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EXTRA CENSUS BULLETIN.

MOQUI PUEBLO INDIANS OF ARIZONA

AND

PUEBLO INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO.

BY THOMAS DONALDSON,

EXPERT SPECIAL AGENT.

Bureau of the Census

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,

CENSUS OFFICE,

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 22, 1893.

SIR:

I have the honor to transmit herewith a bulletin upon the Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and the Pueblos of New Mexico for the Eleventh Census.

A special interest attaches to these people, as they have had fixed habitations and have maintained themselves by agricultural industry from a remote period, in contradistinction to the tribes that live largely upon game and fish.

The results of the enumeration and the social and economic condition of these Indians are given, along with historical data sufficient to show much of their eventful story.

The regions which the Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos inhabit have not been so tempting to modern immigrants as the arable fields of other regions, and they have continued their primitive life amid remarkable social changes, by which they have been gradually hemmed in and cramped by the pressure of people seeking lands, and who are now ready to utilize even the comparatively scanty water privileges of these Indians and deprive them of the fruits of their laborious modes of tillage, which they have practiced for centuries.

This bulletin is designed to show in detail their present condition, as provided by the census act of March 1, 1889.

By the treaties under which their homes became part of the United States they are citizens, and it is quite possible that hereafter they will all be enumerated in the general census of the country.

Mr. THOMAS DONALDSON, expert special agent in charge of the investigation, a gentleman of wide experience in Indian affairs, has given the subject the close and careful attention its importance deserves, and has prepared the comprehensive and authoritative statement of the special civilization and condition of these peculiar tribes, soon to be obscured or lost in the tide of modern occupation of their vicinity. The bulletin contains the report of Mr. E. S. Clark, notes by Mr. A. M. Stephen, and also reports of Special Agents Julian Scott, Henry R. Poore, and Peter Moran, who are artists of reputation. The illustrations were in many cases prepared expressly and without cost by the artists named, who carried kodaks with them, and also made data with pen and pencil as they passed along. This work was largely a labor of love, and they deserve commendation for their industry and zeal. Some notes from the works of Charles F. Lummis, esq., and illustrations from his photographs, are also given.

Very respectfully,



Superintendent of Census.

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

MOQUI PUEBLOS OF ARIZONA AND PUEBLOS OF NEW MEXICO.

BY THOMAS DONALDSON.

EARLY EXPLORATIONS.

After 1500 and to 1800 there were 11 nationalities (10 noted in detail) engaged in the discovery and exploration of the west coast and interior of the western country now part of the United States, and more than 150 expeditions of various kinds were made. Of these, 76 were Spanish, 23 English, 21 French, 6 Russian, 4 American, 3 German, 2 Italian, 2 Danish, 1 Portuguese, 1 Hungarian, and 15 or more by Jesuits and Franciscans of several nationalities. The Spaniard, however, was the great inland explorer, and led the wave of expectant discovery of much gold, along with conquered provinces containing vast wealth, which started northward under the direction of Cortez. The first expedition pushed onward north from Mexico under Marco de Niza, in 1539, followed by that of Coronado in 1540-1542. The latter expedition passed through Zuni, visited some of the pueblos of New Mexico, and discovered the Moquis, and passing up the Rio Grande, reached Baxter Springs, Kansas, where the Spanish flag halted, and, as the result of an injury and the spell of a vision to the commanding general "that if he did not return at once to Spain he would never see his wife again", the tattered, starved, and worn legion dropped back toward the northern line of New Mexico, below which the Spanish flag remained in the middle basin, except when afterward carried further by a few mere exploring parties. The many known land expeditions which passed across the Moqui and Pueblo country during this period were for adventure, war, plunder, and discovery for scientific purposes.

The zeal of the early Spanish explorers was beyond all rivalry: zeal for church, zeal for state. The triumph of the church was the triumph of the state, because the cross and the flag were blended. No weather could check their march, and no story of countless peoples and vast treasures was too extravagant for them to believe. Their watchword was "The church and the king". When the map of their many expeditions is examined and the enormous area of country over which they marched noted, the privations suffered kept in mind, and the care with which much of the same was chronicled is considered, their industry, desire for adventure, and love for the cross and crown appear the more pronounced.

The desert of northern Arizona and that along the Rio Grande in New Mexico were terrors to the Spaniards. Crossing them was called the "jornado del muerto" (journey of death), but for church and king they readily undertook it. Mountain top and valley, desert and plain, walled town and deep river cañons, all felt their touch, heard the tramp of their mailed feet or the tread of their horses (the first of their kind on the continent) and the blasts of their bugles. No such field of adventure as the western continent had ever before allured man, and the Spaniards who pushed on to New Mexico, many of them fresh from Chile, Peru, and old Mexico, believed from the stories of De Vaca and the fabricator Stephen, or Estevanico, the Barbary negro, that a country far richer than any they had passed through would greet them.

Rivers usually trend from north to south within the present boundaries of the United States, and the longing eye of the expectant explorer or traveler always looks in the direction of "up the river", or, with the early Spaniards, "up north". Up the river was to be found the seat of aboriginal empires and stores of aboriginal wealth; but as the explorers progressed north from old Mexico the country became poorer, the resources scant and unprofitable, and the natives were found to be mere battlers with the elements for bread. Finally, with the illusion removed, Coronado reached the "cow plains" or "buffalo lands" of Arkansas, and finding nothing but a few nomadic Indians and wild beasts, disappointed and despondent, he retraced his steps.

In this almost constant exploration of Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Texas the Spaniards discovered and examined almost if not every present known point of interest, and it is amusing to notice the earnest efforts of some of the modern investigators to conceal, by not mentioning, the lights left by the early Spaniards, to which every modern traveler, explorer, or investigator has been indebted for guidance. The heroes of some ages are frequently forgotten by the imitators of another.

Latin and Spanish were used by the friars, monks, and chroniclers, but language was not as expansive then as now, and there were not so many words then used to express an idea; still, these early Spanish explorers, who carried with them both civil and military government, saw and noted about all there was to see and note. When established the army occupied the presidio or fort near the mission and made the military government. The church in the mission controlled both in ecclesiastical and civil matters. The rule of the church was often felt to be harsh by the natives, as it curtailed their liberties and brought them in a colony about the mission; and the fruits of their labor largely went to the church.

The mission usually consisted of church, school, and abode of the clergy. The mission was the central power and government for the whole establishment. The other incidents of a mission were the presidio, with a military governor for the protection of the church and its clergymen and the defense of the country about; the castillo, a covered battery near the presidio; the pueblo or village, usually composed of soldiers who had served out their time in the presidio, and either had Spanish or Mexican wives or were intermarried with Indian women.

When the Indians were found in towns or pueblos the Spaniards called them "naturales" or "pueblos", natives of towns, as, for illustration, the Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and the Pueblos of New Mexico; when in tribes, "salvajes" or barbarous Indians (Indios barbaros). The tribal Indians were gathered up by the military, brought to the mission, and turned over to the church. The pueblo or town of the Indian was frequently taken possession of by the church and a mission established, the native name of the town or pueblo disappearing in the name of a saint. As a singular fact, the Inquisition was established in New Mexico.

SPANISH INDIAN CIVILIZATION AND ITS FAILURE.

Spanish civilization failed in the new world, especially in Arizona and New Mexico, because it was not sufficiently flexible, and taught dependence rather than independence. It captured and attempted to govern with an iron rule many varieties of people. There was no change in its system for many years. The church had the mastery. Jealousy between orders of the church forced the crown to interfere, and finally the missions were partially secularized; under Mexican rule wholly so; besides, the avarice, ambition, or moods of the governors worked harshly with the people. The provinces of California and New Mexico, after 1803, were too near the colonies of the United States not to feel the breath of liberty which came from the north. Mexico felt this as well. Too feeble in number to make an earnest resistance or revolt, the Mexicans waited until the South American republics were free, and then (in 1821) threw off the Spanish yoke.

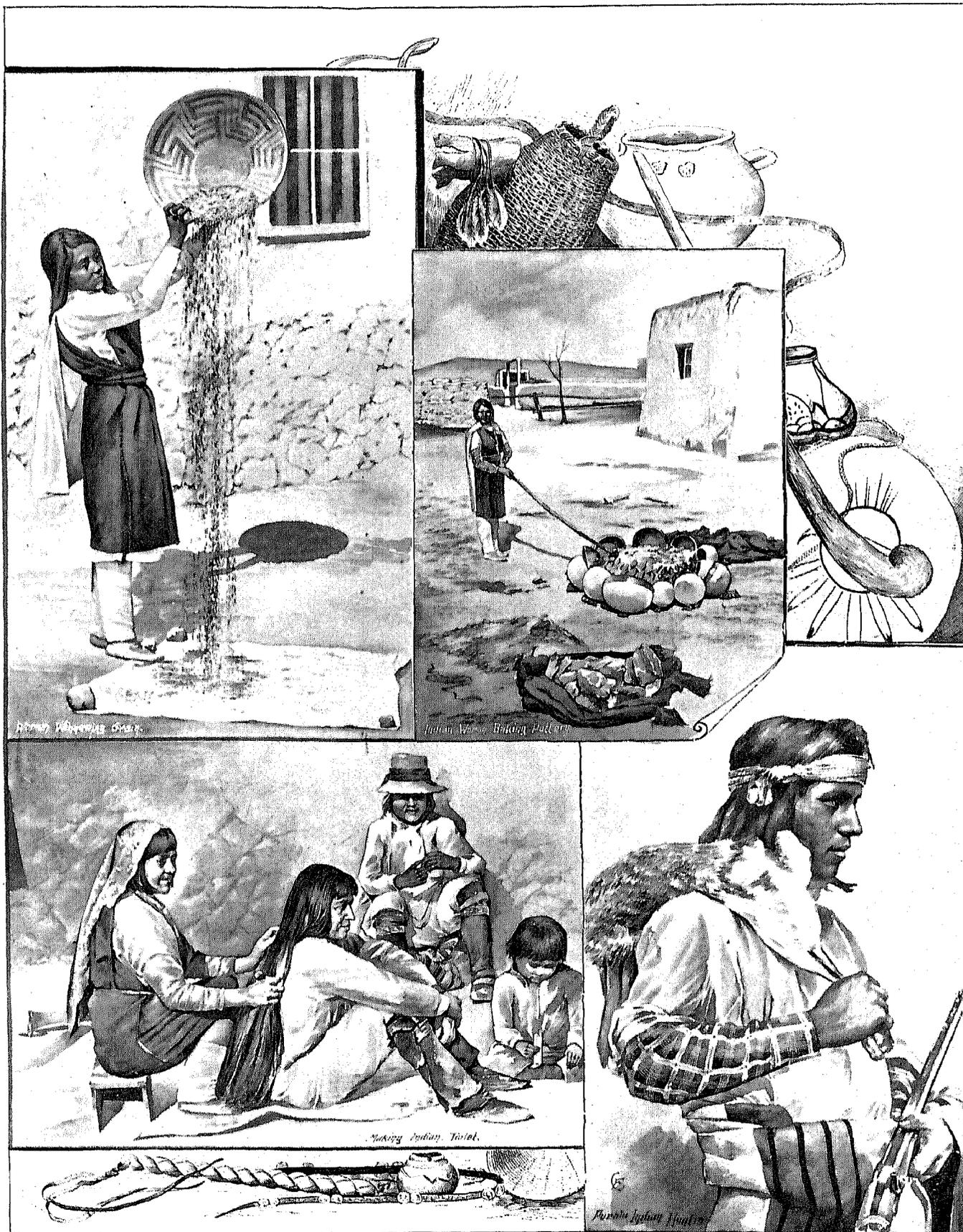
Spanish civilization was church and state. No country so poor in resources as California and New Mexico (including Arizona) could sustain its own people, a Spanish army, a horde of officials, and a state church. The exactions were too great on an independent and free people, whose habits of freedom and liberty, inborn, had been cultivated for centuries before the Spaniards came. The Pueblo Indians of New Mexico (including Arizona) were thrifty and provident. They were producers of food and clothing, traders and merchants. Along the coast range and western sierras of California are hundreds of trails, crossing and recrossing, showing a commerce of centuries. Over the mountains and barrens of Arizona and New Mexico and on to the "wild cow-herd grounds" in Colorado, Kansas, and Texas are well defined and worn ancient trails, roads over which Indian commerce passed to and fro. The continent was known to the Indian, and the shells and shellwork, feathers, and arrowheads of California, together with the turquoise, woolen and cotton fabrics, and pottery of Arizona and New Mexico, were found in the interior of the Mississippi valley and well up toward the Great Lakes.

The Spaniard as he moved north from Mexico met the wild tribes of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah, as well as the Pueblos. The wild or tribal Indian he let alone, and the missions were in fact in many cases forts or points of defense against them.

The union of church and state was death to permanent control by the Spaniards. One or the other had to go, and the church and state, under their peculiar system, being inseparable, both fell together. Spanish occupancy would have been more successful had it been purely civic; it might have been permanent, and the colonies in America, with local government, remained as true to Spain as have many of the British colonies to England. Spain, which governed from Madrid, and from interested reports made to the crown, was then intolerant and forced creed along with her government. English civilization was free as to thought. The Spanish-American failure was, however, no more marked in some features than have been the efforts of the United States of America toward the civilization, when mixed with creed, of the wild or reservation Indians.

The Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and the Pueblos of New Mexico mark the northern line of the actual Spanish advance from 1540 to 1821 in the basin between the Sierra Nevada and the Rocky mountains, and were a buffer in the struggle for control of this portion of the American continent. These Indians, who will always excite interest, have, as shown by this bulletin, changed in a less degree, while surrounded by Latin and Anglo-Saxon civilization, from old habits and customs than any people on the American continent, and perhaps in the world. For self-reliance and persistence in a beaten path they are unrivaled.

The principal cause of the failure of the Spanish form of government and civilization in Arizona and New Mexico was, that the Spaniards found a more self-reliant and determined set of Indians there than in California, and also in the fact that almost all of the Pueblo Indians of Arizona and New Mexico, while tacitly accepting the enforced Spanish church rule, continued the practice of their ancient form of religion, as they do to this time. When the Spaniards were driven out and the Mexicans came or the Americans took charge, in succession, the Pueblo was not lost; he retained his religion and self-reliance. In California, when the Catholic missions were secularized, the coast Indians (Diggers), who had been reduced to a state of dependence, became almost tramps, and of those remaining nearly all are now destitute and homeless. The loss of church control broke their hearts, but when the



church let go its grasp on the Moquis of Arizona and Pueblos of New Mexico they continued independent and self-reliant.

Spanish civilization in California, lower Arizona, and Texas, in a wide path along the coast of California from San Diego to the Mission Dolores, and then east from southern California in a broad band across southern Arizona through Texas to Galveston, but not as far north as Isleta, in New Mexico, built enormous missions of rich architectural designs, copied from Arabian, Moorish, Spanish, and Portuguese models. These in many cases were built of stone, and now remain almost permanent structures (for instance, San Xavier de Bac, near Tucson, Arizona, the last of importance until those in Texas are reached). The roofs, still remaining, were sometimes made of red clay tile, brought from Europe, as were often the altars, doors, images, pictures, decorations, windows, and bronze, brass, and iron railing, and other metal work. Along this latitudinal belt the country about furnished the bulk of the building material. Of course, the priests, friars, and monks were all imported. In the upper Rio Grande country of New Mexico the churches were built of adobe, and so were but temporary. The mission buildings of Spanish times now in Texas are monuments of energy, and splendidly picturesque.

Besides the Spanish crown, there were engaged in the effort of church civilization in the region named the Spanish and Portuguese Jesuits and the Franciscans. The Spaniard easily saw the parallel of his own country in the region of Alta California. The Sierra Nevada was his Sierra Madre. The climate was the same, and the desert country about reminded him of home. The climate was genial and the date palm planted matured, also lemons, oranges, olives, and the nuts of the tropics. The methods of agriculture of Spain and Portugal by irrigation were introduced, and the docile natives of the foothills and valleys along the seacoast became willing aids in most cases, and finally almost practically slaves. The modern horse, the donkey, the trees, vegetables, and grains of old Spain and Portugal were also introduced.

When the Spaniard, crossing the latitudinal belt along the lower Gila, began to reach the Indians of Arizona and New Mexico lying in the great interior basin between the Sierra Nevada and Rocky mountains, he met men of courage and intellect, and so he had not only to battle with nature but with the fierce Pueblo, whose every general feature, act, and method marked a race which must be unalterably considered as a portion of the red men of the United States.

Spanish Latin civilization was then incompatible with personal liberty, which the very air of the northern continent produced, and, besides, Drake and Raleigh made the tenure of the Spaniards on the Pacific side of North America uncertain and did much to break their control. It was a long distance from Madrid to the Pacific side of America.

Spanish civilization passed away in Arizona and New Mexico after a struggle of 280 years. It furled its banners and withdrew, after a fair trial and test, wrapped in the mantle of defeat. The Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos are to-day, in many things, almost as the Spaniards found them and about as they left them. As a study of the development and strength of institutions largely local and self-developed, their economies and habits are of great interest, and will repay investigation and foree reflection. This alone would seem a warrant for an exhaustive bulletin to show their condition, as provided by the census act of 1890.

NAMES OF PUEBLOS OF ARIZONA AND NEW MEXICO AT SEVERAL PERIODS.

In the recent historical works of Hubert Howe Bancroft (volume 1, pages 526-528) is an abridged account of the expeditions of the Spaniards to Arizona and New Mexico, beginning with that of Marco de Niza in 1539 and with Coronado's expedition in 1540-1542 from Mexico, following the glowing reports from Cabeza de Vaca of the De Narvaez expedition, and giving the names of the pueblos in New Mexico. Some of the names given are of Mexican towns of quite recent origin, and in all 26 in number. The names of the present Moqui pueblos in Arizona as given are curious and rare. They are not known by such names, except Oraibi and Tewa, either by the Indians or people.

The non-nomadic, semicivilized town and agricultural peoples of New Mexico and Arizona, the second division of this group, I call the Pueblos, or "townspeople", from "pueblo" (town, population, people), a name given by the Spaniards to such inhabitants of this region as were found when first discovered permanently located in comparatively well-built towns.

The country of the townspeople, if we may credit Lieutenant Simpson, is one of "almost universal barrenness", yet interspersed with fertile spots; that of the agricultural nations, though dry, is more generally productive.

The fame of this so-called civilization reached Mexico at an early day, first through Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, who belonged to the expedition under the unfortunate Panfilo de Narvaez, who traversed the continent from Florida to the shore of the Gulf of California. They brought in exaggerated rumors of great cities to the north, which promoted the expeditions of Marco de Niza in 1539, of Coronado in 1540, and of Espejo in 1586. These adventurers visited the north in quest of the fabulous kingdoms of Quivira, Tontontoe (Moqui), Marata, and others, in which great riches were said to exist. The name of Quivira was afterward applied by them to one or more of the Pueblo cities. The name Cibola, from "cibola", Mexican bull, "bos hison", or wild ox of New Mexico, where the Spaniards first encountered buffalo, was given to 7 of the towns, which were afterward known as the "Seven Cities of Cibola"; but most of the villages known at the present day were mentioned in the reports of the early expeditions by their present names. The statements in regard to the number of their villages differed from the first. Castañeda speaks of 7 cities. The following list, according to Lieutenant Whipple's statement, appears to be the most complete, commencing north and following the southward course of the Rio Grande del Norte: Shipap, Acoti, Taos, Picuris, San Juan, Pojoaque, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambe, Tesuque, Chohite, Pecos, Santo Domingo, Cuyumanque, Silla, Jemez, San Felipe, Galisteo, Santa Aña, Zandia, Laguna, Acoma, Zuñi, Isleta, and Chilli. The Moquis, who speak a distinct language and who have many customs peculiar to themselves, inhabit 7 villages, named Oraibe, Shumuthpa, Mushaina, Ahleki, Gualpi, Siwinna, and Tegua.

STATISTICS OF INDIANS.

MOQUI PUEBLOS AND PUEBLOS, 1890.

The Moqui pueblos now in Apache county, Arizona, are the Moqui pueblos (7 in number) in existence at the date of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848, and are in 1890 known as Mishongnavi, Oraibi, Shimopaxi, Shipaulavi, Sichunnavi, Tewa, and Walpi.

The Indian pueblos now known to the laws of the United States and in existence in New Mexico in 1890, being the Indian pueblos known at the date of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848, are 19 in number, and are as follows: Acoma, Cochiti, Isleta, Jemez, Laguna, Nambe, Picuris, Pojoaque, Sandia, San Domingo, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Santa Ana, Santa Clara, Taos, Tesuque, Zia, and Zuni.

GOVERNMENT OF THE MOQUI PUEBLOS AND PUEBLOS FROM 1540 TO 1890.

The Spanish occupation or control lasted, with varying success, from 1540 until 1821, or until Mexico threw off the government of Spain, and then the Mexican government assumed control. At the conclusion of the Mexican war by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848, the United States of America assumed jurisdiction of Arizona and New Mexico, and the Pueblo Indians of both became citizens of the United States. The action of the United States on assuming control of the Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and Pueblos of New Mexico and their government from 1540 to 1890 are given elsewhere.

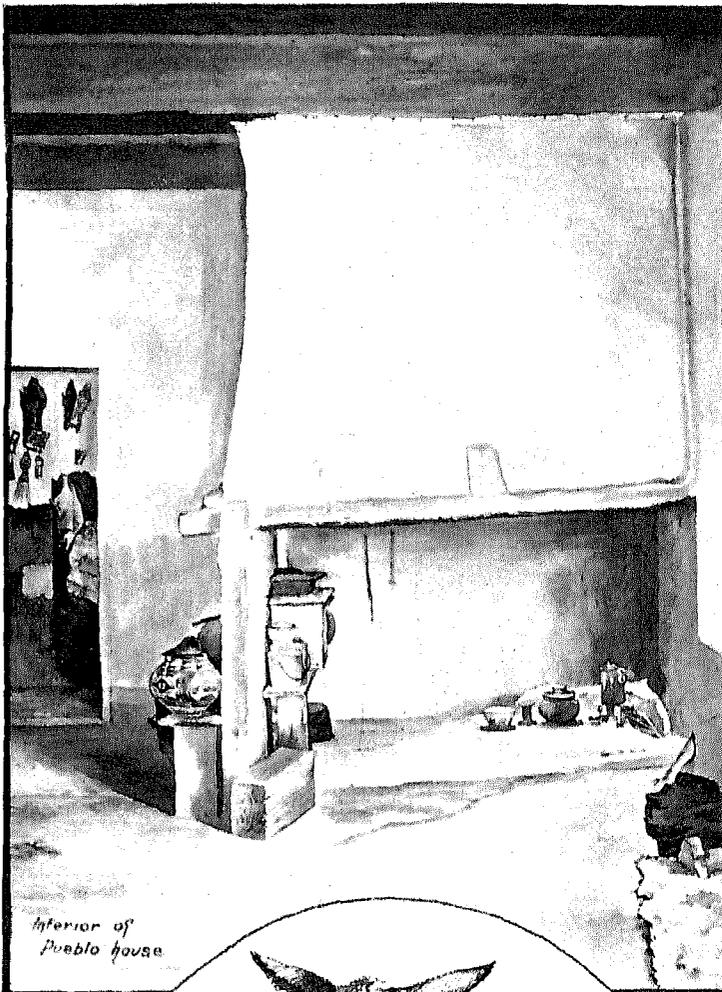
ORIGIN OF THE MOQUI PUEBLOS AND PUEBLOS AND THEIR MYTHS.

Whether the Moqui Pueblo and Pueblo Indians came from the north, south, east, or west is of but little practical moment now. They are probably all offshoots from wild tribes of the northern plains. They were undoubtedly stream dwellers in the far past, and moved south across Kansas to the headwaters of the Rio Grande, in Colorado and New Mexico, and established their towns along its banks or tributaries reaching out into Arizona. Thus, probably driven originally from some other tribe, or led by ambitious men, or captured in war, they moved into the present Pueblo country for homes, and, finding no plains with game or grass, clung to the streams, springs, and water holes and built their towns. It was the only thing to do. Jackals, wolves, and mountain lions abounded; so they built their homes without doors, with ladders to climb up into them, which they drew up and placed within at night. This also made their homes forts, because prior to the Spanish occupancy they had neither powder nor firearms, and the assaulting party would be armed with bows and arrows, spears of bone or stone, bowlders, and clubs. As an evidence of their being of the tribes of the north, the stone implements found in the pueblos of Arizona and New Mexico are of the same shape and character as those found with the tribes or in the other portions of the United States; besides, 6 of the 7 Moqui pueblos are of Shoshonean stock. They are probably a part of the down-south drift of the American aboriginal stone age. The influence of the Saxon is now easily seen at several pueblos, where, possessing firearms, the Indians have the doors of their houses on the ground floor.

Savage or wild tribes invent traditions and speculate concerning their beginning, and so does civilized man. The Greeks started man with the union of god and goddess from earth to heaven; their mythology came from the human form divine and from their surroundings. Surrounding conditions always develop man. The North American Indian mythology is one of encompassing conditions; the natural resources, the trees, game, fish, and fruits furnish him his heroes and heroines. Seldom, if ever, do they attempt to account for the origin of individual man. In almost all cases they speak of the origin of bands, tribes, and nations of Indians.

The Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and the Pueblos of New Mexico are comparatively the same people, the differences between them being those caused by location or surroundings. Probably all are of Shoshonean stock.

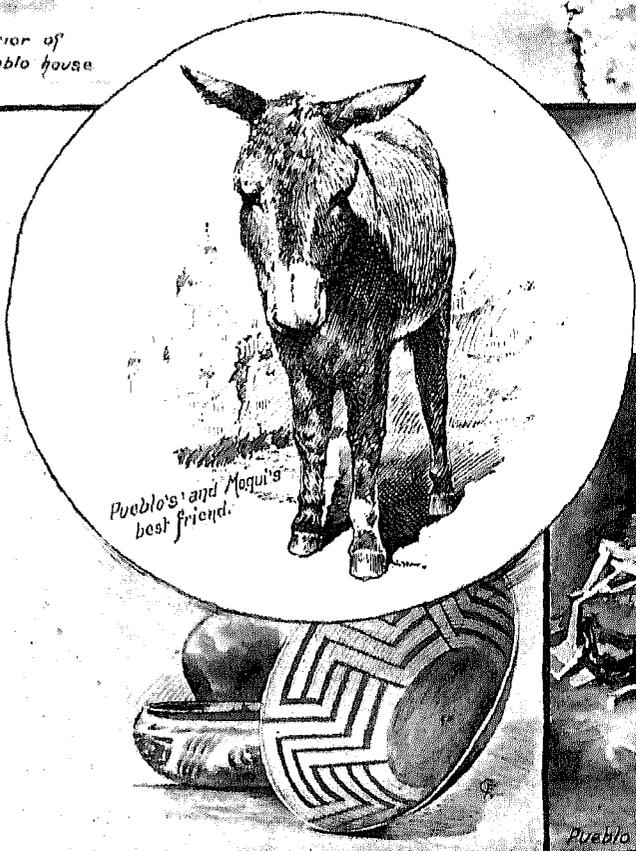
The myths of the Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and Pueblos of New Mexico are, of course, coupled with natural resources, and they can be enlarged at will; there is no limit to their scope. Around the neck of the male Pueblo Indian when he travels is his "mystery", or good medicine, sometimes a button, a bone, or piece of stone: any object that he may adore, entreat, or supplicate. It is his mystery. When Indians go out to steal horses they fasten their mystery around the neck and propitiate it that they may have great success in thieving, while the Indian who owns the horses to be stolen propitiates the charm or good medicine about his neck in order that he shall not be robbed. With the Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos localities are haunted, and friends or spirits, good or bad people, animals, gentle or ferocious, inhabit them. Nature's moods or results, which are plain to civilized peoples, are incomprehensible mysteries to the Indian. No people, no race, is free from superstitions. Thought breeds and develops them. The Indian fills the mountain cañon, the roaring, leaping river, the cave in the rock, the mountain top with its tall trees, and the distant valley with mysterious life, with strange people, giants, dwarfs, and witches. The Indians see effects and invent causes which in civilized eyes are most unreasonable. Their mythology is somewhat ingenious, but it is not beautiful, relating generally to commonplace objects and unimportant things. There is but little logic in it; it is generally mere chance, and depends largely upon individual vivid imagination. The continuance of a variety of languages among the Moqui Pueblo and Pueblo Indians can be accounted for by the fact that they live crowded together in small, widely-separated communities, and they thus



Interior of Pueblo house



Pueblo woman spinning wool.



Pueblo's and Moqui's best friend.



Pueblo woman at fire place.

cultivate and perpetuate distinct forms of speech. Many of the Pueblos speak Spanish, a relic of the priests, who, unable to master the Indian language, wisely forced them to use the Spanish.

LAND OF THE PUEBLOS.

The Moqui Pueblos occupy, to them and the Navajos, the most ancient and mysterious land, for there, according to their mythology, man first appeared upon the earth. All that went on before was under the earth's surface, and they propitiated the elements of nature with offerings, dances, or ceremonials, not having the genius of other races to overcome or master them. According to geologists their country is one of the oldest. In the pre-Latin or pre-Saxon period of Pueblo life gentilism was usual, and it prevails somewhat now.

Indian traditions are full of legends and myths of violent eruptions of nature; especially so are those of the Pueblos, which are not, however, confined to any particular western tribe. The Laguna Pueblos have a past "year of light and fire", but when and how they can not tell. Lava flows are found in the valleys of northwest Arizona and southwest New Mexico, of how recent date it is hard to determine; still, it can be stated that during the past 4 centuries no volcanic flows have taken place in the above regions; had there been such flows they would have been noted.

Every condition of nature, present or past, of which there is evidence, precludes the possibility of the portions of Arizona and New Mexico now occupied by the Moqui Pueblo and Pueblo Indians from ever having been capable of sustaining a very much larger population (especially in a savage condition) than now. Root or nut crops were and are few and game scarce. In the past, occasionally a few stragglers from the great herds or bands from the game country to the north and east were found; the fish were not numerous. Streams depended for water then, as now, on springs or snows in the high mountains to the north or in the immediate region. The rainfall was nominal (more than usual if 3 inches a year in the valleys), with an alkali soil, sparse grass, in fact a desert condition, save where relieved by water courses, and then a mere fringe of vegetation as the result of habitation, with but 1 acre in 10,000 used for cultivation, no dews, and the really habitable lands at a great altitude in the mountains among the timber, where life was hardly worth living.

The interiors of all continents contain deserts, and the section occupied by the Moqui Pueblo and Pueblo Indians in the United States is the most desert portion of the vast silent land between the mountain walls running the length of the republic, and which rise on the east and west of it as natural barriers against the moisture which makes arable lands. Well might the Spaniards call the march across these deserts the "jornado del muerto" (journey of death).

From an elevation, the vast and colorless plains of Arizona and New Mexico resemble an ocean. Heat waves pass over them, and clouds, obscuring portions at times, give the impression of distant water; no life; all seems dead; so that one feels lost and hopeless while looking down upon them. Only the mountains and water therefrom make it possible for men to exist there.

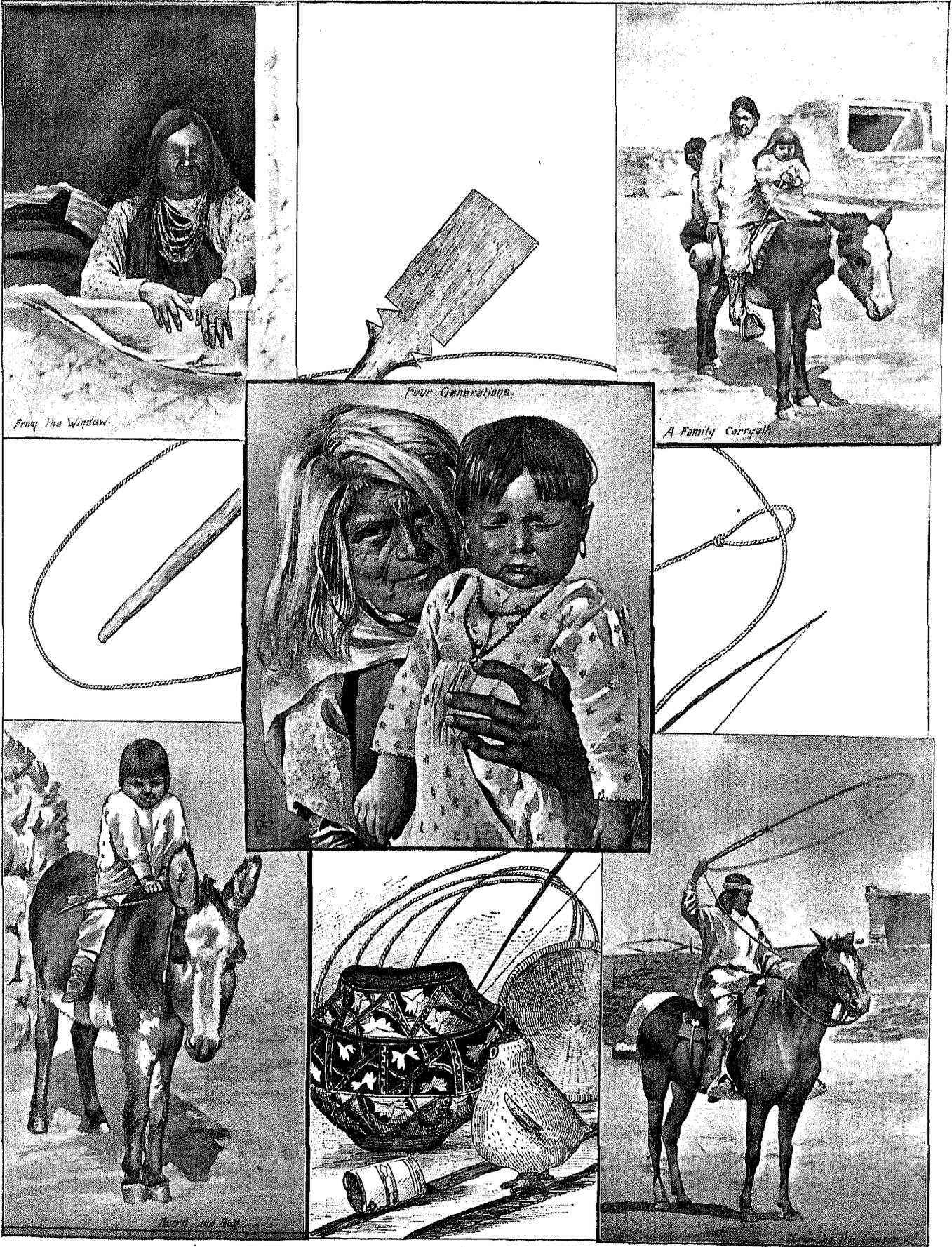
WHY THE PUEBLOS WERE BUILT.

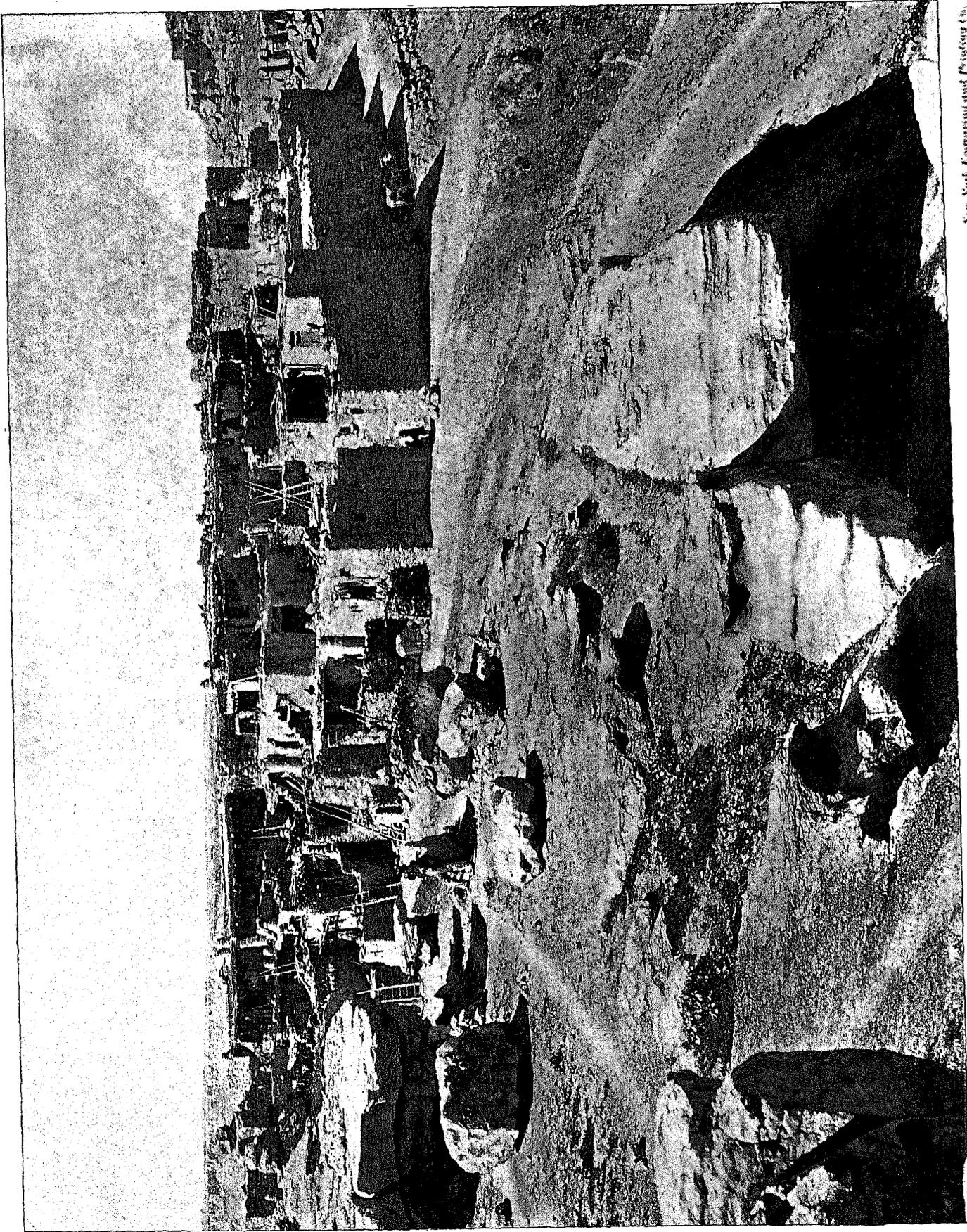
The Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos, finding it necessary for economical and defensive reasons, it also being natural, to live in communities, built their towns in community, the houses 1, 2, 3, and 4 stories high, of mud or stone, because timber was available only for joists and rafters, and because houses thus built (also common to early Mexico) were cooler in the climate of Arizona and New Mexico; besides, the housetops, covered with mud and solid, furnished lookouts in peace and war. In addition the people were forced to this community life by the scarcity of water and the lack of arable lands. In the morning the men went out into the fields to work, returning in the evening; in the meantime a portion of the people watched on the housetops, looking for enemies or game, and also, as now, from the housetops they watched their flocks and herds. They could see the country about for miles and give warning of threatened danger or approaching game. This method of building towns in community is an old one, as old almost as man, and is common in countries having much barren or waste land or intense heat. This community system continues in 1890. The governor of the pueblo still assigns men to the field and flocks, and the "crier" of each pueblo in the morning calls them to labor. They live in these communities self governed or controlled, and are practically free from vice and crime.

Water was and is the essential, and as the towns increased and the water supply did not, offshoots may have gone out and new towns been built, and so the number of pueblos spread and increased.

PUEBLO RUINS.

The great number of ruins, deserted pueblos, single houses, or small groups of houses has produced an unusually large crop, for even Indian lore, of myths, legends, and stories of decayed and passed away cities and people in the region now occupied by the Pueblos. Many of these ruins are adjacent to the existing Moqui pueblos, or at no great distance from them, and it will be observed that the greatest number are about Zuffi, to the west of





J. K. HILLERS, Photo.

PUEBLO OF MISHONGNAVI (SECOND MESA), ARIZONA

VIEW OF MISHONGNAVI FROM THE CLIFF

New York Engraving and Printing Co.

Acoma, and about the Moqui pueblos in Arizona, also along streams in southwestern Colorado, northwest New Mexico, and in southeastern Utah.

The fierce Navajo and other wild tribes of the plains were until a recent date the constant enemies of the usually quiet and peaceful Pueblos and their ancestors, and they, with the elements, are answerable for the well-built forts, watchtowers, and cliff houses above the ruins of the once peaceful homes of the valley and stream dwellers scattered along the rivers and valleys of upper Arizona, southwest Colorado, New Mexico, and lower Utah, and which attract investigators and adventurers. The people who inhabited the valley houses were undoubtedly the predecessors of the present Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos. The cliff houses were for the valley people, who, when attacked, or for other causes, temporarily occupied them. The pottery found in some of the ruins is similar in form and color to pottery now used or made by the Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos; nor can the ruins be so very ancient, as 10 feet below the surface of the soil in one of them remains of sheep have been found which do not belong to the American fauna anterior to the Columbian period; moreover, the Moqui Pueblos preserve traditions of their ancestors being driven away from those places, and it is known that during the Spanish occupancy many of the Moqui pueblos were rebuilt, though a number were removed and some died out. There is a fine opportunity for some imaginative investigator to gather up the chips of legends and probabilities and show that these ruins are the cradle of the human race on the upper American continent.

There is evidence of a much greater water supply than that of to-day once existing in the region of the ruins, which failing, the pueblos became uninhabitable and were deserted for newly built houses. No article of moment of any description has been found in these ruins which can not be traced in a degree to a similar one in the handiwork of the present Pueblos, except that in their pottery art the influence of the Spanish invasion and settlement and the American succession is apparent. The pottery found in old pueblos or about these ruins differing from the present is simply the original Pueblo pottery prior to Spanish control. The Indian is essentially imitative, and so copies all that he sees unusual or peculiar, which is plainly seen in the modern Pueblo pottery.

PUEBLOS IN 1890.

The Moqui pueblos and many others are now generally a mass of filth and dirt, the accumulation of ages. The streets in some are many feet above the level of the town and houses, and you now "go down into" in entering a house, the "building up" being offal and vile refuse, since none of these pueblos have any sewerage system or places of deposit. Altitude with them takes the place of a board of health, and nature is their scavenger. The pure, dry air is their medical corps. At a much lower altitude entire pueblos would be depopulated in a short time by epidemics.

ANCIENT PUEBLOS AND CLIFF DWELLINGS.

After much personal investigation and the testimony of experts, the conclusion is warranted that many of the so-called prehistoric ruins in Arizona and New Mexico are either those of places of defense on high bluffs, in niches of the rocks, or in cañons, and occupied in time of danger (the Spaniards described such defenses at the pueblos of Jemez in 1541, and the ruins of the watchtowers of old Jemez are still on the bluffs or mesa above the old town) or they are the ruins of towns once occupied by the present Indians or by their ancestors, who evidently lived much like the present people. Pueblos come and go; their appearance or disappearance is not a matter of much moment to a Pueblo Indian. The pueblo of Acoma, the finest and cleanest of all, is probably the only pueblo in New Mexico which was seen by Coronado in 1540-1542, or even by Juan de Oñate, more than 50 years afterward, and of the Moqui pueblos Oraibi is probably the only one seen by Oñate. Awatubi was destroyed by war in 1700-1701. When a pueblo gets too filthy or too small for habitation, or the water supply gives out, the Indians remove and build a new town, the women with the Moqui Pueblos doing the work. The pueblo of San Domingo, New Mexico, has been destroyed by water and rebuilt on different sites 4 times within 200 years. Since the Mexican and American occupancy several pueblos have been rebuilt; others have gone out of existence, the people removing and joining another pueblo, as in the case of the pueblo of Pecos, which was abandoned by its people, who moved to the pueblo of Jemez on account of a fever.

BUILDING A PUEBLO.

Time is of but little value to the Moqui or Pueblo Indians, and a new town or pueblo is easily built. The women gather the stones, for it will be noted that when the Moquis and Pueblos build of stone (there are a few such) they do not use cut or hammered stone, but waterwashed or disintegrated stone, picked up in the beds of arroyos or from along the streams, frequently washed from a long distance. They also make adobes or sunburned bricks of mud and straw with which to build their towns. The women are considered the owners of the houses among the Moquis, probably because they build the principal portion of them.

LARGE ABORIGINAL POPULATION QUESTIONABLE.

The possibility of an ancient or former very large aboriginal population in Arizona and New Mexico in the portion of the country adjacent to the present Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos disappears in the face of actual conditions. The prevalence of dirt and offal and the necessity for escape from such required the building of new towns; besides, some towns were located in the valleys or low lands, where death was speedy as a consequence of the living conditions, and so they were moved to the high plateaus or mesas, where the dry and pure air destroys the germs of disease. Such removals make ruins. Then again, war and capture and dispersal destroyed a pueblo, and the stone ruins alone remain, also some adobe, because this region is essentially a rainless one, and mud walls last almost as long as those of loosely laid stone. No bricks from the ruins of Babel have as yet been found here by investigators, and there is not sufficient evidence to warrant a theory that the ancestors of these Indians assisted in the building of that tower, and then, coming over the sea westward, and as a matter of choice, after leaving a land of flowers and beauty, settled in the barren region now occupied by their descendants. There is time enough, however, for this in the future.

PUEBLOS UTILIZE NATURAL ADVANTAGES.

The Pueblo Indians, like all others of the American race, always utilize the natural conditions about them when specific resources give out. They take advantage of nature in every way and utilize the raw material. Combination of the elements or natural resources they did not and do not understand, for this would be mathematics. They could not and do not now smelt iron or copper, nor in any way touch nature with combination. The present adobe bricks were probably copied from those used by the people of Mexico; the stones they found ready prepared for them by nature, except some which they chipped with a stone ax or a fellow stone, and the mud, or blue or black clay for brick or mortar, sticky and tenacious, they found in the vicinity of the springs or in the beds of streams, arroyos, and washes. The forms of their buildings are natural, as a house built square, or almost so, is more permanent than most others, because stronger. This the Pueblo Indian could easily determine for himself. The round form of building above ground is the exception with all peoples, and are seldom above 1 story high; their form is merely progressive.

ANCIENT APPEARANCE OF THE PUEBLOS AND COUNTRY.

The ancient appearance of the ruins of the pueblos proves nothing, because the occupied pueblos look as old as the decayed or deserted ones. The country adjacent to the Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos looks as if it had been created old. The artemisia, or sagebrush, is ancient. It may be called the flower of the deserts, as it covers them all. It resembles a giant oak tree of the middle states beaten down into a dwarf of 3 feet in height. Mankind here, too, seems to have been born old, as the adults have an aged and weird and the children a matured appearance. The entire country is as brown as Dante describes hades, "all brown, brown, brown", except where now and then water kisses the thirsty earth and the stream of abundance flows; in fact, but for the few settlements of people and the scant foliage and verdure along streams, water holes, and springs, the entire country adjacent to the Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos would resemble hades with the fires extinguished.

The heat of the country of the Moquis of Arizona and of the Pueblos of New Mexico is almost tropical, producing the fruits and flowers of the tropics, and nature insists in aiding the natural laziness of the natives and Indians. The native Mexicans make this a land of flowers, song, and supreme laziness; the quantity of food necessary to sustain life is small and easily obtained wherever water can be found. The growing of corn shows that the nights are warm; indeed, it is a semitropical country, in which you find all the cereals, cotton, grapes, peaches, vegetables, and melons growing in common.

SPECULATION AS TO THE PUEBLOS.

In view of the above, speculation is amusing, and the number of dissertations as to "who these people were" and "from whence they came" is met and fully answered by seeing for oneself and saying "these people are"; and so with all the American race in the United States, for just as they are now, with modifications easily seen, which have been brought about by nature and by contact with the Latin or Saxon race, they probably were for centuries before the Columbian period, always with the limitations of such changes as come to any and all peoples through natural evolution or progression by necessity or otherwise. Still, speculation will go on and learned pundits and newly fledged investigators in the future will see more than others did in the past or can in the present; so as long as one of these pueblos remains speculation will have a field. Meanwhile the Indian snickers in his sleeve, listens to the white man's questions, and, as he silently pockets the coin or bolts the food given him, hopes, for the sake of his descendants, that the thing will continue.

In June, 1864, John Ward, United States Indian agent for the Pueblos, a most careful and accurate observer, in his report accompanying the census of the Pueblos of New Mexico, has this to say of the care with which statements respecting Pueblo history and ceremonies should be received, and what he says is as true in 1890 as it was in 1864:

Much has been written and a great deal more said about the Pueblo Indians, their origin, customs, religion, etc., a great portion of which is mere speculation. The Indians have few memorials, if any, to which they can refer for information, while their traditions, from all that can be learned, are rather limited; besides, they have a very imperfect knowledge of time, distance, or numbers, which renders them incapable of giving correct information in regard to important particulars relative to their history. Notwithstanding all this, however, the Pueblos (or village Indians) are certainly an interesting people.

SECRET ORDERS.

The existence of secret orders among the Moqui Pueblos and the Pueblos is cited as an evidence of the great antiquity of this people (remnants of a great extinct race, still preserving and caring for ancient rites and usages), and men and women, American and foreign, who have worked themselves into almost a frenzy over the mysteries of these orders, are constantly predicting important future discoveries in this line. If these investigators have time, money, and food, the red man will furnish them plenty of mysteries. It will be noted that in all discoveries among these Indians no aboriginal manuscripts, no carved or engraved tablets or plates of metal or stone are found; there is only tradition, transmitted by word of mouth, aided by vivid imagination. The secret societies among the Indians merely confirm their relation to other men and show intellectual capacity, for in proportion as intellect is developed the love of mystery deepens. The mind once awakened is never satisfied, and mystery incites to investigation, and thereby aids in the discovery of the facts sought for. Our civilized Americans to-day have a great variety of secret societies and mysterious orders, which occasion no great wonder. Why should there be such wonder as to those of the Indians?

COMMERCE.

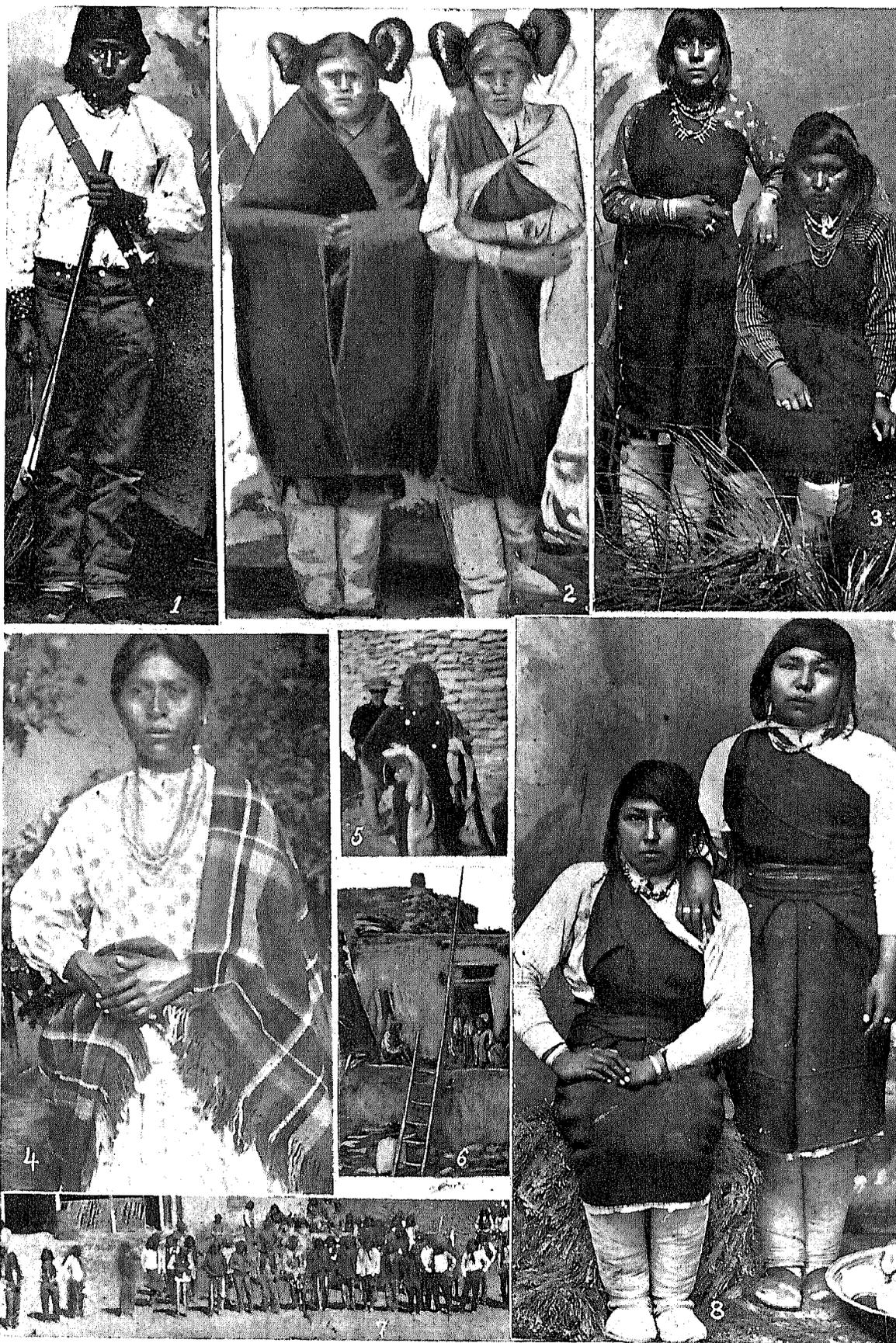
Prior to the Spanish occupation and after, even till to-day, these people traveled much and kept up continual intercourse with each other. The Moquis peddled their tanned skins and rabbit-skin robes; also buffalo robes and horns, for the buffalo then ranged down to the Pecos pueblo, just east of Santa Fe. The Zufians, always the assumptive Pueblo, aspired to lead and control the pueblos or Indians to the west of them and to the immediate east. Salt and pottery and cotton were obtained from the Moqui pueblos. The Moquis cultivated fields with a southern exposure, and thus raised cotton. Turquoise was brought from about San Domingo and Sandia pueblos, shells from many rivers, and the glistening shell of the abalone across the San Diego trail from southern California. There was a commerce among all these pueblos, limited, it is true, because of the few objects which could be wrought or utilized from nature. Sometimes the red pipe from Minnesota was brought to the pueblos. Of course, these Indians could not smelt ores or make iron, for these things come in a higher stage of development than they had reached. Obsidian and stone arrowheads and stone axes, with which they hewed timber, chipped stone, or fought battles, were also exchanged, and traditions also were carried along by word of mouth from trader to trader. This commerce was mostly on foot or on the streams in small boats, or dugouts, because at this time there were no horses, and to this day the Moqui prefers to travel on foot.

HANDIWORK.

The handiwork of this people is, generally speaking, as rude as are their buildings, but, though rough, it possesses some originality. The refinement and progress traceable is probably due to foreign influence. Their houses are built roughly; their clothing has neither form nor beauty; they can not handle a blanket with the grace shown by the wild Indians of the plains; their pottery is never glazed with silica, but is soft and brittle, and sometimes, as at Acoma and Zuffi, it is quaint in form and artistic in decoration, but it is usually primitive, as is general with wild or uncivilized races. With all this lack, they are, however, a strong and an individual people, necessarily so from their isolation, and their forms and manner of life are peculiar; but, being all this, they are not necessarily the remnant of a "vast and ancient people long since extinct".

POPULATION AND LAWS, 1890.

On June 1, 1890, at the Eleventh Census, the 7 Moqui pueblos in Arizona had a total of 1,996 people, the 19 pueblos in New Mexico a total population of 8,278; in all, 10,274; surely a small remnant for so great a people as some writers picture as having once resided in Arizona and New Mexico, and who were the ancestors of the present Pueblo Indians! At no time since 1540-1542 could the above pueblos have contained a greater population than 40,000. No graveyards or depositories of the dead in great numbers are found, and there are no ruins or remains of structures of a character to indicate a very large population; but, on the contrary, all evidences indicate a small number of people with constant removals and rebuildings and a never-ending struggle for food and life; in fact, a migratory people, although town dwellers.



New York Engraving & Printing Co.

1. A Santa Domingo Hunter, 2. Moquis Women, 3. Women of San Dia, 4. San Domingo Woman, 5. Pueblo Man, 6. In Walpi Moqui, 7. The Men of Laguna, 8. Pueblo Pottery Peddlers, Isleta.

For self-protection and development the Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos (like other people) invented and made laws and rules for their government. They would not be of service to the Latin or Anglo-Saxon, but they fit and serve these Indians, who hold to them with desperate tenacity. Their singular system of law and order, which originated from necessity and will fade and fall through necessity, shows hundreds of years of development, and furnishes a study of rare importance.

UNCHANGABLE CHARACTER OF THE PUEBLOS.

As a singular fact, intermarriage has not thus far changed the essential conditions of Moqui Pueblo and Pueblo life. The reason may be that they have thus far been surrounded with the influences of Mexicans or Spaniards (the Latin race). What the immediate future has in store for this people one can not predict. American civilization will soon entirely surround them, and change will surely come. As an amusing feature of this unchangeableness by intermarriage, one of the special agents found that in one pueblo the old Pueblo laws had been more rigorously administered than usual, and he presumed that the governor was a "mossback" Indian, a "Bourbon of the plains", immovable in his Indian pride. On introduction and inquiry he discovered that, as a result of marriage with a Pueblo woman, the rigorous governor was a German Hebrew.

LAND AND TOWN HOLDINGS, 1890.

The Moqui Pueblos live upon lands in Arizona which they were permitted to occupy by the Spanish and Mexican owners, and which became grants by reason of town occupation for a long period. These grants are not yet defined, but were tacitly recognized by President Arthur in his proclamation of December 16, 1882, when he threw about them the protection of a reservation to keep off white people and the Navajos. These Indians are citizens of the United States under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. 16 of the pueblos of New Mexico own their lands in fee (3 are reserved) and the inhabitants of all are citizens of the United States. The allotment of the lands of the Moqui Pueblos (which in the case of the Pueblos can only be done by themselves), compelling the holders to reside upon them, would abolish the villages and pueblos, disperse these Indians, and make them dependents.

SPAIN CARES FOR AND GRANTS LANDS TO THE PUEBLOS.

Spanish and Mexican authorities respected the Indian pueblos, and Spain protected them as early as 1546, when Charles V of Spain not only decreed their protection, but ordered that the prelates and officers should gather up wandering Indians and place them in towns or pueblos, and on March 21, 1554, the protection of the pueblos was again ordered.

June 4, 1687, the king of Spain, by proclamation confirming the above, gave instructions for founding Indian pueblos and registers, and in ordering "that there shall be given and assigned generally to all the Indian pueblos of New Spain for their farming lands" gave the area of land holdings for each pueblo for farming and grazing. These decrees on the basis of the grants have been confirmed by patent by the United States to 16 of the pueblos and reserved to the remaining 3 of the 19 in New Mexico. The same area as granted to a pueblo of New Mexico should be given to the Moqui pueblos of Arizona, as they were recognized pueblos in 1540-1541. From the Spanish authorities (never questioned by Mexico) the Moqui Pueblos received the right of occupancy of their lands and were protected in their possessions. Mexico did the same thing.

PUEBLOS CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES BY TREATY.

The Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and Pueblos of New Mexico are citizens of the United States by virtue of the laws of the Mexican republic.

So good an authority as Governor L. Bradford Prince, of New Mexico, ex-chief justice of the territory, in his History of New Mexico, page 327, says :

By the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo all inhabitants of New Mexico, except those who chose formally to retain the character of Mexican citizens, became citizens of the United States, with the same rights and privileges as all other citizens.

The Moqui Pueblos were then inhabitants of New Mexico as well as the Pueblos. Neither formally, after the treaty, announced their intention to remain citizens of Mexico, but, on the contrary, have aided the United States with soldiers in war and by remaining good citizens in peace. The Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, in its inhibition of citizenship to Indians not taxed, does not apply to the Moqui Pueblo or Pueblo Indians (not taxed), because the same could not set aside the contract as to their citizenship made between the United States and the republic of Mexico by the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Neither the Moqui Pueblos nor the Pueblos have exercised the right of suffrage to any extent since they became citizens of the United States. This fact should have no weight against their right of citizenship, especially in the case of the Pueblos of New Mexico. Suffrage is not a natural right; it is a privilege, and is conferred by the

state. The citizen need not vote; there is no law to force him to vote; neither does he lose any rights or remedies for wrong by not voting. He can vote or not, as he likes. Thousands of American citizens do not vote, but they are citizens nevertheless.

RULERS.

September 28, 1821, Mexico declared her independence of Spain, and New Mexico passed under the rule of Iturbide as emperor of Mexico, which country soon became a republic. A series of governors were appointed under the republic of Mexico, and their rule continued until August 19, 1846, when General S. W. Kearny, United States army, captured Santa Fe, and the American rule began. Charles Bent was appointed governor and was murdered in 1847 by the Mexicans, Pueblos, or other Indians. The United States, becoming the successor to the sovereignty by capture and by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of February, 1848, was and is compelled to deal with private land titles and the pueblos precisely as Mexico would have done had the sovereignty not changed. In the case of the 19 pueblos in New Mexico this has been done. In the case of the Moqui pueblos of Arizona this has not been done as yet.

PUEBLOS OVERDESCRIBED.

After reading the many descriptions of the Moqui pueblos of Arizona and of the pueblos of New Mexico, one, upon visiting them, feels great disappointment. Some, like San Domingo, Taos, and Tesuque, built of sun-dried bricks or adobes, are not pretty, but the contrary. The Moqui pueblos of Arizona, of stone, are dead looking, dreary, and but for the people in their bright costumes (including in this the New Mexico pueblos) the scene presented would be a dismal one. As matters of picturesque effect, the people, their methods, and institutions, however, never lose interest. Oraibi, of the Moquis, is the most picturesque, and the situation of Walpi the boldest and most striking. Acoma is the best built and probably the best ordered and neatest of all the pueblos of New Mexico. The pueblo of Zia, New Mexico, built of stone, on a rocky point above a small river, is quaint and interesting. Its people are clean and neat.

PUEBLO LIFE.

The Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and the Pueblos of New Mexico, being town dwellers, have much in common, and in many details of their daily life are virtually one people. Under the captions, "The Moqui Pueblos of Arizona" and "The Pueblos of New Mexico" (post), the points of similarity and difference are shown. Some reported myths and superstitions were either mere inventions, or the ceremonials and practices are dead, and much detail of former writers can not now be verified. The number of officeholders in some of the pueblos, even the list now shown to have existed, as supposed, in times past, would about equal the entire male inhabitants. In 1861 John Ward, United States Indian agent, gave the number of officeholders in the 19 pueblos as almost equal to all the able-bodied males in some of them. A happy condition! the evils of ambition stifled by giving every man an office! These people differ, however, in many ceremonies and customs. Their isolation easily accounts for this difference, together with the genius of the masters of ceremonies, although in some cases ceremonies and dances are entirely local.

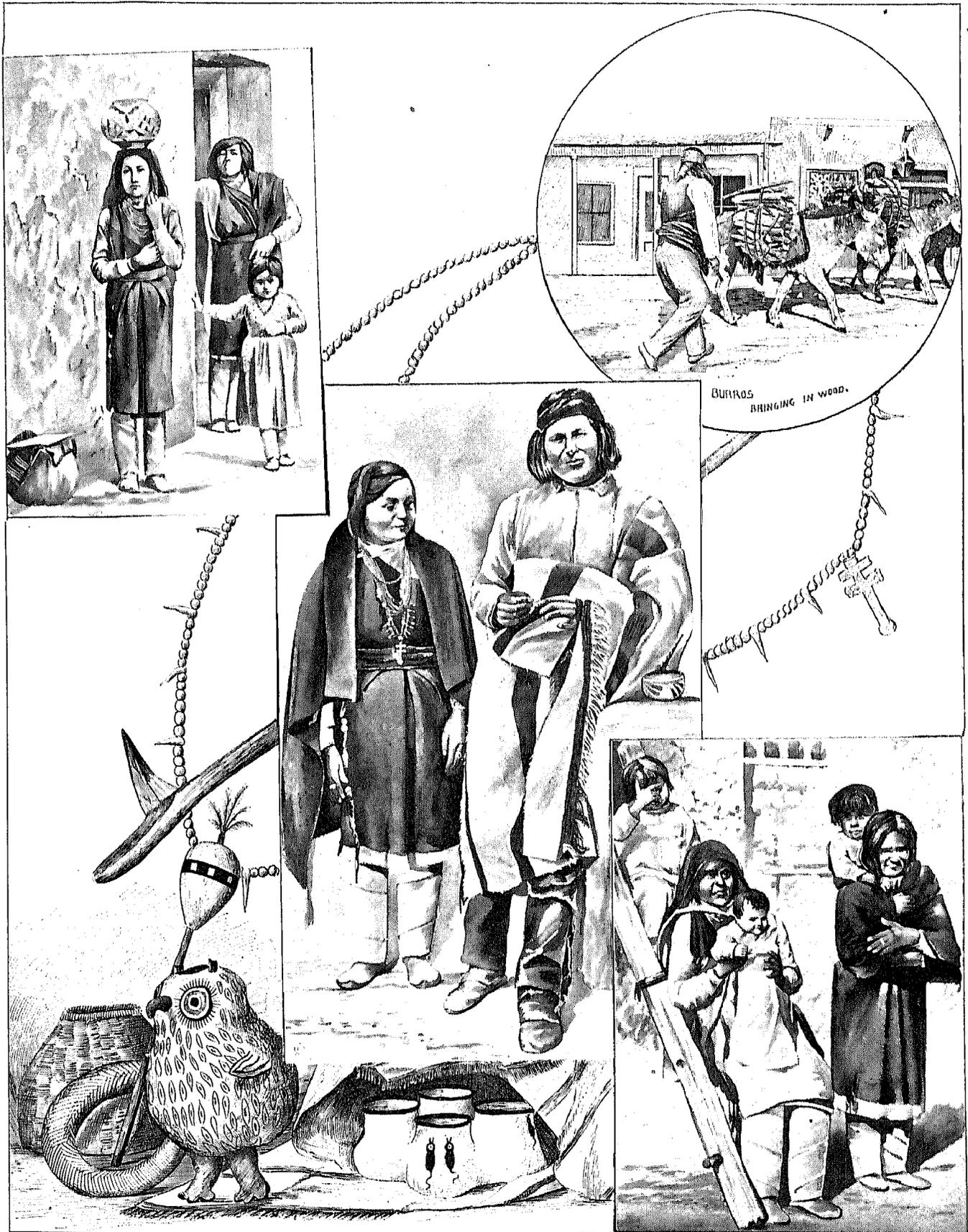
THE MONTEZUMA LEGEND.

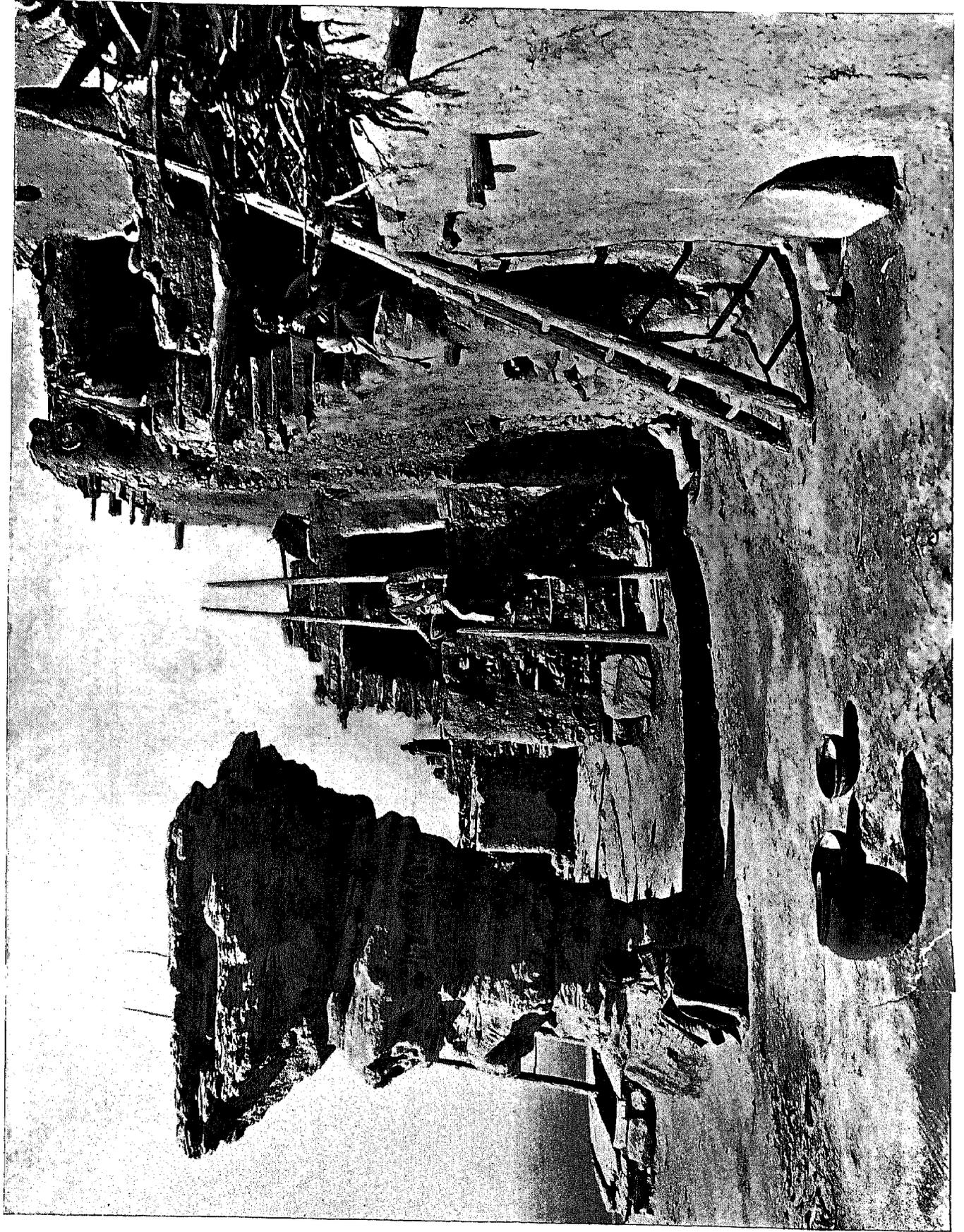
As shown by the reports of the special agents, the sacred fires of the Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos have gone out (were they ever lighted?); at least they can not now be found. The beautiful legend of the Pueblo looking from the roof of his house for the coming of Montezuma with the rising sun subsides upon investigation into the hungry Moqui or Pueblo on his housetop early in the morning, either driven out by unearthly smells (there is no practical ventilation in the pueblo houses) or scanning the horizon for his cows, goats, and donkeys, so that he, she, or it may have breakfast!

The voices heard in the pueblos early in the morning are not those of priests calling for Montezuma, but the voice of the pueblo crier calling out the orders of the day for the governor, as to who takes the herds, who gets the wood, etc. Not so beautiful as the Montezuma legend, perhaps, but much more practical.

Special Agent Scott was personally instructed to observe these alleged morning waitings and watchings. At Zuffi for several mornings he watched from 2 until 8 a. m., and the only Montezuma longers he saw were the town crier, men hurrying out to work, and some old citizens running around as if in search of food. At all events, Special Agent Scott kept his armory at hand and cannon in battery for fear the ancient prowlers might desire to remove some of his personal effects. He watched also at Acoma and Laguna, and with the same result.

Special Agent Poore saw neither sacred fires nor Montezuma hunters or watchers in the 16 other pueblos of New Mexico. At Moqui the absence of both were remarked and noted. The Moquis are the least changed by their surroundings and are the most primitive of the Pueblos, and would be the most likely to keep alive ancient customs and forms. Fires there are, but their continued existence or the sacred worship of them as such is not now observed in the pueblos of Arizona or New Mexico.





New Post Inspection of Pinalonig Pa

DANCERS' ROCK, WADY ARIZONA

PHOTOGRAPH BY J. N. HOFFER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Both special agents, however, discovered that these so-called descendants of Montezuma had an ever-increasing hunger, and some had a lively thirst, and that, while poetic conceptions of myths might feed the minds of white people, these red brothers were more anxious about their present and future food and water supply than the coming of Montezuma.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

It will be observed that the Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and the Pueblos of New Mexico all administer justice and punish crimes in their own way. No crimes are recorded against the Pueblos in the courts of New Mexico. The light might be turned on them with profit. Is it that the punishment is so terrible that crimes are not committed or is this a crimeless people? Either is an interesting fact to know.

AMUSEMENTS AND DANCES.

The Indian must have amusements, and he invents them. He has no opera, club, or theater. It will be noted that the dance always goes hand in hand with all mysteries and rites. Scarcely a year passes but a new dance is invented by some tribe of the American Indians, and sometimes the tribe originating it sells it to another. In these dances frequently the participants dress in the skins of animals or the feathers of birds or fowls. The wild turkey was a domestic with the Pueblos, as noted by the early Spaniards. They were kept for their plumage and not for their flesh for food. An illustration of a turkey dance at the pueblo of Jemez is given. It is a reproduction of an oil painting by Special Agent Peter Moran, of Philadelphia, who witnessed the dance.

The descriptions of the dances and ceremonies of the Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos, as given by various authorities, some of them running back more than 300 years, vary in many particulars, and at no time is the variance more marked than during the past 20 years. The reading of these accounts and recent observations impress one with the fact that these dances depend largely upon the imagination of the leading dancers or masters of ceremonies, and that they are enlarged upon or curtailed from year to year. The priests, medicine men, and leaders of these dances are in many ways similar to theatrical managers, and vie with each other in producing new features or in the revival of old ones brought down by tradition. As spectacles, the most of these dances are dismal failures. The country about does not afford the material for much display, and so mostly natural features and resources are brought into play. The music is wretched, the howling unbearable, and grace departs when the dance begins. It is really a poor show, but interesting, because, in many cases, of the earnest devotion manifested.

The Moqui snake dance is earnest and sincere, yet quite commonplace as to accessories, save in the matter of the rattlesnakes, and they are not dramatic, because they kill no one. The camera destroys much of the romance of this dance. The dance, however, pleases the Indians, is a part of their devotional ceremonies, and awakens the curiosity of white people. It does no harm, because it does not incite to war or to immorality. It is simply a curious survival, with no pernicious results, and to the Indians it is a religious duty. The snake dance is an invocation to the snake deity, a water god, "Ba-ho-la-con-gua" by name, and snakes, particularly the rattlesnake, as representative of this deity, are used in the dance. The date of this dance in 1891, which was obtained early by Mr. Thomas V. Kean, was fixed for August 17, but the priest afterward decided to have it August 21, and on that day it was held at Walpi. 2 special agents of the Eleventh Census were present, Mr. Julian Scott, the eminent artist, and Mr. John Donaldson, who was finishing work relating to the Navajo census. Mr. Scott's description of the dance, accompanied by his kodak views, removes the idea of immorality from this dance, with which romance has for so long a time surrounded it. It is a very solemn, religious ceremony of this people. The late hour at which the dance was held, 5 p. m., and the fact that it took place on the east side of the town and mesa, in the shade, will account for the dark outlines in the views given. An extract from a letter of July 16, 1891, from Mr. Kean, of Keams Cañon, 12 miles from Walpi, is of interest in connection with the method of fixing the time for the dance:

Now for a matter which, if possible, you must not miss. After talking, explaining, and wiggling, I have at last succeeded in getting the priest to name the day of the snake dance. It will take place on the 17th of August. This is the first time the date has ever been obtained from them so far ahead. A dance takes place in 11 days, and prior to this they would not appoint a day until I urged them, as I told them I had friends in Washington who were anxious to attend, and they must let me know at once. So after a long council, counts of fingers, corn, etc., they at last set the day, since changed to the 21st of August by request of the priest.

The Roman Catholic church in dealing with the Pueblos or other Indians never interferes with their harmless amusements, games, or dances. A harmless, entertaining, amusing, or devotional dance by Indians should not be called a crime or prohibited. At the pueblo of San Domingo, in the dance of the tablet, the ceremony began with a service by the priest in the church.

The Pueblos of New Mexico have as many dances and ceremonies as the Moquis, some of which are local. At Zuñi they have religious and semireligious observances, such as communal burning of pottery, planting prayer plumes for rain, rabbit hunts, and foot races, for much interesting matter as to which see "A Few Summer Ceremonies at Zuñi Pueblo", by J. Walter Fewkes, 1891. Rain and other dances are held from time to time, some of which are attended with many quaint preceding ceremonies and clowns. The clown is a humorous feature in many of the

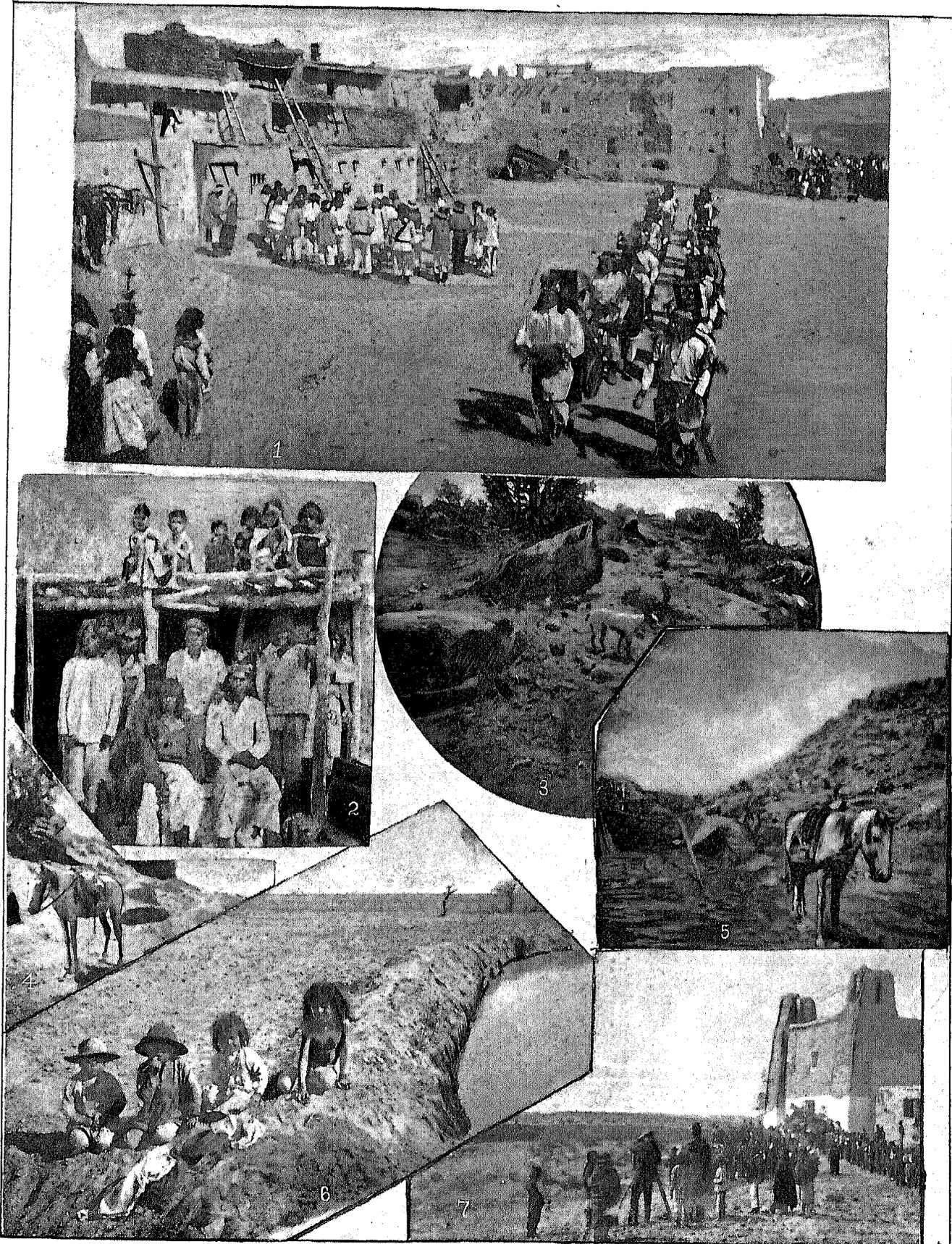
Pueblo dances, including the tablet dance. Indians from the several pueblos attend these dances and return to their homes with notes of new features or of changes in old forms. The forms of these dances depend much upon the genius of the directors. Many ancient customs are now practiced in secret by the Pueblos, and some of their very old ceremonies are thus preserved. At the pueblo of Jemez in 1880 the expert special agent found that the men of that pueblo, while nominally Roman Catholic, desiring to practice their ancient rites in the estufa, picketed the padre out on the hillside with a guard over him until the ceremonies were over. Many of the dances last an entire day and the dancers gorge themselves with food. At San Domingo in 1881, at the tablet dance, it was common to see the men and women tickling their throats with turkey feathers to relieve themselves of the oppression caused by too much food.

A special agent of the census at Laguna, September 12, 1891, was refused permission by the governor to see a dance (see "Pah-co-tse" at Laguna, illustrated elsewhere). When the special agent entered the pueblo (the pueblo of Laguna is on the Atlantic and Pacific railroad) the dancers would stop and retire to one of the houses. The governor said that Washington (the government) would pay no attention to the requests made by his people, and that he did not care to have a government official witness their dances; that the dances were engaged in merely for the amusement of the people or as a matter of duty; that the agent was at liberty to walk through the town and see his people, but not the dance. In the sections on the Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos much data as to Pueblo dances and ceremonies are given.

No one as yet has attempted to give a meaning to the many religious ceremonies of the Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and Pueblos of New Mexico. Many observations of them have been recorded by laymen and scientists, but the meaning of these ceremonies has never been arrived at. Whether they have any connected meaning making them a part of a religious system is yet a question.

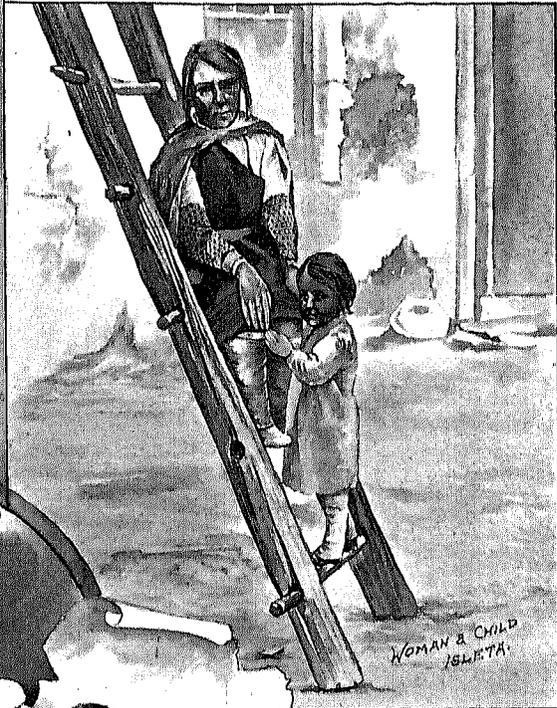
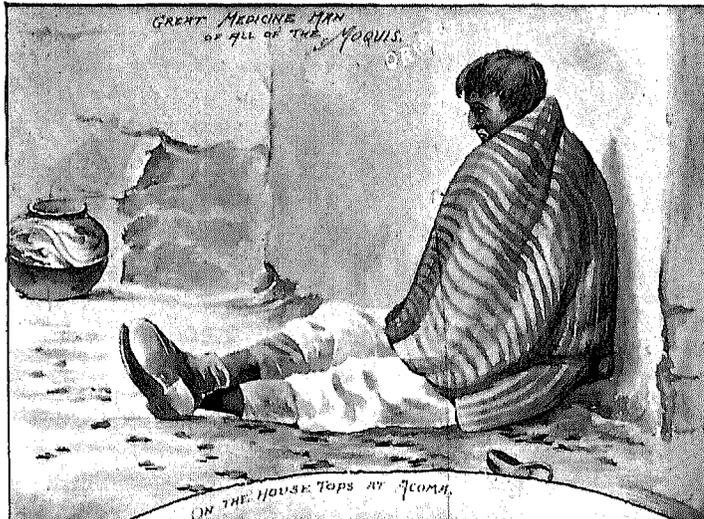
Indians hold as mysteries many of their ceremonies. The questioning of Indians about any of their tribal or race traditions and ceremonies in most cases results in several versions of the traditions and various meanings of the ceremonies. The sight of money, food, or articles of wearing apparel, the ownership of which is expected to be soon transferred to them, will frequently unlock their memories and mouths. Whether they tell the truth is another question; besides, almost all investigators have to approach the Indians through interpreters and receive answers through the same source, and interpreters in many cases are ignorant and uneducated. The safest way in dealing with Indian mysteries, legends, or traditions received from Indians is to first put down what you see, then put down what you hear, expressing no decided opinions as to their purposes or results or truth of what you hear; let the specialists draw conclusions from the record of what was seen and make guesses, in 7 cases out of 10, on what was heard. In writing down what was heard, the fact of whether it was through an interpreter or the result of direct communication with the Indians or other persons should be stated.

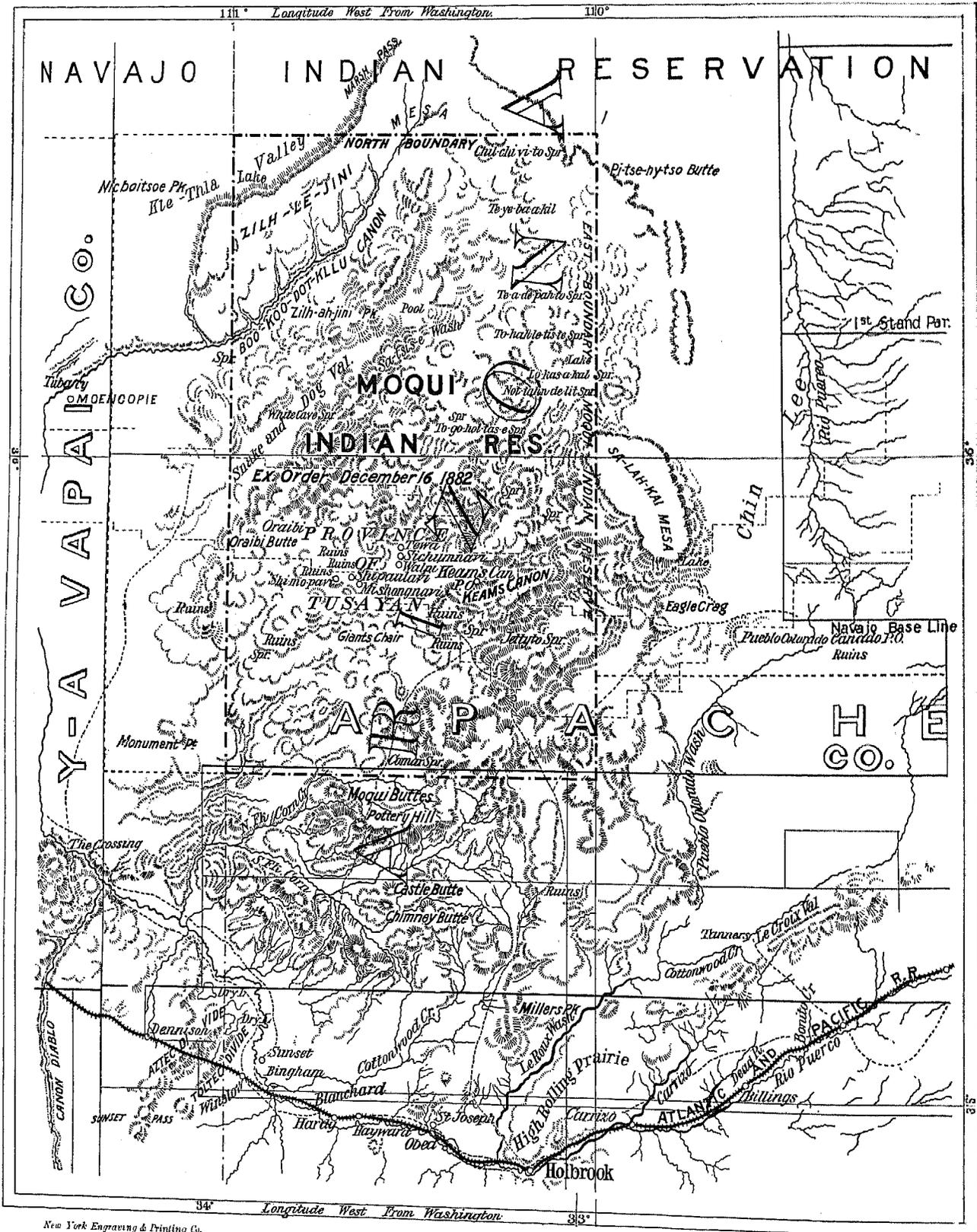
Investigation shows that the Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and Pueblos of New Mexico are not a remnant of an effete people, that they are not Aztecs, that they are not the last of a great passed away civilization, that they are not the last of a distinct people or race living amid the ruins of the homes of their forefathers, but that they are a portion of the North American Indians of the present day. The Indians of 6 of the Moqui towns, or villages, are of Shoshonean stock, and the Indians of the seventh village and the Pueblos of New Mexico are probably of the same stock.



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1. Dance Pah-co-tse Pueblo of Laguna. 2. Zuni Men and Boys in Cotton Dress. 3. A slope of the Mountain showing an Indian Dog. 4 and 5 Moqui Ponies. 6. Young Pueblos after Bathing. 7. Church at Pueblo of Acoma.





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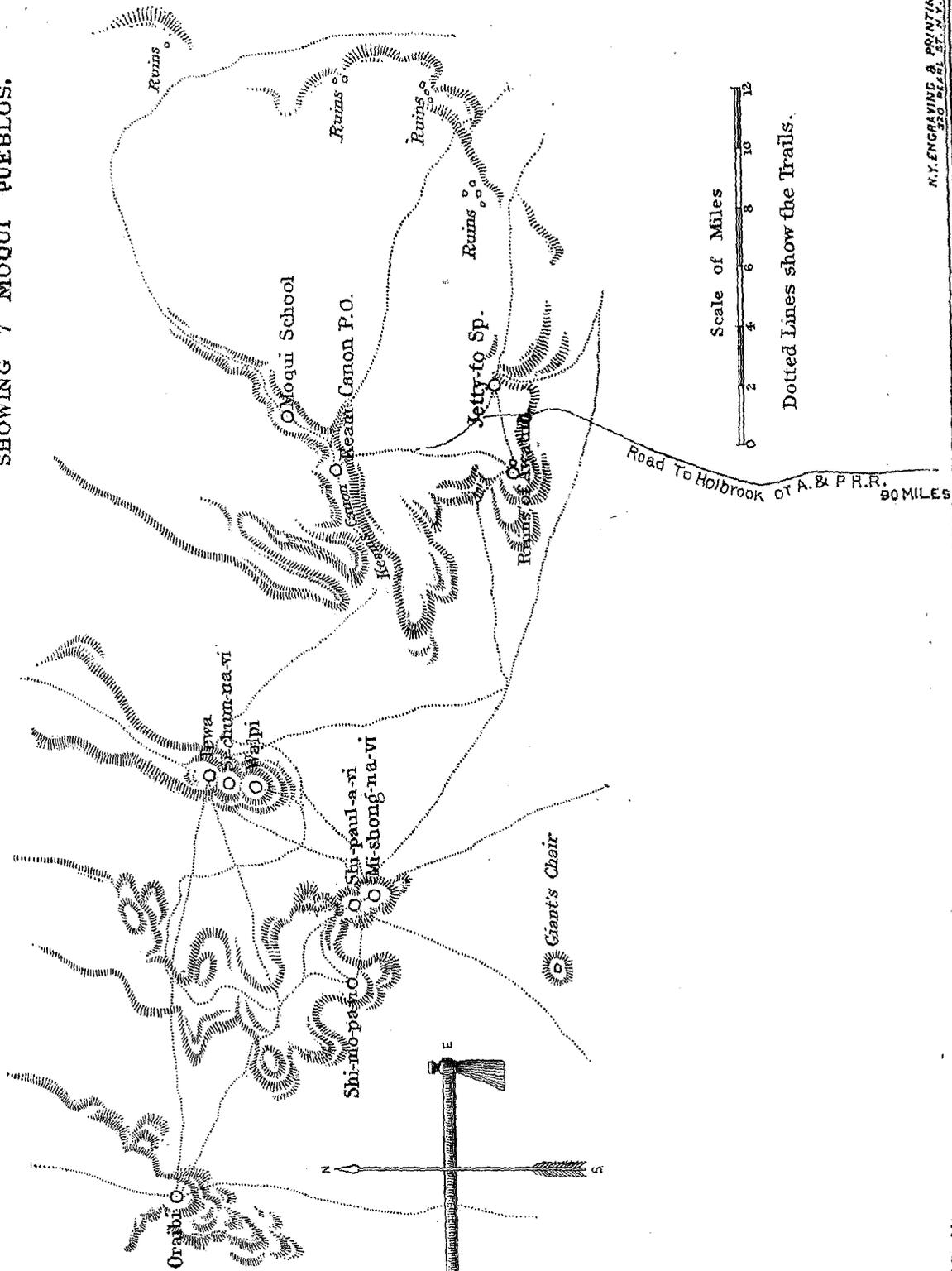
Map Showing Moqui Indian Reservation and Pueblos. Also showing lines of the United States land surveys. The square red line shows the present boundary. The oval red line suggests the reservation or grant, which should be made. The Moqui Reservation was established by Executive Order of December 16th, 1882. It contains 2,508,800 acres or 3,920 square miles. Only 10,000 acres of this immense area are estimated to be fit for agriculture and these with irrigation from the water, the property of the Moquis.

Eleventh Census: 1890.

Moquis and Pueblos.

11th Census, 1890.

MOQUI COUNTRY, ARIZONA.
 SPANISH OR ANCIENT PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN,
 SHOWING 7 MOQUI PUEBLOS.

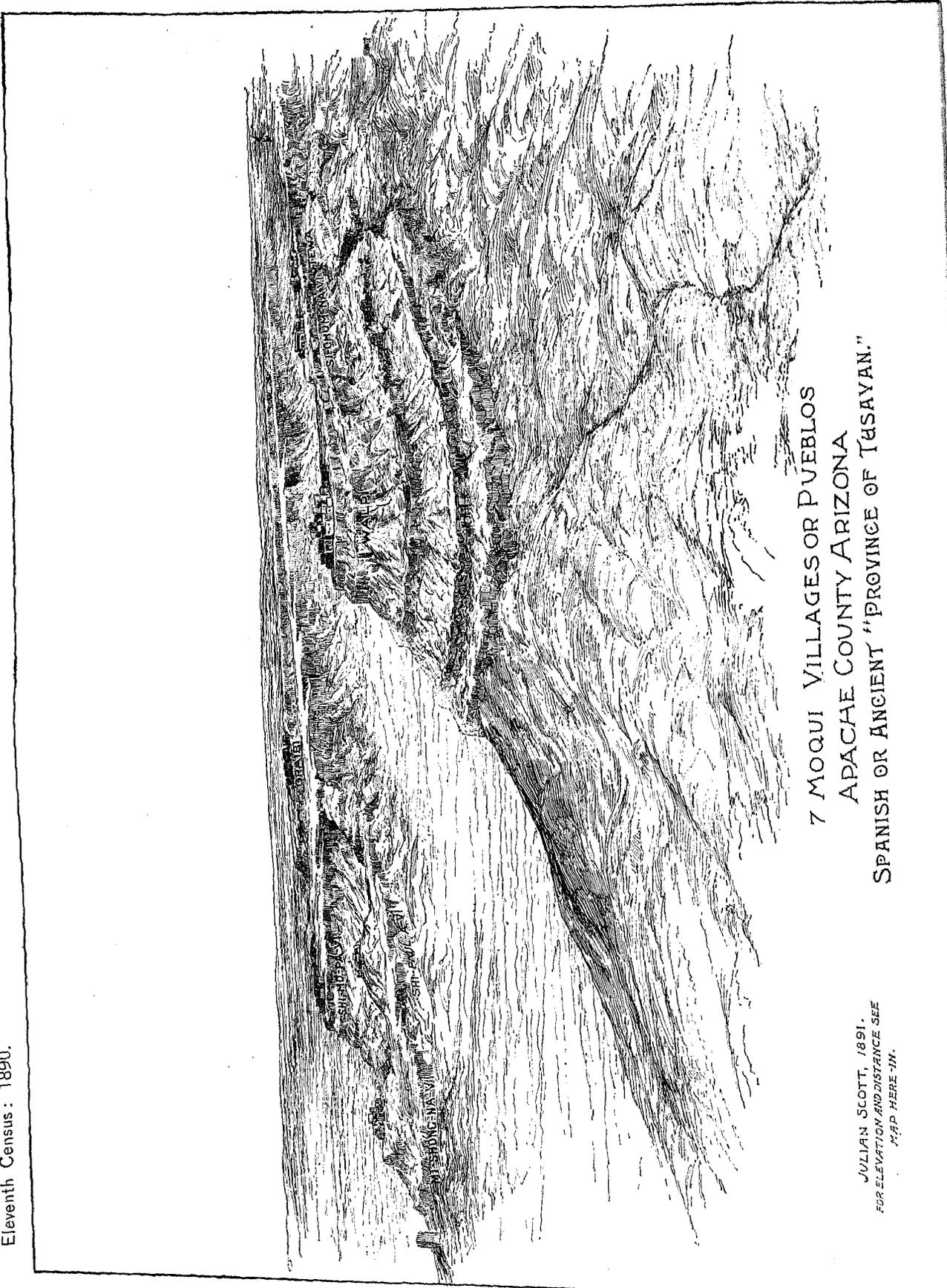


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SULLIVAN SCOTT, 1891

Moquis and Pueblos.

Eleventh Census: 1890.

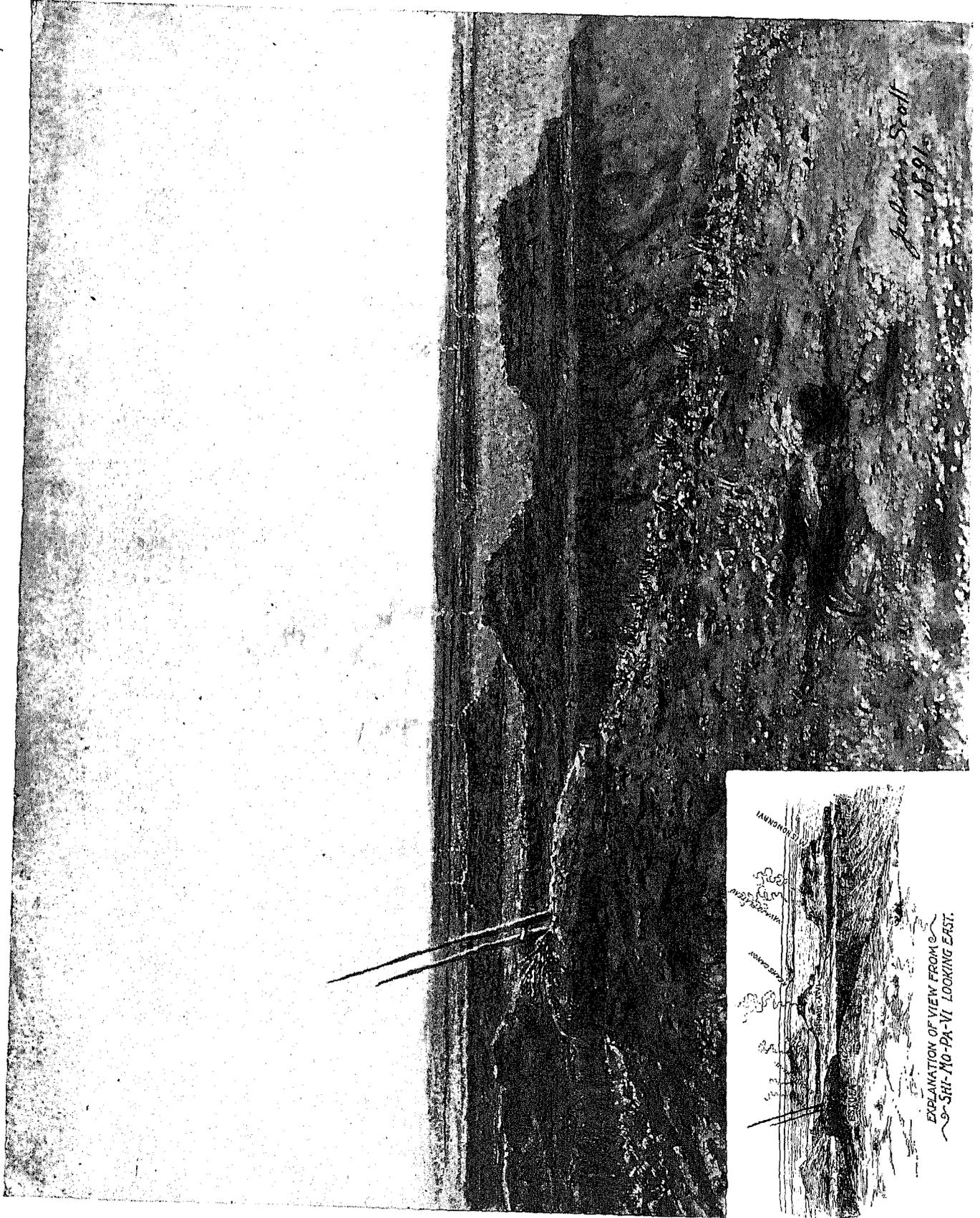


7 MOQUI VILLAGES OR PUEBLOS
APACHE COUNTY ARIZONA
SPANISH OR ANCIENT "PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN."

JULIAN SCOTT, 1891.
FOR ELEVATION AND DISTANCE SEE
MAP HERE IN.

Eleventh Census : 1890.

Moquis.



*John A. Scott
1891*

SHEWANI
 WAGGERS
 MORNING
 EXPLANATION OF VIEW FROM
 9-SHI-MO-PA-VI LOOKING EAST.

MORNING. VIEW FROM PACIFIC HOUSE TOP IN SHUMPOX V. ARIZONA. LOOKING EAST, FAR VILLAGES VISIBLE. GRAB-NOT SHOWN.