday, September 27 through Sunday, September 29
El Paso, Texas

A three-day bilingual symposium
at El Paso Museum of History

Presenters from the United States, Latin America & Spain
Keynote Speakers: **John Kessell** and **David Carrasco**

Come to El Paso, the southernmost point of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro
in the United States

Tour historic Oñate's Crossing, the Magoffin House,
Ysleta del Sur, Socorro, and San Elizario churches on the El Paso Mission Trail
(partial list)

See CARTA's website for details as they unfold:
www.caminorealcarta.org

Ben Brown, the principal organizer, asks that you consider getting involved in this major CARTA event. We need you to spread the word! We need volunteers! We need help writing grants and identifying potential sponsors! We need moderators and greeters in El Paso! If you can find a little time to take part, please contact:

Ben Brown (www.caminoreales@att.net)
Troy Ainsworth (cartadirector@yahoo.com)

"HIKE THE HILL": TWO REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON

By Troy Ainsworth and Jere Krakow



"Hike the Hill." Members of the Partnership for the National Trails System and the American Hiking Society stand near the U.S. Capitol, advocating for American trails.

TROY AINSWORTH:

On February 9–14, 2013, the Partnership for the National Trails System (PNTS) and the American Hiking Society conducted the sixteenth annual "Hike the Hill" advocacy event in Washington, D.C. During those five days, representatives from trail associations across the United States converged on our nation's capital in support of historic and scenic trails from Maine to Hawaii and Alaska to Florida. The overriding purpose of the event was for attendees to meet with elected officials from their districts to thank them for the support of America's trails and encourage our senators and representatives to continue their support to ensure the public enjoyment of historic and scenic traces that define our country's history. As CARTA board member Jere Krakow notes in his report, the daylong meeting conducted at the Washington Plaza Hotel on Sunday centered on the functioning of the PNTS, its organizational makeup, and outreach endeavors. Throughout the day, members of the PNTS Board of Directors and representatives discussed strategies for ensuring effective advocacy efforts, increasing visibility and public awareness of the nation's scenic and historic trails, and the value of volunteerism in protecting our trails.

The importance of volunteer time, indeed, was a

topic extensively discussed. By and large, each trail association has a small staff and relies heavily on volunteers to contribute their time and enthusiasm in support of trails across the country. A document was distributed at the meeting outlining the number of volunteer hours in 2012, and their monetary value; collectively, volunteers around America give freely of their time, and this report was provided to members of Congress to demonstrate to our elected officials that people care enough about historic and scenic routes, such as El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, to promote and protect these irreplaceable resources.

While the all-day meeting on Sunday was in progress, members of the American Hiking Society and various trail associations gathered on the Washington Mall to walk the short distance from the Washington Monument to the Capitol in support of American trails. Many of the people who met in Washington, D.C., for Hike the Hill will also attend the upcoming PNTS National Scenic and Historic Trails Conference, "National Trails: Weaving the Tapestry of America's Cultures, Histories, and Landscapes," in Tucson, November 2–7, 2013. As CARTA members, you are also members of PNTS and are invited to attend this conference.

JERE KRAKOW:

In early February, CARTA Executive Director Troy Ainsworth and I attended the annual meeting of the Partnership for the National Trails System in conjunction with "Hike the Hill" in Washington, D.C. The business meeting of the Partnership, the umbrella advocacy organization for the National Trails System, took place on February 10th. A key portion of the meeting focused on the governance of the organization: a simplifying of the roles of the Board of Directors and the Leadership Council, which in the past have duplicated one another, received endorsement and passage. Reports of activities from 2012 and from this year reflected the budget constraints of Congress and the federal government. As sequestration approaches, uncertainty about the budget for the remainder of 2013 seemed very apparent.

Following the Partnership meeting, representatives of member organizations spent a good portion of the following week "Hiking the Hill," advocating for the National Trails System by calling on members of Congress. My appointments with congressional staff included the entire New Mexico delegation and several legislators from Colorado. My message was to thank all for past support of the National Trails System and urge continued support in the difficult times ahead. I strongly endorsed the work of CARTA with the staffs of Representatives Ben Ray Luján, Michelle Luján Grisham, and Steven Pearce; and Senators Tom Udall and Martin Heinrich.

At the same time, I strove to raise our elected officials' awareness of the many historic and scenic trails that lace the state, giving particular emphasis to sixteen projects along eleven National Historic and Scenic Trails that are folded into a request for Land and Water Conservation Funds (LWCF) for

2014. I underscored the value of the Middle Rio Grande Project, in particular the urban wildlife refuge being established on the Price's Dairy property in Albuquerque's South Valley. Through research completed by Hal Jackson and me, it was determined that El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro arced across the Price's Dairy tract on a north / south axis. Funds to complete the purchase of the land would come principally through royalties from offshore oil that go into LWCF; Congress determines the amount of dollars that go into this fund each fiscal year. In 2012 the Department of the Interior collected \$6.8 billion, of which, however, only \$323 million went toward LWCF programs. The legislated cap on the fund each year is \$900 million. Nearly the entire New Mexico delegation pledged support for increased funding from the offshore royalties.

In sum, I came away from "Hike the Hill" with assurances from members of Congress, in a bipartisan voice, that were strongly supportive of the National Trails System.

Submitting volunteer hours by member organizations is one way PNTS garners support from Congress. CARTA's volunteer hours are aggregated into the national total for 2012: 1,460,628 hours are equal in value to \$31,827,084 (preliminary figure). In addition, trail associations like CARTA made financial contributions totaling \$7,509,777. Volunteer hours and financial contributions nationwide reached a grand total of \$39,336,861. CARTA members need to continue to keep track and turn in our volunteer hours throughout each year. It demonstrates the multiplier effect of an appropriated dollar when volunteers like us are engaged and reporting our hours.



TROY AINSWORTH is executive director of CARTA.

JERE KRAKOW is a member of CARTA's board of directors.

TIGUEX: EN EL CRUCE DE LOS CAMINOS

By Richard Flint

During the sixteenth century, six Spanish expeditions of reconnaissance and conquest are known to have come to New Mexico. They entered the territory that now comprises the state by four distinct routes, all beginning in what is now Mexico. Despite their different points of origin and their separate trajectories of travel, the routes of all six expeditions converged and intersected in the Middle Rio Grande Valley of New Mexico, within the Pueblo provincia known then as Tiguex (TEEWesh).¹ Today, that is the portion of the Rio Grande Valley between the town of Bernalillo on the north and Isleta Pueblo on the south, approximately the greater Albuquerque metropolitan area.

This article briefly describes the four expeditionary routes and explains their convergence. Then it goes on to explore how the intersection of routes affected the Pueblos of Tiguex, and the extent to which the sixteenth-century expeditionary destination remained the focus of Spanish colonial settlement in the region that is today the site of New Mexico's great urban agglomeration.

THE ROUTES

The Coronado Expedition

In response to reports of wealthy and populous cities far to the north, in 1539 the Coronado Expedition was organized and launched in Mexico City. This first and largest of the six sixteenth-century expeditions with New Mexico as their destination—Tierra Nueva as it was first known—traveled by way of what was then the most used and well-known indigenous route to the far north. (See Map 1.)

Actually, it was a succession of routes leading from Mexico City west to Michoacán and Jalisco, and then up the narrow Pacific coastal plain as far as what is now northern Sinaloa. From there the route struck north to join the north-south portion of the Río Sonora, which led to the north-flowing San Pedro River in what is now southeastern Arizona. Sticking to a generally northerly trajectory, it then traversed between major drainages, crossing to the San Francisco River in western New Mexico.² After

following that river northward, upstream, this leg of the trip then crossed a divide into the drainage of the Little Colorado River and its tributaries. One of those tributaries, the Zuni River, drew the expedition to Hawikku, one of the six or seven cities of Cíbola, its immediate goal.

Cíbola, though, did not meet the Europeans' expectations of large cities that produced high-value goods.³ With the help of Pueblo guides, the Coronado Expedition moved on, now heading east past El Morro and Acoma Pueblo, finally reaching Isleta Pueblo on the Rio Grande. From there north to Cochiti, the expeditionaries saw or heard about some nineteen to twenty-four pueblos, what expeditionary Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera called "the heart of the pueblos [el rriñon de los pueblos]."⁴ (See Map 2.) Although Tiguex ultimately disappointed and disillusioned the expeditionaries, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, the leader of the expedition, still found it to be "the best [place] I have found [lo mejor que he hallado]."⁵

The expedition spent thirteen of the next seventeen months in the Tiguex area, much of that time punctuated by violent conflict with the Pueblo

The image shows a handwritten signature in black ink. The signature reads "Francisco Vázquez de Coronado". The "F" and "V" are particularly stylized and large.

Signature of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado

people (more about that later). For now it is sufficient to note that the Middle Rio Grande Valley was the most densely populated place in the entire Southwest in the mid-1500s, and the place with

the most—if only limited—appeal to Spanish expeditionaries.

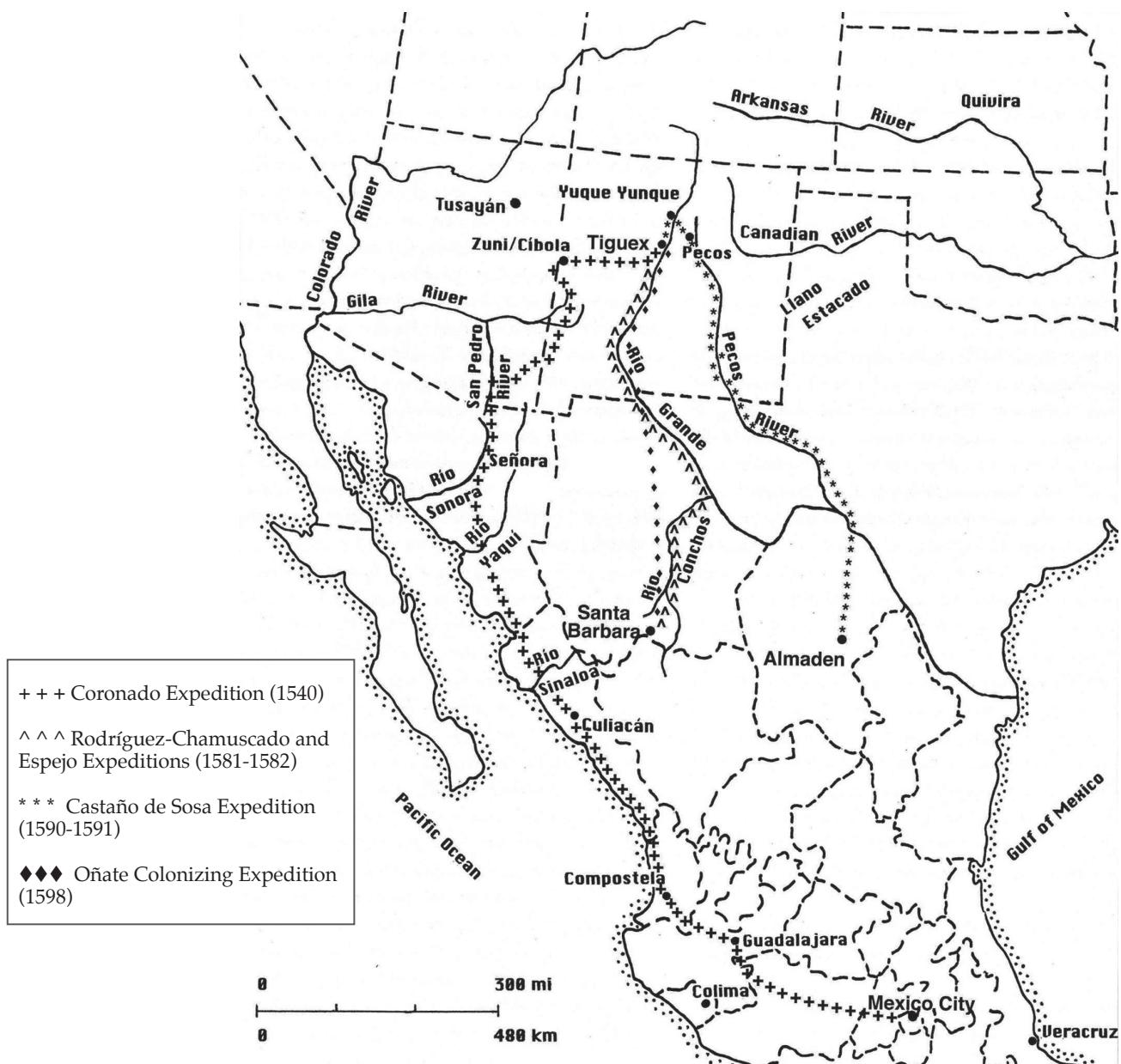
In April 1542, the leadership of the expedition decided to abandon their planned conquest and return south to lands already settled by Europeans. The Coronado Expedition's return route was nearly the reverse of its outbound route.⁶ The various segments of the roughly 1,700-mile route that had led them to and from New Mexico were all active, frequently traveled indigenous roads, over which local Natives guided the newcomers.

The Rodríguez-Chamuscado Expedition

Almost forty years elapsed between the Coronado Expedition and the next Spanish entrada into New Mexico. Some very significant developments occurred during that interregnum. Most importantly, as far as travel to New Mexico goes, extremely productive silver sources had been located and developed in the Zacatecas-San Martín-Sombrerete-Nombre de Dios-Durango-Fresnillo-Mazapil region of north-central Mexico beginning in the late 1540s, and continuing well into the 1560s.⁷ This reoriented Spanish colonial settlement and economic activity away from the Pacific coastal

plain towards a mid-continent axis. No longer would the route to New Mexico involve a great westward meander.

Spectacular mining success, coupled with the discovery of a practicable trans-Pacific shipping route, resulted in not only a geographical reorientation, but also a shift in colonial aspirations and goals. Dreams of rich encomiendas or Asian wealth easily accessible by a land route through North America withered, replaced by visions of American mineral wealth. Handsome tribute income and trade in American/Asian porcelains, silk, and spices were supplanted by entrepreneurial



Map 1. Generalized trajectories of 16th-century expedition routes.

mining as the colonial career of choice. Thus, the 1581 expedition to New Mexico, led by fray Agustín Rodríguez and Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado, was carried out to convert indigenous souls and seek mineral sources—more the latter than the former, as events show.

The tiny Rodríguez-Chamuscado party—three friars, nine armed prospectors, and nineteen Indian servants—set off from the mining settlement of Santa Bárbara in what is now the extreme south of the state of Chihuahua. (See Map 1.) Like most expeditions of the era, this New Mexico prospecting venture followed river drainages: the Río Florido to the Río Conchos to the Rio Grande, and upstream to the Tiguex area. When the expedition reached the beginning of the Tiguex pueblos, its principal chronicler noted, “the farther one goes into the interior the larger are the pueblos and the houses, and the more numerous the people.”⁸

That densely settled portion of New Mexico became the hub around which their travels to the north, west, and east pivoted. For example, one of the expeditionaries, Pedro de Bustamante, later testified that to travel to Zuni, the Rodríguez-Chamuscado party “set out from Puaray,” one of the Tiguex pueblos.⁹ And after visiting Zuni, they “return[ed] to Puaray, their starting point.”¹⁰ “There they heard reports of some salines fourteen leagues beyond the said pueblo and went on to examine them.”¹¹ And, “From this place the explorers returned

to the pueblo of Puaray, where they had left the friars, the horses, and the rest of their equipment. . . . The friars remained at the aforesaid pueblo.”¹² Archaeologist David Snow has convincingly shown that Puaray is the pueblo ruin now known as LA 717, three miles south of modern Sandia Pueblo.¹³

The Rodríguez-Chamuscado expeditionaries rarely stayed anywhere for more than a day or two, always on the move. While their reception by

Pueblos was generally acquiescent, eventually their demands for food provoked the Pueblos to balk and refuse. In response, the expeditionaries fired weapons and forcibly took what they wanted.¹⁴ News of that one violent incident spread ahead of the expedition, assuring sullen, “voluntary” provision of food from other pueblos. After four and a half months of prospecting, the party returned south, leaving the two friars at Puaray.¹⁵ “From Puaray they turned back to retrace the route over which they had come.”¹⁶ That is, they trekked back down the Rio Grande and up the Conchos and Florido to Santa Bárbara, arriving there on April 15, 1582.¹⁷

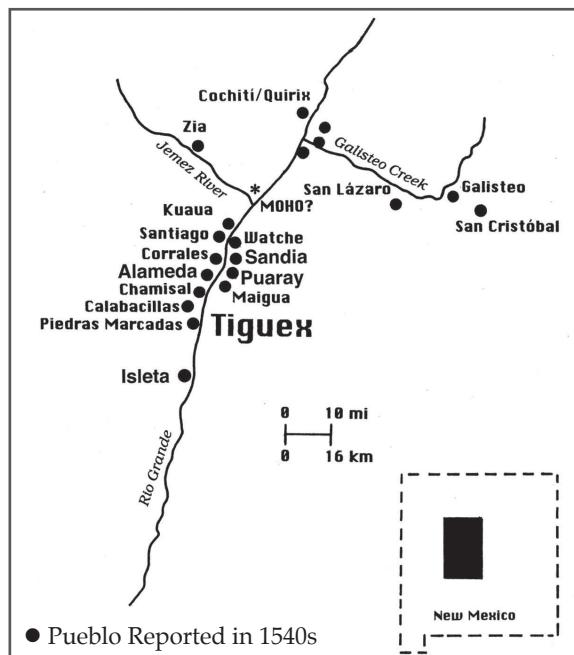
The Espejo Expedition

The fate of the two friars left at Puaray became a cause of much concern, enough to immediately justify another prospecting expedition to New

Mexico. A sometime rancher, Antonio de Espejo, put together a party of fifteen Europeans and “some servants” for the ostensible purpose of rescuing the friars left at Puaray. By November 10, 1582, they were on their way from the Valle of San Bartolomé,¹⁸ a tributary of the Río Florido, east of Santa Bárbara.¹⁹ With little deviation, they followed the same Río Conchos-Rio Grande route as had the Rodríguez-Chamuscado party earlier. (See Map 1.)

The small Espejo Expedition reached Tiguex in mid-February 1583, already having learned

that the friars were dead.²⁰ Puaray and all “thirteen large settlements” within a league of there, as well as the remaining Tiguex pueblos, were empty of people, who had withdrawn to elevated locations on mesas and mountain foothills.²¹ Over the succeeding days, the expeditionaries were received peaceably by the people of the neighboring Quirix (KEEreesh) pueblos.²² Espejo and his followers then proceeded to make an extended tour to the west, going as far as the Hopi pueblos and the Verde



Map 2. Tiguex in the early 1540s.

Valley in what is now Arizona before returning to Puaray in Tiguex in early June.²³ Once again Puaray was nearly empty. Being refused a demand for food by the few people of Puaray who were present, the expeditionaries attacked and killed most of them.

By this time, the expedition had dissolved in dispute, and Espejo and his faction determined to return south to the Santa Bárbara area, as the dissidents had already done. The Espejo Expedition modified its return route by descending the Pecos River through present eastern New Mexico to its confluence with the Rio Grande, then retracing its outbound route from there.

The Castaño de Sosa Expedition

The better part of a decade elapsed between the end of the Espejo Expedition and the next Spanish entrada to New Mexico. It may have been reports from the Espejo Expedition or the Rodríguez-Chamuscado Expedition of a year earlier that stimulated the lieutenant governor of Nuevo León, Gaspar Castaño de Sosa, to plan and undertake the wholesale transplantation of the population of the town of Almadén (today's Monclova in the Mexican state of Coahuila) to New Mexico. Although he lacked official authorization for the enterprise, Castaño led a cavalcade of people, animals, and carts out of Almadén in July 1590.

The early part of the route followed by the emigrant train is not traceable with precision, owing to the sketchiness of the surviving report, set down possibly by Castaño's secretary.²⁴ It seems, though, that in general the party proceeded northward, crossing many streams until reaching the Rio Grande in the vicinity of modern Del Rio, Texas. (See Map 1.) From there they traveled along the Rio Grande until they reached the affluence of the Pecos River. With some difficulty, the large party shifted to the Pecos, which it then followed upstream to the vicinity of today's village of Tecolotito, New Mexico—evidence of familiarity with the return route of the Espejo Expedition. There Castaño divided the group, leaving most people encamped while he and a smaller contingent continued upstream to Pecos Pueblo, where a violent encounter ensued.

With a captive guide, Castaño and his comrades crossed Glorieta Pass into the Rio Grande Valley and began a methodical circuit of the pueblos there, beginning with the Tewa pueblos between modern Santa Fe and Española. Traveling north, then back

south through pueblos already visited, Castaño and his men reached the northernmost portion of the Quirix area in the neighborhood of Cochiti in the latter part of January 1591.²⁵

Having apparently determined that the Quirix area, just north of Tiguex, was the place to settle, Castaño decided to reunite the whole expedition. That required a lengthy trip back and forth to Tecolotito by way of the Galisteo Basin and Cañon Blanco. Upon his return to the Rio Grande Valley with the full expedition, Castaño established them at the Quirix pueblo of Santo Domingo, which he had thus named. With the people reunited, Castaño and one or more detachments traveled south, visiting or seeing fourteen Tiguex pueblos, including Puaray. All of them were again temporarily empty, their residents having taken up defensive positions in more rugged country.²⁶ Like the Coronado, Rodríguez-Chamuscado, and Espejo expeditionaries before him, Castaño evidently found the modern Albuquerque-Bernalillo area to be the best land.

Just at this juncture, in mid-March 1591, another party of Spaniards arrived unexpectedly to arrest Castaño for making an illegal entrada. Captain Juan de Morlete took the leader into custody and then conducted the entire expeditionary party back to Spanish jurisdiction at Santa Bárbara by way of the Rio Grande-Río Conchos-Río Florido route previously used by the Rodríguez-Chamuscado and Espejo expeditions.

The Leyva de Bonilla-Gutiérrez de Humaña Entrada

Although little is known with precision about another illegal entrada made into New Mexico in the 1590s, modern scholars have presumed that it traveled along the now familiar river route from Santa Bárbara to the Middle Rio Grande Valley. Renegades Francisco Leyva de Bonilla and Antonio Gutiérrez de Humaña extended what was supposed to be a local punitive operation, taking a small party of companions on a long and fateful trek to New Mexico. They departed from Santa Bárbara in 1593, never to be seen again, except for one Indian servant later found among the New Mexico pueblos.

The Colonizing Expedition of Juan de Oñate

In planning since the late 1580s, an officially sanctioned effort to colonize the Pueblo world of New Mexico did not come about until 1598. Financed and led by second-generation mine owner

and operator Juan de Oñate, the party of recruits began inching northward from the Santa Bárbara region in December 1597. It wasn't until more than a month later, though, following bureaucratic delays, that the long caravan of 129 arms-bearing men with wives, families, and servants, as well as ten Franciscan friars, all told around five hundred people, was finally on its way toward New Mexico. Some eighty wagons and carts and approximately seven thousand head of horses, mules, cattle, and sheep trailed along behind.²⁷

Oñate and the other leaders of the expedition determined to avoid a long detour eastward that the Río Florida-Río Conchos route entailed, striking out instead almost due north for three hundred miles. (See Map 1.) The daily journeys were from waterhole to waterhole until, after negotiating Los Médanos (the great northern Chihuahuan dune field), they reached the permanent water of the Rio Grande, not far below modern El Paso/Cuidad Juárez. The wide river valley then served as a highway almost all the way to the Tiguex-Quirix area. The only major exception was the cross-country stretch of the Jornada del Muerto.²⁸ The route followed by the 1598 colonists became the northern segment of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro.

Most of the Tiguex pueblos were vacant. But on July 7, 1598, at Santo Domingo, the Quirix pueblo that had served briefly as Castaño's headquarters six years earlier, leaders of several pueblos came together to meet the newcomers. As Oñate and his comrades understood it, those Pueblo representatives offered a welcome and pledged fealty to the king of Spain.

Unlike the previous expeditions, Oñate's colonists did not stop in what was clearly the most agriculturally productive and most populous section of New Mexico. Under the impetus of the governor himself, they pushed on north to the Tewa pueblos around the confluence of the Rio Grande and the Chama River. The reason was that food production was to be an activity in support of its main business, which was to be mining.²⁹ It is possible that Oñate selected the Tewa pueblo of Yuque-Yunque (today's Ohkay Owingeh) as the expedition's goal because of stories he had heard from his cousin, Juan de Zaldívar, who had been a captain on the Coronado Expedition almost sixty years before. Pedro Castañeda de Nájera, one of the

members of that earlier entrada, had written that at Yuque "many jars were found full of choice shiny metal, with which [the Indians] glaze their pottery. This was an indication that in that land there were sources of silver, if they had been looked for."³⁰

IMPACT ON THE PUEBLOS OF TIGUEX

Repeated attention to, passage through, and transitory residence in the Tiguex pueblos by Spanish expeditions of the sixteenth century, outlined very briefly above, had devastating effects on the Native population. Settlements were abandoned, sometimes permanently; population declined; routines were disrupted; and a new social configuration emerged in the Tiguex area. (See Map 3.)

As an example of those ruinous consequences and because it set the stage for the later encounters, I explore in more detail the time spent by the Coronado Expedition in Tiguex during 1540–1542. When, after a violent encounter among the Zuni pueblos, the expedition sought accommodation for the winter in Tiguex in September 1540, Pueblo resistance was quick to ignite.

Having been detailed by Captain-General Vázquez de Coronado to prepare housing for the expedition among the Tiguex pueblos, maestre de campo García López de Cárdenas directed the erection of shelters of brush and cornfield stubble. With the arrival of cold fall weather, though, it became obvious that such shelter would be inadequate. López de Cárdenas therefore compelled the residents of the adjacent pueblo of Coofor to surrender it to the expedition for its principal quarters.³¹ As Castañeda de Nájera put it, "Since it was important that the natives see, I mean give up, a place where the Spaniards would be lodged, they were forced to abandon one pueblo and were given shelter in the other pueblos of their friends."³²

With reunification of the full expedition at Coofor before the end of 1540, the foreigners' demands increased. The insufficiency of the expedition's wardrobe and food stocks became painfully apparent. To allay the extreme shortage of winter clothing and food, Vázquez de Coronado detached squads to the neighboring Tiguex pueblos to trade for woven mantas, bison hides, fur and feather robes, corn, beans, and other dried foods. Often, peaceful exchanges occurred, but increasingly the supply parties resorted to thievery and armed robbery to secure sorely needed clothing and provisions. Dwindling food supplies and the

drive for satisfaction of sexual desire led to further confrontations between expedition members and the Pueblos. These included a case in which a brother of one of the captain-general's fellow councilmen on the cabildo of Mexico City attacked a woman at Pueblo del Arenal (probably Kuaua, LA 187).³³

Shortly after this rape and the levying of clothing, Tiguex raiders attacked the Spanish horse herd that had been grazing in their harvested fields, killing at least one Nahua guard, as well as some three dozen horses. Many of the Tiguex then took refuge in three of their pueblos and fortified themselves there.³⁴ In response, Vázquez de Coronado sent López de Cárdenas and others to Pueblo del Arenal to formally summon the Tiguex to resubmit to Spanish rule and return to amicability. When three summonses failed to draw the Tiguex out, several companies of the expedition, along with Indian allies from Mexico, launched an attack on the pueblo. The assault turned into a campaign of days.³⁵

During the campaign, at least sixty Pueblo prisoners were taken, including some who had surrendered under a pledge of security. At the conclusion of hostilities, a group of those prisoners were tied to stakes and burned alive. The remaining prisoners then attacked their guards, killing one. That brought down on them the full wrath of the Spaniards, who attacked and slaughtered all of the Tiguex prisoners who remained alive.³⁶

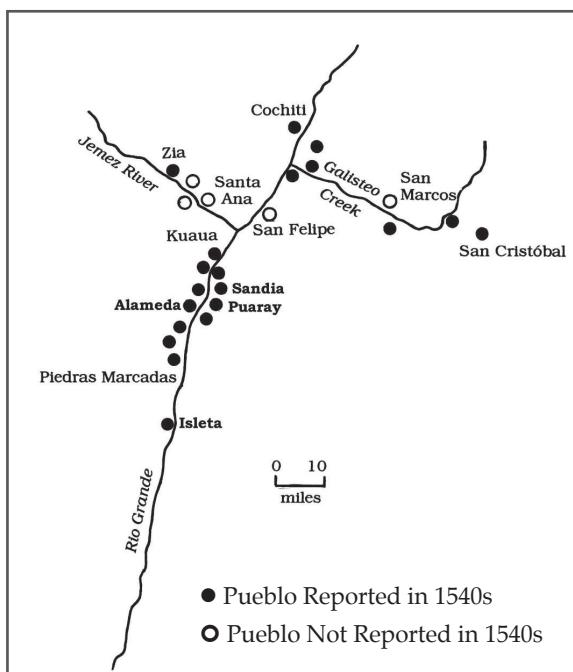
Meanwhile, the expedition initially established more amicable relations with Native neighbors of the Tiguex, the Quirix to the north and west of Coofor (particularly the people of Zia Pueblo), and the Tanos and Pecos to the east. The people of Zia managed to tightrope-walk between withdrawal from and

alliance with the expedition. They supplied food and clothing to the newcomers even while war raged in Tiguex, and agreed to store pieces of ordnance for the Spaniards. But they never actually joined the expeditionaries as combatants against the Tiguex, despite a long-standing rivalry with them over territory along the Rio Grande.³⁷

Territorial rivalries had long existed among the indigenous people of the Rio Grande and adjacent valleys. For centuries, Pecos, Tanos, and Quirix groups had been crowding in closer to the homeland of the Tiguex, the oldest Pueblo group in the region. Abundant water and arable land, complemented by an equable climate, drove that encroachment. Although all those immediate neighbors of the Tiguex flirted with aiding the foreign expeditionaries, in the end none seems to have actually joined the fight against their neighbors.³⁸

As winter of 1540 became early 1541, protracted warfare erupted between the Tiguex, now congregated at the elevated site of Moho—probably

near the confluence of the Rio Grande and the Jemez River.³⁹ After an unsuccessful storming of this very strong, elevated pueblo, the expeditionaries laid siege to it. The Pueblo defenders lasted two months, before trying to slip out and away one night. Spanish sentinels heard noises and made out shapes in the dark. They raised the alarm, to which Spanish horsemen responded, chasing down and killing most of the men from Moho. Captured Tiguex women and children were distributed as servants among the siege party. Earlier, before the attempted flight, Vázquez de Coronado and his council had dogs set on two captives and the noses and hands of ten others cut off. After their horrific punishment, the maimed men were sent to their home pueblos to inspire fear of the expedition in their families and neighbors.⁴⁰



Map 3. Tiguex in the early 1580s.

After the siege, members of the expedition burned and plundered many of the remaining Tiguex pueblos, which their residents had deserted in favor of more defensible portions. Vigas and other roofing material were burnt as firewood, and stores of corn and other agricultural products brought relief to the hungry expedition.⁴¹

When finally the brutal winter ended, one of the snowiest and coldest of the century,⁴² the entire Coronado expedition temporarily left Tiguex, heading east to what was rumored to be a wealthy land called Quivira. Between April and July 1541, while the expedition was far to the east seeking chimerical riches, some Tiguex reoccupied and repaired several of their pueblos and even evidently planted crops in their usual fields. When the expedition unexpectedly returned, frustrated, to take up residence again, the Tiguex fled once more.⁴³

The expedition's second winter in Tiguex, 1541–1542, while not characterized by the large-scale warfare of the previous winter, was one of sporadic, guerrilla violence. As expeditionary Cristóbal de Escobar later testified before Spanish authorities, the Tiguex people "were still at war and were never willing to come to peace."⁴⁴ So passed another cold and snowy winter, during which many Tiguex died, displaced to temporary shelter in higher and therefore colder terrain and without their normal harvests.

The surviving Tiguex, though they returned to most of their home territory after the Coronado expedition retreated to Mexico in spring 1542, never did reoccupy all of it. In particular, the area around Moho, scene of wholesale slaughter the previous winter, was never resettled by the Tiguex. The vacancy did not last long. People from Zia and other Quirix pueblos opportunistically established new pueblos, including one that was later named San Felipe, in what had previously been the

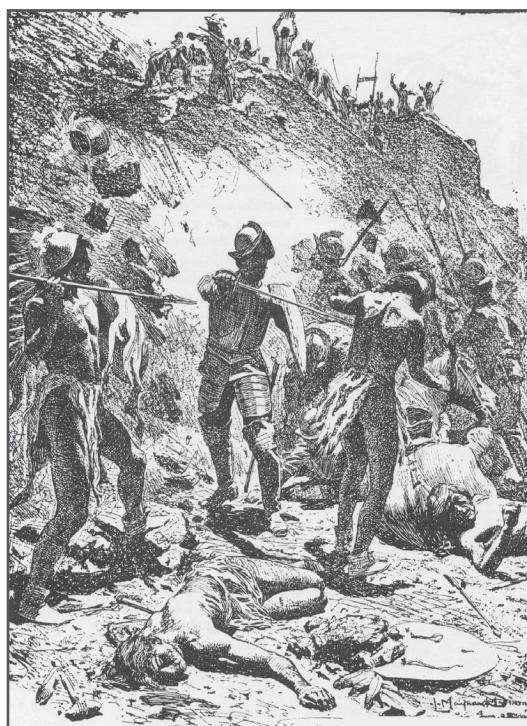
northern reaches of the Tiguex homeland.⁴⁵

When the next Spanish expedition arrived in New Mexico in 1581, led by fray Agustín Rodríguez, it encountered five permanently inhabited Quirix pueblos in the vicinity of the Rio Grande-Jemez River confluence, where in the early 1540s there had been only one, Zia. In addition to Zia, there were now Castilleja (probably ancestral San Felipe), Guatitlán (Santa Ana), and La Guarda and La Rinconada (between Zia and Santa Ana).⁴⁶ It may be that the reduced Tiguex population did not contest that encroachment by the Quirix.

More than ten percent of the people of Tiguex died during fighting with the Coronado Expedition, and countless others were wounded. The systematic dismantling of Tiguex pueblos by the expeditionaries, following their abandonment by the Tiguex themselves, had a cruel impact.⁴⁷ The psychological effect of torture and calculated disfigurement, combined with grief over the death of relatives and loss of homes, was excruciating. It can only be imagined that these assaults and strains weakened many Tiguex to the point of death. The repercussions of the Coronado Expedition were decisive in the lives of thousands of individuals, and helped determine the course

of future interaction between Pueblos and Spanish-led interlopers from the south.

It is no surprise that when the Rodríguez-Chamuscado Expedition reached the most southerly of the New Mexico pueblos in August 1581 they "found no inhabitants."⁴⁸ The residents had taken up defensive positions as this second wave of conquistadores approached. With some effort, the little expeditionary band was able to locate some of those who had withdrawn and to persuade them to return to their homes. News of the expedition's apparent benign behavior spread northward, so that for a while, as expeditionary Hernán Gallegos later



Spanish conquistadores in battle. Drawing by Maynard Dixon, Land of Sunshine, 1898.

reported, “there was not a day when we were not surrounded and accompanied by more than twelve thousand people.”⁴⁹ The expeditionaries appear to have read this Pueblo defensive strategy of keeping the armed party surrounded and outnumbered as an indication of trust and acceptance on the part of the Pueblos.

Emboldened by this misreading of Pueblo action, it was not long before the expeditionaries pushed their assumptions about Pueblo attitudes toward the Natives too far. As mentioned earlier, at a pueblo in the Galisteo Basin, the people refused Spanish demands for food.⁵⁰ The Rodríguez-Chamuscado expeditionaries eventually got the food they wanted after a skirmish, which soured whatever feeling of amity there may have been between the two groups. Gallegos wrote that the Pueblos “attempted to unite the province in order to seize us by force and kill us.”⁵¹ Instead, Pueblo warriors took and killed three of the expedition’s horses. That, in turn, led to violent retaliation by the expeditionaries. Seizing three Pueblo prisoners, they threatened to behead them, but settled for a ruse whereby the Franciscan friars pretended to rescue the condemned men. This bit of theater did little to assuage Pueblo anger, and when the armed expeditionaries soon left New Mexico, the two friars they left behind were killed in short order.

The Espejo Expedition, justified by a plan to rescue those same friars, found the Pueblo people understandably wary upon the approach of yet another party of armed men. As far north along the Rio Grande as Tiguex, the residents of some pueblos withdrew to safer positions ahead of the Espejo party; a few remained in their homes and communicated with the expeditionaries. In the Tiguex area, “from Los Lunas to above Bernalillo,”⁵² however, the Espejo force found all the pueblos empty of people. The members of the small expedition plundered the Tiguex supplies of stored food. By contrast, they were met obligingly by the nearby Quirix before embarking on a months-long side trip to the Zuni and Hopi pueblos, in search of a rumored rich mineral source.

At the conclusion of that detour, on their return toward the Rio Grande in early summer 1583, Pueblo people and perhaps others engaged Espejo and his companions in several running battles. That experience primed the expeditionaries for punitive action a few days later against Tiguex warriors

whom they found at the pueblo of Puaray. The expedition’s retribution for the death of the friars was thorough and very violent: all the pueblo men at Puaray were killed. With that, the expedition departed for home, traveling by way of the Tano pueblos of the Galisteo Basin and the pueblo of Pecos. At the latter pueblo, when the residents refused to provide food to the expedition, the Spaniards threatened to set fire to the pueblo, and the Pecoseños bitterly surrendered provisions.⁵³

Between the end of the Espejo Expedition in 1583 and the successful colonization of New Mexico under Juan de Oñate in 1598, only one expedition left sufficient records to gauge its effect on the Pueblo people and especially the Tiguex. That was Castaño de Sosa’s attempted colony transplant in 1590-1591. That group’s experience among the Pueblos began with an attack on Pecos Pueblo, killing several of the defenders.⁵⁴ The show of readiness to fight and kill seemed to stifle any urge toward resistance there may have been among the rest of the Pueblo people. In Tiguex, though, Castaño found most of the pueblos deserted. As a result of gifts of trade goods and pacific gestures, though, Castaño and his followers “saw large numbers of Indians returning from the fields to their homes.”⁵⁵ On that note, the Castaño de Sosa expedition effectively ended.

Seven and a half years later, just south of the Tiguex area, during the Oñate colony’s passage northward along the Rio Grande, “many Indians from different places came to visit [the colonists]. Among them, and they seemed like spies, was the one whom [the colonists] called don Lope.”⁵⁶ There were no violent incidents, however, until after establishment of the Spanish settlement at the pueblo the newcomers called San Juan. When violence did erupt, however, it did so on a memorable scale. In retaliation for the killing of eleven armed colonists at Acoma Pueblo, Governor Oñate and his council ordered an attack on that pueblo by seventy-three men-at-arms. The immediate result was the killing of an estimated eight hundred Pueblo people.⁵⁷ Pueblo prisoners numbered almost six hundred more. The prisoners were put on trial, found guilty, and sentenced to the following punishments:

The males who are over twenty-five years of age . . . one foot cut off and . . . twenty years of servitude.

The males between the ages of twelve and twenty-five . . . twenty years of personal servitude.

The women over twelve years of age . . . twenty years of personal servitude.⁵⁸

Even supposing that these sentences were reduced or only partially executed, as some claim, the Native toll at Acoma was huge. The trend of assault against and violent intimidation of Pueblo people that had begun during the Coronado Expedition became a repeated theme of sixteenth-century encounters between Europeans and Pueblos. The results were death, disruption, and existential threat for Pueblo societies.

The people of Tiguex were the first to suffer prolonged and concerted onslaught. Because of the geographical setting and environmental advantages of their homeland in the Middle Rio Grande Valley and its longitudinal passage by a major travel route, the Tiguex people were in the crosshairs of Spanish colonial advance. After the disaster they suffered from 1540 to 1542, they contracted their territory, rebuilt pueblos, and stitched together the pieces of their social fabric. But memory of the Coronado Expedition had not faded before they were again assaulted by the Rodríguez-Chamuscado and Espejo expeditions. Little wonder that they remained extremely cautious when the Castaño de Sosa and Oñate expeditions passed through, each taking a close and likely covetous look at their pueblos and fields.

As we will see in the sequel, European pressure against the Tiguex did not end with Oñate's selection in 1598 of Yuque Yunque (San Juan), considerably upriver from them, as the chief locus of the new Spanish colony. The most devastating days were still to come.

ABIDING ATTRACTION AND NEAR EXTINCTION OF TIGUEX

Although Yuque Yunque was specifically chosen by Juan de Oñate and the other leaders of Spanish New Mexico as the colony's first settlement, many of the rank-and-file colonists were not happy with that location. In the first place, the expected nearby mineral wealth did not materialize. Secondly, the climate was harsh in the *rio arriba*—in the higher elevations north, or upstream, of the confluence of the Santa Fe River and the Rio Grande. And thirdly, the governor left many of the colonists to fend for themselves while he and his companions traveled

widely in the region, seeking sources of wealth. As historian Marc Simmons has written, in 1601 "the grumblings of soldiers and settlers assumed a new intensity."⁵⁹ By early that year, "life in New Mexico [for the Spanish colonists] had been reduced to a simple formula—fending off hunger and cold."⁶⁰

As one former colonist testified in Mexico City in July 1601, "the governor [Oñate] wanted a town established, an alcalde named, and houses built, but that the Spaniards refused. This witness thought that the reason for this was their dissatisfaction at remaining and their desire to abandon the land because of the great privations they were suffering."⁶¹ And further he stated that "the saying there is that there are 'eight months of winter and four of hell.'"⁶² At the same time, another former New Mexico colonist described New Mexico as having "very little pasture land, and the country was of little value or importance."⁶³

The discontent evident in these statements was felt throughout the colony. Desertion from New Mexico by fifteen men had led to the investigation that produced the above testimony of dissatisfaction. Later that same year, in the wake of a call for abandonment of the colony by one of its priests, another, larger group of some eighty-five civilians and all but one of the Franciscan missionaries also fled from New Mexico never to return.⁶⁴ Over the next six years, conditions in the colony did not improve, while the diminished party continued to eke out subsistence at San Gabriel del Yunque, as their settlement was now known. Oñate's ability to govern was often called into question, and finally in late summer 1607, the adelantado and governor tendered his resignation.⁶⁵

The city council of San Gabriel appointed Cristóbal de Oñate, don Juan's son, to serve as interim governor. It was probably also about that same time that the colonists began seriously looking for a new site for their settlement.⁶⁶ One candidate site was located in the upper valley of the Santa Fe River, miles away from any active Pueblo town and thus unlikely to compete with the Natives for land, water, and other resources.

When a new permanent governor, don Pedro de Peralta, reached New Mexico in 1609, he carried with him specific instructions from the viceroy that "he shall inform himself of the condition of said settlements [the pueblos and the town of San Gabriel] endeavoring before anything

else the foundation and settlement of the Villa they [propose] and shall order the same to be [established] there so people may begin to live there [in what became Santa Fe] with some cleanliness and stability."⁶⁷ Accordingly, in 1610 the villa of Santa Fe was formally founded, moving the principal town of the Spanish colony twenty miles or so south, but still in the *rio arriba*.

At about the same time, the Franciscan missionaries moved their custodial seat even farther south, to Tiguex-Quirix territory in the *rio abajo*, into the heaviest concentration of Pueblo



View of Santo Domingo Pueblo, from Lt. J. W. Abert's report, 1847.

population. In modern terms, that concentration was situated between La Bajada and Los Lunas. "The Santo Domingo mission, established in the Oñate period, became the ecclesiastical capital when the headquarters of provincial government were transferred from San Gabriel to Santa Fe."⁶⁸ "By 1616, missionaries resided in several of the Keresan [Quirix] and Tewa towns and at two in Tiguex. . . . By the early 1630s, the missions had expanded to forty-six friars in thirty-five missions and attached visitas, and all corners of the Pueblo world had been filled in."⁶⁹

With wide deployment of Franciscan missionaries across the Pueblo world, Native religious practices were soon under all-out assault. As anthropologist Carroll Riley has written:

The destruction of Pueblo religion took the highest priority among seventeenth-century New Mexico missionaries. There was no question in the minds of the Franciscans that in order to make good Christians out of the Pueblo people, they

first had to wipe out pagan ways. Because Pueblo social and political systems were thoroughly interwoven with religion, all these things had to be done away with.⁷⁰

Typical of seventeenth-century New Mexico missionary attitudes toward Pueblo religion is this statement made by sometime comisario fray Estévan de Perea, who, on his arrival in the province in 1609, was assigned to the Tiguex pueblos: "All the people of this colony cling closely to their superstitious idolatry."⁷¹ Perea's contemporary, fray Roque de Figueredo "gave the Indians to understand the cause of his coming, which was to free them from the miserable slavery of the demon and from the obscure darkness of their idolatry."⁷² All too common were incidents such as one in 1661 that followed a directive from the new custos fray Alonso de Posada "forbidding the performance of the [masked] dances in future and commanding all of the friars to gather in the masks and other dance paraphernalia possessed by the Indians and burn them."⁷³ Soon afterward, at a kiva at the southern Tiguex pueblo of Isleta, a dozen ceremonial masks and other ritual objects were seized and destroyed by priests.⁷⁴ "The harmony of [Pueblo] lives was under siege and, with the suppression of ceremonies and other religious practices, the natural order of life was disrupted."⁷⁵

Lay Spaniards were not slow to follow the friars' lead into Tiguex. "An estancia [livestock ranch] some five miles from Sandia Pueblo had been established by 1614, the mission at Sandia having been founded in 1610 or soon thereafter. In the 1620s, there was an estancia north of Isleta Pueblo, where a mission had been established in 1612 or 1613. In 1626 one family was known to have a hacienda in the vicinity of San Felipe Pueblo, where a convent had been built in 1621."⁷⁶ By the time of the beginning of the Pueblo-Spanish War in 1680, some fifty Spanish households had established residence in the Tiguex area and neighboring Quirix, as estimated by geographer Elinore Barrett.⁷⁷ "The larger grouping of known Spanish settlers in the Sandia jurisdiction [northern portion of the Tiguex territory] was located south of that pueblo in the present Albuquerque area."⁷⁸

By the early 1660s, Spanish settlers who had

moved into the area of Sandia Pueblo included Tomé Domínguez, Diego de Trujillo, Fernando Durán y Chaves, Francisco de Ortega, Juan Estévan de Fagoaga, Pedro Varela Losada, Cristóbal Ruiz de Hinojos, Mateo Manzanares, and Andrés Hurtado.⁷⁹ In about 1667 fray Domingo Cardoso compiled information on the state of the New Mexico missionary effort during the preceding three years. The resulting report shows “about thirty” Spanish estancias, some with adjacent farmlands, associated with Sandia Pueblo and fourteen with Isleta Pueblo.⁸⁰ Land taken up by Spanish settlers was hemming in the dwindling Native population of Tiguex.

In 1680 “Governor [Antonio de] Otermín reported that the [Spanish] refugees [from the commencement of Pueblo-Spanish warfare] were composed of two groups—one from the Rio Arriba led by himself and consisting of some one thousand people and another of about fifteen hundred from the Rio Abajo. . . .”⁸¹ Regardless of whether Otermín’s figures are completely accurate, they clearly indicate that between 1614 and 1680 the balance of Spanish settlement in New Mexico had shifted into the rio abajo, most especially into the Tiguex area.

Indeed, by as early as 1631, Spanish settlers made proposals to establish a second villa in addition to Santa Fe. This one, tentatively called Cerralvo, would have been in the Tiguex area.⁸² Although the proposal did not come to fruition, it indicates that the Spanish population in the area was large enough that people thought it warranted another civil nucleus.

Hard on the heels of movement of Spanish colonists into Tiguex and the rest of the rio abajo came infectious foreign diseases. Fray Juan de Prada, Franciscan commissary general in Mexico City, responding to a royal order, wrote about New Mexico in September 1638: “The people that may be counted today in these settlements [probably] total forty thousand or a little less, for, although there must have been more than sixty thousand baptized, today those conversions are diminished to that extent on account of the very active prevalence during these last years of smallpox and the sickness which the Mexicans called cocolitzli.”⁸³

Smallpox became endemic among New Mexico Pueblos for the better part of a decade in the latter half of the 1630s and first half of the

1640s, reinforced by periodic transmission of the pathogen up the Camino Real from areas of heavier Spanish settlement. Pueblo population plummeted relentlessly, and that catastrophic decline opened the way for further Spanish settlement around and among Pueblo communities. “Large numbers of pueblos were abandoned, especially in the Middle and Southern Rio Grande regions.”⁸⁴

The institution of the encomienda (the granting to Spanish settlers of the right to collect tribute from Native settlements) was a shrinking anachronism in more central areas of the Spanish empire. But royal fiat specifically permitted governors of New Mexico to bestow encomiendas. According to anthropologist David Snow’s 1983 compilation, encomiendas were granted to seventeenth-century New Mexico colonists in the Tiguex-Quirix area at Sandia, Alameda, Isleta, Zia, Santa Ana, San Felipe, and Cochití pueblos.⁸⁵ According to fray Juan de Prada in 1638, “Indians are apportioned among their encomenderos, whom they recognize, and each household of Indians pays to him each year, either as tax or tribute, one fanega of maize...and also a piece of cloth six palms square.”⁸⁶

The combined effect of assault on traditional Pueblo cultural practices—encroachment by Spanish settlers, the onslaught of disease, labor drafts and exactions of tribute by encomenderos and provincial officials as well as Franciscan missionaries—was devastating. Geographer Elinore Barrett has compiled data from documentary sources that suggest that from the time of the Oñate-led colonization in 1598 until the beginning of hostilities in the Pueblo-Spanish War in 1680, the number of Tiguex area pueblos—what she defines as the Albuquerque-Belen Basin—shrank from a high of perhaps twenty-one to only four. Those four were Isleta, Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia.⁸⁷ She has also estimated that during just thirteen years between 1629 and 1641 the Tiguex Native population may have collapsed by more than eighty-five percent. Only the Southern Rio Grande area may have suffered a worse fate.⁸⁸

THE NADIR OF TIUDEX

The sixteen years of intermittent warfare from 1680 to 1696, the Pueblo-Spanish War, very nearly obliterated what remained of Tiguex. The onset of those hostilities in August 1680 precipitated a great exodus of Tiguex people from their homeland in the Middle Rio Grande Valley. Some of them joined

the withdrawing Spanish colonists and eventually established new pueblos in the El Paso area, along the Rio Grande nearly 250 miles south of Tiguex. According to a count made in early October 1680, that original group of Tiguex refugees totaled 317 adults.⁸⁹

During the final months of 1681, Spanish Governor Antonio de Otermín led an unsuccessful attempt to reoccupy the Tiguex area. At Isleta some 500 Tiguex were in residence. Of that number, 385 joined the Spaniards and journeyed south to the El Paso area when the expedition ended.⁹⁰ The other three Tiguex pueblos Otermín found vacant. Their residents refused his summons to return, so he ordered "fires which I [and], the said governor and captain-general, set by way of punishment in the pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia, burning all the seeds, grain, property of the said Indians, their estufas [kivas] of idolatry, and the pueblos themselves."⁹¹ Weeks later, news reached El Paso, the Spanish capital of New Mexico in exile, that "all the people [of Sandia, Alameda, and Puaray]—men, women, and children—were in the sierras, where they were perishing of cold and hunger."⁹²

In 1687 and again in 1689, Spanish expeditionary forces returned to the Pueblo world in attempts to regain what had been lost in 1680. Both efforts at reconquest failed. Both parties found the Tiguex pueblos empty and proceeded to attack other Pueblos slightly farther north and west at Santa Ana and Zia, inflicting injury but without succeeding in restoring New Mexico to Spanish sovereignty.⁹³

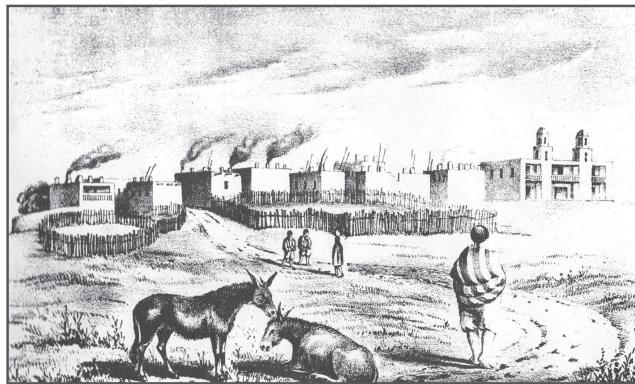
Many Tiguex people from Isleta, Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia migrated during these years far to the west and settled among and adjacent to Hopi pueblos in what is now northern Arizona.⁹⁴ When Spaniards returned to Tiguex in 1692 under Governor don Diego de Vargas, they found no Pueblo people there at all. It was not until the 1700s that Natives of the area were coaxed back to the Rio Grande. The first small group came in 1709, and

others followed in 1718, 1742, and 1748. When all was said and done, only two Tiguex pueblos were resettled, Isleta and Sandia. Alameda and Puaray fell into ruin.⁹⁵

In 1706 the Spanish settlement of Albuquerque was officially founded, followed by Bernalillo and a raft of smaller communities, filling up the former Pueblo lands of Tiguex. "At least for the Tiguex Province, the Pueblo Revolt proved to be a Pyrrhic victory. Although the Pueblos of Isleta and Sandia continue into modern times, the loss of population, communities and land as a result of Spanish reoccupation was devastating. Vast cultural regions now bear only archeological witness to the numerous Pueblo communities that once inhabited

the area."⁹⁶ What had once been a heavily Native area became first predominately Hispanic and then, during the twentieth century, heavily non-Hispanic of European heritage. It is no accident that Tiguex, the most environmentally desirable portion of New Mexico, became the region's most contested

landscape. The descendants of the Tiguex people were for many decades marginal to economic, social, and political developments in their own homeland. As Barrett has put it, "The Spaniards not only changed the physical landscape through their farming and ranching operations but also changed the human landscape to one characterized by a dominant and a subordinate population."⁹⁷ Only since relatively recent federal recognition of tribal sovereignty and Indian voting rights, coupled with the burgeoning of tribally owned casinos and other enterprises, has that begun to change. The radical contraction and transformation of Tiguex, though, one-time "heart of the pueblos," was set more than three hundred years ago. A landscape that was once the most densely populated part of the Pueblo world has long been monopolized by others.



Santa Ana Pueblo, near Bernalillo, from J. W. Abert's report, 1847.

NOTES

1 As used in this article, the name “Tiguex” applies both to a geographical and cultural area and to the Puebloan people who have lived there for many centuries. It is cognate with the modern name “Tiwa.”

2 Nugent Brasher, “The Red House Camp and the Captain General: The 2009 Report on the Coronado Expedition Campsite of Chichilticale,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 84(1) (winter 2009): map on 42.

3 In fact, the expeditionaries expected to reach Asia and gain access to silks, porcelains, spices, and dyes. See Richard Flint, “When East Was West: The Oriental Aim of the Coronado Expedition,” pp. 105–16 in Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, eds., *The Latest Word from 1540: People, Places, and Portrayals of the Coronado Expedition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2011).

4 Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539–1542*, (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 2005; Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012), 421 and 478.

5 Ibid., 321 and 325.

6 For information on variation between the outbound and return routes, see William K. Hartmann and Gayle Harrison Hartmann, “Locating the Lost Coronado Garrisons of San Gerónimo I, II, and III,” pp. 117–53 in Flint and Flint, *The Latest Word from 1540*.

7 Peter J. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas, 1546–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 23–30.

8 George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds., *The Rediscovery of New Mexico: The Explorations of Chamuscado, Espejo, Castaño de Sosa, Morlete, and Leyva de Bonilla and Humaña* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966), 84.

9 Ibid., 131.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid., 132.

13 David H. Snow, “The Identification of Puaray Pueblo,” pp. 463–80 in Theodore R. Frisbie, ed., *Collected Papers in Honor of Florence Hawley Ellis, Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico*, No. 2 (Santa Fe: Archaeological Society of New Mexico, 1975).

14 Hammond and Rey, *The Rediscovery of New Mexico*, 93–94.

15 Ibid., 136–37.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid., 112.

18 Ibid., 153 and 215.

19 Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain*, revised ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 241–43.

20 Hammond and Rey, *The Rediscovery of New Mexico*, 176.

21 Ibid., 177.

22 In this article, the name “Quirix” is used to apply to both a geographical and cultural area immediately north and northwest of Tiguex, and to the Puebloan people who have lived there for many centuries. It is cognate with the modern name “Keres.”

23 Hammond and Rey, *The Rediscovery of New Mexico*, 203–04.

24 Ibid., 31; Albert H. Schroeder and Dan S. Matson, *A Colony on the Move: Gaspar Castaño de Sosa’s Journal, 1590–1591* (Santa Fe: School of American Research, 1965), 25–35.

25 Schroeder and Matson, *A Colony on the Move*, 108–42.

26 Ibid., 167–75.

27 Marc Simmons, *The Last Conquistador: Juan de Oñate and the Settling of the Far Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 93–96.

28 George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate: Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595–1628*, 2 vols. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1953), 311–19.

29 Ibid., 322–23.

30 Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 412 and 468.

31 Coofor is usually identified with Santiago Pueblo, LA326, located on the west side of the Rio Grande opposite the southern portion of the town of Bernalillo, NM. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 600. For an alternate view, see Matt Schmader, “Thundersticks and Coats of Iron: Recent Discoveries at Piedras Marcadas Pueblo, New Mexico,” pp. 308–47 in Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, eds., *The Latest Word from 1540: People, Places, and Portrayals of the Coronado Expedition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2011), 338.

32 Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 400 and 453.

33 Richard Flint, *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported: The 1544 Investigation of the Coronado Expedition* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 2002; Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013), 80, 171, 195, 214, 225, 238, 287, 313, 322, and 440.

- 34 As Shirley Cushing Flint and I reconstruct Tiguex of 1540, Alameda is most likely Watche Pueblo, LA 677, and Moho is Basalt Point Pueblo, LA 2047, or another on Santa Ana Mesa. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 600; Richard Flint, "Moho and the Tiguex War," pp. 348–66 in Flint and Flint, *The Latest Word from 1540*.
- 35 Flint, *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 80, 96, 113, 131, 149, 171, 190, 195, and 239.
- 36 Ibid., 149–50 and 216.
- 37 Ibid., 63, 94, and 288.
- 38 Ibid., 59, 68, 78, 94, 111, 168, 194, 211, 283, 286, and 301.
- 39 See Flint and Flint, *The Latest Word from 1540* for discussion of other possible locations of Moho.
- 40 Flint, *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 108, 196, and 363 and Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 405.
- 41 Flint, *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 151, 257, and 289.
- 42 Henri Grissino-Mayer, "A 2129-Year Reconstruction of Precipitation for Northwestern New Mexico, USA," pp. 191–204 in Jeffrey S. Dean, D.M. Meko, and T.W. Swetman, eds., *Tree Rings, Environment and Humanity*, (Tucson: Radiocarbon, Dept. of Geosciences, University of Arizona, 1996).
- 43 Flint, *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 151 and 516.
- 44 Ibid., 151.
- 45 Richard Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest: A History of the Coronado Entrada* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 201–02.
- 46 Hammond and Rey, *The Rediscovery of New Mexico*, 105.
- 47 The dismantling of pueblos by the expeditionaries is confirmed repeatedly during the 1544 investigation of the expedition; see Flint, *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, throughout.
- 48 Hammond and Rey, *The Rediscovery of New Mexico*, 82.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Ibid., 93–94.
- 51 Ibid., 95.
- 52 Ibid., 22.
- 53 Ibid., 206.
- 54 Ibid., 272–73.
- 55 Ibid., 293.
- 56 Hammond and Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate*, 319.
- 57 Ibid., 426–27.
- 58 Ibid., 477; there is some debate over whether the sentences were actually carried out.
- 59 Simmons, *The Last Conquistador*, 157.
- 60 Ibid., 158.
- 61 Hammond and Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate*, 652.
- 62 Ibid., 656.
- 63 Ibid., 658.
- 64 Simmons, *The Last Conquistador*, 165–68; and Elinore M. Barrett, *The Spanish Colonial Settlement Landscapes of New Mexico, 1598–1680* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Pres, 2012), 54.
- 65 Simmons, *j*, 179.
- 66 Ibid., 181–82.
- 67 Lansing B. Bloom, ed., and Ireneo L. Chaves, tr., "Instructions to Peralta by Vice-Roy," *New Mexico Historical Review* 4(2) (April 1929): 179; editorial revisions by the current author.
- 68 France V. Scholes and Lansing B. Bloom, "Friar Personnel and Mission Chronology, 1598–1625," *New Mexico Historical Review* 19(4) (Oct. 1944): 333.
- 69 Carroll L. Riley, *Rio del Norte: People of the Upper Rio Grande from Earliest Times to the Pueblo Revolt* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995), 255 and 256.
- 70 Ibid., 261.
- 71 "True Report of the Great Conversion," pp. 210–16, in Frederick W. Hodge, George P. Hammond, and Agapito Rey, *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1945), 214 and Lansing B. Bloom, "Fray Estevan Perea's Relacion," *New Mexico Historical Review* 8(3) (July 1933): 228.
- 72 Bloom, "Fray Estevan Perea's Relacion," 229–30.
- 73 France V. Scholes, "Troublous Times in New Mexico," 1659–1670, II, *New Mexico Historical Review* 12(4) (Oct. 1937): 444.
- 74 Ibid. Also see Theodore S. Jojola, "The Legacy of the Pueblo Revolt and the Tiguex Province," pp. 54–71 in Joe S. Sando and Herman Agoyo, eds., *Po'pay, Leader of the First American Revolution* (Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishing, 2005), 60.
- 75 Joe S. Sando, "The Pueblo Revolt," pp. 5–53, in Sando and Agoyo, *Po'pay*, 18.
- 76 Barrett, *Spanish Colonial Settlement Landscapes*, 163.
- 77 Ibid., 135.
- 78 Ibid., 138.
- 79 France V. Scholes, Marc Simmons, and José Antonio Esquivel, eds. and Eleanor B. Adams, tr., *Juan Domínguez de Mendoza: Soldier and Frontiersman of the*

Spanish Southwest, 1627–1693 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012), 359 and 399n48.

80 “Certification of the Number of Friars Serving in the Conventos of the Custody of New Mexico, 1667,” pp. 304–08 in Scholes, et al., *Juan Domínguez de Mendoza*, 307.

81 Barrett, *Spanish Colonial Settlement Landscapes*, 61–62, and Charles Wilson Hackett, ed., and Charmion Clair Shelby, tr., *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest, 1680–1682*, 2 vols. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942), I:90.

82 France V. Scholes, “Civil Government and Society in New Mexico in the Seventeenth Century,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 10(2) (April 1935): 94n39.

83 “Petition of Father Juan de Prada. Convent of San Francisco, Mexico, September 26, 1638,” 3:106–15 in Charles Wilson Hackett, ed., *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches thereto, to 1773*, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937), 3:108; editorial insertion by the present author.

84 Barrett, *Spanish Colonial Settlement Landscapes*, 164.

85 David H. Snow, “A Note on Encomienda Economics in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico,” pp. 354–57 in Marta Weigle, ed., *Hispanic Arts and Ethnohistory in the Southwest* (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1983).

86 “Petition of Father Juan de Prada, 1638,” in Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 3:110.

87 Elinore M. Barrett, *Conquest and Catastrophe: Changing Rio Grande Pueblo Settlement Patterns in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 56.

88 The population estimates for this region made by Spaniards, however, may be less accurate because fewer Spaniards spent less time in this region during the thirteen-year period than in Tiguex.

89 Hackett and Shelby, *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians*, I:159.

90 Ibid., II:357.

91 Ibid., II:256.

92 Ibid., II:222.

93 John L. Kessell and Rick Hendricks, eds., *By Force of Arms: The Journals of don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1691–1693* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), 24–25.

94 There is some question as to whether many of the Tiguex people did in fact move to the Hopi pueblos. See Elizabeth A. Brandt, “Sandia Pueblo,” 343–50 in Alfonso Ortiz, ed., *Southwest, Volume 9 of Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), 345.

95 Jojola, “The Legacy of the Pueblo Revolt and the Tiguex Province,” 68–69 and “Letter of Father Trigo, 1754,” 3:459–68 in Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 3:464.

96 Ibid., 69.

97 Barrett, *Spanish Colonial Settlement Landscapes*, 164.

Maps courtesy of the author.

RICHARD FLINT, together with his collaborator and wife, historian Shirley Cushing Flint, has been engaged in research on the Coronado Expedition and the early Spanish colonial period in the American Southwest and northwest Mexico for the last thirty-plus years. Their current major project is titled “A Most Splendid Company: The Inner Workings of the Coronado Expedition.” The Flints have also done major archival research on the U.S. Army post and depot at Fort Union, New Mexico, the Rough Riders of the Spanish American War, and New Mexico in the seventeenth century. Richard and Shirley graduated from St. John’s College in Santa Fe, earned MAs at New Mexico Highlands University and Richard holds a PhD in Latin American and Western U.S. History from the University of New Mexico. Their groundbreaking documentary research leads the field of current Coronado Expedition research. In addition, the Flints are Spanish paleographers with many years of experience. They live near Villanueva, New Mexico.

ENCUENTROS CON LOS ANTEPASADOS: FLOOD, SALVAGE ARCHAEOLOGY, AND COMMUNITY

By Enrique Lamadrid with Jerry Gurulé
Photographs by Miguel Gandert



Reinterment at San Carlos camposanto, Alameda.

2013 Centennial Celebrations of the sturdy, granite-built Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary church in Alameda, New Mexico, began in late January with a unique face-to-face encounter with the ancestors. In 2003 a City of Albuquerque infrastructure project hit an all-but-forgotten graveyard near the intersection of Río Grande and Alameda boulevards. Subsequent excavation, study, and repatriation of 123 people reveal a fascinating portrait of a community as it reacquaints itself with its history.

Since its 1710 foundation on the site of an older Tiwa pueblo abandoned in 1680, this Río Grande town named for its cottonwood forests has changed banks several times. In the huge flood of 1903, the river moved from the eastern to the western edge of its flood plain, taking everything with it—adobe church and houses, orchards, vineyards, fields, and one of the routes of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro.

In four large wooden boxes crafted by parishioners, the earthly remains from the old Inmaculada Concepción *camposanto* were honored with prayers and *alabados*. The Rosario was led by the local families and the brothers of Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno,¹ invited for the services since there were as many as four Morada chapels in the area. Most of the deceased were originally buried without masses, because the parish church of San Felipe de Neri was an entire day's journey south in

Albuquerque.² In a homily the next morning, the priest noted that the *antepasados* finally got their *Misa*. After this unique commemoration, they were taken by horse-drawn wagon in procession to the higher grounds of the San Carlos *camposanto* and reinterred.

NOTES

1 Commonly known as the Penitente brotherhood, from the late 18th century the Brothers have served the spiritual needs of their communities. Morada means dwelling place. These small chapels are found in many communities of northern New Mexico.

2 This is the original spelling of Albuquerque.



Contemplating bones excavated from the Inmaculada Concepción camposanto.

ENRIQUE LAMADRID is Distinguished Professor of Folklore, Literature, and Cultural History, and is Chair of the Department of Spanish & Portuguese at the University of New Mexico. He is CARTA's vice president and lives in Albuquerque.

JERRY GURULÉ, a resident of Albuquerque, is a retired historian-linguist for the National Park Service.

MIGUEL GANDERT, photographer, is Distinguished Professor and Director of Interdisciplinary Film and Digital Media at the University of New Mexico. He lives in Albuquerque.

SNOWSHOES IN THE DESERT: REVEREND JOHN DYER ON EL CAMINO REAL

By Larry Castillo-Wilson

The Methodist preacher John Dyer became a legend in Colorado, where he was known as the “snowshoe priest,” because when the snow was deep he made the rounds of his preaching circuit on snowshoes.

John Dyer traveled south on the historic Camino Real in August of 1869, as part of his missionary reconnaissance of New Mexico. He felt relieved to overtake a group of thirty miners and ride with them for protection as they entered the *Jornada del Muerto*. At the southern end of the route they reached a *mal punto* (a dangerous point where travelers can be ambushed), low hills covered with rock that provided hiding places for Apache attackers—a place called Point of Rocks, where they stopped to camp. After the evening meal, tent-cloths were spread between two wagons, the miners gathered under this makeshift canopy, and Dyer preached to them by moonlight. What a scene of irony: kindness and compassion encapsulated in the words of Dyer rippled through the eerie darkness and over sand, sage, and rock that had known the blood of many innocent travelers over the centuries.

As the sun rose over the Jornada the next day, Dyer continued his missionary scouting to Las Cruces and El Paso. He arrived at Mesilla and lodged with a Mr. Jones. Jones took Dyer to visit the saloons around the plaza so that Dyer could publicize the time and place of his preaching (the only entertainment in town). As they walked into a saloon, Jones, to get the attention of the crowd, bought everyone a drink and offered one to Dyer. Dyer, a teetotaler, refused. As the night wore on, Jones became tipsy and Dyer suggested that they go home. Jones objected. Dyer responded, “If we don’t go home now, I am afraid I will have to carry you home later.”

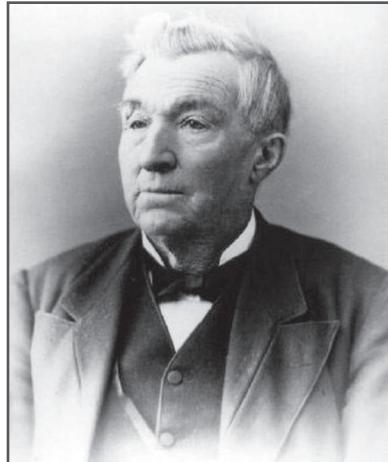
Later in September, as he traveled back up the Camino Real, Dyer stopped to preach at Fort Selden. The congregation was made up of African American and white soldiers who were seated on the parade ground. The African Americans, Buffalo Soldiers, sat nearest to Dyer and enthusiastically participated in the service, making the fort echo with the sound

of good old hymns. As on the Jornada, Dyer preached by the light of a full moon and felt pleased as he described the scene: “ . . . the sound of God’s truth echoed from valley to mountains, and the people, black and white, were attentive.”

The next day, he departed with the mail carrier and traveled back up the Jornada. They reached a halfway place called Jack Martin’s. Here they received news that the mail carrier coming from the north had been killed by Apaches. The impulse of fear, and the compulsion to follow duty and continue their trip, battled within their souls. Dyer told the mail carrier that because the murderers would not likely loiter around the crime scene, it was time to depart. The mail carrier acquiesced. At dusk the two men slid into their saddles and rode into the enveloping darkness. In the middle of the night, the mail carrier needed to stop and nap. Even though he carried no weapon, Dyer stayed awake to keep guard. Sitting by the sleeping man in the heart of the Jornada in the middle of the night, with courageous trepidation amidst the stillness and silence of the desert landscape, Dyer’s mind rehearsed the scenario of grabbing the mail carrier’s gun and shooting as best he could if danger approached.

Toward dawn, as red and orange streaked across the eastern horizon of the Jornada, they came across the crime scene and observed the forensic evidence: bloodstains scattered over the ground. When Dyer and his compadre reached Fort Craig, they learned that the Apaches had not committed the murder. The victim, because of a personal vendetta, had been killed by an acquaintance from a village along the Rio Grande. In the evening, Dyer continued his custom of preaching to an integrated congregation of soldiers.

The next day, Dyer continued his journey and traveled to Socorro. As he rode along the banks of the Rio Grande, feeling lonely and staring at the dreary landscape, the desolate terrain cast a strange despondency over him that he could not account for. His mind and emotions became quite agitated, and the mood refused to dissipate. It was



John Dyer, 1812–1901.

twilight when Dyer arrived at Socorro and was able to find lodging with a generous Scotsman. In his room that night, the preacher received some comfort from reading in his hymnbook, but still could not shake the lingering depression.

Preachers have a distinct advantage over laypeople in coping with depression—they can preach themselves out of it. One of the effects of seeking to encourage others with a sermon is that one's own spirit is encouraged in the process. The next morning Reverend Dyer put this form of therapy into practice. There were a few Protestant Hispanics in Socorro whom he gathered together and preached to, even though not many of them understood English. Dyer eventually made his way back to Santa Fe, where he found several letters awaiting him. One letter told of the death of his mother, which had occurred on the same day that he had been attacked, south of Socorro, by the strange spell of melancholy. Dyer did not interpret the experience, but merely stated: "I give this circumstance as it occurred, and the reader can draw his own conclusions as to the seemingly singular coincidence."

SOURCES

Dyer, John L. *The Snow-Shoe Itinerant: An Autobiography of the Rev. John L. Dyer, Familiarly Known as "Father Dyer," of the Colorado Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church*. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe, 1890.

Castillo-Wilson, Larry. "Thomas Harwood: Prophet and Precursor of Multicultural Ministry." *Methodist History* (April 2002): 139-148.

An image of Rev. John Dyer on skis can be seen at the Colorado State Capitol in one of the dome's stained glass windows honoring the pioneer builders of the state.

The author presented this story about John Dyer at El Camino Real International Heritage Center, New Mexico, on October 5, 2012.

LARRY CASTILLO-WILSON received his BA from West Texas State University (now West Texas A&M) and two theology degrees from Brite Divinity School, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas. A retired United Methodist minister, Larry served churches in New Mexico and West Texas for thirty years. His discovery of a mysterious 1848 inscription was published in the Winter 2011 *Chronicles of the Trail*. Larry worked for many years as an official volunteer with the Socorro BLM office, and has made numerous presentations, including "Kit Carson on El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro" and "Walking the Camino with Governor Otermín in 1682." Larry lives in Rio Rancho.

DEAD MAN'S JOURNEY

By Jay W. Sharp

Photographs by Jay W. Sharp

Headed southward toward Mexico in the summer of 1670, over a trail through a foreboding desert landscape bounded by dark and sullen mountains to the east and west, a party of five traders made a grim discovery. Later, one of the traders, Francisco del Castillo Betancur, would say in a letter to a friend that they had found "a roan horse tied to a tree by a halter. It was dead and near it was a doublet [a short-waist jacket] or coat of blue cloth lined with otter skin. There were also a pair of trousers of the same material, and other remnants of clothing that had decayed. . . ." Searching the area, the party soon found "hair and the remnants of clothing. . . . I and my companions," said Castillo, "found in very widely separated places the skull, three ribs, two long bones, and two other little bones which had been gnawed by animals." (Sánchez, *The Rio Abajo Frontier*)

The traders suspected that their discovery spoke of murder, but they could have known nothing of why or just how it happened. They gathered the human remains and carried them across the Rio Grande from El Paso, Texas, southward to El Paso del Norte, today's Juárez. They left them for burial by a Franciscan friar at La Conversión de los Mansos y Sumas [Misión de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe], a mission church on the south side of the river. They continued southward, on down the trail toward Parral, Chihuahua.

Bernardo Grüber, Trader

Two years before the five traders discovered human bones scattered across the desert, Bernardo Grüber, a German immigrant and itinerant trader from Sonora, made his way northward, likely



A cow skull, reminder of the hardships men and animals faced in traveling the Jornada del Muerto trail.

following the trail through the foreboding desert landscape. Accompanied by three Apache servants, including a teenage boy named Atanasio and two women, he led a pack train that included ten pack mules, eighteen horses, and three oxen. "His mules bore fine stockings, gloves, embroidered cloth, buckskins, and iron tools and weapons." (Simmons, *Witchcraft of the Southwest*)

Grüber certainly would have known that the route, which lay east of the Rio Grande and the Fra Cristóbal and Caballo mountain ranges, crossed one of the most punishing parts of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro—the old Spanish road that connected Mexico City with Santa Fe. Some thirty to forty leagues (roughly ninety miles) in length, across desert sand and rock, it did not pass a single spring or stream, or even a dependable waterhole. It offered little forage for mules, horses, and oxen. It left the thorns of its cholla and prickly pear cacti embedded in the flesh of travelers. It often took a week or more

to traverse, because caravans often covered only eight to twelve miles a day. Grüber certainly knew that this passage could inflict a terrible toll on man and animal, but it offered a shorter, more navigable route than the alternative, along the Rio Grande on the western side of the Fra Cristóbal and Caballo mountains.

Grüber must have known, too, that this part of the trail intruded into the range of the Mescalero Apaches—notorious and deadly raiders. He likely had heard that the Apaches often ambushed Spanish caravans and trading expeditions at a small range called Point of Rocks, near the southern end of the trail, or beside the desert playa called Laguna del Muerto, or Lake of the Dead, near the

middle of the trail. He would not have been surprised to learn that Franciscan Fray Juan de Paz would say that "... the whole land is at war with the very numerous nation of the heathen Apache Indians. . . . No road is safe. One travels them all at risk of life for the heathens are everywhere." (Kessell, *Kiva, Cross and Crown*) Grüber, however, may have felt comparatively safe. After all, he had Apaches for companions, and he brought goods for trade with the Indians.

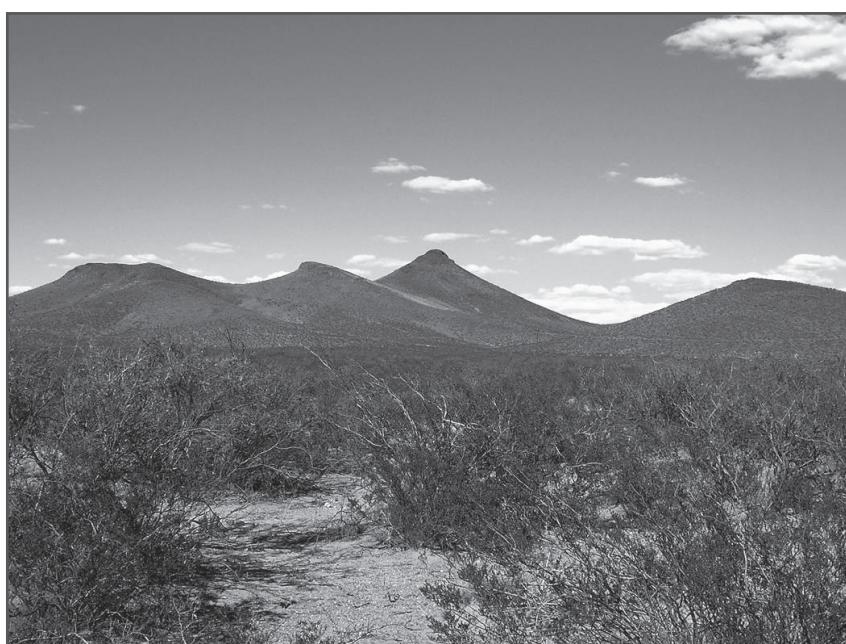
As he drew near the Spanish settlements and pueblo missions in what is now central New Mexico, this German trader may not have known—or fully appreciated—that by the 17th century, the Spanish Inquisition had extended its malignant tentacles, not only across continents, but even up El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro and into the remote Southwest. A native of Europe, Grüber likely knew that the Inquisition in Spain cast a dark and terrible pall of fear over every citizen whose veins carried the blood of Jews or Moors, anyone whose religious beliefs strayed even slightly from the strict teachings of the Faith, anyone whose behavior suggested the practices of witchcraft, anyone whose enemies brought accusations or even suggestions of contaminated racial blood or heresy or sorcery. Grüber likely knew that the Inquisition could imprison and torture anyone even vaguely suspected of violating the "edicts of the Faith." It could hold anyone indefinitely, without ever revealing the identity of their accusers or the nature

of their offenses. It could seize anyone's property with no compensation even if they proved innocent of the charges.

So far away from Europe, however, the German—"El Alemán" they called him in Spanish—might not have been cognizant of the influence and authority of the frontier friars, empowered by the Inquisition. As in Spain "... the citizens [of New Mexico], stood defenseless and fearful before the arbitrary justice of the Franciscans. For no greater offense than hiring an Indian laborer against the will of a friar, New Mexicans were threatened with prosecution by the Inquisition. Such intimidation was commonplace." (Kessell)

Bernardo Grüber, Sorcerer?

The risks notwithstanding, Grüber negotiated the trail through the foreboding desert landscape, and took his expedition northward, along the banks of the Rio Grande. At some point, Grüber led his pack train to the southeastern flanks of the Manzano Mountains, at the northern end of the vast Chihuahuan Desert. He apparently meant to spend several months there, trading with the peoples of the Quarai and Abó pueblos, where he knew that the Franciscan fathers had established mission churches. He probably did not know, however, that three Franciscan priests at Quarai held jurisdiction over the enforcement of "edicts of faith," or that the convent at Quarai had space designated specifically for use by the Inquisition.



Point of Rocks range, where Apaches often ambushed travelers on the Jornada del Muerto.



Quarai Pueblo, Nuestra Señora de las Purísima Concepción mission church, interior. It was here that mass was being said on Christmas day, 1668, when Bernardo Grüber offered the magic “papelitos” to the choir members.

During his stay, Grüber impressed the Puebloans with his fine clothing—a “doublet . . . and pantaloons with woollen stockings. To keep warm, the German wrapped himself with an elkskin overcoat.” (Sánchez)

Apparently, Grüber carried on his business routinely until Christmas morning of 1668. For some strange reason, during mass that morning at the Quarai mission church—Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción—Grüber and a friend, Juan Martín Serrano, climbed the ladder to the choir loft. As mass proceeded, Grüber took several *papelitos*, or small pieces of paper, from his pocket, according to Sánchez, and he and Martín wrote on eleven of them cryptic letter combinations separated by crosses: “+ ABNA + ADNA +.”

Grüber whispered to the choir members: “He who eats one of these slips of paper, will, from that hour of this first day to that same hour of the second day, be free from any harm, whether it be caused by knife or shot.” The effect would only last, said Grüber, through the first day of Christmas. Grüber gave a couple of the marked *papelitos* to Juan Nieto, a nineteen-year-old who indicated that he wanted to be “free from any harm.”

Grüber probably did not know that after the mass young Nieto would stand within a Pueblo ceremonial chamber, or kiva, before a group of curious Indian men. He swallowed one of the *papelitos*. He then stabbed his hand and wrist with an awl, and to the amazement of the spectators, he suffered no injury. He then repeated

the performance in the Pueblo community house, swallowing the second of his *papelitos* and stabbing himself with a dagger. Again, to the amazement of the spectators, he suffered no injuries. The young Nieto then announced that the whole thing had been a hoax—just a big joke. He had faked the stabbings. He did not believe in the slightest that the *papelitos* would keep him “free from any harm.”

Later, Grüber himself faced a challenge by Juan Martín Serrano, who had accompanied him to the choir loft. With Nieto watching, the two drew their swords.

Grüber said, according to Sánchez, “This is how the test should be made!” Martín, who clearly had no faith in the *papelitos*, backed down.

Grüber probably did not anticipate that a few days later, Juan Nieto, encouraged by his wife, would report the incidents to the Inquisition.

Bernardo Grüber, Defendant

Through the cold winter, wrote Sánchez, Grüber, probably not suspecting that he might be in the sights of the Inquisition, remained near the protective southern end of the Manzano Mountains, trading at the Quarai and Abó pueblos and caring for his livestock. With the coming of spring, Grüber received unexpected orders from fray Paz—an agent of the Holy Office of the Inquisition—to remain in the area. Surely, Grüber’s anxieties rose. About ten o’clock at night, on April 19, 1668, he walked into the Quarai community house, where Nieto had played his Christmas joke on the Indian men. This, however, was no joke. Grüber found himself under arrest by fray Gabriel Toríja, a notary for the Inquisition, who was accompanied by an officer and Juan Martín Serrano (the same individual who accompanied the German to the choir loft in the mission church) and Juan’s brother Joseph. Grüber surrendered without a struggle.

Mounted on horses they had appropriated from him, Grüber and his captors rode through the night to Abó, where he would be held prisoner. The next day, he received a visit from fray Paz, who came to verify an inventory of property. Believing that he could prove his innocence, Grüber asked for an

expedited hearing by the Inquisition.

He tried to explain, said Simmons, that the poor in his country, Germany, often used cryptic letters on small pieces of paper to invoke magic. Surely, such a small thing could not be considered as a serious offense by the Spanish Inquisition. Surely, that did not warrant imprisonment.

He learned, however, that Paz believed him to be a sorcerer who had, according to Sánchez, "promised immortality to Juan Nieto on a holy day inside a church while mass was being said and he had used a mysterious formula to work his charm. There would be no pardon. . . ."

After a month at Abó, which lacked an adequate cell, Grüber was forcibly taken, in shackles and under guard, northward up the river to a more secure imprisonment at a hacienda near Sandía Pueblo. There, he would languish for more than two years in a small room with one door and a single wooden-barred window. He saw no indication by the Holy Office of the Inquisition that he would have an opportunity to respond to the charges within the foreseeable future. Outside his care, his mules and horses fell into other hands or died of neglect. His trade goods began to disappear. His young Apache servant Atanasio disappeared. Clearly desperate, Grüber began to plot his escape.

Somehow, he secretly enlisted the help of Atanasio, who had apparently returned clandestinely to the area, and of Juan Martín Serrano, who had accompanied him to the choir

loft and who later helped arrest him at the Quarai community house. He instructed Atanasio to prepare the way for an escape. He persuaded Martín to secure supplies and a harquebus (an early firearm). Grüber, feigning illness, convinced his guards that they should remove his shackles. When left alone, he worked on loosening the wooden bars of his window.

Bernardo Grüber, Escapee

On June 28, 1670, the agents of the Inquisition learned that El Alemán had escaped, according to Sánchez. His tracks showed that he had fled south, accompanied by Atanasio, down El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, a route that would take him over that trail through the foreboding desert landscape, down and across the Rio Grande and into Mexico. The friars and the Spanish governor rushed messengers to alert the Holy Offices of the Inquisition in Chihuahua and Sonora. Eight soldiers and forty Indians gave pursuit as far as El Paso del Norte. They found no trace of El Alemán. He had simply vanished.

Days later, Inquisition authorities would learn that El Alemán—weakened by his long captivity and suffering from complete exhaustion and terrible thirst on that hard desert trail between dark and sullen mountains—had collapsed at a waterless place called Las Peñuelas. He had given Atanasio his harquebus and sent him southward down the trail for water. When Atanasio returned three



Ruins of Abó Pueblo, where Bernardo Grüber was held prisoner for a month before he was transferred to a cell at a hacienda farther north.

days later, he would discover that El Alemán had somehow moved on, taking a single roan horse with him. Unable to find El Alemán after a two-day search, Atanasio reluctantly returned north up El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro to report on the disappearance and to face interrogation by the Inquisition. Later, the young Apache would escape, probably heading for Sonora. The authorities dispatched a new search party to find El Alemán. It returned empty handed.

Weeks later, the party of five traders, heading southward over that foreboding desert trail, made their grim discovery. No one would ever know for sure exactly what befell El Alemán, but, in any case, the Inquisition had claimed another victim.

Bernardo Grüber and La Jornada del Muerto

Bernardo Grüber's death gave rise to the name of that ninety-mile desert trail: la Jornada del Muerto, or the Dead Man's Journey, and bestowed the name Paraje del Alemán (the German), or simply El Alemán, to the site of his death. With the passing centuries, la Jornada del Muerto, marked by the graves along its length, became the most notorious passage on the entire 1700-mile-long Camino Real de Tierra Adentro.

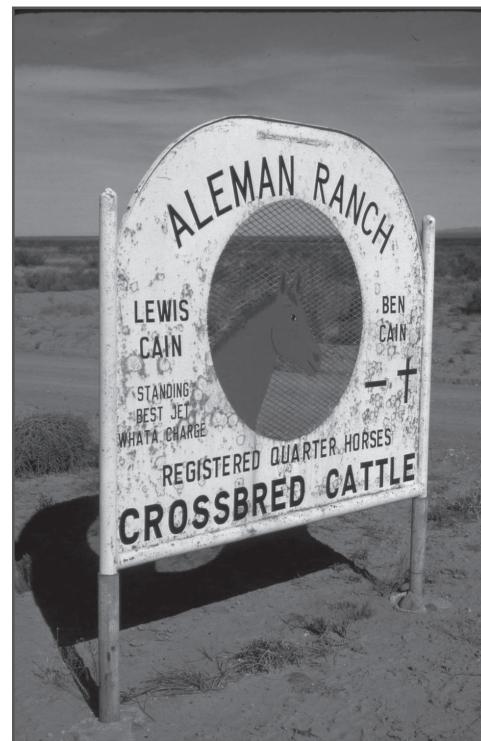
SOURCES

Jackson, Hal. *Following the Royal Road: A Guide to the Historic Camino Real de Tierra Adentro* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006).

Kessell, John L. *Kiva, Cross, & Crown: The Pecos Indians and New Mexico, 1540–1840*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987.

Sánchez, Joseph P. *The Rio Abajo Frontier 1540–1692: A History of Early Colonial New Mexico*. 2nd ed. Albuquerque: Albuquerque Museum, 1996.

Simmons, Marc. *Witchcraft in the Southwest: Spanish and Indian Supernaturalism on the Rio Grande*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1980.



Alemán Ranch, a name that commemorates the death of the German trader Bernardo Grüber, after whom it is said La Jornada del Muerto was named.

The author has given *Chronicles of the Trail* permission to print "Dead Man's Journey," which was first published online in *DesertUSA*. (www.desertusa.com/mag08/feb08/dmjourney.html).

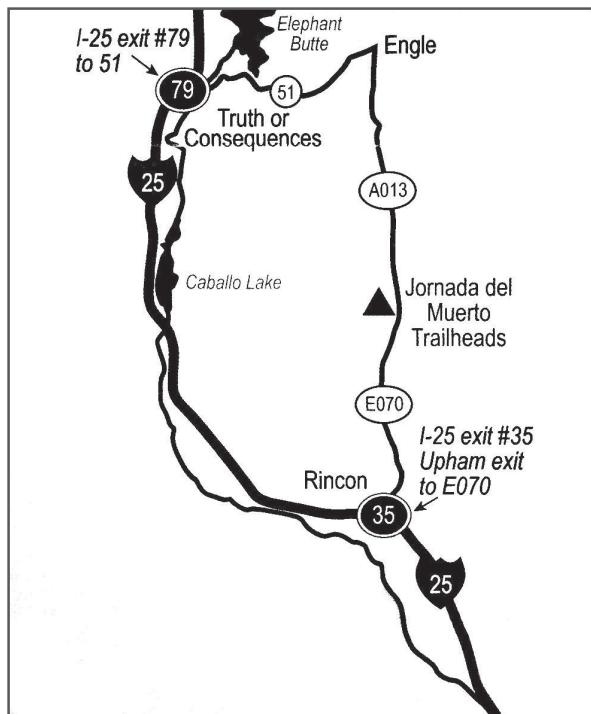
JAY W. SHARP was the first editor of *Chronicles of the Trail*, from Fall 2004 to Spring 2007. A founding member of CARTA, he lives in Las Cruces, where he continues to edit and write for popular and scholarly journals on history and archaeology. Jay also has written some 250 documentary motion pictures, and has published hundreds of photographs in various publications.

LA JORNADA DEL MUERTO TODAY

La Jornada del Muerto extends some ninety miles northward from the vicinity of the ruins of Fort Selden to those of Fort Craig. It lies east of the Caballo and Fra Cristóbal mountains, ranges that parallel the eastern banks of the Río Grande. The Jornada del Muerto ranks among the most pristine segments of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro in the United States. You can still see the route, marked by desert shrubs, from the air.

If you wish to experience something of the isolation and the harshness of the desert route followed by so many travelers over a period of nearly three centuries, you can follow a dirt road that parallels or overlays about half the Jornada del Muerto, traveling southward from the hamlet of Engle.

Today you can walk along the Jornada on two trails, Point of Rocks Trail and Yost Escarpment Trail.



Map of Jornada del Muerto and trailheads. Inset from The Official El Camino Real Map and Guide, published by the BLM, NPS, and Department of the Interior.

Point of Rocks Trail

Take this 1/2 mile-long loop trail to the top of a rock outcrop that was a landmark for travelers on El Camino Real. For those traveling south this was certainly a welcome sight—water was only ten miles away! Along this trail there are three interpretive signs with stories about this part of the Jornada del Muerto.

Yost Escarpment Trail

The 1.5-mile retracement trail (original trail section) along a portion of the Jornada del Muerto illustrates the challenges of trail travel. It ends at the top of an escarpment—a steep, rocky slope that was a true test for caravans with huge freight wagons.

To access the trailheads on Sierra County Road A013 (near Truth or Consequences, NM):

- from the north: Take I-25 Exit #79 and head east on 51, then south on County Road A013 (Upham Road). The Yost Escarpment trailhead is 20 miles from I-25; the Point of Rocks trailhead is 30 miles from I-25.
- from the south: Take I-25 Exit #35 to County Road E072, which turns into County Road E070, which turns into County Road A013 (Upham Road).

For more information:

www.nps.gov/elca/historyculture/point-of-rocks.htm.
www.nps.gov/elca/historyculture/yost-escarpment.htm.
"Yost Draw and Point of Rocks," *Chronicles of the Trail*, Winter/Spring 2012, pp. 11–15.

Note: Be sure to take plenty of water, a hat, and good walking shoes.



Catherine Kurland at Point of Rocks Trail outcrop, with train in background running along the approximate location of El Camino Real, 2012.

UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO
JUNE 2013 SOUTHWEST SUMMER INSTITUTE FOR
PRESERVATION AND REGIONALISM



Alvarado Transit Center, Albuquerque. Photograph by Miguel Gandert, 2013

**Contemporary Design in Historic and Regional Contexts
Heritage Corridors: Learning from El Camino Real and Route 66
Planning for Sustainability**

The 2013 Southwest Summer Institute offers stand-alone courses that can also be taken as part of the UNM School of Architecture & Planning, Graduate Certificate in Historic Preservation and Regionalism. The six-course Graduate Certificate program integrates proven historic preservation techniques with contemporary design and planning approaches grounded in history, culture, and place.

Each one-week course meets from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. Monday through Friday at the UNM School of Architecture & Planning, Albuquerque, including field trips. Each carries three (3) credit hours. Students complete on-line readings before the "in-class" week, and those who are taking the course for credit also complete a term project after the "in-class" week.

Who Should Take these Courses: Students and professionals in preservation, design, planning, cultural resource management, and related fields, as well as other professionals and the general public, who are welcome to register as non-degree students.

Tuition and Fees: \$855 per undergraduate course; \$980 per graduate course. (Tuition for 6 or 9 hours is the same, so register for two courses and the tuition for the third is free.)

Courses

Contemporary Design in Historic and Regional Contexts

ARCH 462-001 / ARCH 562-001 **June 10-14**

This course explores deep context in architectural design and one of the great regional traditions in the world--the Southwestern US--where the forms and materials of buildings have been adapted to the high desert climate, indigenous cultures, and singular landscapes over many centuries. Class lectures and discussions will lead to visits to such ancient and historic sites as Chaco Canyon, Acoma, Chimayó, and Santa Fe, and to contemporary works by Antoine Predock, Lake | Flato, Richard Gluckman and others. Students will develop their own responses to historic and regional issues through a modern design project or critical essay.

Instructor: Tony Atkin, FAIA, award-winning architect and preservationist; principal, Atkin Olshin Schade Architects, Philadelphia and Santa Fe; co-editor of *Structure and Meaning in Human Settlements*. **Guest speakers:** architect Devendra Contractor, preservation architect Shawn Evans, landscape architect Baker Morrow, and historian Chris Wilson.

Heritage Corridors: Learning from El Camino Real and Route 66

CRP 470-002 / LA 512 001 **June 17-21**

Focuses on the preservation, interpretation and redevelopment of the buildings, structures, landscapes, and historical memory of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro and Route 66 as case studies for preserving and revitalizing communities along cultural corridors in the U.S. and around the world. Field-trip discussions supplement in-class lectures on the history and evolution of historic roads, and the National Park Services' pioneering efforts to document and preserve heritage corridors.

Instructors: Chester Liebs, landscape historian, author of *Main Street to Miracle Mile: American Roadside Architecture*; with Kaisa Barthuli, Program Manager, Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program, NPS, and Michael Romero Taylor, Cultural Resources Specialist, National Trails Intermountain Region, NPS.

Course offered in cooperation with the National Trails Intermountain Region, National Park Service.

Planning for Sustainability

CRP 470-004 / CRP 570-004

June 24-28

A comprehensive overview of sustainability strategies for buildings, neighborhoods, communities, and regions. Hands-on exercises and field trips give participants experience with the LEED green development rating system, green street design, ecological site design, environmental restoration, and larger-scale planning strategies, which address social equity, economic development, and political considerations.

Instructor: Stephen M. Wheeler, Ph.D., AICP, author of *Planning for Sustainability: Creating Livable, Equitable, and Ecological Communities*. A recipient of the Dale Prize for Excellence in Urban and Regional Planning, he is Associate Professor in Landscape Architecture at the University of California, Davis. **Guest speaker:** Erin Murphy, LEED accreditation trainer with Everblue, a leading national company training green professionals.

For more information: esteeves@unm.edu, (505) 277-0071, or <http://webcom.unm.edu/saap/academic-programs/historic-preservation-regionalism/southwest-summer-institute.html>.

The 2013 Institute receives support from UNM's Summer in the Southwest®.

A special course from the Urban and Regional Design Certificate Program:

Introduction to Urban Real Estate Development

Arch 662-011 / Arch 462-011 (with permission) **June 3-7**

An introduction to real estate development within the existing city. Hands-on exercises and field trips give participants experience with the practices of New Urbanism as infill, in particular, development pro formas, financing, public-private partnerships, and approaches to tax credits and incentives.

Instructor: Rob Dickson, CPA, JD, CNU, Developer of The Lofts at Albuquerque High and surrounding infill projects.

For more information: erowe@unm.edu, (505) 277-1303; esteeves@unm.edu, (505) 277-0071; or search web: UNM Southwest Summer.

HERITAGE PRESERVATION MONTH: NEW MEXICO'S HISTORIC ROADSIDE MARKERS

Every May New Mexico celebrates Heritage Preservation Month, an annual event of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The theme for this year is New Mexico's Scenic Historic Markers, in particular those honoring Women of New Mexico. Although New Mexico began installing the familiar brown stanchions in 1935, it was not until 2007 that any of them featured women's contributions to our state's history. Fortunately,

thanks to the New Mexico Women's Forum, working in tandem with HPD, CPRC, New Mexico Department of Transportation, hundreds of individuals and local organizations, and the 2006 legislature, this great oversight has been corrected: sixty-four markers devoted to women's history were added to the collection of approximately 680 roadside markers. One of special interest to CARTA, "Women of the Camino Real," is located at the Fort Craig rest stop.

To learn more about the Historic Women Marker Initiative, see www.nmhistoricpreservation.org/outreach/historic-women-marker-initiative.html; for a complete list of New Mexico Women Markers with text and locations by county, see the New Mexico Women's Forum's website: www.nmwomensforum.com.

In conjunction with Preservation Month, the New Mexico Historic Preservation Division and Cultural Properties

Review Committee's 41st annual Heritage Preservation Awards ceremony will be held in Santa Fe on Friday afternoon, May 10. In 2011, *Chronicles of the Trail* was honored to receive the Heritage Publication award.

Following are events that were on the calendar when this journal went to press. For complete listings, see www.nmhistoricpreservation.org.

Sunday, May 5,

Aztec East Ruins

Aztec Ruins National Monument, Aztec, NM

Tour a large, unexcavated Great House that adds to our understanding of ancestral Pueblo society on the banks of the Animas River. The site is undeveloped and closed to the public except on guided tours. From Highway 516 in Aztec, turn north on Ruins Road. Go straight at stop sign directly into Visitor Center parking lot. Address is 84 County Road 2900, Aztec, NM 87410.

Friday, May 10

Heritage Preservation Awards Ceremony

Scottish Rite Center, Santa Fe, 2 p.m.

www.nmhistoricpreservation.org

Saturday, May 11

Dry Cimarron River History Tour

Folsom, 8 a.m.

Registration Required: www.folsommuseum.org. (575) 278-2122.

A walking tour of Folsom telling the history of the railroad and the start of the town. Tour begins at the Folsom Museum. Folsom is located 37 miles east of Raton. Take NM 64/87 to the intersection of NM 325 and 456.

Saturday, May 18

Folsom Archaeological Site Tour

8 a.m. & 1 p.m.

Registration Required (see May 11 tour)

Folsom Museum sponsors two guided tours to the historical Folsom Archaeological Site, first excavated in 1926-27. This site established the antiquity of human occupation in North America through the excavation of an ancient bison-kill site discovered in 1908. Folsom is 37 miles east of Raton. Take NM 64/87 to the intersection of NM 325 and 456.

North Mesa Tour

Aztec Ruins National Monument, Aztec, NM

Visit some of the early sites within the Monument's boundary, including an unexcavated Great House that likely predates West and East Ruins. The site is undeveloped and closed to the public except on guided tour. See May 5th listing for Aztec Ruins directions.

Casa San Ysidro

Corrales

Explore New Mexico's agricultural and cultural traditions with performances, weaving, blacksmithing, and horno-baking demonstrations at the historic 19th-century Gutiérrez-Minge rancho.

<http://albuquerquemuseum.org/art-history/casa-san-ysidro>

Friday, May 24

Lecture by David Kammer: "Through the Heart of New Mexico on Route 66"

Aztec Ruins National Monument, Aztec, NM

Kammer has spent years traveling and researching the iconic American road and appeared in the PBS special *Route 66*. His talk and slide show will focus on the growth of the federal highway system and Route 66, especially in New Mexico. See May 5th listing for Aztec Ruins directions.

Tom Drake provided the listings and images for the Preservation Month events calendar. He is head of Public Relations and Scenic Historical Markers at the New Mexico Historic Preservation Division of the Department of Cultural Affairs.



EXHIBITION: NEW WORLD CUISINE

An exploration of the dawn of world cuisine as we know and consume it opened recently at Santa Fe's Museum of International Folk Art with *New World Cuisine: The Histories of Chocolate, Mate y Más.*

New World Cuisine explores how cuisines around the world developed from Old and New World foods. The mixing of peoples and foods in New Mexico—the fusion of cultures and traditions referred to as *mestizaje*—began in Nuevo Mexico in 1598. It was then that Juan de Oñate's expedition of soldiers, families, Franciscan friars, and Mexican Indians trekked north along El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro to settle Nuevo Mexico on the fertile and irrigated farmland of the Tewa Pueblos of Yungue and Ohkay, located at the confluence of the Rio Chama and the Rio Grande.



Spanish Table. 16th–19-century storage and serving pieces from Spain. Photograph by Kitty Leaken, courtesy Museum of International Folk Art.

On view are more than 300 objects from MOIFA's vast collection of historical culinary items related to food preparation and table settings—both utilitarian and decorative implements. Some examples are Asian and European jars retrofitted in Mexico City with intricately detailed locking metal lids to protect a household's precious cacao; traditional pottery cooking vessels reimagined by metalsmiths using hammered copper to accommodate the *molinillo* used to froth chocolate; *talavera* kitchen- and tableware; and fine antique and contemporary silver serving pieces from Europe and the Americas. The wealth of objects now on public view from the museum's storage—most for the first time—is astounding. Some are arranged in cases according to function, and others are displayed in recreated

Spanish Colonial and New Mexican kitchens and dining rooms—feasts for the eye and mind.

Spanish explorers and colonists returned to the Old World with new staples and condiments, including potatoes, sweet potatoes, maize, cassava, tomatoes, chile peppers, cacao, peanuts, and pineapples. The most luxurious and prized of these took the royal houses of Europe by storm: cacao, the principal ingredient of chocolate.



New World Kitchen. Seen here are indigenous foods including beans, corn, squash, and tomatoes. Photograph by Kitty Leaken, courtesy Museum of International Folk Art.

Considerable space in the exhibition is devoted to chocolate, which initially was reserved for royalty in both the New and Old Worlds. Only recently was its connection with Ancestral Puebloans revealed, when University of New Mexico anthropologist Patricia Crown had traces of cacao verified from a cache of cylindrical jars at Pueblo Bonita (AD 1000–1125). Curator Nicolasa Chavez arranged to borrow one of these jars and a sherd. "It's such a fabulous history," she said. "We're borrowing one tiny pottery sherd from Chaco Canyon that was tested for *theobroma* (chocolate's scientific name). I wanted the exhibit to really bring home to New Mexico that we've had a 1,000-year-old love affair with chocolate." It is thrilling to behold the jar and the sherd. [For more on the history of chocolate in New Mexico, please see Catherine López Kurland, "Sabores del Camino: Chocolate," *Chronicles of the Trail*, vol. VI, no. 10 (Spring 2010), pp 34–39, on CARTA's website: www.caminorealcarta.org.]

The exhibition might result in another cultural exchange: the introduction of South America's most

popular beverage, yerba mate. The show concludes with a dazzling display of drinking vessels and other accoutrements associated with the centuries-old mate drinking customs.

Franciscan missionaries brought Old World grapevine graftings up El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. The principal wine grape cultivated in New Mexico and California for nearly two hundred years was the Mission grape, which produced a



Winemaking in New Mexico. Photograph by Blair Clark, courtesy Museum of International Folk Art and Ponderosa Wineries.

sweet wine. El Paso del Norte (present-day Ciudad Juárez) was one of the earliest wine-growing regions. In the show, winemaking equipment is set against an inviting photographic mural of a vineyard.

Because the New World's vast fertile land was well suited for cultivating high-demand crops in Old World markets, the Americas became the world's main supplier. Moreover, the increased supplies lowered prices for commodities like sugar, coffee, soybeans, oranges, and bananas, making them affordable for the first time to the general population. Historian Alfred Crosby notes that by planting "American" crops, the Old World farmer was able to produce food from soils that prior to 1492 grew little. Crosby even posits that the seeds of exchange created enormous wealth in the Old World and improved nutrition, resulting in a population explosion, and eventually fueling the Industrial Revolution.

Farming techniques were also traded from one world to the other.

While crops and cuisines changed in the Old World, New World Franciscan monks and nuns in the convent kitchens furthered culinary and cultural fusion. From the fruits of New World farmers' labors, mission kitchens became "laboratories" where indigenous squash, corn, and beans were combined with Spanish meats, dairy, and spices to create many of the foods enjoyed to this day.

New World Cuisine is about heritage, nourishment, and regeneration through the exchange of foods and customs that traveled up and down our Camino Real to create the culinary mix that we enjoy today in New Mexico.

New World Cuisine: The Histories of Chocolate, Mate, y Más will be on view through January 5, 2014.

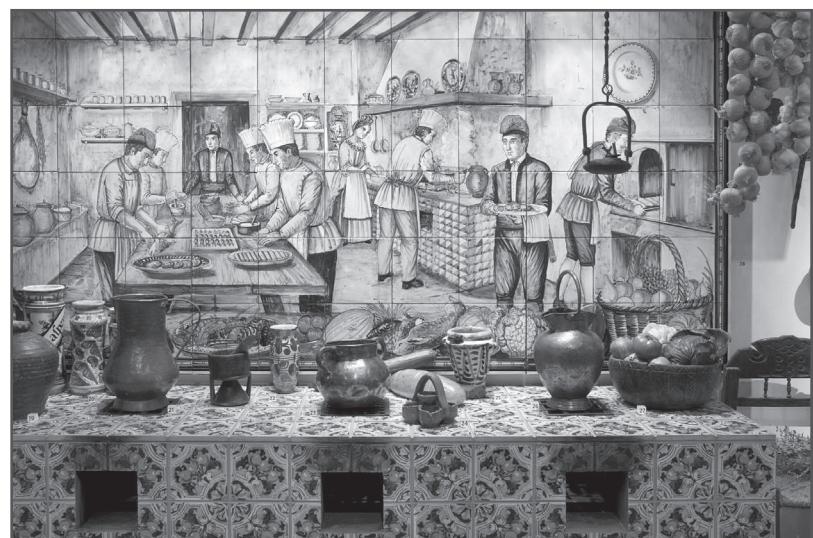
After visiting the exhibition, be sure to leave time to stop in next door at Museum Hill Café for a cup of hot chocolate and a delicious tasting-menu derived from *New World Cuisine*.

The Museum of International Folk Art is located on Museum Hill, Camino Lejo off Old Santa Fe Trail.

Open Tuesday through Sunday, 10 a.m.–5 p.m., and every day between Memorial Day and Labor Day. (505) 476-1200; www.internationalfolkart.org.

Museum Hill Café is open:
Tuesday–Sunday, 9 a.m.–4 p.m.
and lunch is served 11 a.m.–3 p.m.
(505) 984-8900; wwwmuseumhillcafe.net.

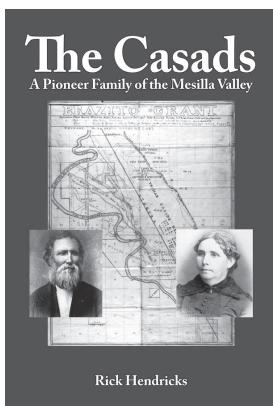
Nicolasa Chavez and Steve Cantrell contributed the images and main content for this article.



Spanish Kitchen. Photograph by Blair Clark, courtesy Museum of International Folk Art.

BOOK REVIEW

By Henrietta Christmas



The Casads: A Pioneer Family of the Mesilla Valley, by Rick Hendricks. Rio Grande Books, Los Ranchos, NM, in collaboration with NM State University Library, 2012. Paperback; 218 pages, 20 illustrations.

This gem of a book takes place in southern New Mexico in the late 19th century. To date, very little has been written about family and land-grant history, agriculture, and entrepreneurship at that time and place.

Rick Hendricks, currently New Mexico State Historian, takes the lives of the Casads from cradle to grave, incorporating their travels, business ventures, and turns of fortune. The Casads were, like many of their time, willing to travel to gain a better life for themselves and their families.

Thomas Casad (1816–1885) began his remarkable life in Ohio in the early 1800s. His family's livelihoods included buying and selling land, and farming. Thomas had an innate skill for spotting choice locations and selling them later at a profit, something his own father had done in his lifetime. Thomas married his first wife in 1839; unfortunately most of their six children died young, and his wife also would die from complications of childbirth.

Casad's other ventures included mining and running a flour mill. As a young man, he had quite an interest in agricultural equipment, something that would become useful to him later when he moved to New Mexico. His second marriage in 1858, to Sarah Van Winkle (1836–1928), a much younger woman who had never married, was not necessarily a match of love, but it fulfilled a childhood promise that the first wife and second wife had made to take care of the other's family if something happened to either one of them.

From the time of his second marriage until 1874, the family lived in many states, including Illinois, Missouri, and Kansas, and they made trips back and forth across the Midwest to visit family and to deal in real estate. Their journey to California by sea and land via the Isthmus of Panama was notable, as this was not done by just anyone. Somewhat at odds with his neighbors in California, Thomas and his family eventually settled in the Mesilla Valley of southern New Mexico, starting a new chapter in their lives, which Hendricks titles "A New Beginning in New Mexico."

Soon after arriving in New Mexico, Thomas purchased land, some of which would become their home for many decades. By 1875 he also purchased one-half interest in the Brazito Land Grant, whose history is outlined in the book. Ventures in apple, sheep, alfalfa, and dairy farming, and in the newspaper business consumed much of his and his family's time.

The Casads not only tells the story of Thomas, but also that of his wife Sarah, who in her own right was instrumental in the education of Fabián García ("The Father of New Mexico Chile"), her award-winning apple orchards, and her many struggles to keep the family lands. It also chronicles the lives of their nine children who married, toiled, and grew into adulthood in the Mesilla Valley, making New Mexico home for them and their descendants.

As Hendricks notes, the family is not well known today, as is true for many families in New Mexico who lived their lives without public notice—no streets or buildings are named after them. The 19th-century saga told here is rich in family life, agriculture, business activities, and the law. Included in the book are family photos taken from that era, along with some maps. It is a very enjoyable and an incredible story that takes place in our own backyard. *The Casads* gives readers a new understanding of life in southern New Mexico in the late 1800s.

HENRIETTA CHRISTMAS has been a historical and genealogical researcher for the past thirty years. She is a longtime member of the Historical Society of New Mexico and serves on its board. Henrietta lives in Corrales.

LETTER FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Dear Members:

Since late October 2012, when CARTA held its Annual General Meeting in Los Lunas, much has transpired. Perhaps the most significant accomplishment in the past six months was the adoption of a five-year Strategic Plan to guide our trail association through 2017. Having a written plan with identified, measurable goals



enables CARTA to monitor progress in accomplishing these objectives, while focusing our efforts on specific tasks. (See Fall 2012 *Chronicles of the Trail* for a summary of the Strategic Plan.)

Several ongoing initiatives, such as recruiting and retaining members, public outreach efforts, and active involvement with our Federal partners remain top priorities. To that end, the Board of Directors approved a measure for membership renewals to be due one year from the date of joining (not January 1 as in the past). I will send you each a notice about a month in advance of your renewal date.

In early February, board member Jere Krakow and I represented CARTA at "Hike the Hill," the annual public outreach and advocacy event in Washington, D.C. organized by the Partnership for the National Trails System (PNTS) and the American Hiking Society. [See page 4.]

Looking ahead, in the last weekend of September CARTA will host a three-day international symposium in El Paso, "Los Caminos Reales de América." I encourage you to attend. Information and updates about the conference will be posted to the CARTA web page.

Another significant decision recently taken by the Board of Directors was the authorization to relocate the CARTA office from Las Cruces to Los Lunas. On March 1, 2013, this action became official with the beginning of occupancy of a small office in the Los Lunas Transportation Center at the Rail Runner train station. Nothing will change regarding the continual effort to protect, promote, and preserve the entire length of the historic Camino Real in Far West Texas and New Mexico. When you are in the vicinity of Los Lunas, please stop in at our new office at 101 Courthouse Road (Room 118). The new mailing address is: CARTA, P.O. Box 1434, Los Lunas, NM 87031-1434.

Among other tasks, your executive director is currently involved in the planning for the PNTS conference in Tucson, Arizona, November 2–7, 2013, in the organization of the Three Trails Conference (Camino Real, Santa Fe, and Old Spanish) in Santa Fe in September 2015, and in working with the Texas Department of Transportation and several other organizations to ensure the protection of the Oñate's Crossing site in El Paso. Information about the PNTS conference in Tucson will soon be available on the PNTS website (www.pnts.org), and, as with all CARTA- or trail-related events, I strongly encourage you to attend and participate, as volunteer hours and attendance demonstrate to the Department of the Interior the value that members of trail associations across the nation place on our country's historic and scenic trails.

On a final note, I sincerely thank Stephanie Long for her willingness to maintain the CARTA web page. Recently, Stephanie accepted the executive director's position at the Temple Railroad and Heritage Museum. Although she now resides in Central Texas, she has generously agreed to maintain the CARTA website. Through her efforts and talents, CARTA enjoys a quality web page for providing information to its members and interested parties of the Trail Association's projects.

To all new members and returning members of the Trail Association, I assure you that your involvement is crucial for CARTA's longevity and success. You help make this organization a viable outfit to promote the significance of our nation's historic and scenic trails, and, as always, I welcome your involvement and thoughts on the future of the El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro Trail Association.

Yours in preservation,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Troy M. Ainsworth".

Troy M. Ainsworth, Ph.D



El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro
Trail Association (CARTA)
PO Box 1434
Los Lunas, NM 87031-1434



Alameda, New Mexico, 2013