

THE PUEBLO SETTLEMENTS NEAR
EL PASO, TEXAS

BY

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Trip 1901

(From the American Anthropologist (N. S.), Vol. 4, No. 1, January-March, 1902)

NEW YORK
G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
1902

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On a map of the "Reino de la Nueva Mexico," made by Father Menchero about 1747,¹ five pueblos are figured on the right bank of the Rio Grande, below the site of the present city of El Paso, Texas. One of these, called in the legend, Presidio del Paso, is situated where Juarez, in Chihuahua, now stands, just opposite El Paso. The other four are designated on this map as Mision d S^a Lorenzo, Mision d Cenecú, Mision d la Isleta, and Mision del Socorro. Each is indicated by a picture of a church building, with surrounding lines representing irrigation canals, as the legend "riego de las misiones" states. All of these lie on the right bank of the river, or in what is now the state of Chihuahua, Mexico. It is known from historical sources that Indians speaking at least four different dialects, and probably comprising three distinct stocks, inhabited these five towns. The Mansos lived in El Paso, the Suma in San Lorenzo, the Tiwa in Ysleta, and the Piros in Senecú and Socorro; there were also other Indians—Tano, Tewa, and Jemez—scattered through some of these settlements. All the above-mentioned villages had been founded in historic times, or since Oñate first forded the Rio Grande at the Pass of the North in 1598. From documentary sources we learn that Tiwa and Piros were colonized in this region at the end of the seventeenth century, having come down the river with

¹ A copy of this map was published in 1892 by the Kartographisches Institut of Berlin. Although not dated, the legend reads that it was prepared during the administration of Don Juan Francisco Guemes y Orcasitas, who was governor of New Mexico during 1747.

Otermin in 1680, and that the Mansos and Suma were settled in pueblos near the ford almost a century before.

habitations of the Piros near Socorro and Magdalena.¹ At the close of these studies he visited Senecú, Mexico, and Socorro, Texas, where the survivors now live, in order to gather any current traditions concerning them that might be found to survive. He had also in mind the forming of an acquaintance with the remnants of the Tiwa whose ancestors lived in New Mexico about the northern boundary of the old Piros range. The present article considers especially the Tiwa of Ysleta and the Piros of Senecú and Socorro.

These Indians have practically become "Mexicanized," and survivals of their old pueblo life which still remain, such as their dances before the church, have long lost the meaning which they once had or that which similar dances still have in the pueblos higher up the Rio Grande. The southern Tiwa and Piros are good Roman Catholics, and their old dances are still kept up not from a lingering belief of the Indians in their old religion, as is the case with certain pueblos in which Christianity is merely a superficial gloss over aboriginal beliefs, but as survivals which have been worn down into secular customs. They cannot give an intelligible explanation of the meaning of these dances, because they do not know their significance. Interest in them on the part of the ethnologist is purely as folklore, for they represent a stage through which the dances of the Pueblos ultimately go when the complexion of the population changes from Indian to Mexican. Ysleta is an instructive example of a Pueblo Indian settlement which has become a Mexican town, the number of Americans settled there not being large enough to affect ma-

¹ A special account of the ruins near this town, especially those of the "pueblo" visited by Vargas in 1692, is in preparation.

terially the population. It is therefore instructive to study a pueblo in this stage of transformation.

the Pueblos, he would call attention to a field which offers much to the ethnologist, folklorist, and archeologist. The object of the article in brief, then, is to set forth, in a general way, a few facts regarding the Tiwa of Ysleta and the Piro of Senecú. Since the former are more numerous and their customs less changed, he will begin with them.

YSLETA

The pueblo of Ysleta, Texas, situated on the left bank of the Rio Grande, about fourteen miles below El Paso, is a small village with a mixed population of Indians, Mexicans, and Americans. The Indian name of the village is Chiawipia,¹ or practically the same as that of the pueblo of Isleta in New Mexico, a name which the Hopi also give to the latter village, in which, they say, are settled certain Tiwa whose ancestors once lived in their territory. The name "Ysleta" would indicate its site on an island, and the fact that on Menchero's map it is placed on the right bank of the Rio Grande, while its present site is on the left, may be harmonized by supposing that the course of the river has changed since the map was made.

The most striking building in Ysleta is the church, dedicated to Nuestra Señora del Carmen, the beautiful bell-tower of which can be seen for several miles.

Several references to the settlement and early history of Ysleta may be found by consulting the valuable contributions of Bancroft and Bandelier. The author has taken the liberty of quoting a few lines from the former to account for the existence

¹ Or Chipiya. Note the similarity of this term with *Cipia*, an historic name of former pueblo dwellers along the Little Colorado.

of Tiwa and Piros colonies in this section. "With the 385 natives," writes Bancroft, "that had come with Otermin from Isleta, a few who had accompanied the original refugees of 1680, and some who came later, the padres proceeded to found three new mission pueblos in the south. These were Senecú, Socorro, and Isleta."¹

The author has seen a manuscript copy of a document, dated May 19, 1692, in possession of Father Cordovas, a priest at Ysleta, who claims that the original, now in Mexico, is the earliest existing record of the church. The following legend found on a photograph by the same priest refers to this manuscript: "This document in the name of the King of Spain gives charge of the church of Corpus Christi de los Tiguas en el Reino de la Nueva Mexico de el Distrito de el Paso Canton Bravos, to Fray Joaquin Ynojosa. Years after, the titular saint of the church was changed to St Anthony, the patron of the Indians, Ysleta being then a Tigua village. Later on a petition was sent to the Bishop to change the second titular saint; this request being granted, the church was dedicated to Nuestra Señora del Carmen."

The oldest portion of the present church building is that in which the altar now stands, the tower and façade being of much later construction. The open space before the church is surrounded by a low adobe wall. This enclosure, in which stands a cross, is called the cemetery, and was formerly a burial place, as its name implies, but it is no longer used for that purpose. Here certain dances—survivals of pagan ceremonies dating back in the history of the pueblo to a time when it was practically a

¹"S. Ant. de Senecú, of Piros and Tompiros, 2 leagues below El Paso (or Guadalupe); Corpus Christi de Isleta (Bonilla, *Apuntes*, MS., 2, calls it S. Lorenzo del Realito), of Tiguas $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues east of Senecú; and Nra del Socorro, of Piros, Tanos, and Jemes, on the Rio del Norte 7 leagues from Isleta and 12 leagues from El Paso." (Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 191, note.) If Socorro was then 7 leagues from Ysleta, it was not on its present site, if the distance given is correct. "In '83," according to Bancroft (p. 191), on account of a plot in Socorro to kill Padre Antonio Guerra, the pueblo was "moved to a site nearer Isleta," evidently to its present location.

Tiwan village—occur after mass on feast days elsewhere mentioned.

The site of the old pueblo adjoins this cemetery, from which it is now separated by a street. The cacique remembers that formerly Indian houses were arranged on that site in rectangular form about a plaza, each building being a small one-story habitation made of upright logs chinked and plastered with adobe, forming a type of building called by the Mexicans *jacal*. There still remain a few houses of this kind in the neighboring hamlet of Socorro that are reputed to be among the oldest in the pueblo. Piarote, the present cacique of Ysleta, lives in an adobe house standing not far from what was once a corner of the former pueblo, and other houses in the neighborhood belong to Indians who likewise have dwellings and tracts of land scattered in all directions from the church.

In late years several Tiwa families have moved away from Ysleta to Las Cruces, New Mexico, and other localities along the railroad where they find profitable employment. The governor, Mariano, claims that the town of Tulerosa, near the Mescalero Apache reservation, was settled by Tiwa families from Ysleta, but others deny this. The Ysleteños formerly hunted bison in Pecos valley, and one of the masks used at Christmas in the *Baile de Tortuga*, elsewhere referred to, is made of bison hide.¹ They were therefore well acquainted with the Mescalero reservation, and the springs there were probably favorite camping places.

Many of the Tiwa have served in the army as scouts against the Apache, and among the names of some twenty men recorded by the writer several have discharge papers setting forth the value of their services; others were killed while in the service of the United States. None of the former receives a pension or rations. They have no resident agent or missionary, and, although poor, they are industrious, self-respecting, law-abiding citizens.

¹ This mask was obtained by the author.

In addition to the Tiwa living at Ysleta, there are one or two families in a neighboring hamlet called Zaragosa, across the river in Mexico. About twenty-five persons, whose names are appended, can conduct a conversation in the Tiwa language, and there are as many more who understand the idiom but cannot converse in it.

Men: José Tolino Piarote; Tomal Graneo, Tebucio Olgin, José Maria Montoya, Ponciano Olgin, Patricio Perea, Manuel Ortega, Sebastiano Duran, Alvino Aquiar, Cristobal Aquiar, Pasqual Piarote, Maleno Marqués, Robel Trujillo, Reyes Trujillo, Crecencio Marqués.

Women: Cornelia Colminero, Andrea Piarote, Estefana Montoya, Valentina Ortega, Augustina Olgin, Patricia Montoya, Nestora Piarote, Dolores Graneo, Andrea Marqués, Juana Duran, Juana Graneo.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Tiwa of Ysleta still retain a survival of their tribal organization, which is set forth in two documents drawn up before a notary, Dr Wahl, a few years ago. These documents, formally signed and sealed, are written in Spanish. The author obtained a copy, a free translation of which follows:

Pueblo of San Antonio de Ysleta, Texas, January 6, 1895.

"We, the undersigned, comprising natives, have assembled for the purpose of making the following regulations, and complying with those duties which our ancestors observed and which we wish to transmit to our children.

"We solemnly bind ourselves, in the first place, to celebrate in the best manner we are able, the festival of our patron, Saint Anthony.

"In the second place, we bind ourselves to respect the native authorities which we ourselves nominate and elect, and also to submit to such punishment as the same native authorities may impose, without complaint or appeal to any other authority regarding matters, personal or domestic, pertaining to us, without prejudice to the general laws of the remaining citizens.

"In the third place, we decree that every failure to respect our native authorities shall be punished, for the first offense, with twenty

hours' arrest; leaving the punishment, however, to the prudence of the same native authorities, should the same person repeat his offense. That this regulation may have force and authority, all desirous of doing so have freely affixed their signatures."

This first document closes with the signatures of the Indians, all in the same handwriting, and the notary's acknowledgment of the transaction. The second document, signed and sealed before the same notary, enumerates the duties of the officers. Freely translated it is as follows:

Duties of the Cacique.

"First Duty: Every year, on New Year's eve, the Cacique Major shall assemble all his people and advise the meeting to nominate native authorities to hold power for the forthcoming year. The same Cacique Major shall give the badges of office in the following order: To the Governor, to the Lieutenant-Governor, to the Alguacil, to the Capitan Major, to the four subordinate Capitans. Indeed all these officials are subject to the Cacique, as likewise all sons of the pueblo of San Antonio, according to the laws and conditions of the tribe. This dependence extends to the Cacique Major to look after his life and the maintenance of his family.

Duties of the Lieutenant-Cacique.

"The Lieutenant-Cacique shall exercise the same functions and act with the same powers as those above stipulated in case he occupy the position of the Cacique Major.

Duties of the Governor.

"This officer, with the badge of his office in his hand as a symbol of administering justice, represents a Justice of the Peace in minor matters, such as civil offenses; he shall punish lack of respect to the sons of the pueblo of San Antonio, and shall give permission for customary dances which are lawfully permitted to the sons of the tribe.

In addition, the Governor is requested to see that fathers of families comply with the sacred duty of teaching the Christian doctrine to their sons, and of celebrating annually the festival of our patron, San Antonio. Lastly, the Governor shall see to it that the sons of the tribe perform, in such manner as may be possible, the marriages and funerals of the natives.

"In conformity with the third clause the Governor has not authority to impose punishment exceeding three days in prison."

Lieutenant-Governor.

"The Lieutenant-Governor is clothed with the same power as the Governor when the duties of the Governor devolve on him."

Duties of the Capitan Major and the Subordinate Capitans.

"To direct the dances in the public plaza and to preserve order during the dance; also to well regulate everything pertaining to hunts of deer, rabbits, and hares, but always after consultation with, and notification of such diversions to, the Cacique Major, who shall never permit them on Sunday or on those days when they are obliged to hear the holy mass as in the Christian faith universal.

"Regarding the dances, it is recognized that they are permitted on the following days only: Christmas, St Anthony's, St John's, St Peter's, St James', St Ann's, and St Andrew's (if the day does not fall at the time of the hunt).

"Lastly, it is the duty of the Capitan Major, aided by his subordinates, to remove from the pueblo of San Antonio every kind of witchcraft and belief contrary to our Holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion. No son of the Pueblo of San Antonio is obliged to accept, for example, if so commanded, any sorcery or false belief. It is the duty of all who follow the regulations of the sons of the Pueblo of San Antonio to sign this enactment. On the other hand, those who do not wish to sign it, by the same wish do not regard themselves as sons of San Antonio."

This second document is signed by the same persons as the former, and may be regarded as a constitution of the Tiwa of Ysleta. It embodies certain aboriginal customs, but it is practically of modern character and origin.

The present Indian officers of Ysleta are as follows:

<i>Title</i>	<i>Native Title</i>	<i>Spanish Name</i>
<i>Cacique,</i>	Aikamede,	José Tolino Piarote.
<i>Governor,</i>	Tuwatabode,	Mariano Manero.
<i>Lieutenant-Governor,</i>		Felipe Cruz,
<i>War Captain,</i>	Wilawekamede.	Tomal Graneo,
<i>Subordinate Captains:</i>		Blas Cominero,
		Blas Graneo,
		Cristobal Aquiar,
		Aniseto Graneo.

INSIGNIA OF OFFICE

Each of the chief officials above mentioned has a baton, or staff of office, known as a *kikawee*,¹ which is held in such high esteem that the cacique spoke of his as "mother," which reminds one of the reverence paid by the Hopi to their so-called *tsponi*. The author has examined the staffs of the cacique, governor, and lieutenant-governor, finding them to be similar; and he has been told that those of the remaining officers have the same general form. They are all said to be old, and to have been in possession of the tribe from the time the pueblo was settled; but such assertion is hardly borne out by close examination.

The cacique's staff of office consists of a baton the length of the forearm and diameter of an ordinary walking-cane. It is made of black wood, and is provided with a silver head and two metal tips, one inside the other. There is a silver cross set in the head, and midway of its length is a hole in which a thong is tied by which it may be extended. The governor's baton is like that of the cacique, except that it is made of chestnut-colored wood. The lieutenant-governor's baton is black: it was broken but has been mended with sinew. These badges, as referred to in the documents setting forth the duties of the officers, are insignia of rank and are used as symbols in elections, dances, and races.

DANCES

The most interesting survivals of the old pagan ceremonies of the Tiwa of Ysleta are the dances which are performed in front of the church at the celebration of the festival of their patron, St Anthony, at Christmas, and on the days of St John, St Andrew, St Peter, and St James, as mentioned in the document above given. These dances differ but little from the secular dances, or *bailes*, which occur in winter and at other times.

¹ The church is called *kikawee-missatu*, signifying "house containing sacred objects of the mass," a compound of Tiwa and Spanish in which appears the name of the chieftain's staff.

*Shidfürd, the Rattle Dance*¹

This dance, which occurs after mass in the festival of the patron saint, is one of the most important of their ceremonies. It consists of two parts²—the first with two male and two female participants, the other with many men who carry rattles from which it takes its Tiwa name.

These dances are first performed in the old cemetery before the church, after which the dancers visit in turn the houses of the majordomo, Manuel Otero, George Piarote, and Patricio Perea. It closes with a feast at the house of the majordomo, after which all return to the church.

*Newafürd, the Mask Dance*³

The dance in which two men are masked is celebrated on Christmas afternoon and is sometimes called *Baile de Tortuga* from the turtle-shell rattle employed. A drum is used in this dance, and the men carry gourd-rattles in their hands. The dance is first performed before the church, and then in the houses of the cacique, governor, lieutenant-governor, sheriff (*capitan de guerra*), and other officers, on the three following days. It is danced on the fourth day by children, who imitate their elders.⁴ The two participants wear masks, and one of them represents a male, the other a female personage. The mask of the latter is made of buffalo-skin and is painted red and yellow. These men are called *abuelos* (Spanish, "grandfathers," "ancestors"), and they function as clowns, frightening little children. A little girl, to whom the author showed the mask, called it a *coco*, a Spanish term for "bogy."

*Poapfürd, the Red Pigment Dance*⁵

This dance, which occurs on the festival of St John, was thus described to the author by the cacique: Twelve women, forming

¹ *Shid*, "rattle."² The former called *Shaposane*; the latter, *Shidfürd*.³ *Newa-de*, "mask."⁴ The Hopi children also have a masked dance in imitation of their elders.⁵ *Poapfürd*, red pigment.

two lines, stand facing each other, and between them passes another, singing "*Ha-wi-na-a-e!*" In this festival, food and other stuffs are thrown to the spectators. One of the women wears two feathers in her hair. The dance lasts one day and is called the *Baile de la Flecha*. The same song, "*Ha-wi-na-a-e,*"¹ is sung in the Hopi harvest festival, when food and other objects are also thrown to spectators.

Küfüra, the Scalp Dance

In this old war dance, which is no longer celebrated, both men and women formed a ring around one of their number—a woman who held aloft a scalp tied to a stick. A warrior danced beside her, and at the close of the dance ran to the river and plunged his head under the water four times.

Fürb-shuite

This dance occurs during the time of the carnival, and in it the participants are divided into two parties, each having a drum. It takes place in the houses of the cacique and other Indians.

*Naküpüra, the House Dance*²

While the author was at Ysleta, several secular dances were performed by the Indians in one or another of their houses. These dances were characteristically aboriginal and closely resembled those celebrated on festival days before the church. Permission for them is obtained from the governor, who, in fact, gave one of those witnessed by the author in his own house. The dance began about 9 o'clock, but for some time before that hour a young man sat at the entrance to the house, violently beating a drum made of an earthen jar, and singing a song with monosyllabic words. Later this youth went inside, where he was joined by other singers, forming a chorus. Several of his companions clapped their hands in time with the songs, as in certain characteristic Spanish dances.

¹ The Hopi, who call this harvest festival *Howinakwi*, undoubtedly derived it, as did the Zuñi (who call it *Ówinake*) from Rio Grande colonists. ² *Naku*, house.

There were two distinct figures, or rather two kinds of dances, practically differing in the number of participants. In the first kind, two persons, a man and a woman, took positions facing each other on opposite sides of the room. These began the dance by beating time with their feet, at the same time almost imperceptibly swaying their bodies to the beat of the drum. As the drumming continued the two dancers approached each other, and the man put first one hand, then the other, on the woman's shoulder, at the same time dancing with a sort of shuffle, like that of the Bison dance at Hano. Spectators and those not taking part in this dance were seated about the room.

Several men and as many women participated in the second figure of the dance. Two lines, one of men, the other of women, faced each other and opened the dance with slight movements of their bodies. Both lines then turned, faced the drummer, and marched around the room to the opposite side, as in the well-known "Virginia reel." The step, song, and drum accompaniment recall the solemn religious *Katcina* dance of the Pueblos, but, unlike them, is secular and accompanied with merriment.

FOOT-RACE (*Kivekwewehim*)

The Ysleteños have a foot-race strictly comparable with that of their northern kindred. It occurs at midday, on Palm Sunday, and in it the contestants divide into two groups of about half a dozen men each, distinguished by facial painting. The course is from the house of the cacique, past the church, and along the main street. The cacique stands at the place of starting, holding a bow and arrow, and calls out three times. First he shouts, "*We-wa!*" when all get ready; the second signal is "*We-cho!*" when he draws the bow fitted with an arrow; the third signal is "*Pa-cho-win!*" when he shoots the arrow in the direction of the course, and the runners start.¹

¹ The words used by the cacique are apparently those for "one, two, three," respectively. The numerals and the method of formation of the larger numbers may be seen by a study of the following: One, *wima*; two, *wisi*; three, *pachowin*; four,

In awarding the prizes, the cacique receives the first prize and the winners the second; but other participants are also rewarded. The object of the race, they say, is for rain, and the shooting of the arrow a symbolic act to aid the runners as well as to indicate the course.

RABBIT-HUNT (*Shiailo*)

Both the Tiwa of Ysleta and the Piros at Senecú still have rabbit-hunts in which aboriginal elements survive. The war-chief is leader of the hunts, but permission for them is always asked of the cacique or the governor. The hunters having assembled in the field, a fire is first built and a section of country surrounded by the huntsmen. The men, forming a ring, close in, shouting "*Hotcha-pe-zuc-a-newa!*" at the same time killing the rabbits with sticks and other weapons.

When the hunters return home with their rabbits, the women rush out to meet them and to seize the game. If, as sometimes happens, two women grasp the same rabbit, the war-chief divides it between them. In old times, they say, the dead rabbit was sprinkled with sacred meal (*tlúka*), which, however, is not now made or used in Ysleta.

LANGUAGE OF THE YSLETEÑOS

Ysleta affords a good opportunity for the collection of material for a knowledge of the Tiwa idiom; but such work must be done at once, as a speaking knowledge of this variant, if such it be, of the Tiwa, will probably not survive the present generation. No Ysleta child can at present speak the language, and those adults who can converse in it are old men and women. It is imperative that philological studies among these people be made at once, for it will soon be too late.

The special interest attached to a study of the Ysleta Tiwa is, of course, for comparison with the Tiwa of the pueblos of Sandia

wiran; five, *pantowa*; six, *matle*; seven, *weede*; eight, *whang*; nine, *telehem*; ten, *te*; eleven, *lewín*; twelve, *lewisi*; twenty, *wete*; twenty-five, *wete-pantowa*; thirty, *pacho-ate*; forty, *wiante*; fifty, *pantoate*; one-hundred, *shute*.

and Isleta in New Mexico. It has been known that the idiom of the pueblos of Taos and Picuris has Tiwan affinities, but the Ysleteños say that it is very different from their language. Several years ago an old man went from Taos to Ysleta to live, but he later settled in Senecú, where he died recently. His speech was incomprehensible, his native tongue differing greatly from that spoken at Ysleta. Some of the southern Tiwa have visited Isleta, New Mexico, and claim, as one would expect, that the language of the two pueblos is practically identical, differing only in minor details. During his visit to Ysleta, the author recorded a considerable Tiwa vocabulary, which he hopes later to compare with the northern Tiwa. These words were obtained during several councils with the chiefs, which generally lasted late into the afternoon, when the angelus sounded from the bell-tower of the neighboring church. At the close of these councils, the cacique, Piarote, repeated a long Tiwa formula, or prayer, with which other Indians were familiar. It would be interesting for one who seriously takes up the linguistics of the Ysleteños to transcribe this prayer as a specimen of their language. All these Indians at present speak "Spanish," but when together the old men converse in their native language. The more aged, in fact a majority of the adults, can neither speak English nor write their own names.

There still remain in Ysleta survivals of the former clan system of the Tiwa, in which the descent was matriarchal. All have Spanish baptismal names, and a few have Tiwa names. They assert that when the latter were given them, an aboriginal rite in which water was used was performed. The Tiwa name of Piarote, the cacique, is Shiu-tusan (Eagle-tusan); the governor, Mariano, Yekap-tusan (Corntassel-tusan). Another man is called Yen-tusan (Mountain-tusan); and still another, Thüwirpo-tusan (Rainbow-tusan).¹ None of the children now have Tiwa names.

¹ The root *thür*, meaning sun, occurs in *thüsaina*, sunrise; *tathüahin*, sunset. Apparently the idiom of Ysleta differs somewhat from that of their kindred in Isleta

The Ysleta Tiwa have several very suggestive folktales, to which the author can only refer at this time. He listened to several, but it was said that there were many more, all of which are well worth collecting. They retain traditions of the *Shšpapu* or *Shšpapūnai*, the ancestral opening in the earth out of which the races of men originally emerged, and they declare it to be a lake in the far north.

So far as their clothing is concerned, it is impossible to distinguish the men and women of Ysleta from their Mexican neighbors; even the want of a beard not being always a distinguishing trait among the men. One man was seen with long hair, but it was not tied in the usual Pueblo fashion. Several wore moccasins, and one a leather wrist-guard.

The houses are not characteristic, and exteriorly there is nothing in the present appearance of the village to lead one to suspect that it was once a purely Indian pueblo or that at present any people of Indian blood inhabited it.

One or two old Pueblo customs are still kept up by the Ysleta Tiwa. They know how to use the fire-drill and the fire-stick (*fūkurisla*), and how to kindle fire with them, although they generally use flint-and-steel or matches. Of their weapons several bows and arrows were shown the author, and he has also seen rabbit-sticks, a lance, and a drum of aboriginal manufacture. One or two women know how to make paper-bread, which they call *pahnshave*,¹ and to color it into various tints. They at times grind corn (*ae*) on metates which have an ancient appearance, and one of the old women said that this custom was common in her childhood. She added that while the women were thus at work over a mealing-stone the men sang, beating a drum or folded sheep-skin. A diligent search for aboriginal pottery in Ysleta was not successful; a few old pieces were found, but they and Sandia, as would be expected from the two centuries of separation. If the termination *tusan* means people, or clan, its phonetic relation to "Tusayan" is highly significant.

¹ Apparently related to the Spanish *pan*.

were very rude and probably Mexican; nevertheless, all said that in former times the Tiwa women were good potters and made black ware like that of the Santa Clara Indians.

THE PIROS SETTLEMENTS NEAR EL PASO

The survivors of the Piros live in the hamlets of Socorro and Senecú, the former situated in Texas, about three miles below Ysleta, and the latter on the opposite or right bank of the Rio Grande, about six miles from Juarez, in Mexico. The settlement at Socorro¹ is small, and while there are at present only a few families that claim to be of Indian blood, none of them speak the Piros idiom. They have no tribal organization, and the town is thoroughly Mexicanized.

It is commonly said in Ysleta that the Indians of Socorro are descended from Piros and other tribes, and that their ancestors spoke differently from the Tiwa,—in fact more like the Senecú people. Piarote, the Ysleta cacique, states that in his youth the irrigation ditch of Socorro was called "acequia de los Piros," implying that Piros Indians were settled in this pueblo in old times. The fact that the native language has vanished, and that Jemez and Tanos Indians were among those colonized there, partially explains the total disappearance of their language. The author visited one or two old men who claimed to be pure Indians, but they could utter not a word of Piros, and one of them apologetically said that even his father was totally ignorant of any language but Spanish.²

SENECÚ

The pueblo of Senecú,³ in which the Piros who once lived in New Mexico were colonized at the close of the seventeenth century, is situated in Chihuahua, about six miles from Juarez, on

¹ The Ysleteños speak of Socorro in New Mexico as Socorrito, "Little Socorro."

² Later information reached the author that there is an old man living near Socorro who speaks the Piros dialect.

³ The word *Senecú* is of Piros origin, and was formerly applied to a New Mexican pueblo where San Antonio now stands.

the right bank of the Rio Grande. It consists of a small cluster of adobe houses, in the midst of which rises an old church containing many ancient *santos*, a few old paintings, and interesting altar paraphernalia.

The majority of the Piros live in or near Senecú. They possess a tribal organization, with a cacique (who is also custodian of the church), a governor, a war-chief, and subordinate officials identical with those of Ysleta.

The following names of Piros Indians were obtained at Senecú: Augustin Allegro (cacique), Pablo Allegro (governor), Victoriano Pedraza (War-chief), Casimera Pedraza, Valentin Gonzales, José Maria Podraqua, Vicente Paiz, Caspio Paiz, Dolores Allejo, Juan Delgado, Nicasio Alban, Tomas Ortiz, — Ortiz, Toredó Podraqua. In addition to these there are many women whose names were not recorded, making in Senecú fully fifty persons who may be called Piros Indians.

The Senecú Piros perform dances in the open space before the church building, and are accompanied by a drum and rattles. They are practically secularized pagan dances which have lost all their aboriginal significance. These occur after mass on the festival of their patron, St Anthony, at Christmas, and on the festivals of St John, St Peter, St Ann, and others.

The old drum used in these processions and dances is still preserved in one of the houses not far from the church. It consists of a hollow log with a piece of rawhide stretched over each end, closely resembling those used for the same purpose by the Pueblos higher up the Rio Grande. The drum employed in their secular dances, of which they have many, consists of a jar with skin stretched over the top.

The author saw in the village several hand rattles and one or two bows and arrows. It was not learned whether masks were worn in their dances, inquiry sufficient to decide that point not being pursued. The Senecú Indians have rabbit-hunts and foot-races similar to those of other Pueblos.

The Piros language, as a means of conversation, has practically disappeared, as no one at Senecú or Socorro now converses in it; but there are still remembered many words which, if recorded, would form a larger vocabulary than any known to exist.¹ There may be other Piros, living in other pueblos, who know more of the language than do the Senecú people. The governor of Senecú claims that there are Piros living at a place in Mexico called Ajotitlan, but the author does not know the situation of the settlement.

The writer visited the church of San Lorenzo, about two miles from Senecú, but was not successful in finding ethnological traces of the Sumas. The present church building is a new one, the fourth of its name, the others, at least the last, the Ysleteños declare, having been destroyed by freshets.

An instructive survival of Indian customs at San Lorenzo is a dance which occurs before the church, when a masked personage, called Malinche, appears. Malinche is a common modern name of a masked dancer, occurring throughout the Nahua region of Mexico, and its existence at San Lorenzo, as well as in some of the New Mexican pueblos, is significant. About the middle of November fires were kindled at night on the hills near El Paso and Juarez. The explanation given the author was that these fires were to guide Moctezuma, a Messiah, who, folklore has it, will come down the Rio Grande and cross the river at this point.

It is suspected that there may still be traces of Suma blood, and perhaps survivals of their customs, at Samalayuca, in Chihuahua, where these Indians were early colonized, but he was not able to visit that place. No studies were made of the survivors of the Mansos near Juarez.

The treatment adopted in the preceding pages is intended to be ethnological rather than historical. Fortunately these pueblos

¹ The Bureau of American Ethnology has a small vocabulary of Piros words recorded by John Russell Bartlett.

have been studied from both these aspects by Bandelier¹ to whose valuable researches the writer refers with great respect. As there still remain many important data to be gathered regarding both the history and the ethnology of the El Paso pueblos, the author hopes that in these pages he has done something to attract attention to the immediate necessity of additional studies in this locality.

¹ *Final Report*; Archaeological Institute of America, Amer. ser., III.

THE PUEBLO SETTLEMENTS NEAR
EL PASO, TEXAS

BY

J. WALTER FEWKES

(From the American Anthropologist (N. S.), Vol. 4, No. 1, January-March, 1902)

NEW YORK
G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

1902

THE PUEBLO SETTLEMENTS NEAR EL PASO, TEXAS

By J. WALTER FEWKES

On a map of the "Reino de la Nueva Mexico," made by Father Menchero about 1747,¹ five pueblos are figured on the right bank of the Rio Grande, below the site of the present city of El Paso, Texas. One of these, called in the legend, Presidio del Paso, is situated where Juarez, in Chihuahua, now stands, just opposite El Paso. The other four are designated on this map as Mision d S^a Lorenzo, Mision d Cenecú, Mision d la Isleta, and Mision del Socorro. Each is indicated by a picture of a church building, with surrounding lines representing irrigation canals, as the legend "riego de las misiones" states. All of these lie on the right bank of the river, or in what is now the state of Chihuahua, Mexico. It is known from historical sources that Indians speaking at least four different dialects, and probably comprising three distinct stocks, inhabited these five towns. The Mansos lived in El Paso, the Suma in San Lorenzo, the Tiwa in Ysleta, and the Piros in Senecú and Socorro; there were also other Indians—Tano, Tewa, and Jemez—scattered through some of these settlements. All the above-mentioned villages had been founded in historic times, or since Oñate first forded the Rio Grande at the Pass of the North in 1598. From documentary sources we learn that Tiwa and Piros were colonized in this region at the end of the seventeenth century, having come down the river with

¹ A copy of this map was published in 1892 by the Kartographisches Institut of Berlin. Although not dated, the legend reads that it was prepared during the administration of Don Juan Francisco Guemes y Orccsitas, who was governor of New Mexico during 1747.

Otermin in 1680, and that the Mansos and Suma were settled in pueblos near the ford almost a century before.

During his expedition to the Rio Grande and the Rio Colorado of New Mexico

Francis H. Taylor has been engaged in a study of the old and new habitations of the Piros near Socorro and Magdalena.¹ At the close of these studies he visited Senecú, Mexico, and Socorro, Texas, where the survivors now live, in order to gather any current traditions concerning them that might be found to survive. He had also in mind the forming of an acquaintance with the remnants of the Tiwa whose ancestors lived in New Mexico about the northern boundary of the old Piros range. The present article considers especially the Tiwa of Ysleta and the Piros of Senecú and Socorro.

These Indians have practically become "Mexicanized," and survivals of their old pueblo life which still remain, such as their dances before the church, have long lost the meaning which they once had or that which similar dances still have in the pueblos higher up the Rio Grande. The southern Tiwa and Piros are good Roman Catholics, and their old dances are still kept up not from a lingering belief of the Indians in their old religion, as is the case with certain pueblos in which Christianity is merely a superficial gloss over aboriginal beliefs, but as survivals which have been worn down into secular customs. They cannot give an intelligible explanation of the meaning of these dances, because they do not know their significance. Interest in them on the part of the ethnologist is purely as folklore, for they represent a stage through which the dances of the Pueblos ultimately go when the complexion of the population changes from Indian to Mexican. Ysleta is an instructive example of a Pueblo Indian settlement which has become a Mexican town, the number of Americans settled there not being large enough to affect ma-

¹ A special account of the ruins near this town, especially those of the "pueblo" visited by Vargas in 1692, is in preparation.

terially the population. It is therefore instructive to study a pueblo in this stage of transformation.

The author has been fortunate in securing the cooperation of Mr. J. H. Menchero, a resident of the Rio Grande pueblos, who has been studying the Tiwa and Piro languages for some time. In writing of the Pueblos, he would call attention to a field which offers much to the ethnologist, folklorist, and archeologist. The object of the article in brief, then, is to set forth, in a general way, a few facts regarding the Tiwa of Ysleta and the Piros of Senecú. Since the former are more numerous and their customs less changed, he will begin with them.

YSLETA

The pueblo of Ysleta, Texas, situated on the left bank of the Rio Grande, about fourteen miles below El Paso, is a small village with a mixed population of Indians, Mexicans, and Americans. The Indian name of the village is Chiawipia,¹ or practically the same as that of the pueblo of Isleta in New Mexico, a name which the Hopi also give to the latter village, in which, they say, are settled certain Tiwa whose ancestors once lived in their territory. The name "Ysleta" would indicate its site on an island, and the fact that on Menchero's map it is placed on the right bank of the Rio Grande, while its present site is on the left, may be harmonized by supposing that the course of the river has changed since the map was made.

The most striking building in Ysleta is the church, dedicated to Nuestra Señora del Carmen, the beautiful bell-tower of which can be seen for several miles.

Several references to the settlement and early history of Ysleta may be found by consulting the valuable contributions of Bancroft and Bandelier. The author has taken the liberty of quoting a few lines from the former to account for the existence

¹ Or Chipiya. Note the similarity of this term with *Cipia*, an historic name of former pueblo dwellers along the Little Colorado.

of Tiwa and Piro colonies in this section. "With the 385 natives," writes Bancroft, "that had come with Otermin from Isleta, a few who had accompanied the original refugees of 1680, and some who came later, the padres proceeded to found three new mission pueblos in the south. These were Senecú, Socorro, and Isleta."¹

The author has seen a manuscript copy of a document, dated May 19, 1692, in possession of Father Cordovas, a priest at Ysleta, who claims that the original, now in Mexico, is the earliest existing record of the church. The following legend found on a photograph by the same priest refers to this manuscript: "This document in the name of the King of Spain gives charge of the church of Corpus Christi de los Tiguas en el Reino de la Nueva Mexico de el Distrito de el Paso Canton Bravos, to Fray Joaquin Ynojosa. Years after, the titular saint of the church was changed to St Anthony, the patron of the Indians, Ysleta being then a Tigua village. Later on a petition was sent to the Bishop to change the second titular saint; this request being granted, the church was dedicated to Nuestra Señora del Carmen."

The oldest portion of the present church building is that in which the altar now stands, the tower and façade being of much later construction. The open space before the church is surrounded by a low adobe wall. This enclosure, in which stands a cross, is called the cemetery, and was formerly a burial place, as its name implies, but it is no longer used for that purpose. Here certain dances—survivals of pagan ceremonies dating back in the history of the pueblo to a time when it was practically a

¹ "S. Ant. de Senecú, of Piro and Tompiros, 2 leagues below El Paso (or Guadalupe); Corpus Christi de Isleta (Bonilla, *Apuntes*, MS., 2, calls it S. Lorenzo del Realito), of Tiguas $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues east of Senecú; and Nra del Socorro, of Piro, Tanos, and Jemes, on the Rio del Norte 7 leagues from Isleta and 12 leagues from El Paso." (Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 191, note.) If Socorro was then 7 leagues from Ysleta, it was not on its present site, if the distance given is correct. "In '83," according to Bancroft (p. 191), on account of a plot in Socorro to kill Padre Antonio Guerra, the pueblo was "moved to a site nearer Isleta," evidently to its present location.

Tiwan village — occur after mass on feast days elsewhere mentioned.

The site of the old pueblo adjoins this cemetery, from which it is now separated by a street. The cacique remembers that formerly Indian houses were arranged on that site in rectangular form about a plaza, each building being a small one-story habitation made of upright logs chinked and plastered with adobe, forming a type of building called by the Mexicans *jacal*. There still remain a few houses of this kind in the neighboring hamlet of Socorro that are reputed to be among the oldest in the pueblo.

Piarote, the present cacique of Ysleta, lives in an adobe house standing not far from what was once a corner of the former pueblo, and other houses in the neighborhood belong to Indians who likewise have dwellings and tracts of land scattered in all directions from the church.

In late years several Tiwa families have moved away from Ysleta to Las Cruces, New Mexico, and other localities along the railroad where they find profitable employment. The governor, Mariano, claims that the town of Tulerosa, near the Mescalero Apache reservation, was settled by Tiwa families from Ysleta, but others deny this. The Ysleteños formerly hunted bison in Pecos valley, and one of the masks used at Christmas in the *Baile de Tortuga*, elsewhere referred to, is made of bison hide.¹ They were therefore well acquainted with the Mescalero reservation, and the springs there were probably favorite camping places.

Many of the Tiwa have served in the army as scouts against the Apache, and among the names of some twenty men recorded by the writer several have discharge papers setting forth the value of their services; others were killed while in the service of the United States. None of the former receives a pension or rations. They have no resident agent or missionary, and, although poor, they are industrious, self-respecting, law-abiding citizens.

¹ This mask was obtained by the author.

In addition to the Tiwa living at Ysleta, there are one or two families in a neighboring hamlet called Zaragosa, across the river in Mexico. About twenty-five persons, whose names are appended, can conduct a conversation in the Tiwa language, and there are as many more who understand the idiom but cannot converse in it.

Men: José Tolino Piarote, Tomal Graneo, Tebucio Olgin, José Maria Montoya, Ponciano Olgin, Patricio Perca, Manuel Ortega, Sebastiano Duran, Alvino Aquiar, Cristobal Aquiar, Pasqual Piarote, Maleno Marqués, Robel Trujillo, Reyes Trujillo, Crecencio Marqués.

Women: Cornelia Colminero, Andrea Piarote, Estefana Montoya, Valentina Ortega, Augustina Olgin, Patricia Montoya, Nestora Piarote, Dolores Graneo, Andrea Marqués, Juana Duran, Juana Graneo.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Tiwa of Ysleta still retain a survival of their tribal organization, which is set forth in two documents drawn up before a notary, Dr Wahl, a few years ago. These documents, formally signed and sealed, are written in Spanish. The author obtained a copy, a free translation of which follows:

Pueblo of San Antonio de Ysleta, Texas, January 6, 1895.

"We, the undersigned, comprising natives, have assembled for the purpose of making the following regulations, and complying with those duties which our ancestors observed and which we wish to transmit to our children.

"We solemnly bind ourselves, in the first place, to celebrate in the best manner we are able, the festival of our patron, Saint Anthony.

"In the second place, we bind ourselves to respect the native authorities which we ourselves nominate and elect, and also to submit to such punishment as the same native authorities may impose, without complaint or appeal to any other authority regarding matters, personal or domestic, pertaining to us, without prejudice to the general laws of the remaining citizens.

"In the third place, we decree that every failure to respect our native authorities shall be punished, for the first offense, with twenty

hours' arrest; leaving the punishment, however, to the prudence of the same native authorities, should the same person repeat his offense. That this regulation may have force and authority, all desirous of doing so have freely affixed their signatures."

This first document closes with the signatures of the Indians, all in the same handwriting, and the notary's acknowledgment of the transaction. The second document, signed and sealed before the same notary, enumerates the duties of the officers. Freely translated it is as follows:

Duties of the Cacique.

"First Duty: Every year, on New Year's eve, the Cacique Major shall assemble all his people and advise the meeting to nominate native authorities to hold power for the forthcoming year. The same Cacique Major shall give the badges of office in the following order: To the Governor, to the Lieutenant-Governor, to the Alguacil, to the Capitan Major, to the four subordinate Capitans. Indeed all these officials are subject to the Cacique, as likewise all sons of the pueblo of San Antonio, according to the laws and conditions of the tribe. This dependence extends to the Cacique Major to look after his life and the maintenance of his family.

Duties of the Lieutenant-Cacique.

"The Lieutenant-Cacique shall exercise the same functions and act with the same powers as those above stipulated in case he occupy the position of the Cacique Major.

Duties of the Governor.

"This officer, with the badge of his office in his hand as a symbol of administering justice, represents a Justice of the Peace in minor matters, such as civil offenses; he shall punish lack of respect to the sons of the pueblo of San Antonio, and shall give permission for customary dances which are lawfully permitted to the sons of the tribe.

In addition, the Governor is requested to see that fathers of families comply with the sacred duty of teaching the Christian doctrine to their sons, and of celebrating annually the festival of our patron, San Antonio. Lastly, the Governor shall see to it that the sons of the tribe perform, in such manner as may be possible, the marriages and funerals of the natives.

"In conformity with the third clause the Governor has not authority to impose punishment exceeding three days in prison."

Lieutenant-Governor.

"The Lieutenant-Governor is clothed with the same power as the Governor when the duties of the Governor devolve on him."

Duties of the Capitan Major and the Subordinate Capitans.

"To direct the dances in the public plaza and to preserve order during the dance; also to well regulate everything pertaining to hunts of deer, rabbits, and hares, but always after consultation with, and notification of such diversions to, the Cacique Major, who shall never permit them on Sunday or on those days when they are obliged to hear the holy mass as in the Christian faith universal.

"Regarding the dances, it is recognized that they are permitted on the following days only: Christmas, St Anthony's, St John's, St Peter's, St James', St Ann's, and St Andrew's (if the day does not fall at the time of the hunt).

"Lastly, it is the duty of the Capitan Major, aided by his subordinates, to remove from the pueblo of San Antonio every kind of witchcraft and belief contrary to our Holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion. No son of the Pueblo of San Antonio is obliged to accept, for example, if so commanded, any sorcery or false belief. It is the duty of all who follow the regulations of the sons of the Pueblo of San Antonio to sign this enactment. On the other hand, those who do not wish to sign it, by the same wish do not regard themselves as sons of San Antonio."

This second document is signed by the same persons as the former, and may be regarded as a constitution of the Tiwa of Ysleta. It embodies certain aboriginal customs, but it is practically of modern character and origin.

The present Indian officers of Ysleta are as follows:

<i>Title</i>	<i>Native Title</i>	<i>Spanish Name</i>
<i>Cacique,</i>	Aikamede,	José Tolino Piarote.
<i>Governor,</i>	Tuwatabode,	Mariano Manero.
<i>Lieutenant-Governor,</i>		Felipe Cruz,
<i>War Captain,</i>	Wilawekamede.	Tomal Graneo,
<i>Subordinate Captains:</i>		Blas Cominero,
		Blas Graneo,
		Cristobal Aquiar,
		Aniseto Graneo.

INSIGNIA OF OFFICE

Each of the chief officials above mentioned has a baton, or staff of office, known as a *kikawee*,¹ which is held in such high esteem that the cacique spoke of his as "mother," which reminds one of the reverence paid by the Hopi to their so-called *tiptoni*. The author has examined the staffs of the cacique, governor, and lieutenant-governor, finding them to be similar; and he has been told that those of the remaining officers have the same general form. They are all said to be old, and to have been in possession of the tribe from the time the pueblo was settled; but such assertion is hardly borne out by close examination.

The cacique's staff of office consists of a baton the length of the forearm and diameter of an ordinary walking-cane. It is made of black wood, and is provided with a silver head and two metal tips, one inside the other. There is a silver cross set in the head, and midway of its length is a hole in which a thong is tied by which it may be extended. The governor's baton is like that of the cacique, except that it is made of chestnut-colored wood. The lieutenant-governor's baton is black: it was broken but has been mended with sinew. These badges, as referred to in the documents setting forth the duties of the officers, are insignia of rank and are used as symbols in elections, dances, and races.

DANCES

The most interesting survivals of the old pagan ceremonies of the Tiwa of Ysleta are the dances which are performed in front of the church at the celebration of the festival of their patron, St Anthony, at Christmas, and on the days of St John, St Andrew, St Peter, and St James, as mentioned in the document above given. These dances differ but little from the secular dances, or *bailes*, which occur in winter and at other times.

¹ The church is called *kikawee-missatu*, signifying "house containing sacred objects of the mass," a compound of Tiwa and Spanish in which appears the name of the chief's staff.

*Shidfürd, the Rattle Dance*¹

This dance, which occurs after mass in the festival of the patron saint, is one of the most important of their ceremonies. It consists of two parts²—the first with two male and two female participants, the other with many men who carry rattles from which it takes its Tiwa name.

These dances are first performed in the old cemetery before the church, after which the dancers visit in turn the houses of the majordomo, Manuel Otero, George Piarote, and Patricio Perea. It closes with a feast at the house of the majordomo, after which all return to the church.

*Newafürd, the Mask Dance*³

The dance in which two men are masked is celebrated on Christmas afternoon and is sometimes called *Baile de Tortuga* from the turtle-shell rattle employed. A drum is used in this dance, and the men carry gourd-rattles in their hands. The dance is first performed before the church, and then in the houses of the cacique, governor, lieutenant-governor, sheriff (*capitan de guerra*), and other officers, on the three following days. It is danced on the fourth day by children, who imitate their elders.⁴ The two participants wear masks, and one of them represents a male, the other a female personage. The mask of the latter is made of buffalo-skin and is painted red and yellow. These men are called *abuelos* (Spanish, "grandfathers," "ancestors"), and they function as clowns, frightening little children. A little girl, to whom the author showed the mask, called it a *coco*, a Spanish term for "bogy."

*Poafürd, the Red Pigment Dance*⁵

This dance, which occurs on the festival of St John, was thus described to the author by the cacique: Twelve women, forming

¹ *Shid*, "rattle."² The former called *Shoposani*; the latter, *Shidfürd*.³ *Newa-de*, "mask."⁴ The Hopi children also have a masked dance in imitation of their elders.⁵ *Poapüld*, red pigment.

two lines, stand facing each other, and between them passes another, singing "*Ha-wi-na-a-e!*" In this festival, food and other stuffs are thrown to the spectators. One of the women wears two feathers in her hair. The dance lasts one day and is called the *Baile de la Flecha*. The same song, "*Ha-wi-na-a-e,*" is sung in the Hopi harvest festival, when food and other objects are also thrown to spectators.

Küfüra, the Scalp Dance

In this old war dance, which is no longer celebrated, both men and women formed a ring around one of their number—a woman who held aloft a scalp tied to a stick. A warrior danced beside her, and at the close of the dance ran to the river and plunged his head under the water four times.

Füró-shuite

This dance occurs during the time of the carnival, and in it the participants are divided into two parties, each having a drum. It takes place in the houses of the cacique and other Indians.

*Naküpüra, the House Dance*¹

While the author was at Ysleta, several secular dances were performed by the Indians in one or another of their houses. These dances were characteristically aboriginal and closely resembled those celebrated on festival days before the church. Permission for them is obtained from the governor, who, in fact, gave one of those witnessed by the author in his own house. The dance began about 9 o'clock, but for some time before that hour a young man sat at the entrance to the house, violently beating a drum made of an earthen jar, and singing a song with monosyllabic words. Later this youth went inside, where he was joined by other singers, forming a chorus. Several of his companions clapped their hands in time with the songs, as in certain characteristic Spanish dances.

¹ The Hopi, who call this harvest festival *Howinakwi*, undoubtedly derived it, as did the Zúñi (who call it *Ówinake*) from Rio Grande colonists. ² *Naku*, house.

There were two distinct figures, or rather two kinds of dances, practically differing in the number of participants. In the first kind, two persons, a man and a woman, took positions facing each other on opposite sides of the room. These began the dance by beating time with their feet, at the same time almost imperceptibly swaying their bodies to the beat of the drum. As the drumming continued the two dancers approached each other, and the man put first one hand, then the other, on the woman's shoulder, at the same time dancing with a sort of shuffle, like that of the Bison dance at Hano. Spectators and those not taking part in this dance were seated about the room.

Several men and as many women participated in the second figure of the dance. Two lines, one of men, the other of women, faced each other and opened the dance with slight movements of their bodies. Both lines then turned, faced the drummer, and marched around the room to the opposite side, as in the well-known "Virginia reel." The step, song, and drum accompaniment recall the solemn religious *Katcina* dance of the Pueblos, but, unlike them, is secular and accompanied with merriment.

FOOT-RACE (*Kivekwewehim*)

The Ysleteños have a foot-race strictly comparable with that of their northern kindred. It occurs at midday, on Palm Sunday, and in it the contestants divide into two groups of about half a dozen men each, distinguished by facial painting. The course is from the house of the cacique, past the church, and along the main street. The cacique stands at the place of starting, holding a bow and arrow, and calls out three times. First he shouts, "*We-va!*" when all get ready; the second signal is "*We-cho!*" when he draws the bow fitted with an arrow; the third signal is "*Pa-cho-win!*" when he shoots the arrow in the direction of the course, and the runners start.¹

¹ The words used by the cacique are apparently those for "one, two, three," respectively. The numerals and the method of formation of the larger numbers may be seen by a study of the following: One, *wima*; two, *wisi*; three, *pachowin*; four,

In awarding the prizes, the cacique receives the first prize and the winners the second; but other participants are also rewarded. The object of the race, they say, is for rain, and the shooting of the arrow a symbolic act to aid the runners as well as to indicate the course.

RABBIT-HUNT (*Shiaito*)

Both the Tiwa of Ysleta and the Piroas at Senecú still have rabbit-hunts in which aboriginal elements survive. The war-chief is leader of the hunts, but permission for them is always asked of the cacique or the governor. The hunters having assembled in the field, a fire is first built and a section of country surrounded by the huntsmen. The men, forming a ring, close in, shouting "*Hotcha-pe-we-a-newa!*" at the same time killing the rabbits with sticks and other weapons.

When the hunters return home with their rabbits, the women rush out to meet them and to seize the game. If, as sometimes happens, two women grasp the same rabbit, the war-chief divides it between them. In old times, they say, the dead rabbit was sprinkled with sacred meal (*tlüka*), which, however, is not now made or used in Ysleta.

LANGUAGE OF THE YSLETENOS

Ysleta affords a good opportunity for the collection of material for a knowledge of the Tiwa idiom; but such work must be done at once, as a speaking knowledge of this variant, if such it be, of the Tiwa, will probably not survive the present generation. No Ysleta child can at present speak the language, and those adults who can converse in it are old men and women. It is imperative that philological studies among these people be made at once, for it will soon be too late.

The special interest attached to a study of the Ysleta Tiwa is, of course, for comparison with the Tiwa of the pueblos of Sandia *wiran*; five, *pantowa*; six, *malle*; seven, *wede*; eight, *whang*; nine, *telekem*; ten, *te*; eleven, *lewain*; twelve, *lewisi*; twenty, *wete*; twenty-five, *wete-pantowa*; thirty, *pacho-ate*; forty, *wiante*; fifty, *pantoate*; one-hundred, *skute*.

and Isleta in New Mexico. It has been known that the idiom of the pueblos of Taos and Picuris has Tiwan affinities, but the Ysleteños say that it is very different from their language. Several years ago an old man went from Taos to Ysleta to live, but he later settled in Senecú, where he died recently. His speech was incomprehensible, his native tongue differing greatly from that spoken at Ysleta. Some of the southern Tiwa have visited Isleta, New Mexico, and claim, as one would expect, that the language of the two pueblos is practically identical, differing only in minor details. During his visit to Ysleta, the author recorded a considerable Tiwa vocabulary, which he hopes later to compare with the northern Tiwa. These words were obtained during several councils with the chiefs, which generally lasted late into the afternoon, when the angelus sounded from the bell-tower of the neighboring church. At the close of these councils, the cacique, Piarote, repeated a long Tiwa formula, or prayer, with which other Indians were familiar. It would be interesting for one who seriously takes up the linguistics of the Ysleteños to transcribe this prayer as a specimen of their language. All these Indians at present speak "Spanish," but when together the old men converse in their native language. The more aged, in fact a majority of the adults, can neither speak English nor write their own names.

There still remain in Ysleta survivals of the former clan system of the Tiwa, in which the descent was matriarchal. All have Spanish baptismal names, and a few have Tiwa names. They assert that when the latter were given them, an aboriginal rite in which water was used was performed. The Tiwa name of Piarote, the cacique, is Shiu-tusan (Eagle-tusan); the governor, Mariano, Yekap-tusan (Corntassel-tusan). Another man is called Yen-tusan (Mountain-tusan); and still another, Thüwirpo-tusan (Rainbow-tusan).¹ None of the children now have Tiwa names.

¹ The root *shūr*, meaning sun, occurs in *shūsaina*, sunrise; *tathūlakín*, sunset. Apparently the idiom of Ysleta differs somewhat from that of their kindred in Isleta

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Isleta

Isleta Tewa have several very suggestive folktales, to which the author can only refer at this time. He listened to several of them, but it was said that there were many more, all of which were very interesting. They retain traditions of the Pueblo people, and the opening in the earth out of which the Indians originally emerged, and they declare it to be the same.

As to their dress is concerned, it is impossible to distinguish the members of Isleta from their Mexican neighbors, the only mark being not being always a distinction in their hair. One man was seen with long hair, which was in the usual Pueblo fashion. Several of the men were wearing a white wrap-around.

The houses are of the characteristic, and exteriorly there is nothing to distinguish the village to lead one to believe that it was an Indian pueblo or that at present it was inhabited by Indians.

Their customs are still kept up by the Pueblo people. They use the fire-drill and the fire-drill, and they use the fire-drill with them, although they also use matches. Of their weapons they have the bow and arrow, and the drum of aboriginal manufacture.

They also make paper-bread, which they make in various tints. They at times use the fire-drill, which have an ancient appearance, and they also use the fire-drill, which was common in the Pueblo people.

It is interesting to note that while the women were at work, the men sang, beating a drum. The author has been in search for aboriginal poetry in the village, and a few old pieces were found, but they were not of the Pueblo type.

From the two centuries of separation. If the term "Tusayan" is highly suggestive of the Pueblo people, it is highly probable that the Pueblo people were the original inhabitants of the region.

were very rude and probably Mexican; nevertheless, all said that in former times the Tiwa women were good potters and made black ware like that of the Santa Clara Indians,

THE PIROS SETTLEMENTS NEAR EL PASO

The survivors of the Piros live in the hamlets of Socorro and Senecú, the former situated in Texas, about three miles below Ysleta, and the latter on the opposite or right bank of the Rio Grande, about six miles from Juarez, in Mexico. The settlement at Socorro¹ is small, and while there are at present only a few families that claim to be of Indian blood, none of them speak the Piros idiom. They have no tribal organization, and the town is thoroughly Mexicanized.

It is commonly said in Ysleta that the Indians of Socorro are descended from Piros and other tribes, and that their ancestors spoke differently from the Tiwa,—in fact more like the Senecú people. Piarote, the Ysleta cacique, states that in his youth the irrigation ditch of Socorro was called "acequia de los Piros," implying that Piros Indians were settled in this pueblo in old times. The fact that the native language has vanished, and that Jemez and Tanos Indians were among those colonized there, partially explains the total disappearance of their language. The author visited one or two old men who claimed to be pure Indians, but they could utter not a word of Piros, and one of them apologetically said that even his father was totally ignorant of any language but Spanish.²

SENECÚ

The pueblo of Senecú,³ in which the Piros who once lived in New Mexico were colonized at the close of the seventeenth century, is situated in Chihuahua, about six miles from Juarez, on

¹ The Ysleteños speak of Socorro in New Mexico as Socorrito, "Little Socorro."

² Later information reached the author that there is an old man living near Socorro who speaks the Piros dialect.

³ The word Senecú is of Piros origin, and was formerly applied to a New Mexican pueblo where San Antonio now stands.

the right bank of the Rio Grande. It consists of a small cluster of adobe houses, in the midst of which rises an old church containing many ancient *santos*, a few old paintings, and interesting altar paraphernalia.

The majority of the Piros live in or near Senecú. They possess a tribal organization, with a cacique (who is also custodian of the church), a governor, a war-chief, and subordinate officials identical with those of Ysleta.

The following names of Piros Indians were obtained at Senecú: Augustin Allegro (cacique), Pablo Allegro (governor), Victoriano Pedraza (War-chief), Casimera Pedraza, Valentin Gonzales, José Maria Podraqua, Vicente Paiz, Caspio Paiz, Dolores Allejo, Juan Delgado, Nicasio Alban, Tomas Ortiz, — Ortiz, Toredó Podraqua. In addition to these there are many women whose names were not recorded, making in Senecú fully fifty persons who may be called Piros Indians.

The Senecú Piros perform dances in the open space before the church building, and are accompanied by a drum and rattles. They are practically secularized pagan dances which have lost all their aboriginal significance. These occur after mass on the festival of their patron, St Anthony, at Christmas, and on the festivals of St John, St Peter, St Ann, and others.

The old drum used in these processions and dances is still preserved in one of the houses not far from the church. It consists of a hollow log with a piece of rawhide stretched over each end, closely resembling those used for the same purpose by the Pueblos higher up the Rio Grande. The drum employed in their secular dances, of which they have many, consists of a jar with skin stretched over the top.

The author saw in the village several hand rattles and one or two bows and arrows. It was not learned whether masks were worn in their dances, inquiry sufficient to decide that point not being pursued. The Senecú Indians have rabbit-hunts and foot-races similar to those of other Pueblos.

The Piro language, as a means of conversation, has practically disappeared, as no one at Senecú or Socorro now converses in it; but there are still remembered many words which, if recorded, would form a larger vocabulary than any known to exist.¹ There may be other Piro, living in other pueblos, who know more of the language than do the Senecú people. The governor of Senecú claims that there are Piro living at a place in Mexico called Ajotitlan, but the author does not know the situation of the settlement.

The writer visited the church of San Lorenzo, about two miles from Senecú, but was not successful in finding ethnological traces of the Sumas. The present church building is a new one, the fourth of its name, the others, at least the last, the Ysletenos declare, having been destroyed by freshets.

An instructive survival of Indian customs at San Lorenzo is a dance which occurs before the church, when a masked personage, called Malinche, appears. Malinche is a common modern name of a masked dancer, occurring throughout the Nahua region of Mexico, and its existence at San Lorenzo, as well as in some of the New Mexican pueblos, is significant. About the middle of November fires were kindled at night on the hills near El Paso and Juarez. The explanation given the author was that these fires were to guide Moctezuma, a Messiah, who, folklore has it, will come down the Rio Grande and cross the river at this point.

It is suspected that there may still be traces of Suma blood, and perhaps survivals of their customs, at Samalayuca, in Chihuahua, where these Indians were early colonized, but he was not able to visit that place. No studies were made of the survivors of the Mansos near Juarez.

The treatment adopted in the preceding pages is intended to be ethnological rather than historical. Fortunately these pueblos

¹ The Bureau of American Ethnology has a small vocabulary of Piro words recorded by John Russell Bartlett.

have been studied from both these aspects by Bandelier¹ to whose valuable researches the writer refers with great respect. As there still remain many important data to be gathered regarding both the history and the ethnology of the El Paso pueblos, the author hopes that in these pages he has done something to attract attention to the immediate necessity of additional studies in this locality.

¹ *Final Report*; Archaeological Institute of America, Amer. ser., III.