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TAOS
CHARACTER AND HISTORY

THE people of Taos, northernmost of all the pueblos, and those of Picuris, a mountain village about twenty miles southeastward, speak the same tongue, a dialect of the Tiwa branch of the Tanoan stock language.

Taos lies about fifty miles north of Santa Fe. A few miles to the east lofty, rugged peaks of the Sangre de Cristo range rise abruptly to a height of thirteen thousand feet above the sea and six thousand feet above the plain. Beyond them eastward-flowing streams debouch into Canadian river and ultimately into the Mississippi. North and south of the pueblo, and west toward the black gorge of the Rio Grande, extends an elevated plain, a typical sagebrush plateau now not inconsiderably cultivated by Mexicans and Indians. Mountains are visible in every direction, and the peaks and crags of the Sangre de Cristo are at once forbidding and sublime.

Climbing to the plateau by way of a cañon road from Santa Fe, the traveller soon descries two brown pyramidal masses, incredibly diminutive against the huge bulk of the towering mountains, the twin pueblos of Taos, one on each side of a musical brook. A few thin columns of smoke rise high in the quiet atmosphere. A horseman approaches, swathed in a white cotton sheet, only his face visible. The face is that of a Ute, the garb that of a Cheyenne. A pedestrian next, similarly enshrouded. Another plainsman? But his female companion waddles beside him in flapping white deerskin boots such as no woman of the plains ever wore. He must be of Taos, or an alien married into the tribe. But soon the road is dotted with figures similarly garbed, and nearly all, especially the men, have that typical Plains physiognomy. One realizes that this nevertheless is the Taos type, but harbors a feeling that there must be a group of tipis behind yonder clump of willows down by the stream. One enters the first pueblo. The plaza is wellnigh deserted, for the men are in the fields or on the way to the American settlement for a pleasant day of idleness. But on a fourth-story roof loiters a young man. Come when you please, you will see him or another take his negligent position. You will be told, if you succeed in making an acquaintance, that he is keeping a watchful eye on the going and coming of his beloved; but if you know anything of Taos you will

suspect that the eye is missing nothing of your own movements. If, a stranger, you contemplate an interview with an inhabitant to whom you have been referred, make your inquiries of any group you see clustered about a dooryard. In all probability they either do not understand you or never heard of the individual you name, or at best have no idea where he might be found. For Taos shares with Santo Domingo and Jemez the distinction of being the most recalcitrant of the pueblos; which, if you know the others, is quite a distinction. And these young people with whom you have tried to converse fear to risk the censure of their elders by imparting any information that might perhaps lead to undesired disclosures of native customs.

The name Taos is a Spanish plural, first recorded by Juan de Oñate in 1598, of the Tewa name Ta-wíi ("dwell gap"), which alludes to the situation of the village at the mouth of a cañon. Their own name for themselves is simply Táïna^{n} ("people"), or specifically Ia-táïna^{n} ("osier-willow people").

According to their mythology they emerged upon the earth from Chipâ-fún-ta ("eye water black at," that is, Black spring).[1] Their lead-

1 This place the Taos informant identified with a lake near Alamosa, Colorado. Chipâfúnta is the original form of Sipófene, Sipápu, Shipápu, Shípapulima, Shipápuni, Shipápuna, of Tewa, Keres, Zuñi, and Hopi mythology. (The word in its various forms is an excellent and thought-compelling example of the extent to which religious conceptions and terms spread throughout the entire Pueblo area.) For many years the writer has been curious about the etymology of this term, beginning his effort to solve the problem in the Hopi country in 1906, and appropriately finds the solution, at the end of the trail, in Taos, northernmost of the pueblos and nearest to the fabled Black spring.

Cushing interpreted Zuñi Shípapulima as "mist enveloped city" - *shípa,* mist, smoke, dust; *úli*, within; *ma*, ocative. This is erroneous. The Zuñi have added their own locative -ma, but otherwise their term is a very close transliteration of Chipâfúnta. Of course all these words, closely similar in sound and referring to the same thing in five languages, can have but one source. The etymology of the Taos name is clear, and the translation is perfectly appropriate. "Eye," or "eye water," is a common Indian expression for a spring or small lake (cf. Spanish *ojo*, eye, spring). And the body of water here referred to *is "*black." Hewett (quoted by Harrington in *Twenty-ninth Report Bureau of American Ethnology)* says: "The trip from last night's camp to Alamosa was by a very little used road across the sand dunes... Soon after noon, to the west of a group of dunes, we passed a small lake of very black, forbidding looking water. It looks much like the small crater lakes south of Antonito, but is not in a volcanic district. I could form no idea of the depth of it, but should think it quite deep. It is probably 100 yards

er was Taï-faíina ("person red-that"), who is now the recipient of supplication. In groups corresponding to the present ceremonial societies they travelled in an easterly direction to the plains, where they turned southward to a large river which the present traditionists believe to have been the Arkansas. They long roamed the plains before recrossing the mountains to become a sedentary tribe in their present habitat. This reference to a long-continued existence on the plains is extremely interesting in view of Harrington's thesis that they are linguistically related to the Kiowa.

Taos was discovered in 1540 by Hernando de Alvarado, a subordinate of Coronado, and is thus described in one of the Spanish documents relating to the exploits of the expedition:

It has eighteen divisions [Spanish, *barrios*]; each one has a situation as if for two ground plots; the houses are very close together, and have five or six stories, three of them with mud walls and two or three with thin wooden walls, which become smaller as they go up, and each one has its little balcony outside the mud walls, one above the other, all around, of wood. In this village, as it is in the mountains, they do not raise cotton nor breed fowls [turkeys]; they wear the skins of deer and cows [bison] entirely. It is the most populous village of all that country.[2]

Castañeda, the principal chronicler of the expedition, in one passage makes no mention of a visit by Alvarado to Taos, leaving the inference that he proceeded directly from Cicuye (Pecos) to the plains east of the mountains and returned thence to the southern Tiwa villages on the Rio Grande. Later, however, he says:

There was a large and powerful ... village, which was called Braba, 20 leagues farther up the river [from Yuqueyunque, across the Rio Grande from San Juan], which our men called Valladolid.[3] The river

across. The water is very offensive. Around the shore is a continuous line of dead cattle."

2 Winship in *Fourteenth Report Bureau of Ethnology,* 1896, page 575.

3 This is about the distance a horseman would cover in travelling from San Juan to Taos. That the village referred to was Taos is proved, moreover, by the mention of the bridged stream flowing through it and by numerous statements elsewhere in the text that "Braba" was the northernmost of the pueblos. The "thin wooden walls" of the upper stories, mentioned in the preceding quotation, are puzzling, unless we may

flowed through the middle of it. The natives crossed it by wooden bridges, made of very long, large, square pines. At this village they saw the largest and finest hot rooms or estufas that there were in the entire country, for they had a dozen pillars, each one of which was twice as large around as one could reach and twice as tall as a man. Hernando de Alvarado visited this village when he discovered Cicuye. The country is very high and very cold. The river is deep and very swift, without any ford. Captain Barrio-nuevo [another of Coronado's lieutenants] returned from here [in 1541], leaving the province at peace.[4]

Taos at that time was situated a short distance up-stream from its present location.

The next visitor to Taos may have been (though the present writer does not think so) Gaspar Castaño de Sosa[5] lieutenant-governor of the province of Nuevo Leon, who in July, 1590, set out with a band of colonists, a hundred and seventy men, women, and children, to discover mines. The party ascended Rio Salado (Pecos river), and on the thirtieth of December, having left the women and children with the wagon-train at a place called La Urraca, Sosa and about a hundred men approached a large pueblo, probably Pecos. On the following day, after long vainly trying to win the friendship of the natives, they attacked with two small cannon. The soldiers spent the night in some of the vacated houses, and next morning proceeded to explore the pueblo, which the inhabitants seem to have abandoned in the night.

It was found to contain five plazas and sixteen kivas, the latter being underground chambers, well-plastered, which Sosa believed to have been made for protection against the cold. The houses, from four to five stories high, were built in the form of *cuarteles,* the entrances all on the outside, and the houses standing back to back. They were all connected by wooden corridors or balconies which ran from house to house throughout the village. Intersecting streets were bridged by

imagine poles held close together by wattling and plastered with adobe, a form of structure not unknown in ruined pueblos.

4 Winship, *ibid.*, page 511.

5 The material on this expedition is from Dorothy Hull, Castaño de Sosa's Expedition to New Mexico in 1590, in *Old Santa Fe,* October, 1916, which is based on the "Memoria del Descubrimiento que Gaspar Castaño de Sosa hizo en el Nuevo Mexico," etc., in Pacheco y Cárdenas, *Col. Doc. Inéd.,* XV, 191-261.

wooden beams flung from roof to roof. Access to the houses was had by means of small ladders which could afterward be drawn through trap-doors in the roof.... The houses also contained a great deal of pottery, both gaily colored and figured, and black, some of it glazed. As it was winter, the people were warmly clothed — the men in *mantas* of cotton and buffalo skins, while some wore also gaily figured trousers. The women wore a *manta* fastened at the shoulder with a wide girdle around the waist, and over this another *manta,* gaily colored, and either embroidered or decorated with furs and feathers. The pueblo had a large amount of land under cultivation, irrigated by two running streams at the side, while the pool which supplied them with water for drinking lay within a gunshot. A quarter of a league from the pueblo, the rio Salado flowed. [After several days, in which the Indians still remained unseen, the Spaniards departed.]

The route from Cicuyé [Pecos] lay through some sierras. The first night out the Spaniards camped in these sierras, in a valley with many pines.... About one o'clock that [next] day the party reached a small pueblo, doubtless one of the Tehua group. The inhabitants gladly welcomed them and supplied them with provisions. A lofty cross was erected with sounding of trumpets and firing of volleys. The Indians swore allegiance to the king and Sosa established there a regular government, appointing from among their number governor, alcalde, and alguazil. In all of the inhabited pueblos which Sosa subsequently visited like ceremonies were repeated, and thus were laid the foundations for the future pueblo governments of New Mexico.

In this region four other pueblos, all within a league's distance of one another, were visited.... Although the "Memoria" contains neither the direction of the march from Cicuyé to these pueblos, nor the distance traversed, we are fairly safe in assuming that the course must have been slightly to the northwest, and that these were the Tehua pueblos north of Santa Fé.

On the 11th of January [1591] the party, after marching two leagues, reached a large pueblo, occupying a large valley, all under irrigation. This pueblo was probably San Ildefonso.[6] ... The next day,

6 In a footnote the author says: "Bandelier suggests that this pueblo may have been Cicuyé. This can scarcely be possible . . . Sosa had been journeying away from the river [Salado] four days when he reached this pueblo."

the 12th of January, the route lay "along a river, very full of water to the north." ... That day the eighth and ninth pueblos were visited and in the latter, which in all probability was San Juan, the party camped for the night. The next day, January 13th, the party reached about an hour before sundown, a very large pueblo located in a valley between

Miss Hull, when she says that Bandelier tentatively identifies the large village visited on January 11 with Pecos, evidently refers to his earlier statement (*Papers Archæological Institute of America,* I, 1883, page 116). In his Final Report, however, he identifies the river on which the village was situated as the Rio Grande, and says that the "frozen" river encountered the day after leaving the captured pueblo was Pecos river. He is clearly of the opinion that Sosa never saw Pecos pueblo. He says:

"Leaving this [captured] pueblo on the 6th of January, 1591, with a part of his force, Castaño struck out for the west, crossing a wooded mountain. On the evening of the first day he reached another river, 'all frozen.' A short distance beyond this river stood a small village; farther on were five pueblos, not far from one another; finally, a large village near the banks of a great river. That river was the Rio Grande, and the Spaniards reached it on the 12th [Miss Hull says the 11th] of January. As it is certain that Castaño marched up the Salado [Pecos] to a place where that stream flowed through a broken and wooded country, that place must have been north of the parallel of thirty-five degrees. At some point, therefore, above Anton Chico, he must have turned off to the west, marching across the country to the Rio Grande . . . There is no stream of any permanence between the Pecos and the Rio Grande and near the former. Consequently, the river which flowed a quarter of a league distant from the pueblo which Castaño had to take by assault cannot have been the Pecos, but some water-course to the east of it, — either the Gallinas or the Tecolote. The small village next to it, however, was situated on the Pecos. It cannot have been Tshiquite or the 'old Pecos pueblo,' for that was the largest Indian town of New Mexico ... Moreover the Indians of Pecos would not have been ignorant of fire-arms, as were those of that [captured] pueblo." (*Op. cit.,* IV, 1892, pages 135-136.)

Referring to Bandelier's objections to the identification of the captured pueblo with Pecos: (1) The absence of a "stream of any permanence between Pecos and the Rio Grande" in his time is no proof that Sosa might not have encountered there a frozen stream three hundred years earlier. (2) Pecos had seen no white men for nearly fifty years. The great majority of the people could have had no personal knowledge of fire-arms, and what they knew by hearsay would have been known equally to any other pueblo in the vicinity.

the sierras. This was undoubtedly Taos.[7] It was very large. The houses were eight or nine stories high, built in *cuarteles,* and each *cuartel* appeared a labyrinth from the wooden framework above which all the houses were raised. Wooden corridors ran from one house to the other throughout the entire circuit of the pueblo ... The conduct of the inhabitants was so distinctly hostile that the company were obliged to camp for the night outside the pueblo in some ranches provided for people of other tribes who came there to trade. The next day, as the Indians showed even more evident signs of hostility, Sosa wished to attack the village and reduce it to obedience. Being dissuaded from this course by his comrades, he at last agreed to leave it for the present and to return later when the cold and snow should be over and its reduction might prove an easier task.

From here the party returned to the pueblos from which they had set out, that is, as is most likely, to the Tewa pueblos on the east bank of the Rio Grande from San Ildefonso to San Juan. On the 15th of

7 The author's footnote says: "According to the Pacheco y Cárdenas copy of the 'Memoria' this pueblo was five leagues from the ninth pueblo, where the Spaniards had spent the night of the 12th of January. According to Castañeda it was twenty leagues [about fifty-three miles] from Yuqueyunque, across the river from which was San Juan, to Braba, or Taos."

The distance noted by Castañeda is approximately correct. The present writer is far from convinced that this pueblo visited by Sosa was "undoubtedly" Taos. True, the "five leagues" of the "Memoria" may be a copyist's error. But even so, twenty leagues from San Juan to Taos is an incredibly long march, especially for a brief midwinter day; and Sosa arrived "about an hour before sundown." Compare this with Alvarado's twenty-five leagues from "Tiguex" to "Cicuye" in five days. Furthermore, Taos is not "located in a valley between the sierras," but on an open plateau near the base of a mountain range. There is also the negative testimony that the "Memoria" does not mention the striking feature of two communal buildings separated by a stream. In view of all this it seems more likely that Sosa visited Picuris, which was twenty miles nearer and which at that time must have been a very large pueblo, inasmuch as it was said to have a population of three thousand in 1680. At that date Pecos, "largest of all the New Mexico pueblos," sheltered only two thousand souls, according to Vetancurt. Although Picuris did not in 1541 occupy its modern site, "a valley between the sierras" is a phrase quite appropriate to the Picuris environment. From San Juan to Picuris, about twenty miles in a straight line, would have been a good winter day's march for Sosa, and this mountain village, the nearest one beyond San Juan, would very likely have been named to him by his San Juan informants. A well-established trail connected the two pueblos, and there was much communication between them.

January a deep river was crossed and the eleventh and twelfth pueblos, probably Yuqueyunque of Castañeda and Santa Clara, were visited. On the 16th of January the party crossed the river to the east and visited the thirteenth pueblo.

On the 17th of the month the party broke camp and on the 18th reached a group of settlements of a different nation which Sosa denominates the *Queres* ... The party must have been near the junction of the Rio Grande and the Galisteo. Here they found four pueblos, all in sight of one another. The party remained in these pueblos two days and on the 21st visited another pueblo of the same tribe. The next day Sosa made a side expedition to some mines in the vicinity. On the 23d the nineteenth and twentieth pueblos were visited.[8] On the 24th of January ... Sosa struck off to the east to search for a route by which the wagon-train and the colonists might be brought to the pueblo region. After four days' travel through a snow-covered country densely forested with pines, he reached La Urraca ... On the 30th of the month the whole party set out on the return trip to the pueblos.

Shortly after this Castaño de Sosa was arrested on royal warrant at the instigation of the rival authorities of the province of Nueva Bizcaya, and his efforts came to naught.

Juan de Oñate visited Taos in 1598, and in this connection is found the first use of that name.

Prior to the year 1680 Taos became a city of refuge to Pope[9] a San Juan shaman charged with some crime by the Spanish authorities. From this point he matured his plans for a general revolt of the Pueblos and the slaughter of the missionaries and colonists. When the plot ripened, Taos played a rôle commensurate with its importance, its warriors killing whom they could and joining in the siege of Santa Fe. The reconquest by Vargas in 1692 was accomplished without actual conflict so far as concerned Taos, although on his second visit to the northern pueblo he felt it necessary to despoil it and carry away as much as possible of its stores of corn, for the reason that the people refused to come out of their temporary refuge in the cañon. Taos par-

8 Author's footnote: "The eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth pueblos visited were called by Sosa respectively San Marcos, San Lucas, and San Cristóbal."

9 A Tewa name, possibly for Pó-fe ("water wood," that is, driftwood).

ticipated also in a sporadic uprising in 1696, when two missionaries were killed at San Cristóbal (a Tano pueblo established in the insurrectionary period near Santa Cruz in the Tewa country by people who had formerly occupied the original San Cristóbal southeast of Santa Fe), two were burned in the church at San Ildefonso, one lost his life at Jemez, and twenty-one colonists were slain. The Taos priest, accompanied by a few soldiers, fled in the night across the mountains toward Picuris. Aided by a hundred friendly warriors of Pecos, Vargas had the province again pacified with the coming of winter.

In 1847 a number of influential Mexicans conspired to overthrow American authority in the territory. They had the cooperation of Taos, and since the resulting massacres and armed conflict occurred near that pueblo the episode is known as the Taos rebellion. Early one January morning at Fernando de Taos (now the Mexican American village of Taos, three miles from the Pueblo de Taos) Indians and Mexicans killed six persons, including Charles Bent, governor of the territory. Bent was murdered by Indians led by one Tomasito. At several other places in the region like atrocities were committed.

Colonel Sterling Price with three hundred and fifty-three men, including one mounted troop, marched north from Santa Fe and dislodged fifteen hundred insurrectos from "the heights above La Cañada " after killing thirty-six and losing only two of his own men. His force strengthened by the addition of a hundred and sixteen men, he sent a detachment of a hundred and eighty to drive the enemy from the slopes of the gorge of the Rio Grande at Embudo (Spanish, a pass), through which lay his line of march. This was accomplished with a loss to the enemy of twenty men. Probably no Indians were concerned in these minor engagements. On February third Price proceeded to the pueblo of Taos. His report[10] says:

I found it a place of great strength, being surrounded by adobe walls and strong pickets. Within the enclosure and near the northern and southern walls, arose two large buildings of irregular pyramidal form to the height of seven or eight stories.[11] Each of these buildings

10 Executive Documents, No. 1, 30th Congress, First Session, pages 520-538; also Senate Document 442, 56th Congress, First Session, pages 11-12.

11 The greatest height is now five stories.

was capable of sheltering five or six hundred men ... The exterior wall and all the enclosed buildings were pierced for rifles. The town was admirably calculated for defense, every point of the exterior walls and pickets being flanked by some projecting building.

About two in the afternoon the troops began to bombard the church at two hundred and fifty yards with a six-pounder and several howitzers, and the following morning the bombardment was resumed on the north and the west side. After two hours finding it impossible to breach the walls of the church with the 6-pounder and howitzers, I determined to storm that building. As soon as the troops . . . had established themselves under the western wall ... axes were used in the attempt to breach it; and, a temporary ladder having been made, the roof was fired ... In the meantime small holes had been cut in the western wall, and shells were thrown in by hand, doing good execution. The 6-pounder was now brought around by Lieutenant Wilson, who, at the distance of two hundred yards, poured a heavy fire of grape into the town. The enemy during all this time kept up a destructive fire upon our troops. About half-past three o'clock the 6-pounder was run up within sixty yards of the church, and after ten rounds, one of the holes which had been cut with the axes was widened into a practicable breach. The gun was now run up within ten yards of the wall. A shell was thrown in three rounds of grape were poured into the breach. The storming party ... entered and took possession of the church without opposition. The interior was filled with dense smoke, but for which circumstance our storming party would have suffered great loss. A few of the enemy were seen in the gallery, where an open door admitted the air, but they retired witout firing a gun... The enemy abandoned the western part of the town. Many took refuge in the large houses on the east, while others endeavored to escape toward the mountains. These latter were pursued by the mounted men ... who killed fifty-one of them, only two or three men escaping. It was now night, and our troops were quietly quartered in the houses which the enemy had abandoned. On the next morning the enemy sued for peace ... I granted their supplication, on the condition that they should deliver up to me Tomás one of their principal men, who had instigated and been actively engaged in the murder of Governor Bent and others. The number of the enemy at the battle of Pueblo de Taos was between six and seven hundred. Of these, about one hundred and fifty were killed

— wounded not known. Our own loss was seven killed and forty-five wounded. Many of the wounded have since died.[12] ... Tomás was shot by a private while in the guard-room [at Fernando de Taos.]

Among the American casualties was Captain John H.K. Burgwin, who died of wounds on February seventh. On the same day fourteen of the insurrectionists were tried for the murder of Governor Bent, convicted, and hanged at Fernando de Taos.

From very early times Taos and Picuris were exposed to the attacks and cultural influence of various Plains Indians. Possibly this was merely the continuation of an even earlier contact when they themselves were plainsmen, who, constantly harassed by their enemies, ultimately crossed the mountains to the headwaters of the Rio Grande. There is no historical evidence supporting this conjecture, which is based primarily on the universal Pueblo tradition of a northern origin.

There is a record of the temporary migration, about the middle of the seventeenth century, of a considerable body from Taos to "El Quartelejo," a district in what is now Scott county in western Kansas, where the Jicarilla Apache then ranged. In 1704 the population of Picuris for some reason fled to the same place, but they were soon persuaded by the governor of the Province of New Mexico to return.

In 1695 the captain-general Vargas wrote: "While I was absent from this city [Santa Fe] there arrived a band of Apaches from the east, who are called Chiyenes, and they told in the town at which they arrived, which is of the Picuries tribe, how some men, white and light-haired, had destroyed a very large tribe of the Apaches Conejeros, living much further inland than their own."[13]

12 It was officially reported by Captain W.N. Grier on February 15 (Doc. 442, *Op. cit.)* that the loss by the attacking force was twelve killed and fifty-two wounded.

13 Twitchell, The Spanish Archives of New Mexico, I, 1914, page 265.
The document cited seems to refer to the episode narrated in original reports of the same year, in possession of the present editor, which state that Governor Vargas had received word from Luis Granillo, lieutenant and captain-general, that in September a band of Apache who had entered the little pueblo of Picuris, north of Santa Fe, to trade, had brought word that a large number of men, "white and ruddy like Spaniards," were coming from the buffalo plains and that the Apache were retreating before their attacks. With more or less alarm at the encroachment of the strangers, Vargas immediately

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Ute were causing considerable trouble by running off the horses of Taos, and the Comanche were so persistently attacking Pecos that by 1790 its population had decreased from two thousand in 1680 to a hundred and fifty-two. Much of this diminution was due to the Apache, who long prior to the year 1700 had periodically raided Pecos and the other pueblos east of the Rio Grande valley.

In 1748 the priest at Taos wrote to the captain-general at Santa Fe:[14]

This day and date seven Cumanches entered this pueblo; among them the Captain Panfilo. They tell me they have come in quest of tobacco; that their village is composed of a hundred lodges, pitched on the Jicarilla river,[15] where they are tanning hides, so as to come in and barter as soon as the snow shall decrease in the mountains... One Cumanche of the seven ... has related to me ... that thirty-three Frenchmen have come to their village [on Jicarilla river] and sold them plenty of muskets in exchange for mules; that as soon as this trade was made, the Frenchmen departed for their own country, and that only

dispatched Granillo, together with Roque Madrid, lieutenant-general of cavalry, and Domingo de la Barreda, secretary of government and war, to Picuris to interview the visiting Apache for the purpose of learning the details of the threatened invasion. On October 4th Granillo reported to Vargas that he had seen the Apache at Picuris and had learned that they had been informed by seven hostile tribes beyond the region where they lived that certain white men had come to the bank of the river (evidently the Arkansas) and made war on the people of Quivira (the Wichita Indians of Kansas) and other parts, "and presently they go away, and again return and make war and go away." The account given by the Apache was fully accredited by the Spanish officials, who regarded the "white and ruddy men" as French.

It will be noted that no reference to the " Chiyenes " nor to the Apaches Conejeros is made. The name Apache was commonly applied by the Spaniards to designate any warlike, marauding Indians.

14 Translation by Twitchell in *Land of Sunshine,* February, 1898, pages 148-150.

15 The Jicarilla was probably Las Animas river in southeastern Colorado. The identification is based on the facts that this region was the former range of the Jicarilla tribe, that the Governor's "Opinion" quoted below indicates this "Jicarilla" river as the regular route from the plains to Taos, and that Las Animas river is still recognized by Taos as the route generally taken by the Comanche.

two remain in the village to come in with the Cumanches when they come hither to barter.

The "Opinion of the Governor" on this episode was that "it is to be feared that if these Frenchmen insinuate themselves into this kingdom they may cause some uprising — as was attempted by a Frenchman named Luis Maria, who with eight of his own nation entered this kingdom in the former year of 1742, coming by the same route of the Jicarilla to the Pueblo of Taos and for it was shot in the public square in this Capital town of Santa Fe ... and in the said year, seven of these nine Frenchmen returned to their country by a different route from that by which they came here."[16] The Governor recommended the establishment of a fort on the Jicarilla, where "were located, in times past, the Indians of the Jicarilla nation, who were numerous and had houses, palisade huts and other shelters. Thence the Gentile [heathen] Cumanches despoiled them, killing most of them; the few that remained of said Jicarillas have sheltered and maintained themselves in peace nearby the pueblos of Taos and Pecos."

The Cheyenne ranged on both sides of the Arkansas and in the panhandle of Texas. In making their raids or trading expeditions to Taos, they, as well as the Comanche, followed Las Animas river to the region where Trinidad, Colorado, now is, continued up its headwaters to Collins, New Mexico, and into the cañon at Catskill, crossed the Sangre de Cristo mountains, descended a creek to Costilla, which is

16 In 1739 nine Frenchmen, including the Mallet brothers, of Canada, a certain Louis Marie (Luis Maria), and Juan de Alari (or d'Alay), arrived in the province by way of Taos from the French settlements on the Mississippi, and on July 22 reached Santa Fe. On May 1, 1740, seven of the foreigners departed, leaving Louis Marie and Alari (the latter a barber) to remain. On October 18, 1743, the former, having had some trouble with the officials, was shot in the plaza of the town; but Alari was married, reared a family, and was "comporting himself honorably as a man of substance." The record of what became of the other Frenchmen is somewhat contradictory, but we gather that three of them departed for the Pawnee villages in Nebraska, and three others, including the Mallets, went down the Arkansas and the Mississippi to New Orleans, which had been founded only twenty-two years before. It has also been stated that some of the men settled below Albuquerque at Gracia Real, which was called Canada in their honor; but this doubtless was only a temporary lodgment, for in 1748 it was stated by the Governor that the seven "returned to their country by a different route."

in open country, and thence on to Taos. Or from Trinidad they passed through open country to a crossing of the Sangre de Cristo range west of Walsenburg, Colorado, thence to Fort Garland and south through open country to Costilla. Coming from the more northerly plains, they passed through what is now Pueblo, Colorado, and south to Fort Garland.

The route from Taos to Texas and Oklahoma was through Taos pass to Cimarron, thence to Springer, crossing Red river and leading eastward through open country to the northwest corner of Texas. This trail was used by traders and buffalo-hunters. Taos never pursued the enemy into their own country, except when retaliatory raids were made against Navaho and Apache.

WAR

The war-dance was Púan-tââna *(púananamû*[n]*,* enemies) or Hómtââna ("war dance"). Three or four days were spent in preparing weapons and moccasins for a hostile expedition. Arrow-points were dipped in menstrual or puerperal blood, which also was placed under the sinew wrapping. Such blood was dried and kept for this purpose.

At the first camp they gathered in a circle about the fire and prayed and sang to Bear, Cougar, Weasel, Moon, asking for strength, courage, cunning, favorable weather, good luck. Returning, they sent one or two ahead with the news, telling how many scalps and how many child captives had been taken.

The young men then set out to meet the warriors, and when they were seen approaching, the war-party set up the scalp-pole and the young men, mounted, rushed up to it, shooting at the scalps and striking it with sticks. Together the two parties returned to the village, where all the older men gathered outside the walls and received a detailed report of the battle and what each warrior had accomplished. That night the warriors and the other men of the village assembled to make and practise new songs referring to the fight.

The next day the warriors painted their bodies and faces black, loosened their hair, and scattered eagle-down on the head. They were now called *tâlana*[n] *(singular, tâlana)*. An equal number of men called *piûlenamû*[n] (singular, *piûlena*) painted the body and face red, loosened the hair, and put eagle-down on the head. The scalps hung at the top

of a pole, around which these two parties danced, yelling, shooting, gesticulating, reviling the enemy, menacing the captives huddled about the base of the pole. From various houses came old women, screaming and menacingly shaking their fists. Arriving at the circle, they rushed in and mistreated the captives, pulling their hair, kicking them, spitting on them, reviling their tribesmen. Then all the other women came and participated, all ululating. The women danced outside the circle of warriors, stepping quickly up and down without progressing, and holding the hands at the shoulders with elbows at the sides. Their faces were blackened. The men danced in the fashion characteristic of Plains Indians, making threatening gestures, sometimes firing their guns, holding up their shields on the left arm. Other than the painted dancers with the warriors, men did not participate; but if a man were seen at a distance watching the dance, two or three warriors or their companion dancers captured him and led him to the plaza, where he was compelled to dance until his women ransomed him by bringing a basket of food. This dance continued four days, starting rather early in the morning and lasting until after dark, with intervals of rest and feasting. The warriors spent the night together in any kiva, where they ate only meal in its various forms. Long before dawn they marched through the streets, singing, and after breakfast resumed the dance. On the fifth morning, very early, they secreted the scalps among the rocks outside the pueblo.[17]

17 The Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York City, has recently acquired nine shields pertaining to the Taos scalp ceremony. According to information given the collector, the dance, which became obsolete about 1855, was conducted on an island formed by the creek that flows through Taos and divides below the pueblo. The dance-ground was beneath two large cottonwood trees, the stumps of which remain today. The island is regarded as sacred ground. The performance of the scalp ceremony is said to have been a function of the Sun clan [Sun House People, a ceremonial group?]. The nine shields were attached to as many poles planted in a large circle.

They are of two kinds.

(I) Five almost identical examples, to which the scalps of women are believed to have been attached, approximate eleven inches in diameter. Each consists of two discs of yucca matting bound to a hoop forming the rim, each disc being covered on one side with tanned deerskin and the pair set face to face in such manner that, bound with an edging of deerskin stitched with a thong

Relations with alien tribes were by no means of a uniformly hostile character. Annually traders in considerable numbers camped near Taos to exchange buffalo-skins for the products of the country. Though

of the same material, they form a pocket with an opening of an inch and three-quarters at the upper margin. Thrust into this opening are two slightly flattened or squared sticks, nine to ten inches in length and notched near the outer end. In the notch of each of two of the pairs are remains of fibre cord, while one of another pair has a short deerskin thong by which it is tied to the shield rim. The purpose of these sticks is not known. A deerskin loop was provided at the small aperture of each shield, evidently for suspension, although the loop has disappeared from three of them. At the rims of three of the five shields are other deerskin thongs or their remnants, to which possibly feathers were once attached. All the shields are painted green, probably with some cupreous product such as the Zuñi hold so sacred and which they call *áqahli* ("medicine-blue"). In the middle of one shield, attached to what we may call the scalp thong, is an Olivella shell, and a similar shell is tied loosely at the small marginal opening. [Olivella shells are the magic missiles of Pueblo war-chiefs in their mythical strife against sorcerers.] This shield is provided with only one of the notched sticks, but, unlike the others, there is attached to its rim, at the opening, a deerskin pouch resembling a finger-stall, in which fits a tube, three and a half inches long, formed of the hollow stem of some plant; while a similar tube is thrust into the pocket between the two faces of another of the shields, as if each of the five had once been provided with one. Possibly another tiny deerskin bag, stained yellow and containing no trace of paint within, may have contained this tube, although the objects were found dissociated.

(2) The other four shields, which are said to have been used in connection with the scalps of men, are of the same size as the others, with the exception of one, which is slightly smaller. Unlike the "women's" shields, they consist of a single disc of yucca matting bound to a hoop covered with deerskin, consequently they do not form pockets. Three of the four still retain the central thong, supposedly for the attachment of the scalps. Much of the green paint remains on all, and two still retain their suspension thongs.

Accompanying the nine shields, which were contained in a very old bag rudely made of tanned buffalo-skin, are a small deerskin pouch containing fine dark-red sand, and two stuffed rings of tanned deerskin, one red, the other green like the shields. These rings, which respectively measure three and a quarter and three and five-eighths inches in diameter by approxi mately an inch in thickness, are said to have been used in the process of stretching the scalps before drying. — EDITOR.

they were compelled to leave the walled village before dark, their relations with the Taos females were of such a friendly nature that today the average Taos physiognomy and figure are those of Plains Indians, a similarity heightened by the white cotton sheet worn by all Taos men and boys. An informant declares that he was one of a party which, returning from a visit to the southern Cheyenne about 1897, introduced this Cheyenne garb at Taos. It was so favorably received, largely because an individual so enshrouded could prowl about in his nocturnal philandering without recognition, that it quickly became a tribal badge; and now pressure is brought to bear on returned schoolboys who are slow to adopt it.

GENERAL CUSTOMS

The primitive dress of Taos was a typical Plains costume of deerskin. The combined moccasin and legging of the Plains woman, however, here became a boot with loosely fitting, white upper extending nearly to the knee, the same footwear still seen among the Tewa. This was used at Taos as late as the end of the nineteenth century. In recent years this buskin has become a wide, flapping boot, the upper part of which, long enough to reach well up the thigh, is folded down in two or three places so that it extends only to the knee. Each boot requires two deerskins of ordinary dimensions, for fashion decrees such fullness that the wearer inevitably walks with the feet straddled far apart.

All clothing except moccasins is now made of commercial cloth. A Taos man's costume includes a cotton or woollen shirt hanging loosely to mid-thigh, a pair of hip-length, closely fitted leggings with broad, flapping margins at the outer sides, and a loin-cloth hanging low in front and behind from the same belt that supports the leggings. Hats are seldom seen, yet in spite of the resistance of the elders American clothing becomes more and more in evidence.

In place of the aboriginal one-piece garment of fringed deerskin, fastened above the right shoulder and leaving the left shoulder and both arms exposed, the modern Taos woman wears a similar garment of cotton print over a white, sleeved undergarment. About the waist is a broad belt of the kind woven at Jemez, Zuñi, and the Hopi pueblos. Weaving was never practised at Taos.

Men arrange the hair in two queues spirally wrapped with beaver-

fur, or in modern practice with strips of woollen cloth, and hanging in front of the shoulders. Women cut the hair at the level of the eyes, usually parting it in the middle, and at each side of the head arrange an elongate mass tightly wrapped with yarn about the middle, so that it has approximately the shape of a dumbbell.

Taos arrows were plum or dogwood shoots. For small game they were self-pointed, for large game and for war they were tipped with flint points set into the split end and wrapped with sinew. The shafts were straightened by the aid of a perforated piece of mountain-sheep horn, and smoothed between a pair of flat, grooved stones. Bows were of cherry, or oak, or of *bois d'arc* (osage orange) obtained in Colorado and later from trees transplanted at Taos. They were neither recurved nor reinforced, and the horn bows found among more northerly mountain tribes were unknown here. Slightly curved rabbit-sticks were used in knocking over rabbits and other small animals. The war-club was a dogwood cudgel with heavily knobbed end. The stone ax had a wooden handle bent and lashed about its grooved middle; the knife was a flint or an obsidian flake. The mealing stones common to all the Pueblos are still used.

Fire was made by twirling a flint-pointed spindle in a small pit in a fragment of iron pyrites, the hot dust thus produced running off through a notch upon a bit of tinder. The favorite method however was to employ the flint-pointed spindle with a hearth of wild-hop rootstock. The best tinder was the shredded inner bark of sage, lacking which they used dried horse-dung.

Baskets for washing wheat are still made with loosely woven strips of the leaves of a yucca, probably *Y. baccata,* the root-fibres of which are used for soap. Only plain, unornamented pottery is manufactured at Taos, and the utensils are bowl-shape pots, either black or reddish, shallow dishes, and small-mouth, stationary water-jars. Formerly there were cottonwood plates and portable water-jars made of naturally hollow sections of cottonwood on which flat wooden covers were lashed.

The ceremonial rattle is a gourd, flattened on both sides by softening in hot water and pressing, and containing a few pebbles. The drum is a hollow section of a cottonwood tree covered at both ends with horse-hide (formerly buffalo-hide).

Cotton was not raised at Taos, and even for corn the growing season at this seven-thousand-foot elevation is apt to be precariously brief.

Wheat and alfalfa are now the principal crops. The aboriginal hoe was of wood hardened by charring. A primitive (not of course aboriginal) plow was in use as late as about 1878. The oaken plowshare was attached to the beam by a wooden key driven through coinciding holes and by rawhide thongs. A single curved handle passed down through a hole in the other end of the beam. The tongue was fitted into a socket in the beam and was further secured by a wooden pin and lashings. At the forward end of the tongue was another pin, to which was fastened a rawhide rope extending a few feet to the ox-yoke.

A plot intended for a threshing-floor is cleared and puddled, and when dry is tramped down by a herd of goats and beaten thoroughly with stones until it is hard and smooth. Either horses or goats tread out the grain. No provision is made to prevent their droppings from mingling with the wheat. These, with other foreign substances, are eliminated in the process of winnowing and washing. Threshing-machines are now coming into general use both here and at most of the pueblos.

At Taos were raised the usual Pueblo crops: corn, beans, squashes, and, after the Spanish advent, melons and wheat. Numerous species of wild fruits, roots, and stalks were eaten. Wild plums are especially abundant in Taos valley.

Deer and elk were trapped in narrow pitfalls dug in their trails, and deer were taken also in communal drives, the killer claiming hide, head, and one hind-quarter, the next hunter on the scene the other hind-quarter, the third and the fourth a shoulder each, and others portions of the back and ribs. Turkeys were shot with arrows, or were easily knocked down with rabbit-sticks when the snow was deep, since at such times they were loath to take wing. Expeditions to the plains were made at any time from about May to the beginning of winter for the purpose of hunting buffalo. The animals were killed with arrows or lances, and if the weather was warm the meat was dried, otherwise it was brought home fresh.

The war-chief announces the communal rabbit-hunt that precedes each fiesta, on which occasions all the war officers participate like anyone else. The old men remain at the signal-fire, which is the starting point, and after the drive the rabbits are piled up in the field and divided among those who bear the name of the patron saint of the day about to be celebrated. These carry the game home, and their wives cook it and grind meal to feed the dancers. The two caciques receive a

portion of the kill. Hunts for the exclusive benefit of the caciques are not held.

The Pueblo custom of holding up a newborn child to the view of Father Sun while bestowing a name is said not to obtain at Taos. An infant receives without formality a newly invented name chosen in family council. A male infant is dedicated as a future initiate of one of the societies. Having accepted him, the members choose a ceremonial name for him and send one of their number to his parents to "bring the name to them." In religious affairs he will be known by that name, at other times by the name bestowed by his parents. The following names are masculine: Chiw-tâma^{n}i^{n} ("eagle dances"), Tû-tâ^{n} ("elk talk"), Pa^{n}-hlâwa ("deer chief"), T!ûm-tâ^{n} ("morning talk"). Examples of feminine names are: Ia-pi^{n}yei^{n} má^{n}i^{n}("corn"), O^{n}-pap-tâma^{n}i^{n} ("for-her flower dances"), O^{n}-pâhwia-tâma^{n}i^{n} ("for-her lake dances"), Pap-ténama^{n}i^{n} ("flower go-pluck"). The flower concept in feminine names is here as common as it is with the Tewa, and the same usage has been noted among the Paviotso of Nevada.

At puberty a girl is placed in a separate room in charge of an elderly woman, and other girls of about her age, but not necessarily in her condition, are sent in to help her grind corn on four consecutive days. Her diet is mostly meal, but the flesh of small game is not absolutely prohibited. Salt is taboo, but not water. It is not permitted to touch fire. She wears no special costume, and at the end of the period the old woman bathes her and dresses her in the best of clothing.

Marriage is prohibited only between known blood-relatives, no matter how distant. A newly married couple live temporarily with the bride's family, which does not prove matrilineal descent. The levirate appears to be unknown, and the mother-in-law taboo as well, a surprising fact in view of the long intimacy of Taos with Plains culture and their proximity to the Jicarillas.

In primitive times the dead were buried in shallow graves or beneath a heap of stones in a cleft of the rocks. The head pointed to the south, for that direction is regarded as the "head" of the earth. Burial rites have long been a function of the church. Four days after the interment of the corpse, the relatives bring to the bereaved home various kinds of food which they break or cut into bits and pile high in a broad, flat basket. Each then takes a few handfuls in the corner of his blanket and all proceed to a spot a short distance outside the village, where

they sit down facing the pueblo and scatter the food behind them for the spirits of all the departed. In particular the goodwill of the spirit of the one recently buried is besought.

Before any meal, a bit of food is cast aside for the spirits of the dead of the locality, with the prayer: "Eat this food, and help me with good luck. Wherever I go, may I have good fortune, and may no harm come to me."

ORGANIZATION AND GOVERNMENT

The officers, besides the two caciques, are: the war-chief, *hom-hlâwa-tunéna* ("war chief leader"); eleven or twelve *hom-hlâwana*^{n} (singular, *hom-hlâwa);* the governor, *távúna;* the lieutenant-governor, *tenyénte* (Spanish, teniente); two alguaciles, *sóto;*[18] the fiscal, *pikále-tunéna* ("fiscal leader"); and three *pikále-tenyénte*.

The head of the Water society, bearing the title Pâ-táïna ("water person"), is the cacique of the South, corresponding to the Summer cacique of the Tewa.[19] The head of the Big Seashell society, Fíalo-hla-táïna ("seashell big person"), is the cacique of the North. Each of these titles is the term applied to any ordinary member of the society referred to, but the cacique is the "person" *par excellence*. These two confer on all matters brought before them, but the North cacique is said to be superior to his colleague. That such is actually the case is proved by the fact that if a visitor inquires for the cacique, he is sent to the South, never to the North, cacique. The fact of the very existence of Fíalohla cacique is carefully concealed. Moreover, if inquiry were made specifically for "Water Person" or "Big Seashell Person," no information would be received: the natives would profess ignorance of what was meant.

The officers are appointed by the two caciques, one naming the governor, the other the lieutenant-governor, and so on. On the last night of the year all the men assemble in Big Seashell kiva, in which North cacique presides, and the South cacique announces the names of

18 Spanish, "under," as used in the sense of under-secretary, hence "under lieutenant-governor."

19 Cf. Tewa Poá^{n}-tu^{n}yo, running-water leader.

the officers and asks approval, which is always given. He then delivers a speech of advice. On the following day the new and the old officers go to the house of an individual called *tûhwíina* ("writer"), the town clerk, who in 1923 was a young woman. There the retiring officers surrender their canes to their successors. The governor receives two canes, one representing the Spanish government, the other the American, and each war-chief has a small baton. The governor and his two lieutenants, and the war-chief and his first two assistants, receive certificates of office from the clerk.

The governor is the titular head of the village, but is actually controlled by the caciques. The war-chief has charge of the young men who watch the stock, and is the manager of affairs at ceremonial seasons. He makes public announcements, and formerly was charged with the duty of guarding the village. He was not, however, a field general, for his presence with a war-party was not essential.

An important duty of the officials is to give effect to the determination of the elders that ancient customs shall not yield to new. Every family must be actively represented in a dance; shoes, hats, and other garments worn at school must be laid aside by homecoming youth;[20] glass windows may not be installed; and above all, no revelations of native practices are to be countenanced. The penalty varies, from a fine of two dollars and fifty cents for failure to dance, up to flogging, forfeiture of land, and execution.[21] Not the least effective weapon of discipline is the heavy weight of the disapproval of the elders, the uneasy feeling of the culprit that a sword hangs over his head.

A young man was to be punished by the officers for his refusal to renounce the peyote cult, and his punishment was to take the old form of smoking a cane cigarette of strong native tobacco and inhaling all

20 This rule has been more or less relaxed in the last few years.

21 The writer has no specific information of executions at Taos, such as is recorded in the chapter on Santo Domingo. The fear of "something happening," vaguely expressed by several Taos men approached for information, and so grave that they even refused to specify what they feared, led him to believe that death is sometimes the penalty. It may be that the desire to control the populace by imposing the death sentence when it is deemed necessary is a primary reason for the steadfast refusal of Taos and Santo Domingo to permit a house-to-house census, which no other pueblo has refused although most of them tacitly oppose it.

the smoke. This ordeal is very severe. His mother complained to the Mexican justice of the peace, and the court issued a warrant instead of sending a sheriff's deputy to frighten the officers, as the woman desired. The warrant was served, the officers gave bail from the pueblo funds, and the next day they appeared for their hearing.

The justice begged the interpreter to have the case settled among the Indians, lest their secret affairs become public, which he said would not be a good thing. He would not like to see his own fraternity affairs aired in public, he said. The interpreter and the other two leaders of his own society interviewed the officers, and it was agreed to withhold punishment.

The next night, while the three peacemakers and their fellow members were sitting in their lodge-room, the governor's officers came down the ladder, seized the head-man by the arms, and dragged him up the ladder. Some of his hair was pulled out. One by one they hauled the entire number to the governor's house and tried them, fining them from five hundred to a thousand dollars each. The head-man was also flogged. The interpreter, the last one, was fined eight hundred dollars, which he said he would not pay. They threatened to tie him up and whip him, and he defied them to do so. They took no violent measures, however, but kept him there, and finally he agreed to pay.

The next morning he went to Santa Fe and complained to the United States Indian Superintendent, but obtained no relief. He paid the fine by giving up eight small parcels of land and some blankets, feeling sure that he would recover his possessions. The other men paid their fines in land, blankets, horses, and cattle, all of which the officers appropriated to themselves.

The Superintendent later visited the pueblo and advised the governor that he had no right to impose a fine of more than twenty-five dollars. Thereupon the governor resigned and relinquished his cane, and the fines were remitted.

Because the interpreter had persuaded the two head-men to intervene as peacemakers, he was regarded as the cause of the entire affair; probably also there was feeling against him because he was prominent in the peyote cult. He was told not to resume his place in his society, though he was the head of one of the sub-groups of his kiva.

One night, after all the village had retired, there was a knock on his door. He opened, and in rushed a mob of men, mostly officers, but

all members of his society. He threw the door shut and locked it after about a dozen of them had crowded in. He had a loaded gun and an automatic revolver, but wishing to avoid bloodshed he seized a club and threatened to use it on the leaders of the society, who headed the mob. They demanded the society paraphernalia of which he was custodian, but he refused, and after a time they departed. This was repeated a number of times, until he yielded to the entreaties of his wife and gave up the objects.

KIVAS AND SOCIETIES

On the south side of the stream there are four subterranean kivas (*tûatána,* from *tûna,* house), three of which are outside the pueblo wall:

1. Pâ-táï-tûatána, Water People Kiva
2. Fia-táï-tûatána, Feather People Kiva
3. Kwa-hláo-tûatána, Ax Big Kiva

The fourth south-side kiva was unnamed by the present informant, who professed to have forgotten the name. It is kept in repair, he said, as a memorial of ancient times when it was used. Few people know what society used it, and no meetings have been held in it for many generations. None of these statements is credited by the writer. Keeping an unused building in repair for sentimental reasons is something entirely alien to Indian practice, and the informant's efforts to remember, the name of the kiva were too elaborate to be genuine. Undoubtedly this kiva is the scene of rituals so important and so sacred that he did not dare risk being questioned about them.

On the north side are three of these ceremonial chambers:

1. Fíalo-hla-táï -tûatána, Seashell Big [that is, abalone] People Kiva
2. Chia-táï-tûatána, Flint People Kiva
3. Tû-táï-tûatána, Day People Kiva

The kivas are named for the ceremonial groups that respectively meet in them. These societies, with their subdivisions or associated orders, are as follow, extinct orders being indicated by the asterisk, and kiva affiliation by numerals:

1. Pâ-táïna^{n}, Water People
   1a. Kâ^{n}-táïna^{n}, Corncob People
   1b. Fâ^{n}-táïna^{n}, Snow People
   1c. Iaká^{n}-táïna^{n}, Hail People
2. Fía-táïna ^{n}, Feather People
   2a. Tâlo-táïna ^{n}, Parrot People White People
   2b. To-tsólumun-táïna ^{n}, Bird Yellow [that is, summer warbler] People
3. Kwa-hláo-táïna^{n}, Ax Big People
   3a. Húfo^{n}-kwaháo-táïna^{n}, Sweet-corn- meal Ax-big People
4. Fíalo-hla-táïna ^{n}, Seashell Big People
   4a. Fâ^{n}-táïna^{n}, Snow People
   4b. Iaká$^{n-}$táïna^{n}, Hail People
   4c. Fia-táï-kwahláo-táïna ^{n}, Feather People Ax-big People
   4d. Ia-táïna^{n}, Corn People
5. Chía-táïna ^{n}, Flint People
   5a. Pâ-hlul-táïna ^{n}, Water Drip [that is, dew] People
6. Tû-táïna^{n}, Day People
   6a. Há^{n}l-táïna^{n}, Shell People
   6b. Tó1-tû-táïna^{n}, Sun House People
   6c. Tû-táïna^{n} House People
   6d. Pián-pâtâ-táïna ^{n}, Mountain

* Kâki-táïna ^{n}, Crow People
* Tohwá-táïna^{n}, Fox-coyote People
* Chiw-táïna^{n}, Eagle People
* Kwaía-táïna^{n}, Magpie People
* Kâl-táïna ^{n}, Wolf People
* Kûa-táïna^{n}, Bear People
* Pâch!a-táïna^{n}, Ice People
* Iá-tsolu-táïna ^{n}, Corn Yellow People
* Ia-ch !âluna-táïna ^{n}, Corn Blue People
* Ia-pâtûna-táïna ^{n}, Corn White People
* Ûhlaíto-táïna ^{n}, Green-leaf People
* Pâchunó-táïna ^{n}, Shell-bead People

These groups have been regarded as clans, which appears to be an erroneous conception. (1) A male child at birth is dedicated to any one

of these groups, and not necessarily to that of his father. (2) The groups are definitely associated with certain kivas, and nowhere do clans sustain such a relation to the ceremonial chambers. (3) The informant was positive in his declaration that he would have the right to marry any woman not actually related to him, and was frankly puzzled by the investigator's explanation of the clan concept, being plainly quite ignorant of the system.

On the other hand it is to be noted that the names of three of the six principal groups, most of the associated groups, and all of the extinct ones, are such as the Pueblo Indians commonly apply to their clans. Moreover, the origin legend relates that they travelled in divisions corresponding to these groups. Again, there is the statement of Coronado's chronicler, quoted heretofore: "It has 18 divisions; each one has a situation as if for two ground plots." Just what this means is not clear, but it points to the former existence of clans with separate land holdings. The fact that the extinct groups named above, added to the six existent principal societies, total eighteen, may or may not be coincidence.

Inspection of the list of names given above reveals in some instances a logical connection between the principal, or type, group and the subdivisions associated with it. Feather naturally includes Parrot and Summer Warbler. Water suggests Snow and Hail, and conceivably Corncob, since the production of corn depends on water. Shell, a shining object, is logically associated with White Mountain and Sun House, and the addition of House may have been suggested by Sun House. With respect to the others the case is more difficult. Big Ax and Sweet Cornmeal certainly have little in common, and Flint and Dripping Water are equally puzzling. Big Seashell connotes water, hence Snow, Hail, and Corn, almost the same trio found associated with Water, but in addition there is Feather Big-ax, which apparently was originally made up of individuals from the type groups of kivas number two (Feather) and three (Big Ax).

Snow and Hall are named as separate groups, yet they are under the leadership of one man. One group bearing these names is associated with Feather kiva on the south side, another with Big Seashell kiva on the north side. Feather Big-Ax and Corn, associated with Big Seashell kiva, are similarly paired under one leader. In this kiva there are from fifteen to twenty men, seven of whom are Snow-Hail.

At birth every male child is dedicated by his parents to one of these groups,[22] which is not necessarily that to which his father belongs. Some female children are similarly dedicated, and their duties will be to keep the kiva in repair and in order. They will take no part in the ceremonies. The work of cleaning and repairing the kivas however is not limited to these female lay-members, for the men may summon their wives or female relatives to do it, even if they be not "members."

In each kiva the head-man belongs to the name-group, not to one of the subdivisions. The head of Big Seashell is the North cacique, Fíalohlatáïna ("big-seashell person"), which is also the title of any member of the society; and the head of Water is the South cacique, Pâtáïna ("water person"). Each cacique secretly trains a successor, preferably his son. But if his son is not fitted for the position, he selects some other of his own type-group. The general membership knows nothing of this man's identity, which however the cacique reveals to one person, so that in case of his sudden death the man in training may have a witness to the fact that he has been designated for the position.

In 1924 two young boys were removed from school for instruction in Big Ax kiva.[23] They are commonly said to be under training

22 This custom is not always observed, for the reason that compulsory attendance at school makes it difficult for boys to receive kiva training.

23 The boys were taken from school about the month of March, professedly for "training by the cacique." In May the governor, who had been threatened with arrest for this contravention of regulations, issued a call to all the Pueblos for a council at San Felipe. A San Felipe member of this council related to a Santo Domingo informant of the writer what there occurred. The Taos delegate, he said, called to their attention that all the Indians knew the Taos custom, and all must stand together in opposition to the authorities and in support of the native rites, and particularly all were to refuse information respecting the Indian religion and customs. The San Felipe man explained to his Santo Domingo friend that in every year a boy and a girl were taken from Taos to the lake from which the Pueblo Indians emerged upon the earth (in southern Colorado), and there were drowned in order to prevent the recurrence of a legendary deluge. The Taos delegate, he said, did not refer to this custom in plain words, but everybody understood what he meant.

If all this be true it seems likely that the Taos head-men intend to sacrifice one of the two boys along with a young girl, and later to send the other boy back to school as an evidence of their fidelity to a pledge made to the authorities; the missing one, of course, to be reported dead by natural causes.

The writer (and previous volumes of this series would seem to exonerate him of the

fourteen months, but as a matter of fact their instruction occupies only the first thirty days, after which they are "thinking of what they have been taught." They spend their days with other boys playing outside the village and roaming through the woods. They may not play inside the pueblo walls. Returning, they go at once to the kiva and spend the night there under the care of a member appointed by the kiva chief. But during the thirty days of instruction all members are present and sleep there.

At such times the Snow-Hail division is not permitted to be present, for the reason that its members are men who have not "started from the roots," that is, they have not as boys undergone this instruction and do not belong to the type-group of the kiva. Therefore the matters of instruction are kept secret from them. They take part however in the other activities of the society. The leader of Snow-Hail has been overwhelmed with offers of youths for membership, because of the fact that many boys, lacking instruction in the kiva by reason of attendance at school, wish to join his group, in which preliminary training is not required. But he holds to the view that membership shall be limited to a reasonable number. Therefore at the present time there are many young men who have no part in the ceremonial system. They are forced, however, to participate in dances, under pain of the imposition of a small fine and the frowns of the elders.

In midsummer Water Person, that is, the South cacique, having carefully observed the rising of the sun with reference to landmarks in the skyline of the mountain range, and aware that it has reached its northern limit, summons his members to Water kiva. He announces the purpose, and four days later they meet in the cañon about half a mile from the pueblo, where they sing for rain and good crops. This is repeated on the fourth day following, and the next six days they spend,

charge of easy credulity) believes that these quadrennial sacrifices still persist. The sacrifice of a boy and a girl is a not uncommon incident in Pueblo mythology, and mythologic events are largely a reflection of actual practice. History records few instances of adherence to ancient customs in the face of an opposing civilization equal to that displayed by the Pueblo Indians; and while the idea of human sacrifice within the borders of the United States is so unlooked for as to appear ridiculous, it is in fact no more than should be expected in view of the known preva lence of the custom in Mexico a few centuries ago. It is really not much more savage than the self-inflicted tortures of the New Mexican penitentes, a sect which grows more flourishing from year to year.

at least in part, at a different clearing in the cañon, carefully cleaning this dance-ground and building a booth of evergreens adorned with flowers. On the seventh morning they erect their altar in the booth, and in the presence of all the people, including women and children, they sing and pray.

The Water society having finished its summer solstice work, its leader visits some other kiva, any one he may happen to choose, to urge its members to do their part; and they do exactly what the Water People have just completed. Thus each ceremonial group performs, the entire cycle being concluded about the end of September. This ceremonial use of the cañon is the reason visitors are strictly forbidden to enter the gorge without permission of the governor.

About the end of August and in September, some of these meetings in the cañon, where the altar is arranged in a booth, are followed in the afternoon by dancing by men and women dressed in their best clothing but not wearing special costumes. This dancing is said to be for pleasure.

At the winter solstice, Fâ^{n}-táïna, or Iaká-táïna, the head of the Snow-Hail division of Big Seashell kiva, summons his own men and all other members of the kiva, and sets up his altar. This occupies one evening, and he then goes to the leader of the Snow-Hail group of the Water People, who calls his kiva members together and does the same things.

The spirits supplicated for rain, snow, and hail are Hlatsína^{n} (singular, Hlatsína, the Taos equivalent of Katsína), who dwell in all springs and lakes. They are said not to be represented by masked personators. The head of the Snow-Hail group has possession of certain sacred objects, the nature of which will not be divulged but which are described as the "tools of the Hlatsína^{n}."

The Chífunána^{n} (singular, Chí-funána, "eye black-that") of Taos correspond to the Kû'*sa*ri of the Keres Indians. They paint in the same fashion as the Keres clowns: white body with black horizontal stripes, and black ovals about the eyes and mouth. They have the Kû'*sa*ri cornhusk ribbons, but instead of arranging the hair in the form of a curving horn they wear deerskin caps of similar shape. They probably compose a society, although as to that nothing is known. The Mexicans, and after them the local Americans, call them " chifonetti," an adaptation of the native term, which itself is equivalent to Isleta Shifunín (singu-

lar, Shífuníde), the name of one of the two ceremonial moieties of the southern pueblo.

There are, it is said, no societies of shamans for the curing of disease. The individual medicine-man is called *túina*. He sings, sucks, and brushes the part with eagle-feathers and waves them about, charging them to declare the sorcerer that has caused the trouble. His pay is a sack or two of grain, a blanket or a deerskin, a horse or a cow. He attends on four successive nights, and is assisted by any ordinary men who are good singers and whom he pays.

CEREMONIES

Kúnhliína is a dance taking place on Santa Cruz day, the third of May; on San Antonio day, the thirteenth of June; on San Juan day, the twenty-fourth of June; on San Diego day, the twenty-fifth of July; on Santa Ana day, the twenty-sixth of July, and on Christmas day. This is the so-called Corn dance. The men have Douglas spruce at the back, or in the belt in front, or in the hand along with the rattle. The women hold spruce in the hands in the fiestas of Santa Cruz, San Antonio, and Christmas, but on other occasions they carry flowers. Sometimes in the Christmas fiesta Deer impersonators appear, in which case the Chífunána[n] clowns also participate.

Âhâ-tââna (*âhâ*, a vocable of the songs; *tââna*, dance), or Châlu-tââna ("turquoise dance"), occurs on New Year's day.

On the sixth of January, Dia de los Reyes, Kings' day (Twelfth Night; Epiphany), the so-called Corn dance is given in the morning and the Deer dance in the afternoon; or the morning is free and the afternoon is devoted to a Buffalo dance of the usual Pueblo type.

The thirtieth of September, the day of San Gerónimo, patron saint of Taos, begins with a relay race in the plaza. In the afternoon five or more Chífunána[n] clowns amuse the spectators. Usually a sheep is hung on the top of a greased pole, a prize for the clown who succeeds in reaching it. At night the people, especially young men and women, dance until near dawn in an open space in the cañon. The return of such girls, worn out with dancing all night, is the Taos explanation of the opinion commonly held by Americans and other Indians that the losers in the relay race must yield their females to the winners for a night of promiscuity. As a matter of fact, there is the usual sexual

freedom on this occasion, and especially on the second night, when the dancers move up into the mountains to a lake and repeat the dance.

Followers of the peyote cult have recently become fairly numerous at Taos. Peyote is a small cactus, native in Texas along the Rio Grande and in Mexico. Among the Southern Plains tribes the upper part, or "button" formed after flowering, and the entire plant among the Indians of north-central Mexico, is sliced and dried, and ceremonially eaten for the purpose of curing disease. It possesses a mildly intoxicating principle, which sometimes induces hallucinations. To a devotee the word peyote means not only the " medicine " but a person, a deity working wonders through this material substance.

The cult was introduced at Taos about 1910 by certain young men who had been initiated in Oklahoma by Cheyenne Indians. The drug is ordered by mail from a certain Texas trader, and is shipped by express in the belief that it would be refused by the postal service. A quantity equal to about two quarts and consisting of several hundred "buttons" varying in diameter from three quarters of an inch to an inch and a quarter costs a dollar and fifty cents.

Taos priests strongly oppose the cult because it threatens the integrity of the old ceremonial system. The United States Government too at one time seemed likely to ban the drug, but in 1924 it ruled that there were no grounds for restricting its use.

A few years ago a certain man, sick with a bilious and feverish condition, sent for one of the peyote leaders and asked if they would accept him. That night five of them came to his house. They stood, and the leader uttered a very long prayer, imploring strength to endure what they were about to do, and asking Peyote to help the sick man. Then his companions, one by one, and last the patient, prayed in like strain. These supplications were quite long, for "they use all the good words they can think of." A peyote adherent prays not only for himself and the patient, but for all people, mentioning by name any individual friend among other tribes or even among the white people, and following his name with mention of that individual's people as a whole. The prayers concluded, the patient drank from a vessel containing water in which peyote had been soaking, and the others took a smaller quantity. Then they sat in a row, not leaning against the wall, on rolled blankets with their legs doubled back beneath them, and sang to the accompaniment of rattles and a rapidly beaten drum.

From time to time one of the members asked the leader for permission to go out, and the fire-keeper accompanied him. Such occasions offered welcome relief for all concerned from their cramped position. About midnight the one who had charge of the fire and the cigarettes brought a pail of cold water from the creek and all drank and refreshed themselves by slapping water on the head, face, and chest.

The singing and the drumming were resumed. At any time in this second part of the night the leader distributed peyote, and from time to time some individual would ask for one or more of the "buttons." At intervals also the fire-custodian rolled corn-husk cigarettes, which he first puffed and then gave to the others. The sick man felt no drowsiness, but a mild exaltation which carried him through the fatigue of the night.

During the day they sang and drummed occasionally, feeling no desire to sleep. The following night the sick man slept very soundly. He was now a member of the cult.

At irregular intervals the peyote group builds a circular, roofed booth of green boughs, large enough to accommodate, with a little crowding, a circle of thirty to forty men. In front of the small central fire they make a half-moon by heaping dry earth and wetting it so that it will retain its form, and on this symbol the leader places a peyote button. This is in effect their altar. The opening of the booth and that of the half-moon are toward the east.

The leader, who sits at the back of the lodge, is provided with a bag filled with dry, circular slices of peyote. He passes four to the man at his left, who lays them on the ground before him. He passes four more, and the man at his left gives them to his left-hand neighbor, and so it goes until each person has his four. The leader then rolls a cigarette and lays it beside his peyote buttons and hands the tobacco and a package of corn-husk wrappers to the man at his left, who rolls his cigarette and passes the materials to his neighbor. When all are ready, the leader issues the word to raise the cigarettes and directs the custodian of the fire, who sits at the north side of the entrance, to bring him a light. The fire-keeper carries an ember from one to another, beginning with the leader and passing in a clockwise direction. They smoke, and all simultaneously pray in subdued voices while smoking. "They use the best words they can think of." The cigarette fags are carefully deposited on the ground, and the fire-keeper collects and drops them

on the ground beside his station. The leader bids them clean the peyote. They take up one slice each, remove the "cotton" from the centre, also the outer skin, and chew the remainder into a soft, potato-like mass, which they roll between the palms into a pellet while praying to Peyote. The pellet is held in the right palm, while the individual gazes steadily at it and prays it to go down easily and not become lodged in the throat. Sometimes, if the button is a very large one, the resultant pellet looks rather formidable. After swallowing the first, each person proceeds to prepare and swallow the other three in the same way. In this prayer to Peyote they ask that they may not feel weary from sitting with legs doubled under them, and may resist to the end the desire to urinate or defecate.

The leader repeats the instructions he issued in the beginning, that all are to sit motionless with legs doubled beneath them as long as possible, and when it becomes impossible to remain longer, then to ask his permission to rise. (They usually sit, the informant thinks, about two hours before having to rise for the relief of cramped muscles. When permission has been granted, a man gets up and the fire-keeper goes outside with him. He walks up and down for a few minutes in the path that extends a short distance eastward from the entrance, and if he must urinate or defecate he goes a short distance to one side, but not out of sight of the fire-keeper.)

The leader now hands a small flat drum and a stick to the man at his left, and to the very rapid beating of the drum sings four rather brief songs while holding before him upright with its base on the ground a short wooden cane. Inside the hand which grasps the cane is a bunch of fresh leaves of a plant used for relieving headache. His right hand shakes a gourd rattle. Having finished his four songs, the leader takes the drum and beats it while the man at his left takes cane, leaves, and rattle, and sings his four songs. These songs are the individual property of the members, and the others assist in the singing to the best of their ability. (Peyote songs usually are wordless, but occasionally a significant phrase occurs. One man has a song containing the English words, " Believe there is only one God." The informant knows no one who received his songs in vision or dream.) The leader now passes the drum to the second man at his left, who gives it either to the one at his own right or to the one at his left (but generally to the former), and while this man beats the drum he himself sings his own four songs, holding

the cane and the leaves in one hand, the rattle in the other. This continues until each, including the custodian of the fire, has sung his four songs. When the drum has passed across the entrance, the first man there generally selects the fire-keeper to drum for him. At any time while this is going on, anybody may ask for one, two, three, or four peyote buttons by raising the appropriate number of fingers, whereupon the leader sends the required number in the usual way, and the individual cleans, chews, rolls, and swallows them after making the usual prayers. Almost immediately all feeling of fatigue vanishes. The usual number appears to be two at a time.

When each person has sung his four songs, someone, whoever feels the impulse, asks for a smoke. The leader sends the tobacco and cornhusk wrappers, and this person rolls a cigarette, smokes, and prays aloud while the others listen. The singing and drumming are resumed, and so it goes with almost constant singing and drumming, while individuals as they feel the inclination ask for more peyote or tobacco.

While the drum was going round the first time, I asked for two peyote buttons. On the next round I asked for three, the next time four. It seemed that I wanted to sing all the time. I was happy. When the drum came to me, I sang either five or six songs, which was passing beyond the rule. The other boys were laughing at me. The next time I asked for five. The leader looked at me and laughed, and after considering a moment he took five from the bag and passed them to me. He thought he had played a trick on me by giving me three green and two dry ones; for the green are stronger and will not roll into a ball. I chewed up a green one and swallowed it, then the other two, and made the dry ones into balls and swallowed them. Then I asked for tobacco, and smoked and prayed. Everybody was listening to me. I was happy. Words came to me. While I prayed, I heard someone behind me singing. It sounded like an old man. But it is contrary to the rules to turn about. We must sit upright without touching the wall or turning the head.

Then I happened to look at the peyote on the half-moon. I had a vision. The world stretched before me, a broad, flat expanse, white and covered with flowers. Here and there were deer, elk, buffalo. Several men on horses appeared. They rode toward me, then turned and disappeared. A single man then appeared, walking toward me and looking at me as if he intended to speak. I glanced away for an instant at the

people around me, and when I looked back he was gone. I had lost it. That singing behind me was something sent by Peyote. If I had kept my eyes on the man who was coming to me, I think he would have given me new songs or a message of some sort.

It was nearly midnight, the time for bringing water from the creek. All this time, from the beginning, I had not stood up. Suddenly I felt that my knees were stiff, that I must stand up. I asked the leader for permission. He said: "Wait a little. The water will soon be here." But some force made me stand up. He said, "What are you doing?" "I must go out. Please let me." "Well, go, but come back quickly." So I went out. The fire-keeper went along and asked, "What is it, brother?" "Somebody is calling me," I said. I felt that someone or something in the air was calling me. So we went out, and I walked about for a few minutes, but saw nobody. We came back, and I sat down again. The fire-keeper then brought a pail of cold water, drank, and gave it to the leader, who drank and passed it around. I took a large quantity, and immediately felt as if we were just starting. There was no stiffness or weariness in my body.

The leader now gives general permission to stretch the limbs, and they extend the legs straight before them without getting up. After a few minutes he bids them resume the regular posture. It is now about one in the morning, and the leader sings his Morning Star songs[24] holding a bunch of eagle-feathers as well as the green leaves in the hand that grasps the cane. These things and the drum and rattle are passed around as before; but when they reach anyone who has his own rattle and feathers, he uses these instead of the leader's, in order to "wake them up and give them health." Having finished, he passes the cane and the leaves to the left along with the leader's rattle and feathers. This continues until gray dawn, with individuals asking for peyote and tobacco at will.

While the leader was singing his Morning Star songs, I thought I would like to see if I could eat two more peyotes. That would make

24 Mooney says that the Plains Indians sing the Morning Star song at dawn. He also mentions "a peculiar baptism ceremony at midnight." The Taos priests apparently have not been instructed in this rite, for they profess to know nothing of it.

twenty.[25] I called for two. I chewed one, rolled it into a ball, prayed to Peyote, and tried to swallow it. It would not go down. I tried again. The leader asked, "What is the matter, brother?" "It seems that it will not go down." "That means that you have had enough. Do not try it. It does not want to go down." Peyote did not wish to go down, so I gave up and took these two home for use at some later time.[26]

At the first sign of dawn the fire-keeper fetches another pail of water, and all drink deeply. They sing again until dawn, when food is brought by a woman — bowls of boiled meat, of chopped meat sweetened with sugar, of parched corn in sweetened water. The woman receives a cigarette, smokes a puff or two, and prays to Peyote for health and strength for these people. Then the bowls are passed around and each takes a single small handful. "It is miraculous that we had been singing all night and ate only two bites."

Each man now takes his rattle in the right hand and a bunch of eagle-feathers in the left, and shakes them aloft, while the leader sings his "finishing" song. At the end of the song they pass the gourds and feathers to the leader, who removes the cover of the drum and sets the handles of the rattles and the quill-ends of the feathers in the "box," so that they stand there like a cluster of flowers. He dismisses the devotees and they pass out, the fire-keeper first, then the man at his right, and so on. Last is the leader himself, bearing the drum-box. They emerge just as the sun appears and form in two lines facing eastward. The leader sets down the drum at the end of the path. They stretch their limbs, and for the first time speak to one another, shaking hands, congratulating and embracing one another. They stroll about, and in small groups lie here and there in the shade or in the lodge. Now and then a few sing quietly.

Promptly at noon the women of their families spread an enormous quantity of food on large sheets, and they feast heartily. In the

25 Mooney says: "The number of 'buttons' eaten by one individual varies from 10 to 40, and even more, the drug producing a sort of spiritual exaltation differing entirely from that produced by any other known drug, and apparently without any reaction."

26 The narrator keeps a small supply of peyote in his house. When he has before him a hard day's work or a night of irrigating, he swallows a button after begging Peyote to "excuse" him; for the day when peyote is eaten is supposed to be kept holy. He can then, he says, work hard all day or all night without exhaustion.

afternoon they continue to loll about, occasionally singing, and after an evening meal in the open they go to their homes.

A ceremony of this kind was held in the spring of 1924, but for a time thereafter they refrained from the public ceremony because of the hostility of the majority, meeting only by twos and threes to sing quietly. About the first of August, after Congress had declined to prohibit the use of peyote, they built a booth in the cañon and held a ceremony, and the village officers went up with the avowed intention of tearing down the lodge. Following their rule of passive resistance, the devotees simply sat motionless and sang on, and the officers withdrew without taking action. The peyote adherents are instructed not to retaliate if anyone uses force, no matter how great the provocation.

TAOS MYTHOLOGY

KÛA-HLOHLI, BEAR OLD-MAN

The people were living in a village. Old-man Bear lived in the mountains at Burnt Timber Hillside. He decided to come down near the village for medicine-roots. Early in the morning he came down toward the village. He began to sing, shaking his digging-stick:

Hiná^{n}ninaí á, hiná ^{n}ninaí á, yahéaahé a a aí, Hiná^{n}ninaí á, hiná ^{n}ninaí á, yahéaahé á, Hiná^{n}ninaí á, hiná ^{n}ninaí á, yahéaahé naá.

He put medicine into his mouth and spat in the four directions. He sang again. He said, " The people must surely be looking at me." He danced vigorously. He raised his voice and sang loudly the same song. He came to a place called Hlatátâ and began to dig while singing, and at the end of the song he dug up a root and chewed it and spat it on his hands and rubbed it over his body. Again he sang, and as before with the end of his stick he kept making circular motions around a root and at the end of the song dug it up.

He put his pack on his back and went homeward, singing contentedly. From the village the people watched him. They said, "Old-man Bear came for his medicine-roots." Then he sang more vigorously the same song. He stopped at the mouth of a cañon to rest, and then went on, still singing until he arrived at Hla-tóva ["timber den"]. He said: "I am Old-man Bear. Here since the beginning was to be my home. Now it is my home. I am Old-man Bear, living here, and here I will always

live."

PIWÉNA, RABBIT

Rabbit was living in a fine cañon near the river with his kinsmen. Many [animal] people were being killed. The people discovered that from time to time some of their number were missing. They thought of making a search, to discover them dead or alive. They found the places where Cougar had killed them. They saw his tracks. They assembled to discuss what they should do, and decided to take turns in caring for Cougar. Each in turn would kill of his children and feed their enemy, one child daily for a week. But before all the families had taken their turn, it was discovered that the people were diminishing too rapidly, and they decided to hunt for game, such as birds and jack-rabbits, which they brought in for Cougar. The second time they went to hunt, they found Rabbit. As they were about to kill him, he said: "Ûnûm, papawaéna, maiwâhópu. Nâ^{n}mupiútama^{n} taípiasi íwamû^{n} hámena^{n} mâhânaaho. Mâhâlaa!" ["Now, brothers, do not kill me. I will help you, what to do. Let me go!"] So they released him.

Early in the morning Rabbit went out of the brush and into an open place near the trail. He was leaping about in play. Cougar pounced upon him. Said Rabbit, "Û^{n}-tânaéna, maiwâhópu!" ["My father, do not kill me!"] He went on: "I will help you to fight a great giant, Taïhlána ["person wood-one"], who is now about to kill us all. I will show you where he is. Perhaps you can kill him. You are powerful. Come, I will show you. Let us go."

They went together to a pond. Rabbit peeped over the edge and saw his own reflection. He was pleased that his plan was going to succeed. He drew back to where Cougar was waiting and said, "My father, come and see." Cougar went with him. "Come near. Look down into that water, you will see him. That is his home." Cougar stretched his neck over the edge and saw his reflection. He leaped, and sank to the bottom of the deep hole and never came up.

Rabbit shouted for joy that he had killed this powerful enemy. He went back to his friends in the cañon, called them together, and told them how he had killed Cougar. "I have called you together, my kinsmen. Now and hereafter you will live without fear or danger of being killed. You may go without fear."

They thanked him: "You are such a small man, but you have cour-

age to kill so big a person."

THE RACE BETWEEN DEER BOYS AND THE WITCHES

Witches were making the people sick, and killing them. The people could not increase. They were thinking in what way to rid themselves of the sorcerers, who lived in the surrounding country but were invisible. They decided to consult Deer Woman, who lived in the mountains. They thought they would arrange a race between her two sons and the witches. She agreed: "They will run, and we will rid you of these bad people by winning the race." So the contest was arranged, a race around the world.

Early in the morning they met, the people with the two Deer, and the witch people with their two runners. The witch boys looked like skeletons. Their bones were simply covered with skin. The older men thought they would have to do everything in their power to help their runners by prayer.

At the start the Deer took the lead, and in a short time the racers disappeared in the distance. As soon as they were out of sight the witch boys became falcons, and flew swiftly past the Deer, laughing as they passed. But the Deer had been instructed by their mother, who knew what would happen. They took out little bags of medicine, opened them, and placed a bit of each of the five kinds of medicine in their mouths and spat in the four directions, praying for heavy rain. Soon the sky was hidden behind black clouds, and rain fell. The falcons' feathers became wet, and they took refuge under a tree; but the shelter was insufficient, and they crept beneath a rock. The rain continued until the Deer were far ahead, nearly halfway around the world. When their feathers dried, the falcons flew again, and coming in view of the people they again became witches. When the Deer appeared in the distance the assembled people cried, "Our boys are coming first!"

The witches said: "No, our boys are first. We will beat you; we will kill all of you!" They had their clubs ready.

"No, it is our boys who are coming first. We will kill all of you bad people!" The people also had their weapons ready.

Everybody was shouting encouragement to the runners. The Deer came in just ahead of the witch boys, and the people immediately clubbed the witches to death, all except one who begged: "My broth-

ers, do not kill me! I will do my part and will live at peace with you. Do not kill me! Let me keep my breath and my life. So we will live peaceably. I will not harm you."

" Do not let him have his life! Let us kill him!" cried some. But it was decided not to kill him, and from him come all the sorcerers who now exist.

KAWÍYA-HWA^{N}-ÛWYU, MAGPIE LONG-TAIL BOY[27]

Long-tall Magpie Boy lived at To-hlá-ta ["cottonwood tree at"]. He had two lovers, Yellow-corn Girl and Blue-corn Girl. Always hunting food for them, he was in the house only at night. The girls ground corn, and their dresses were always dusty with meal. When they were tired they would go on the housetop, and the witch men and boys would gaze at them. They all wanted these girls. When the girls went to the creek for water, the young witch men would be waiting for them. But they were unwilling to talk. They would get their water and go home. When the young witch men saw that the girls would have nothing to do with them, they became jealous of Long-tall Magpie Boy.

They arranged a dance and invited the girls to come in their best garments. When Long-tail Magpie Boy came that night, he brought nothing. He was weary, and lay down and pre tended to fall asleep; for he knew that the girls had been invited by the witches, and he wished to see what they would do. They put on their best clothing. One said: "I think he is asleep. Do not make a noise." They tiptoed about the house, took up their baskets of meal in a cloth on the back, and went out to the house on the other side of the stream.

The witches had been awaiting them along time. "What makes you so late?" they asked.

"Our man was not asleep. We waited for him to sleep."

The witches had a hoop, which they would roll along, and when one of them passed through it he became some kind of bird or beast, and spoke its language. Long-tail Magpie Boy, follow ing the girls, looked in and saw what the witches were doing. They found that things were not going right. They said: "Somebody must be looking. Let us search

27 *Ûwyu* for *ûyuúna.*

for him." They lighted pine torches and looked carefully in all corners of the room. They tried their work again, but still were unsuccessful with the hoop. Then they searched outside, and discovered Long-tall Magpie Boy hiding under a pile of weeds. They seized him and took him inside, "Poor brother, why do you stay out there ? We are doing this for you and for everybody." saying: They resumed their work, but still something was wrong. His presence hindered them, and they used their magic to make him sleep. Then they carried him out and laid him on a]edge near the top of a precipice, and proceeded with good results. After all the witches had become animals they made the girls stand up in the midst of them and dance. They danced all night.

When Morning Star rose and heard Long-tall Magpie Boy crying, he said: "My father, I can do nothing for you, but I will send you Yellow Squirrel. He will help you." He went on his way, and soon Yellow Squirrel came to the foot of the cliff. On the ledge he could see Long-tail Magpie Boy just about to fall over the brink. The ground below was covered with the bones of those whom the witches had slain. Yellow Squirrel buried a pine-seed, and it quickly sprouted and grew upward. "Father," he cried, "be strong! Hold fast! This tree will soon be there!" In a short time the tree extended to the level of the ledge. "Now be careful! Reach to this branch and hold it." So Long-tail Magpie Boy grasped the limb and climbed down.

He went to find his wives. They were still with the witches, who thought they had dis posed of their rival and intended to keep his wives. As soon as the girls saw him, they ran and embraced him. But he was angry. He shook them off and went home, but they followed. He took them to a lake and cast them in, and two ears of corn, a yellow and a blue, rose to the surface. These he put under his blanket and carried home. He sang: " I am Long-tail Magpie Boy. I live at Tohláta, people used to say. Here I live, here I will remain."

COYOTE'S SCALP-DANCE

Coyote lived at Tohwá-tâna ["coyote home"]. Going to visit Prairie-dog he found a dead hawk, which he tied to a stick. He called to the different directions for every person to come to his dance at Prairie-dog's home, for he had found one of the enemies that for many years past had been killing the people. Immediately all creatures closed their

houses and went to the dance.

Coyote sang, holding the dead hawk aloft like a scalp. Then he started to whip every body with it, and they tried to dodge while they danced. They ate their dinner, and again Coyote sang and whipped them. By this time they were very tired. Coyote said: "In years past this was the worst enemy we had, the one who killed all our people. That is why we had this dance. Now we will live without fear in peace among ourselves, and I will live at my home, at Coyote Home. I will live there alone." Then he went home.

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