PETITION FOR FEDERAL RECOGNITION

OF THE

PIRO/MANSO/TIWA INDIAN TRIBE, PUEBLO OF SAN JUAN DE GUADALUPE

LAS CRUCES, NEW MEXICO

by

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SUBMITTED TO THE PIRO/MANSO/TIWA INDIAN TRIBE,

PUEBLO OF SAN JUAN DE GUADALUPE, LAS CRUCES, NEW MEXICO.

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I. INTRODUCTION

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1. The Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indian Tribe, Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe (hereafter referred to as PMT) has sought Federal acknowledgement for many long and frustrating years. Their effort was underway in the 1960s and continues to the present day, involving at various times the efforts of several law firms, Native American assistance groups, anthropologists, ethnologists, and Tribal volunteers.

The Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indian Tribe has sought acknowledgment through both the legislative process and through the legal process set forth in 25 CFR 83 and administered by the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

In the late 1960s, the PMT began lobbying their Congressional Representative, Mr. Manuel Lujan, Jr., to introduce a bill into Congress that would grant the Tribe Federal Recognition. This action followed on the heels of the successful effort of the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo in El Paso, Texas to gain a form of Federal recognition through the legislative process. On January 18, 1971, the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe requested Federal acknowledgment for the Tribe. Then-Cacique Vicente Roybal submitted a (pre-25 C. F. R. 54/ 83) petition letter with some exhibits to the U. S. Department of Interior BIA Area Office in Albuquerque, New Mexico [(Petition, January 18, 1971, San Juan de Guadalupe (Tortugas) Tewa Indian Pueblo, New Mexico, the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe to U. S. Department of the Interior/ Bureau of Indian Affairs, Albuquerque Area Office, with Chronology of the Tewa (Tigua) Indian Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe (Tortugas), New Mexico]. The Tribe also submitted a request for support to Congressman Manuel Lujan of New Mexico. However, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, after looking over the proposed bill and supporting documents which the PMT had submitted to Representative Lujan in 1971, recommended that the bill should not be introduced because of its broad scope (Letter, March 11, 1971, Commissioner Louis R. Bruce to U. S. Representative Manuel Lujan), adding however that if the Tribe could not qualify for assistance under the Economic Opportunity Act, the BIA would have no objection to legislation similar to the Ysleta del Sur Act (82 Stat. 93), April 12, 1968, which had given limited recognition to Yselta del Sur Pueblo in order to make them eligible for programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (78 Stat. 508), and for state programs. Congressional delegation chose to accept this advice, and the bill died. (See facsimile of Bill).

2. In the mid-1970s the PMT engaged the legal firm of Nordhaus, Haltom and Taylor to prepare a petition for Federal Acknowledgement on behalf of the

tribe. While a draft petition was completed in 1979, the Tribal Council was concerned about the quality and thoroughness of the document, and it was never submitted. In 1981, a grant from the Native American Rights Fund (NARF) enabled the PMT to resume the petition process. At this time, NARF engaged a team of researchers to work on gathering the ethnological and genealogical data necessary to complete the petition. A vast amount of historical, ethnographic, and genealogical data were gathered and a draft petition with supporting documentation was prepared by Dr. Terry Reynolds of NARF (Reynolds 1981). Mary Taylor supplied technical assistance based on twenty years' research in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, the Archives of the Archdiocese of Durango, the Archives of Janos, Carrizal Archives, the Ecclesiastical Archives of the Diocese of Chihuahua, and private historical archives in Chihuahua. Diana Vari provided general historical background information regarding the American Southwest and U. S. Indian policy. Terry Reynolds and Mary Taylor provided historical findings. The grant budget was, however, too small to enable the researchers to finish their research, and critical sections of the petition, concerning the modern sociopolitical organization of the Tribe, were left unfinished (Materials from the previous work of these researchers have been incorporated, with additions and revisions and newly-discovered material, into the present petition).

In 1988, the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indian Tribe received a grant from the Administration for Native Americans (ANA) to complete work on their petition. Early in 1989, they engaged the services of Mr. Stephen Conn, a consulting attorney, Mr. Allogan Slagle, a consulting attorney and field anthropologist, and Batcho and Kauffman Associates, consulting anthropologists. This team has worked with the Tribe to prepare the present petition for submittal.

Since several researchers had collected data and supporting documentation prior to the present team's engagement by the PMT, considerable groundwork had already been laid for the completion of the petition. These earlier consultants carried out extensive archival research in both English and Spanish language documents from the 18th through 20th centuries, prepared family history questionnaires and data sheets, compiled genealogical data, and carried out interviews with Tribal members and people in the Las Cruces area.

In general, the Reynolds report (1981) provides an excellent and detailed history of the PMT up to the time of World War II. However, due to funding constraints, it does not adequately address the modern sociocultural and political organization of the Tribe. Moreover, the prior ethnographic work in the region had focused on population groups tangential to the Pueblo Indian population in the Las Cruces area, particularly on residents of Tortugas, New Mexico, many of whom are not only not members of the Tribe, but lack American Indian descent or cultural affiliations (Hurt 1952; Loomis and Leonard 1938; Oppenheimer 1957). The publicly displayed cultural activities of the religious corporation created as an auxiliary to the Tribe in 1914, Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe, had been almost entirely expropriated by non-Indians, primarily second generation Mexican descendants, by the time of these studies (Beckett (1980, 1979, 1974). No extensive study of social or political organization of the PMT or its modern organization and composition existed. Some ethnographic research undertaken to establish the social boundaries of the present group performed earlier has been lost or otherwise become unavailable to the present project staff.

the PMT. In addition, the present research team has focused on more fully documenting the social and economic pressures of the wider social system into which the PMT was and is linked. Examining the Tribe in the context of the dominant Hispanic/Anglo social, political, and economic system helps to explain the individual and group decisions of the Tribe and its members as they have sought to preserve their cultural and tribal identity. Interviewers included Barbara Kauffman, Steven Conn, Allogan Slagle and Fred Almarez, who have conducted interviews and observed community activities from 1989 to 1991. Nuclear families were represented in the interviews, and often were questioned in a group setting. Most interviews are recorded on audio and 1/4" video/vhs formats. There were interviewees from, or associated with, Tortugas, Las Cruces, El Paso and California. Present and former ceremonial and administrative officers participated extensively in the process, as interviewees and as facilitators, particularly Mr. Lamberto Trujillo, the Tribal Secretary, and Louis Roybal, the Vice-Chairman. Most were conducted in English. The interview format covered: geneaological histories of interviewees and their households; the history of the PMT Tribe in the Las Cruces area; interactions of tribal members with each other and the Tribe as well as with other communities and governments (including other tribes). Follow-up interviews expanded on various topics or cross-checked information.

Researchers attended tribal meetings and gatherings at the East Side Community Center near the heart of the core community in Las Cruces, at Picacho, at A Mountain and other sites, accompanied by tribal members, and in particular, officers of the tribal government. Videotape and audiotape records were made to document many of these inquiries. The investigators involved the Tribe and its members and all potential tribal (member) interviewees in the development of the research instrument and protocol and its administration, explaining in detail its purposes and procedures at meetings in 1989 and 1990. All persons interviewed were required to sign an informed consent form. The prior work of ethnographers in the area and discussions of native traditions with Louis Roybal, Tribal Vice-President, as well as other members of the Council, the ceremonial officers, and certain elders, greatly facilitated the ethnographic and historical research.

4. The Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indian Tribe, Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe, has a long and interesting history. The Tribe is composed of members of three distinct cultural and tribal entities that merged in the 17th and 18th centuries in the Paso del Norte (modern day El Paso, Texas and adjacent Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua) area under the leadership of a Cacique, the traditional spiritual leader of the Tribe. The heritage of two of these earlier groups, the Piro and Manso, survives today only in the Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe.

The petition will show that the Tribe has maintained its cohesion and control over its members despite numerous upheavals outside their control, such as their forced migration from their historic homeland in the central Rio Grande Valley of New Mexico following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the Mexican Revolution of 1821, the rapid international border changes of the 1850s, and the social and economic impacts of World War II and the post-war era. The PMT has been identified throughout history to the present day as an American Indian group, even though it has never had a formal government-to-government relationship with the United States. A majority of its members can trace both firm American Indian ancestry and long association

Mexican Revolution of 1821, the rapid international border changes of the 1850s, and the social and economic impacts of World War II and the post-war era. The PMT has been identified throughout history to the present day as an American Indian group, even though it has never had a formal government-to-government relationship with the United States. A majority of its members can trace both firm American Indian ancestry and long association with the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indian Tribe. Firm community ties are evident in the extensive social contact of Tribal members outside of formal Tribal activities, in the form of life-cycle events which bring the community together, an enduring Core Neighborhood in the heart of Las Cruces, and intermarriage. Further sections of the petition will describe the Tribe's governing document and membership criteria, and present the current list of Tribal members. There are no Tribal members who are members of any other North American Indian Tribe. The Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indian Tribe, Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe, has never had a formal treaty relationship with the Federal government, or obtained a Federal trust land base. They have never been the subject of legislation expressly terminating or forbidding such a relationship, including the in 1950s Ysleta del Sur legislation. The restoration of the Ysleta del Sur tribe did not include or affect the acknowledgement of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe, and there is no record of any claim that it could or that it did. Nor was there any effort on the part of the PMT Tribe to associate itself with the Ysleta del Sur Tribe's efforts for its own restoration.

CHAPTER 2:

II. ORIGINS OF THE POPULATION OF THE PRESENT PIRO/MANSO/TIWA TRIBE, PUEBLO OF SAN JUAN DE GUADALUPE: THE PROVENANCE DEBATE

1. The Piro/Tompiro and Tiwa Pueblos in New Mexico

a. Archaeology

Batcho and Kauffman/ others have conducted certain archaeological investigations in the Las Cruces and Tortugas areas. Archaeologists have estimated that Indians living in the Mesilla Valley around 1225 B. C. were growing a hybrid corn, and:

> Some researchers believe the corn, which had eight rows and was found in rock shelters in the southern Organ Mountains, prove the valley's early inhabitants were more dependent on agriculture than scientists had originally thought (Las Cruces Bulletin, 13 Sept. 1989, C-2).

That particular population is believed to have abandoned the area by 1450. Batcho and Kauffman's 1989-1990 salvage archaeology in the Tortugas area during a road improvement project located evidence of @ 800-900 A.D. occupation by an unidentified population now absent from the area. The Franciscan Friar Augustin Rodrigues and Captain Francisco Chamuscado were the first non-Indians to explore the Mesilla Valley, arriving in 1581 with eight soldiers, two other friars and 19 servants. Under the authority of Spain, Don Juan de Onate came with 200 soldier-colonists in 1598, naming the valley, Mesilla / Little Table. Northwest of Las Cruces, a mountain named for Pedro Robledo's death by drowning nearby. The Village of Dona Ana appears to have been named for a Spanish immigrant who died there in 1798. Las Cruces takes its name from the site of graves of Mexican traders attacked there by Apaches in 1830, "La Placita de Las Cruces" (Las Cruces Bulletin, 13 Sept. 1989, C-2).

b. History through Spanish accounts

The members of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indian Tribe trace descent from at least three cultural groups that were first encountered by the Spanish in the 1500s, when expeditions led by Cabeza de Vaca, Coronado, Chamuscado, and others set out from Mexico to explore the northern frontiers of New Spain. These three groups are the Manso, who were living in the area of the Mesilla Valley and present day El Paso, Texas; the Piro & Tompiro, whose pueblos were located in the middle Rio Grande Valley near modern Socorro, New Mexico, and eastward in the Salinas Valley east of the Manzano Mountains; and the Tiwa, whose pueblos were north of the Piros on the Rio Grande and also to the east in the foothills of the Manzano Mountains.

Both the Piro and Tiwa were settled agriculturalists who lived in contiguous villages, practiced irrigation agriculture, grew cotton, corn, and other indigenous crops, and domesticated turkeys and dogs. They lived in multistory adobe pueblos, built around plazas, with underground ceremonial chambers, or kivas, in the plazas. Each Piro pueblo had its own Cacique, the number varying according to the pueblo's size (Schroeder 1979:237). The Spanish recorded their dress, food, and kachina dances, and established several missions in various Tiwa, Piro, and Tompiro pueblos in the early 1600s.

When the Chamuscado expedition encountered the Piro pueblos in 1581, they found them at war with their Tiwa neighbors. Early accounts suggest that the Piro and Tiwa were related, and spoke languages that were either dialects of the same language family, or at least mutually intelligible. Relations between the Piro and Tiwa must have swung back and forth from ally to enemy, because when the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 forced the Spanish retreat from New Mexico, they noted that Tompiros were living in the Tiwa pueblo of Isleta. They had reportedly taken refuge in the Tiwa and Piro pueblos along the Rio Grande some ten years before, when the Salinas pueblos had been abandoned, presumably due to Apache raids (Tainter and Levine; Schroeder 1979: 237-241). Nevertheless, it must have been an uneasy alliance, as the Spanish were diligent in settling the two tribes in separate communities once the refugees arrived at El Paso del Rio del Norte.

Onate first mentioned the Manso in 1598, locating them near what became Paso del Norte. No village or dwellings were noted, and it is generally assumed that they were nomadic, but that the lower Mesilla Valley and the Paso del Norte area were part of their normal range. The Franciscans established the first mission at Paso del Norte for the Manso and Suma, whose traditional range was to the east and south of the Mansos, along the Rio Grande. This mission, Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe de los Mansos, was dedicated in 1659 (Waltz 1951: 14; Forbes 1960: 126; Bandelier 1893:348-9; Hughes 1914:305). Early baptismal, marriage, burial records and other documents also note the presence of Piros, Sumas, Janos (from the area southwest of the Mansos), and some Apaches at the mission after 1668 (Hughes 1914:314; Forbes 1959).

Governor Lopez in the 1650s required large forces of Indians from the villages in the Piro and Tompiro areas to work for him in gathering supplies of salt, pinon nuts, and hides. The missionaries claimed that this resulted in taking Indians away from their agricultural activities around the missions and even from their own food production (Spicer, Cycles of Conquest: 158).

While the total population at the time of contact apparently was small, about 500-1000 (Bandelier 1890: 165-166). In any case, the documentary evidence points to an early historic relationship between the Manso and Piro that continues throughout the history of settlement at Paso del Norte and up to the present.

c. Traditional antagonism between Piro and Tiwa in New Mexican pueblos.

Relations between the various groups settled in the Paso del Norte area were not always cordial. When the Mansos staged a series of uprisings in the 1680s to 1690s, joining with the Suma and other indigenous groups further south in Chihuahua, they tried to enlist the aid of the Piro and Tiwa, but members of these tribes reportedly informed the Spanish authorities instead. In 1684, Chiquito's band led the other Manos a revolt against the Spanish in the Paso del Norte and Janos areas (Walz 1951: 150-151).

After Spanish settlement and missionization activities created or increased inter-Pueblo antagonisms, and following abortive rebellion and years of unrest, considerable internal rivalry and dissension was inevitable among originally distinct groups, even as external pressures forced them together; thus:

> In the 1670s warfare with the Apaches increased to the point where three southern Tiwa mountain villages had to be abandoned. The remnants of the villagers came in 1674 to live with the Tiwa in Isleta. Likewise, the

Tompiro and Piro villages to the south were harassed constantly and became dangerous places to live (Spicer, Cycles of Conquest: 161). Mutiny attempts bore no fruit, and:

> The Piro and Tompiro pueblos did not long survive those abortive efforts at liberation. With their leadership destroyed and their numbers decimated, they could not withstand the famine and epidemics and the devastating surge of Apache hostility that best them from 1668 to 1671. Encomenderos did what they could, repeatedly taking the field with Pueblo warriors to punish the enemies, but even that remedy posed hazards. Piro and Tompiro men were then so few that departure of any useful number left their people and property exposed to raids . . . (John, Storms Brewed: 93). Through 1680, Father Decorme claimed about 850 Mansos accepted baptism at the Guadalupe Mission [Decorme n.d.:4, citing no source for this information except that feeding and bribery induced baptisms (Walz 1951: 148-194)]. There are suggestions in some of the historic documents that the Piros were brought to the mission by the Spanish to translate for the Mansos [hunter-gatherers living in brush homes (Gerald 1974a: 118-119)], and that they may have been related in some way, but these accounts are discordant. Mansos organized under bands of related families under the leadership of a headman. One of these bands and its headman, Captain Chiquito, were renowned for their resistance to Spanish invaders (Walz 1951:14,21, 267; Rivera 1945: 69; Forbes 1960). Captain Chiquito's band, unlike most of the Mansos, continued to live in Mesilla Valley, where they had close ties with the Gila Apaches (Walz 1951:22; Forbes 1959:118).

2. The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and its Aftermath

The disruption of the indigenous population prior to 1680, whether as the result of war or other causes, was greater among Pueblos than among the rancheria peoples of the South. The common Spanish frontier phenomenon of a declining Indian population was much more marked north of the present border than in the south. By the time of the 1680 rebellion the Pueblo population had declined by about half what it was when the Spaniards came in. It declined by a half again during the 1700s. . . . Whole areas were completely depopulated -- the Piros on the south and their neighbors, the Tompiros (Spicer, Cycles of Conquest: 161).

When the New Mexico pueblos revolted against the Spanish in 1680, the Piro and Tiwa did not take part. Several hundred inhabitants of the Tiwa pueblo of Isleta and the Piro pueblos of Senecu, Sevilleta, Alamillo, and Socorro in New Mexico were relocated south to the area of Paso del Norte with the fleeing Spanish. When Otermin made his unsuccessful attempt to reconquer New Mexico in 1681, he put several Rio Grande pueblos to the torch, and took some 385 more Isletans back to Paso del Norte with him (Hackett 1942(2):220-230).

Over the next few years, the Spanish established settlements for the refugees at approximately two league intervals south of the Mission of Guadalupe along the west bank of the Rio Grande. Spanish and Pueblo refugees were settled in separate camps, and different Pueblo tribes were assigned to individual settlements. In order of increasing distance from the Mission of Guadalupe were the Real de San Lorenzo for Spanish, the pueblo of Senecu for Piros, Ysleta for the Tiwas, and Socorro for Piros, Tanos, and some Jemez. All of these settlements still exist in much the same location today. San

Lorenzo and Senecu have been absorbed into the modern city of Ciudad Juarez along with the Mission of Guadalupe. [As late as 1923, el barrio del pueblo, a suburb of Ciudad Juarez, is reported to have contained 55 Piro descendants with a tribal organization and ceremonies (Bloom 1933-1938, 13:206-207).]

Oppenheimer cited Hackett's study of the Pueblo Rebellion as his principal source regarding the Isletan retreat to El Paso (Oppenheimer, Thesis, "An Ethnological Study of Tortugas, New Mexico," May 28, 1957, University of New Mexico Department of Anthropology, p. 3), and for the source of his conclusions on the Tortugans' provenance, finding with Bloom (Bourke on the Southwest, p. 10) that most Indians of the Tortugas Pueblo appear to have been of Isletan descent, whose ancestors retreated to El Paso following the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680. Oppenheimer writes (p. 18):

> The written sources on the settlement of Tortugas and the testimony of informants, both Indian and Anglo, agree that most of the original inhabitants of Tortugas came from the pueblo of Isleta del Sur, with some Piros from Senecu, and a few Mansos.

What Oppenheimer neglected to mention here was the possible establishment of the core Indian community of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe in Las Cruces predating the establishment of its Tortugas colony. It is useful here to review in brief the history of the El Paso del Sur/ Juarez/ Isleta del Sur. Isleta, a neutral northern Pueblo, was a haven for retreating Spaniards, and a base for Otermin's attempted entrada of 1681-1682.

Spicer wrote:

> The surviving Spaniards took refuge for a short time at Isleta and then marched southward to El Paso. On the way they were accompanied by some southern Tiwas and by all the remaining people of the depopulated Piro villages in the vicinity of Socorro and southward. At El Paso the Spaniards remained for twelve years, unable to force their way back into the lost territory. Governor Otermin made a misguided effort . . . in 1681 by attacking Isleta . . . . burning southern Tiwa villages. . . . Siete Rios seemed to conspire in harassing the wagon route from El Paso to Senecu. Life grew so intolerable that Piros and Tompiros drifted away from their homes, some to other Pueblos, some to the distant sanctuary of the El Paso missions. By the end of the 1670s, the Pueblo world was nearly dead east of the Manzanos and its southern reaches on the Rio Grande were shrinking (Spicer, Cycles of Conquest: 163).

In the autumn of 1681, Pueblo leaders schemed to stave off famine and at the same time conciliate the Apaches. They would conquer Isleta by trickery, sack its granaries, kill its men, and present the Isleta women and children to Apaches in compensation for Apache women and children lost to Spaniards and Pueblos over the years. Isleta would be destroyed for its failure to join in the rebellion, and the handsome gift might win the Apaches' friendship and alliance. The plot involved twenty-six pueblos: Tanos, Tewas, Keres, and those of Acoma and Jemez (John Storms Brewed: 106-107). Sando traced the first exodus of Isletans to Hopi mesas lasted until 1681, and the sacking and burning of Isleta by the Spanish during the first attempted reentry to New Mexico (Sando, The Pueblo Indians: 213).

On 5 November 1681, Otermin and a party of 290 (including 112 "Indian allies of the Mansos, Piros, Tigua [Tiwa], and Jemez nations") left El Paso, then located at the site of the present city of Juarez, Chihuahua (p. 7, from Hackett, Revolt, p. cxxxiii ff.) Dec. 5, with a small group, Otermin took the Pueblo of Isleta. Hackett indicated that among those held in the Plaza were

Piros from the pueblos of Socorro, Alamillo, and Sevilleta, among others, so that there were 511 persons assembled (p. 8, Hackett, Revolt, p. cxxxii ff.) Hackett said that:

> Previous to the uprising Isleta had received accessions from the Tigua settlements near the Manzano, when these pueblos were abandoned in consequence of the Apaches. This explains why the southern Tiguas of Isleta in Texas claim to have descended from Cuaray at the Salines. The fugitives from the latter village fled to Isleta, and were subsequently transported thence to the south. . . ."

A number of Piros fled the Isleta Pueblo to join the leader of the apostates, Don Luis Tupatu, leaving only 385 of the 511 first taken at Isleta to be taken to El Paso out of harm's way (p. 12, Hackett, Revolt, p. cxxxix ff., and Persons, Isleta, p. 208). Persons wrote:

> On the eastern side [of the Rio Grande] there is a settlement of about six houses, the people of whom are referred to as nabatortot'ainin, White Village people, who are said to be 'mean people' also to speak a little differently, dialectically, from the townspeople proper. In folk tales these names refer to two different groups, the Yellow Earth people being localized in the ruins in the bluff above the White Village. I have heard also that from this district went the immigrants to Isleta El Paso, Isleta del Sur."

McGovern's General Survey, p. 20, added that some Isletans "are said to have scattered to other pueblos at the time of the revolt in 1680, with others going to the Hopi country" (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 12). On his second retreat, the remaining inhabitants followed Otermin, who had their Pueblo burned; and they resettled in the El Paso-Juarez area, where they were "progressively Mexicanized" (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 17). Six Piro prisoners from Acoma, captured after escaping Isleta and joining the rebels, were absolved and taken with the rest to El Paso del Norte, starting January 2, 1682 (p. 13; Espinosa, Crusaders, p. 20). Otermin reported stopping near the end of the trek at a place called Estero Largo, near the present site of Las Cruces, "about twenty-eight leagues from El Paso on February 11, 1682," and took a head-count before proceeding to El Paso.

3. The Paso del Norte Pueblos, and other Sources of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe

a. founding of cultural groupings in mission settlements

Very little information concerning the culture and organization of the mission settlements through the 17th and 18th centuries survives in archival sources. The tribes had a difficult time surviving at all. Manso populations took part in the rebellion of 1711, and incurred further disruption (Griffen 1979:23). The early 1700s were a time of more epidemics which halved their numbers (Gerald 1974a:123; ACCJ 1729-1776: Reel 4). Mansos still lived at El Paso during the early 1700s, and records for their marriages at the Guadalupe mission from 1707 to 1728 are in Bandelier's work (1883:192-193). Various missionaries and administrators made note of the population characteristics at the missions with informal censuses, and recorded their agricultural pursuits, often mentioning their fine gardens and vineyards. However, ethnographic accounts are lacking until the 1880s, when a series of travelers and trained observers visited the mission settlements and recorded their impressions. Though formerly called San Juan de Guadalupe Tiwa, the majority of Piro/Manso/Tiwa ancestry is Piro, which is related to Tigua in common

Tanoan sources.

Probably, Senecu del Sur was created after the Revolt (Burrus 1980:24; Walz 1951:23). Piros arriving at Paso del Norte in 1680 were the first Indians at the Guadalupe Mission, and likely filled early Mission organization posts, but were not the first Indians to arrive at the missions in general. Fray Garcia de San Francisco had permission to take ten families of Christian Indians from Senecu del Norte to El Paso (Hughes 1914:308). They were intended to help him in teaching the Mansos (Hughes 1914: 308). He recorded names of six Senecu men who accompanied him (Hughes 1914:306).

Father Decorme (n.d.: 7) claimed Senecu del Sur was established as a Piro Mission for families accompanying the Franciscans in the area. He concluded this on the missionizing policy of the Franciscans to establish different tribes at different locations, in keeping with the policy applied to some degree at El Paso as observed by Rivera (1726). However, the Manso and Piros had separate quarters in the town rather than separate towns in 1726, and probably were commingling by 1660 there (Rivera 1945:67). Others, disagreeing with Decorme, say that Senecu del Sur was founded after the Pueblo Rebellion (Walz 1951: 23); and judging by the general failure of Franciscan policy to keep the El Paso area tribes segregated at this time, these other writers probably are right.

Other Piros from Abo and Senecu came to the mission over the next 20 years from their homes in the north (Bandelier 1890:130-132; Hughes 1914; Walz 1951:23), settling into separate quarters at the mission away from the Mansos (Rivera 1945:67). Between 1660 and 1680 62 Piros received baptism at the mission (Decorme n.d.: 7). The 1680 Piro refugees came to two villages, Senecu del Sur and Socorro del Sur (Burrus 1980:24-25; Walz 1951:49, 121), though some late arrivals may have joined the Piros at El Paso.

Otermin brought about 385 Tiguas with him to the El Paso area in retreating from the 1682 rout in northern New Mexico from Isleta. Some Tigua families had arrived already to settle in with the Mansos and Piros at the Guadalupe mission (Gerald 1974c:25-26), and may have continued to live there after the mission of Guadalupe started. Some 18th century visitors noted Tiguas living there, and Guadalupe parish records of the 1700s cited Tigua marriages (Gerald 1974c:29); and those remaining in the El Paso area must have intermingled with the Piros, except those who settled at Isleta del Sur, where they remained (Gerald 1974c:25-52).

After the Pueblo Rebellion and Otermin's great retreat of 1681-1682, Fray Juan Augustin de Morfi cited the establishment of 11 settlements, including:

Nra. Senora de Guadalupe of El Paso,
La Socorro of Piros,
S. Francisco of Zumas,
Sacramento of Tiguas,
San Antonio of Zenecu, Piros and Tompiros,
S. Gertrudis of Zumas,
Soledad of Xanos,
San Lorenzo-Real,
Villa Jurada of Spaniards and Zumas,

as well as the all-Spanish settlements of S. Pedro Alcantara, S. Jose, and El Pueblo Viego de la Ysleta (fn. 17, p. 13).

Reportedly, there also were three mission pueblos established thereafter:

San Antonio de Senecu, composed of Piros and Tompiros, two leagues below El Paso/Guadalupe;
Corpus Christi de Isleta (Bonilla, Apuntes, MS, 2, calls it S. Lorenzo de Realito), composed of Tiguas, 1.5 leagues east of Senecu;
and Nuestra Senora del Socorro on the Rio Grande del Norte, including Piros, Tanos, and Jemez, seven leagues from Isleta and 12 leagues from El Paso (p. 14; in Bancroft, History, p. 191).

The sites of these settlements are uncertain today (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 14-15); Coan found they were established "in a pueblo known as Isleta del Sur ten miles south of El Paso on the Texas side of the Rio Grande" (Coan, History, p. 100), while Espinosa stated they were on the south bank of the Rio Grande, "in the present Mexican state of Chihuahua" (Espinosa, Crusaders, p. 20).

Bandelier and Hewett (Indians, p. 141) believed Isleta del Sur was on the north bank, in Texas, representing the descendants of the outlying Tiguas settlements, "north of the Piros, between a line drawn south of Isleta and Mesa del Canjilon, . . . mostly on the western bank of the river, and . . . also on the margin of the eastern plains beyond the Sierra del Manzano," which the Tiguas had abandoned in the 17th century in the course of Otermin's retreat. Bloom (Bourke on the Southwest, p. 206, fn.) placed Socorro and Senecu on the Mexican side; in any event, Isleta del Sur presently is near El Paso, on the Texas side.

Vargas proposed substantial buffer settlements at key points of Apache and Navajo ingress: one hundred families at Towa, fifty at Pecos, fifty in the vicinity of Santa Ana, one hundred at Jemez, and one hundred more on the river road near deserted Sandia and Puaray. He hoped to anchor the southern frontier by restoring El Paso's refugee Tiwas and Piros to their old pueblos of Isleta and Socorro. He would write off as lost old Senecu, so exposed to Apache attack (John Storms Brewed: 106-107). From these towns, and Sevilleta and Alamillos, 250 Indians joined Spanish settlers fleeing south after the Pueblo Revolt (Hackett 1942:1:CX; Decorme n.d.15)

San Francisco de los Mansos opened in 1691 nine leagues from Paso del Norte under Francisco de Vargas (Decorme nd:6; Dominquez 1956:260; Walz 1951:273); the exact location is unknown (Walz 1951:285; Dominquez 1956:260-261). Many Mansos left the Mission settlement at this time and returned to a nomadic existence, some joining the Apache, others moving south and west into the interior and joining other Native groups. Other Mansos settled into Mission life, intermarrying with their Pueblo neighbors. Chiquito's band never lived at any of the missions, and by the early 1690s they were in the Florida Mountains west of the Mesilla Valley (Walz 1951:273). The San Francisco de los Mansos must have been a relatively small mission judging from the wheat requisitions (Walz 1951:289). By the mid-1700s Mansos remaining outside Paso del Norte had joined Apache groups (Forbes 1959:124), and it is not possible to determine whether they became the "Apache Manso" of the eastern Chiricahua (Opler 1942:725). Governor Diego de Vargas Fray Joaquin de Hinojosa formal possession of the missions on a list dated 1692, but San Francisco de los Mansos is not on that list (Dominquez 1956:260; Walz 1951:285). Perhaps a reduced number of Mansos there returned to the mission of Guadalupe at the directive of Fray Hinojosa (Dominquez 1956:260), while others died in the Revolt, and others abandoned the missions.

In May, 1692, de Vargas transferred the missions and lands of Isleta del Sur, Senecu, and Socorro to the Franciscans (Espinosa, Crusaders, p. 20).

From 12.28.1691 of 1.2.1693, de Vargas performed a census of the El Paso district, finding 63 at Senecu, 118 at Isleta, 130 at Socorro (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 16; Espinosa, Crusaders, p. 20). Padre Rosas y Figueroa's census of 1749-1750 found:

	Whites	Indians
El Paso	1090	200
San Lorenzo	150	150
Senecu	102	384
Isleta	54	500
Socorro	250	250.

Parral is only one of many frontier communities where by the eighteenth century racial leveling and the process of mestizacion, a vehicle of acculturation, were both in evidence. Conditions on the frontier tended to erase differences between whites and mixed bloods. Although separate counts were taken in statistical data, it became common to classify people according to two generic categories: "Indios" and "No Indios," Indians and non-Indians. Other classifications were "espanoles," "espanols y mixtos," and more frequently, the single heading "gente de razon," civilized people whether they might be Spaniard, Indian, Negro, or any mixture thereof. Actual Spaniards were often described by the term "europeo," and all-inclusive word which might be applied not only to Spaniards but to anyone who originated overseas (Jones Pueblo Warriors:95).

Even after other Piro communities appeared in the area, the Piro settlement at Paso del Norte continued. Baptismal, marriage and burial records at Paso del Norte continued to show Piro entries at Guadalupe parrish for a century after 1680 and forward (Bandelier 1883:189-193; ACCJ 1729-1776: Reel 4). In 1706, Fray Juan Alvarez found many Mansos, Piros and Janos in the El Paso Mission (Hackett 1937:377), and in 1726, Don Pedro de Rivera reported that a part of Paso del Norte was divided into two different sections cared for by the Franciscans: one section was occupied by the Mansos and the other by Piro Indians (1945:67). Bishop Benito Crespo commented that in 1730, 51 Tiguas, Piros and Mansos were at Paso del Norte (Crespo:1729-1732) (See in John, Storms Brewed, p. 114, pueblo and Spanish men subject to draft for defense of the villas; and, re: depredations in the 1730s in northern provinces, in John, Storms Brewed, p. 273).

Tiwas and Piros together informed the Spanish Governor of the coming Manso Rebellion in 1684 (Walz 1951: 136). Bandelier (1881: 192-193) and Gerald (1974c: 29) reported records of intermarriage between these tribes in the 1700s, and Gerald reported that "many living Tigua, including the Governor, Miguel Pedraza, can trace their ancestry to Piros from the adjoining communities of Socorro and Senecu" (1974c: 30). Indian military auxiliaries from Ysleta and El Paso, Socorro and Senecu served in campaigns from the 1600s to the 1800s (Walz 1951; 65; JA 1814b: Reel 2). Piros and Tiwas hunted together in the 1800s (JA 1849c: Reel 15), and Piros attended Tiwa fiestas at Ysleta (Houser 1979: 338). Each Indian settlement held land in common which they used for subsistence purposes (Walz 1951: 289-290; Gerald 1974c: 34-36), while they worked on church land to support their missions (Walz 1951: 289-290). Nonetheless, there were so many interactions among these Piro and Tiwa settlements that mutual adoption of traditions, and assimilation to one another, was unimpeded, though their Indian settlements were autonomous politically, economically, and otherwise largely independent of other Indians in the El Paso area.

The populations of the El Paso communities in 1740 (p. 120, Table 6) were as follows:

1744	Spanish families	Indian Families
Mission Guadalupe del Paso (40 presidio soldiers)	180+	40
San Lorenzo	12	50 (Sumas)
Senecu	5	70
Ysleta		90
Socorro	6	60
Las Calvas & Hacienda El Capitan		60
Ojo Caliente 20 mixed w/Indians & Hacienda de Rancheria	20	"some"

(John Storms Brewed: 106-107).

Fray Miguel de Menchero wrote that there were 40 Indians at the mission Guadalupe at El Paso (Hackett 1937:406). Fray Jose Tigo's letter of 1754 mentioned Indians living at El Paso (Hackett 1937:460). Bishop Pedro Tamaron y Romeral's 1760 report mentions the continuing Indian presence in the town of El Paso (Tamaron y Romeral 1759-1761). Nicolas de Lafora recorded that the 1767 Paso del Norte settlement had "Indians of the Tiwa and Piro nations" (Jones 1979:212). In 1773 a citizen of El Paso reported that Mansos, Piros and Pimas lived at the Mission at Paso del Norte (Hackett 1937:507).

As a result of the Regulation of 1772, military forts and planes changed in New Mexico and the El Paso region, as the presidio moved from El Paso to Carrizal, and a part of the presidial realignment entrusted to O'Connor occurred promptly. A compensating post at Robledo, though planned, never appeared; nor did revivals of the ruined towns of Socorro, Senecu, Alamillo, and Sevilleta (the four Piro Pueblos remaining on the Rio Grande by 1680; Schroeder 1979:237), to close the distance between Santa Fe and El Paso. Survival was the goal as El Paso and Jornada del Muerto were severed from continuous communication with the south, leaving New Mexico virtually an island by November, 1772 (John Storms Brewed: 473).

By the late 1700s, the Mansos who had survived had become integrated into the larger El Paso Piro community. In 1773, they were described as "totally extinguished and on their lands our citizens are living." (Hackett 1937:507). Another report (1782) contradicts this, noting that there were Piros, Mansos and Janos living with Spaniards at El Paso (Thomas 1932:109).

In the 1770s, eight Alcaldias divided New Mexico, under the administration of alcaldes major who were responsible to the governor for the conduct of Indian affairs in their respective districts, dealing with dispute resolution, notary services, legal investigations, requests for land grants, collecting legal fees and tributes, and leading forces against hostile tribes. These Spanish officials frequently abused Indians, confiscated their supplies, reduced them to forced labor, and expropriated their lands (Myra E. Jenkins, The Baltasar Bend Grant,in (John Storms Brewed: 134; see Thomas, Forgotten Frontiers:63 on depredations; 108-110, description of El Paso Missions, the original settlements, including Guadalupe, San Lorenzo, Senecu, Isleta and Socorro, by Reverend Preacher Fray Juan Agustin de Morfi, Reader Jubiliado and son of this province of Santo Evangelico of Mexico, Year of 1782; facsimile.) In the early 1770s 74 male Indians were on a military census from Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish (JA 1768-1771: Reel 1). In 1782, 15 Indians were identified as originating from Plaza del Chamisal (JA 1782: Reel 1). In 1784, Fray Juan Agustin de Morfi reported Mansos, Piros and Janos at

the Guadalupe mission (Thomas 1932:109), and the general census of Paso del Norte listed 54 families as Indios Piros (JA 1790: Reel 47).

The trend of pueblo depopulation intensified over the remainder of the century. An important factor was the increase in Apache raiding, which affected the northeastern part of the area, now that the south was entirely depopulated by the migration of the Piro and many southern Tiwa to El Paso. In the 1760s and 1770s the Taos area was constantly harassed by Apaches, Utes, and Comanches. By the 1780s the Galisteo Basin, which the Spaniards had made and effort to resettle by gathering dispersed Tanos together at Galisteo, was finally abandoned, largely due to Comanche raids. The Comanches in this area had now replaced the Apaches. By the 1770s Apache raids on the west reached Zuni, and Pueblos campaigned with Spaniards and Navajos against the western Apaches.

A heavy smallpox epidemic hit the Rio Grande Valley in 1780-1781 and also in 1788-1789, contributing to the decline in population and general loss of prosperity. Meanwhile the Spanish population during the century rose from five to twenty thousand. Spaniards had infiltrated San Juan, where there were already in 1765 more than half as many Whites as Indians, and into San Ildefonso where by 1793 after the smallpox epidemic had killed half the Indians there were two-thirds as many Whites as Indians. There were by the 1790s four Spanish towns in the Rio Grande Valley, each with a population of more than two thousand--Santa Fe, La Canada (Santa Cruz), Albuquerque, and El Paso. In addition there were small Spanish towns--Belem, Tome, and Socorro (Spicer, Cycles of Conquest: 166). [See Document I Indios Piros 1790 Paso del Norte, Juarez Archives Reel 37, Nos. 0255, 0256, 0257.

1790 Census Paso del Norte - Yndios Piros
Juarez Archives Reel 47

783. Antonio Alameda, 43 & Maria Juaquina
784. Juan Jose Abalos, 63 & Juana Nepomucena, 37, & son 10
785. Santiago Lina 47, & Juana Dominga, & children 15, 3, & 1
786. Juan Candelaria, 41 & Maria Dorotea, 23, & children 2 & 5
787. Matias Sanchez, 47 & Maria Dominga, & son 17 & daughter 16
788. Juan Jose Jojola, 37 & Maria Manuela, 32
789. Jose Tomas, 25 & Maria Rita
790. Domingo Maria, 53, & Manuela, 42
791. Juan Pedro 22, & Maria Zenidia, 17 & daughters 2 & 9
792. Felipe Santiago 23 & Guadelupe Lina 17
793. Jose Maria 28 & Maria Ferera (?) 42, & daughters 6 & 1
794. Julian Reyes 27 & Antonia Lina 32, & child 8
795. Pedro Fanuto 24 & Manuela Lina 22, & son 3
796. Jose Larano Montes 26 & Petra Paula 22, & daughters 8 & 1
797. Juan Bartolo 30, & son 2
798. Juan Jose Crus 27 & Maria Josefa Abalos 25 & son 1
799. Jose Antonio Borica 29 & ? Cruz 22
800. Matias Melenudo 60 & son 22
801. ? Juan ? & Francisca ? 20
802. Juan Maria ? & Maria ?
803. Juan ? Melenudo 37 & Maria 22
804. Armando Julian ? & Dolores A?yones 23
805. Juan Ardonaisa (?) 52 & Manuela 32
806. Juan Pablas 32 & Maria Apodaca, & son 12

807. Juan Antonio Cruz 28 & Maria Santos 31 & son 6, daughter 1
808. Jose Lina ? & Maria Lenora ? & daughters 6 & 2
809. Juan ? Anaya ? & Rafaela Sais 32
810. Santiago Cantos 32 & Dominga Lina 22
811. Roque Lina 42 & Maria Justeria 38 & son 14, daughter 8
812. Juan Antonio & Maria Dolores 18
813. ? Lina 47 & Ermonfilda (?) Minjares 27
814. Geronimo Sierra 30 & Maria ? Truxillo 28, & children 6, 3 & 1
815. Nicolas Salado 32 & Maria Micaela 30, son 9 & daughters 5 & 2
816. Felipe Leon Salado 39 & Maria Dominga 29, sons 8 & 3, dau. 6
817. Barilio Salado 30 & Maria Trinidad, daughters 5 & 2
818. Jose Antonio Melenudo 50 & Maria Dolores 38 & daughter 8
819. Jose Domingo Marrio (?) 22 & Vicenta Lina 20, child 3
820. Antonio de Jesus 37 & Maria Guadelupe 28, son 10, dau.7 & 1
821. Luis Marrio (?) 27 & Ferela Bonnego, son 6
822. Jose Ramos 30 & Maria Faustina 22 & sons 7 & 2
823. Dontura Leiba 42 & Guadelupe 21, daughter 7
824. Jose Maria & Maria ?
825. Sirilio Abalos 22 & Maria Cipriana ? & child 12
826. ??
827. ? Francisco Maria 20 & Maria ?
828. Simon Garcia 29 & Maria Ylaria 20, daughter 1

<u>Yndias</u>
829. Maria Jacoba 20 & child 3
830. Rosa Ortega 52 & son 10, daughter 7
831. Maria Alfonso 22 & child 2
832. Juana Lujan 52
833. Maria Juana 22, son 2
834. Maria Riberra 18
835. Maria Antonia Abalos 50 & children 19, 12 & 10
836. Juana ? 82 (?)
837. Maria Rosita ? & daughters 14 & 10
838. Maria del la Luz ? & daughter 12
839. Maria Nicolasa 32 & son 3, daughters 7 & 9
840. Maria Andrea 47
841. Maria Ascencion 52

Whether Mansos continued as a separate identifiable Indian group at El Paso into the 1800s remains clouded, because Bandelier reported an 1883 meeting of a small number of them living in the Barrial section (Lange and Riley 1970:160-166).

In 1790, members of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe, still located in the region and listed in the Paso Del Norte Census as Yndios Piros, and bearing names in the geneaologies of historical tribal officers, included:
784. Juan Jose Abalos, 63 & Juana Nepomucena, 37, & son 10
786. Juan Candelaria, 41 & Maria Dorotea, 23, & children 2 & 5
825. Sirilio Abalos 22 & Maria Cipriana ? & child 12
<u>Yndias</u>
832. Juana Lujan 52
835. Maria Antonia Abalos 50 & children 19, 12 & 10
[See Document I Indios Piros 1790 Paso del Norte, Juarez Archives Reel 37, Nos. 0255, 0256, 0257.

Cacique Caetano Roybal, in El Paso del Norte by 1794, was listed on the 1803 and 1806 census lists with his family in Chamisal, and his wife was Anastacia Benavides. Their son, Jose Francisco Roybal, married a widow, Leogarda Anaya (AACJ 1847: Reel 8), who was listed on the 1803 and 1806 list of Indians at Our Lady of Guadalupe Mission (AAD 1803, 1806) [By the 1810s, recording of tribal affiliations in parish records and census reports had waned, and ended when Mexico's 1820 Constitution abolished Indio racial status (Spicer 1962:334). "Indigene" replaced "Yndio" in Paso del Norte records. Pueblo Indians were not listed tribally, while Apaches were referred to as indio Apache or yndio barbaro ("wild Indians")]. Jose Francisco's son, Agapito, married Albina Jemente (then later, Maria Jostea Enriques, and then Josefa Manrique). He was Cacique in Chamisal in 1836, according to the El Paso, Juarez Archives lists, and on the 1844 list of Indigenes/ Native family heads from Chamisal and Barreal districts (JA 1884: Reel 13). Agapito's and Albina's son, Jose Roybal, born in Chamisal in 1832 (married to Isadore Lopez, then Isabel Salado), became Cacique in 1862 (ACCJ 1862: Reel 8), and was listed as one of the Indigenes de la Cabezera, Natives of the Regional Capital, Paso del Norte, as eligible for the Mexican Army's military draft in 1862 (JA 1862a: Reel 24), with other descendants of Indians on the 1844 census. Jose's son by Isadore, Felipe, was Cacique of the Piro/ Manso/ Tiwa Tribe about 1865.

Census records, petitions for authorization of colonies, and the like continued to indicate ethnicity and tribal affiliation in the Juarez, Socorro, Senecu, Ysleta del Sur, Paso del Norte area until the mid-1800s. However, as suggested above, due to suffrage laws and policies promoting mesticization, records documenting tribal affiliation are scant for the periods of migration of the present Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe to its present site.

In 1803, the Paso del Norte parish census listed 55 Indian families as Siguen los Higos de Pueblo (AAD 1803), while the 1806 Parish census listed 52 as Pueblo de los Indios de Doctrina (AAD 1806), reflecting they were receiving instruction at the Mission. Taylor's comparison of these families with those in the 1784 and 1790 records suggests all four lists of Indian families were composed essentially of the same identifiable Piro group, with only two families referred to as "Manso" (AAD 1803). Other Indians lived in Chamisal or Barrial quarters of town (JA 1784: Reel 46; AAD 1803, 1806). Some families numbered in the two districts in the 1803 and 1806 census reports had appeared as Indio in the 1784 census, and rather than working Indian land, they had served as laborers on the lands of the Spanish settlers (vecinos), and most were bound by debt peonage to the vecinos in the Paso del Norte area.

The 1844 census list of Indians at El Paso del Norte included names of descendants of people in the 1784, 1790, 1803 and 1806 census lists. In 1844, members of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe, still located in the region and listed in the Chamisal and Barreal Districts as Native Family Heads [Piros], and bearing names in the geneaologies of historical tribal officers, included:

Juan Trujillo
Felipe Trujillo
Juan Simon Gemente
Cristobal Abalos
Perfidio Gemente

Bacilio Abalos
Agapito Abalos
Nasario Abalos
Agapito Roybal
Jose Maria Gemente
Francisco Abalos
Yndias
? Gemente
[See Document II List of Native Family Heads from the Districts of Chamisal and Barreal, 1844 in Juarez Archives Reel 13, Nos. 000049, Vol. 2, 1844].

In 1844, members of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe, still located in the region and listed in the Senecu Del Sur Census as Native Family Heads, and bearing names in the geneaologies of historical tribal officers, included:

? (P)edrasa
Jose (P)edrasa
Basilio Jojola
Mariano (P)edrasa
Ignacio Marquez
? (P)edrasa
Jose Dolores (P)edrasa
Miguel (P)edrasa
Juan ? (P)edrasa
Geronimo (P)edrasa
Jose Luis (P)edrasa
Juan Fernando Alejo
Hilario (P)edrasa
Sebastian Duran
Yndias
[See Document V Native Family Heads Senecu del Sur, Juarez Archives Reel 13, Nos. 000029, Vol. 2, 1844].

In 1862, members of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe, still located in the Juarez Regional Capital and listed in the Senecu Del Sur Census as Native Family Heads, and bearing names in the geneaologies of historical tribal officers, included:

Jose Trujillo, 20
Aloisco (?) Trujillo, 18
Locario Trujillo, 16
Jose Ruibal [Roybal], 30
Francisco Abalos [Avalos], 20
Mario Perea, 48
Marcelino (?) Jemente, 39
Marcos Abalos [Avalos], 27
[See Document IV, Natives of the Regional Capital, Juarez Archives Reel 24, 1862.]

Thus, we find that the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indian presence at Paso del Norte can be documented from the mid-1600s to the mid-1800s.

b. Ethnographic accounts of Sociocultural Organization, Indian ritual, costumes, artifacts and household goods among the Piros, Mansos, and Tiwas

Many Piro/Manso/Tiwas used to believe they had Ysleta del Sur Tigua

ancestry, because some of their ancestors were known to have lived at or near Ysleta, though they did not necessarily emphasize their Senecu or other Piro ancestry, but rather their Indian ancestry (Hurt 1952; Oppenheimer Thesis, 1957). The common linguistic and cultural origins of Piro and Tiwa groups, the proximity of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa peoples in the Las Cruces area to the Ysleta del Sur Tribe in El Paso, the participation of members of each tribe in the other tribe's ceremonial dances, foot races and other activities, the close proximity of Ysleta to Senecu, the occasional residency of Piros at Ysleta del Sur, all gave rise to a general understanding among members of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe that at least some of their ancestry is connected to Ysleta del Sur or Isleta in the north itself. The same chants, steps and patterns, and similar ceremonial regalia, treated similarly, and similar customs regarding rabbit hunts, also indicate connections between Ysleta del Sur and the largely Piro Tribe in Las Cruces. There are some Piro/Manso/Tiwas who suggest the Tiwas from Las Cruces helped revive some of the dances at Ysleta del Sur. There is no doubt of the Caciques' having received Ysleta del Sur visitors and having entertained them at his house, drumming and singing with them within the last 20 years, a point which contemporary tribal leaders emphasize (Conn and Slagle, PMT Field Notes, 1990). The Ysleta del Sur veneration of Nuestra Sra. de Guadelupe, with the addition of a large shrine to the church at Ysleta del Sur, is a recent phenomenon (Decorme nd; Burrus 1981; Houser 1966, 1979; Gerald 1974b, c, d).

The Piro heritage of the Las Cruces Indian population and their survival as the only remaining Piro group becomes all the more important when one considers the report of the Voegelins and Schutz of 1967 (p. 449), that "the Piro dialect of Tiwa was last spoken in Las Cruces, New Mexico." Piro was viewed as a Tiwa dialect. Comparisons of the phonology from the Piro vocabularies which Mooney, Bartlett, and Bandelier collected suggests that Piro is related to Tiwa, and most closely related to Northern Tiwa as spoken at Taos and Picuris, rather than to Southern Tiwa as spoken at Isleta and Sandia (Corbett 1981). Leap's notion that Piro is not a Tiwa language and not part of the Tanoan language family is based on a misreading of Harrington's use of the Bartlett vocabulary (Corbett 1981).

The Piro and Tiwa tribes' common experience living in communities planned, founded and administered under Spanish and Mexican domination, and relying on Catholic Church influence over 200 years for social and religious life, led to similar coping strategies and adaptations. The Piros and Tiwas could not escape the proximity of the conquerors, but the Spanish policy of dividing ethnic groups such as the Piros and Tiwas from each other, or both from non-Indians, was a failure in the El Paso area. While one group or the other would dominate, admixtures of Indians and some non-Indians was unavoidable (Gerald 1974b: Jenkins 1974; Jones 1979; Walz 1951). On the other hand, Paso del Norte Pueblo Indians were infiltrated and surrounded by Europeans, and it was more difficult for them to prevent acculturative Spanish influences on their culture. Their Pueblo culture came to have a European veneer of customs and institutions; and this Pueblo culture, coming from separate Piro and Tiwa groups which originated in the El Paso area, is what they brought to Mesilla Valley and had in Las Cruces by the 1850s.

The various ethnographic accounts presented here show the continued existence of tribal and cultural entities among the El Paso del Norte Native groups to the end of the 19th century. What is also clear from these accounts is the heavy overlay of Catholic and Hispanic culture that these groups took

on through centuries of life at the Pass. The El Paso del Norte Pueblos have always been unique in the history of the Southwest because of their location at an important hub of first Spanish, then Mexican, and finally American economic and political activity, and because of the development of the area as an important urban center. Located as these pueblos were at an important frontier outpost, and settled on lands granted them by the Spanish as a refugee population, and not in their indigenous range, the El Paso del Norte pueblos were much more susceptible to pressures from the outside world. These pressures took the form of Anglo and Hispanic encroachment on their land, the effects of intermarriage between the closely settled groups, and the Spanish colonial policy of forced acculturation largely put into effect by the Mission program run by the Franciscans.

The Spanish policy was to concentrate the Indians into village for conversion to Catholicism and efficiency of administration. The theory was that the Native peoples in New Spain should be gathered into units close to the Spanish so that they could observe the practices of Christians and thus be saved from "their vice of idleness" (Jenkins 1974:228). The intent of Spanish law was to protect the Indians in their personal as well as communal land and water rights, at the same time converting them to the Christian religion and European work ethic. They were legally considered to be wards of the state (Jenkins 1974:215). Until late in the Spanish period, the Indians of New Mexico (including the Paso del Norte area) were under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Franciscan Order of Friars Minor.

In New Mexico, the Franciscan mission system became a frontier institution for the spread of effective military and political control, as well as an institution for saving souls. The mission system introduced a wealth of European practices and material culture items to their native charges. Included were such things as stock raising, European crops, dress, the Spanish language, and a wealth of items and practices related to Roman Catholicism. The suppression of Native religion and ritual was an item of constant concern and vigilance for the priests. This policy succeeded to various degrees at various New Mexican pueblos, but never was a complete stamping out of Native ritual successful. Instead, Indian ritual took on a Catholic overlay, with Native dances and processions being performed before the mission church instead of in the pueblo plaza, and on Saint's days rather than in accordance with the Native calendar. Several scholars have suggested that the Pueblo custom of secrecy surrounding Native ritual and ceremonies arose from the Mission Period. The Native practices didn't die, they were simply driven "underground".

Each Pueblo or Indian settlement strongly identified with its own patron saint and church, clinging to their veneration even over attempts by later priests to introduce a new patron saint (Decorme n.d.; Gerald 1974d). Indians planned and worked together to prepare for the feast day, collecting funds for church decorations, candles, and fiesta meals (Burrus 1971), claiming the parish church as their own.

The Spanish and Mexican Catholic cultural overlay included new dances, in all probability. There were two kinds of dancing at Pueblo church fiestas in the 1800s. The first kind was Pueblo, including male and female dancers doing Pueblo steps and patterns with drum accompaniment and a male chorus of chanters of Pueblo songs (Bartlett 1965). [These were called the "maskless Kachina dances" of the Rio Grande Pueblo (Dozier 1958: 442-433).] It is uncertain whether Piros and/or Tiwas performed Matachin dances, but Reid

reported on an 1857 "Indian" Matachin dance in the Plaza of the mission church at Paso del Norte (1935: 161-162). Bandelier also reported, "They were dancing the Matachines" at El Paso upon his return from Senecu to El Paso (Lange and Riley 1970: 164). Whether the Piros involved were at El Paso or at Senecu was unclear. Fewkes reported Matachines at San Lorenzo (1902: 74). The Ysleta del Sur Pueblo never had Matachin dances of their own, but hosted other tribes who did Matachines at Ysleta fiestas (Burrus: 1981). Matachin dances were considered more secular than the Pueblo dances. Generally, it seems more probable that the Piros dances Matachines than did the Tiwas. Rio Grande Pueblo Indians also perform Matachin dances (Dozier 1958: 444).

The December 12 Guadalupe fiesta was a major event at El Paso del Norte for Indians and non-Indian settlers alike. It is likely that non-Indian leaders managed the fiesta through a set of Majordomos, and non-Indian Majordomos organized and did fund raising for such a fiesta as early as 1763 (JA 1787: Reel 45). Indians lit bonfires (luminarias) on the mountains around El Paso on December 11 night, and danced outside the church after Mass on December 12 (Reid 1935: 161-162). The Guadalupe fiesta lasted a week, and was the occasion of general merry-making: bull fights, cockfights, games of chance, and night-time fireworks displays (Reid 1935: 161-162; Escobar 1946: 63; JA 1861: Reel 64). People traveled fifty miles for the fiesta (Reid 1935: 161-162; NA 1908: 704). These features of the old Guadalupe Day festival, imported to Tortugas in the form of a secular carnival on the Cacique's land adjacent to the church during the Guadalupe Day festival at Tortugas, became matter for great controversy, and this controversy contributed heavily to the Tribe's eventual loss of control over the village corporation.

Another pressure on the maintenance of traditional culture came from the intermarriage of members of the closely-settled Pueblo settlements. While intermarriage occurred in the northern Pueblos as well, as various segments of one pueblo took refuge at another during times of stress, it never reached the proportions in other pueblos that it did among tribal entities in Paso del Norte region. The practice of clan-arranged marriages that persisted in the northern Pueblos up until the introduction of American boarding schools for Indian children at the close of the 19th century, broke down early at Paso del Norte because of the uprooting and wholesale resettlement of the Piro and Tiwa people in an enclave far removed from their ancestral surroundings. Intermarriage resulted in a Paso del Norte pueblo culture that was a blend of its component Piro, Tiwa, and Manso parts. That the pueblo culture was dominant can be seen by the 1880s ethnographic accounts of the Mansos performing typical northern Pueblo dances (Bandelier 1890: 248-249).

Bandelier collected much of his information about Mansos from an Indian named Nicomedes Lara, who claimed to be a Manso, but who also said that the Mansos "know they came from the north and that they are Piros" (Lange and Riley 1970:160-166). Fray Ramon Ortiz, parish priest at Our Lady of Guadalupe Mission, told Bandelier the Mansos "are so mixed with the population that they have given up their nationality and language" (Lange and Riley 1970:160). Father Ortiz had made a similar statement about Mansos thirty years before (ACCJ 1950: Reel 3). However, intermarriage among the Piros, Tiwas and Mansos assured that by the mid-1800s the Mansos eventually were united by the middle of the 1800s. Bandelier found their customs more Pueblo than Athapascan in origin (1890:247-249; Lange and Riley 1970:160-166). They divided people into corn groups (southern Tiwa style) rather than into categories named after places or into ethnic groups (southern Athapaskan)

(Pasons 1932; Goodwin 1942; Reynolds 1979; Basehard 1974). Bandelier's "Manso" description of tribal organization in the population did not reflect a band-headman form of Athapaskan organization, instead reporting a chief, war captain, lieutenant, and five alguaciles as the Piro and Tigua Pueblo Indians had at Senecu del Sur and Ysleta del Sur (Lange and Riley 1970:165). He also said Eugene Van Patten (prominent in the creation of the business corporation of the Tribe) spoke of the Mansos in El Paso, with whom he was very familiar, as Pueblo Indians (Lange and Riley 1970:156). Summarizing his ethnographic findings, Bandelier said of the Mansos:

> I have been misled myself by not paying sufficient attention to the numerous miscegenations (from the standpoint of tribal integrity and purity of blood) that have occurred here (1890:247).

The only remnants of Manso culture at Bandelier's time were folktales about Mansos living as Apaches did in the early times after precontact and some self-identification as "Manso" (Bandelier 1890:247-248; Lange and Riley 1970:160).

The Indian population living in Paso del Norte in the 1800s was primarily Piro, though the Piros originated in New Mexico. At the time of Spanish contact, they lived in over 20 pueblos along both banks of the Rio Grande from the Rio Puerco to Mulligan Gulch and in the area to the Northeast on the other side of the Manzano Mountains (Schroeder 1979:238-239). The eastern Piros were often called Tompiros. They spoke a Tanoan language (Hale and Harris 1979:171), were warrior/ agriculturalists with village governments under a Chief/ Cacique, lieutenant Caciques acting as sheriffs/alguaciles (Schroeder 1979: 236). Kivas were established for games and dances, entertaining visitors, lodging and sweatbaths (Schroeder 1979:236-240). The Piro population fell rapidly in the 1600s from about 9000 (Hodge 1910:262) as Apache raids, droughts, and epidemics forced them to abandon their villages (Bandelier 1890:130-132; Schroeder 1979). By 1680, the remaining Piros in Central New Mexico were

A third impact on the culture of the Paso del Norte Indian groups was the steadily increasing immigration of Hispanic settlers from the interior of Mexico. While in theory these settlers were not to encroach on lands granted to the Pueblos, in practice they claimed squatters rights on Pueblo fallow lands and were not always forced out by the Spanish authorities. The changing course of the Rio Grande complicated matters still further, as the annual floods took away land in one area and deposited it in another, destroying natural boundary markers. Prior to the influx of Hispanic settlers, it was common Pueblo practice to divide up these "newly created" lands among those in the pueblo who needed them. The Hispanic immigrants, however, chose to see this land as belonging to no one, and free for the taking. Although in theory lands were granted to each Indian Pueblo which they held in common for their exclusive use, some government administrators turned a blind eye to Mexican encroachment and settlement on Pueblo land.

Senecu, Ysleta, Socorro, and the Spanish settlers lodged repeated complaints against one another over the boundaries of their assigned lands. Numerous references to land claims and boundary disputes between the various groups settled at the Pass are recorded in Spanish and later Mexican administrative documents in the Juarez Archives, and continued into the American period. As Hispanic settlers moved up from the interior of Mexico, and the population in the various settlements in the valley grew, pressure on the available agricultural land increased.

A series of disastrous floods in 1829 and 1831-32 had serious consequences for the Piro and Tiwa who would become the Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe and settle in the Mesilla Valley (the Manso had by the 19th century been absorbed by the Piro population). These floods caused the Rio Grande to carve a new channel between Ysleta and Senecu. This left Yselta and Socorro at first on an island, and then on the opposite bank of the river, on what would become in a short time, part of the United States. This series of floods destroyed much of Senecu's land, and left the rest on the opposite side of the river. A new round of land disputes between Ysleta and Senecu ensued, with members of both communities laying claim to these lands, and some Piros from Senecu crossing the river to settle near Ysleta to till them (Bowden 1971).

During the same time, a series of political upheavals spread through the Paso del Norte area. In 1821, Mexico declared independence from Spain. The Treaty of Cordoba, consummating Mexican independence, guaranteed racial equality, preservation of private property, and personal rights. By it all Indians were granted Mexican citizenship and protection of lands held under the Spanish regime. The state constitution of Chihuahua followed suit. No status of "Indian" was recognized - only Mexican citizen - and government records were not to use the term Indian. Indians no longer existed politically (Simmons 1979: 206; Spicer 1962: 334). However, little was done in the following years to safeguard Indian rights and ensure their equitable treatment. One consequence of these laws of direct importance for this research was the cessation of listing ethnic or tribal affinity of persons in census materials. Although Indians were still sometimes referred to in official documents as "indigenes", the new Mexican government policy of creating a unified society created sometimes insurmountable problems for 20th century geneaological research.

A second upheaval in the mission society at the turn of the 19th century came with changes in the Catholic Church. For over a century, a steady battle had raged within the church between the secular priesthood and the religious orders. The Bishops of Durango vigorously pursued a policy of secularization and the transfer of ecclesiastical authority and administration to priests under their control. At the heart was the ultimate control of the mission system and rural or frontier parishes. Ultimately, the Franciscans and other religious orders lost power, and in 1797 the Paso del Norte missions passed into secular control. There were not enough secular priests to care for all of the parishes of New Mexico, however, so the Franciscans in many cases stayed on in the less important or prestigious parishes for years (they did not leave Paso del Norte entirely until 1872).

In 1851, Santa Fe became the seat of a new archdiocese, and a French priest, Bishop Lamy, became its head. His policy of installing French priests in as many parishes as possible was to signal a new round of oppression of Native peoples in New Mexico, as the French were even less tolerant of Indian interpretations of Catholic ritual than their Spanish predecessors. In Paso del Norte, there was a new round of suppression of Native ritual, including the banning of Indian dancing before the church, and the halt of public processions on saint's days.

A by-product of the declaration of Mexican independence was the opening of trade routes with America to the east. In Paso del Norte this resulted in an ever increasing flow of American settlers into the valley. The scarcity of good agricultural land in the Rio Grande Valley became more critical. In

1839, 116 men from the Paso del Norte area applied to settle on a tract of land to the north in the Mesilla Valley that was to be opened for settlement. This was the Dona Ana Bend Colony Grant. Among those original 116 applying for colonization were Indians from the mission settlements. Included in the archival materials later collected by the Land Claims Office was a petition from Mexican citizens for title to lands belonging to Senecu pueblo, on the grounds that the natives were not properly utilizing the valuable land. Their petition was denied, and the men were directed to join in the colonization of the Dona Ana Bend Grant.

Over the next decade, with American colonists pushing westward, and Mexican colonists moving north, tensions in the Rio Grande Valley increased to the flashpoint. In 1846, the United States declared war on Mexico over their annexation of Texas, and Colonel Doniphan's troops entered and occupied the Paso del Norte area. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended the war in 1848, and provided that Mexico relinquish all claims to land east of the Rio Grand and cede the present area of New Mexico to the United States. The Pueblo lands of Ysleta and Socorro were now within the boundaries of the United States. In 1850, John Bartlett and members of the Boundary Commission arrive in the Paso del Norte to survey the international boundary between Mexico and the United States. Boundary Commissioner Bartlett described the Piro Indians of Senecu dancing at the Guadalupe Mission church in Paso del Norte (Bartlett 1965(1):148-149). He details the turmoil in the area at the time due to American settlers forcibly taking possession of Mexican and Indian land, and the harassment of the Natives at Socorro by men discharged from the Boundary Commission. There are accounts of Mexican citizens and native families moving out of the area in the early 1850s to escape the depredations of the Americans (Gibson 1965:52 in Gerald 1974:166). In 1854, the Relinquishment Act of the Texas Legislature granted to the inhabitants of Ysleta the former Senecu Pueblo land that was cut off by the floods of 1831-32, and now lay east of the river.

It was therefore in an era of great turmoil in the lower Rio Grande Valley that residents of the Paso del Norte Pueblos fled their homes in Senecu, Ysleta, and Paso del Norte to move north into the Mesilla Valley where new land was being cleared for settlement.

PUEBLO GOVERNANCE, RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, COMPARED TO PIRO/MANSO/TIWA GOVERNANCE AS DERIVED FROM OTHER PUEBLO SOURCES

The Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribal government, according to sources in the tribe and scholarly sources, seems always to have been founded on a northern Pueblo model. The following comments about the roles of tribal or Pueblo officers derive primarily from generalized ethnographic descriptions of this model as it appeared in the El Paso del Norte region: among the Tiguas at Ysleta and the Piros at Senecu and Socorro del Sur (Gerald 1974c,d; Fewkes 1902); among the Piros at El Paso and Senecu (Bandelier's descriptions in Lange and Riley 1970: 160-165); and among Pueblo Indian governments generally under Spanish colonial administration (Simmons 1979).

The Pueblo Cacique, the traditional Pueblo Chief, conducted rituals connected with the dances and meetings or gatherings, led the singers in chanting during the dances, a led the religious affairs of the community (Lange and Riley 19780: 165: Burrus 1981). The Cacique conducted the Indian rituals for the maintenance of the general welfare, and to sanctify the

officers appointed through adopted Spanish custom. He called annual elections on January 1, handing a wooden baton as an emblem of office to each new officer. He bore his own baton, as well. The general Pueblo custom was that the Cacique ruled for life, while upon his death the people elected a successor, deferring strongly to the late Cacique's nomination (Langue and Riley 1970: 160; Gerald 1974: 56). These parts of the model fit the historical Piro/Manso/Tiwa Caciques. (See below).

Lange and Riley indicate (1970: 164), in many El Paso area settlements, the Cacique post may have been hereditary within a particular corn group. In the case of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe, the post has been within the male line of the Roybal family for nearly 200 years of which there is record. The Lieutenant, Assistant Cacique, or Teniente assisted the Cacique. That particular post has been filled recently (1991) by Edward Roybal, Sr., and was filled during the Regency of Caciqua Francisca Avalos Roybal during the 1920s and 1930s by Senovio Avalos, her brother, until Vicente Avalos, her brother, was able to succeed to the post after a period of training. Though few records exist predating 1850 to note the existence of the Cacique in the Paso del Norte Region, most records were made by civil administrators who lacked contact with any group's Cacique as a religious leader (JA 1858a: Reel 21; JA 1814b: Reel 2).

A group's Gobernadorcillo or Governor, a secular leader for the Pueblo who acted as a magistrate (deciding minor disputes, meting out punishments, allowing public activities, ordering arrangements for dances, etc.) was the main point of contact (JA 1858a: Reel 21; JA 1814b: Reel 2). Such officers had their own Lieutenant Governor, and persons in these offices were often mentioned in documents. The Piro/Manso/Tiwas, in creating a daughter Corporation to govern Tortugas in 1914, created the office of Presidente, and the holder of this office carried out a number of these secular powers. (See below).

War Captains, or Capitanes de Guerra, usually numbering four, acted as peace officers, and were responsible for maintaining order during dances, fiestas, hunts or Cercos, and other public events. The War Captain was in charge of hunts, and led the group's military auxiliaries (Walz 1851: 65), and provided scouting and tracking services for a settlement, guarded the group's boundaries and rounded up stray cattle (JA 1849b: Reel 15), and maintained religious discipline in general (Docier 1958: 444). It appears that these parts of the model fit the historical Piro/Manso/Tiwa Caciques. (See below). The Commissioners of Tortugas, who handled secular affairs there prior to the creation of the Los Indigenes de Nuestra Sra. de Guadalupe Corporation in 1914, and various officer of the Corporation after that date, carried out some of the business functions related to building and maintenance which would have been reserved to tribal Captains at an earlier date.

Each Pueblo parish had its Indian lay assistants to the priest, who served as interpreters and teachers, or fiscales (Simmons 1979: 181). There also were Indian sacristans (Dozier 1958: 444). There has been little study of the officers who served these particular roles at Tortugas or Las Cruces. The Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe elected Majordomos to run the fiestas for the Tribe at Las Cruces, and for the Corporation and the Tribe in Tortugas after 1914.

Oppenheimer's description of PMT tribal government (Thesis, 1957) is a characterization of the aboriginal/traditional government which preceded the creation of the Indigenes Corporation, and which has continued with few

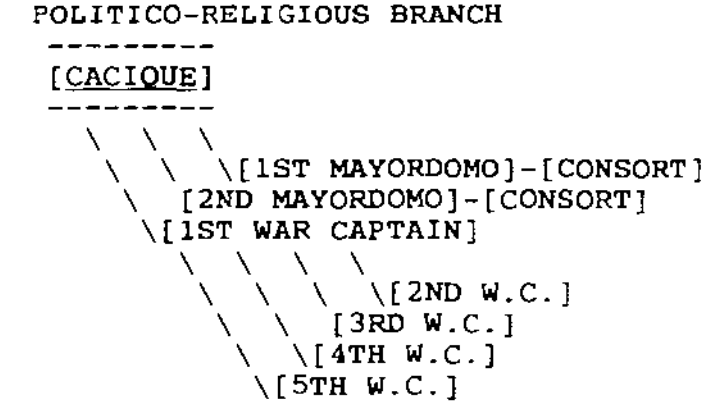
modifications to the present (Below, there are discussions and transcriptions of organic documents and meeting minutes from the post-1900 periods indicating consistent adherence to traditional governmental forms and usages). Speaking of the Cacique's duties, Oppenheimer wrote:

> It is . . . the Cacique's duty to appoint officers. In practice, as in many of the northern pueblos, such "nomination" is tantamount to election, and the overlay of democratic process is thin indeed. In his capacity as nominal leader of the secular branch as well, he has certain legal duties, inasmuch as his signature is required on all documents relevant to the village. These legal duties never are a part of the Cacique's duties in the Rio Grande pueblos. The Cacique at Tortugas also acts in an advisory capacity and functions as an arbiter in disputes. He is in charge of the Guadalupe fiesta and all other ceremonial activities.

To what extent, if any, the Cacique in office at the time of Oppenheimer's field work (Vicente Roybal) continued to carry out any "legal duties" for the Tortugas group after the Tribe split with the Indigenes de la Nra. Sra. de Guadalupe Corporation is questionable, considering his having been sued and otherwise deprived of access to records, insignia of office, and the like. The office of Cacique always was strictly hereditary. At fn. 2, Oppenheimer added:

> It is not known to what extent offices are hereditary in the Rio Grande Pueblos. Doctor Florence Hawley Ellis says (personal communication) that "among the Towa (Jemez) if possible they try to pass headship of societies to relatives of former heads (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 51). As the Cacique's niece states, "It goes just like kings and queens." I could not obtain the names of Caciques beyond the present incumbent's father, Felipe Roybal . . . (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 51).

The traditional Piro/Manso/Tiwa governmental structure, which Oppenheimer called the "Politico-Religious Branch" (Fig. 3 following p. 50), continues as follows, except that there has been no appointment of Mayordomos in an official sense as part of the Tribe's government since completion of the schism at Tortugas, and the legal break between the daughter Corporation and the Tribe:



(Oppenheimer, Thesis, from Fig. 3).

The Cacique headed the religious branch as well as the secular activities of the tribal government. Essentially, the Tribe functioned as a theocracy, with a Catholic mission veneer. The functions of religious leader and head of state were inseparable, to the extent that nomination by the

Cacique was virtual law, which the Tribe was expected dutifully to endorse, and apparently did. Following the Cacique was the set of War Captains/Principales I-V, operating under the First War Captain, or "Chief of the Principales," whose main duties involved enforcing the will of the Cacique; that is, their purpose was: "to keep the peace, especially at fiestas and other ceremonials" (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 53). In order to have the full backing of civil authority, by the time of Oppenheimer's visit, "They [he]ld] civil commissions from the city of Las Cruces, and [had] full legal right to fine and incarcerate;" and while the date at which the holding of the civil commissions began is unclear, prior to developments leading to the Tribe's colonization of Tortugas, the civil authority of the War Captains apparently already was in place in the Mesilla Valley, and in what is now downtown Las Cruces. Whether or to what extent they originally actually enforced their authority with weapons other than the traditional varas is uncertain; however, by 1951, "They [did] not carry firearms. Their insignia of office consist[ed] of a bow and arrow or a vara, a stick about six feet long used by Spaniards of the early period for measuring land (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 54)." The Vara was used as a measuring stick originally, but the name came to apply to the emblem. Fewkes [Pueblo Settlements, p. 65 in Oppenheimer (1957:92, fn. 3)] said similar batons or staffs of office were at Ysleta del Sur for all officers, except these had silver crosses on the top, suggesting the quiote used on the Tortugas Mountain pilgrimages, and the crosses fixed on varas, used to administer oaths [Vasquez, Spanish Dictionary, Oppenheimer (1957:92, fn. 3)].

As to their election to office, "They [were] nominated by the Cacique and elected yearly on New Year's Eve. As with other offices, however, 'nomination' by the Cacique [was] tantamount to election. They [could] be re-elected, and many men [held] the office for a long period (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 54)."

> Other religious officers, according to Oppenheimer's sources, were: two Majordomos, likewise ranked, and their consorts. If a man [was] unmarried, he [would be] assigned a woman, often his mother, to function in this office with him. The Majordomos, known as "Godfathers to the Virgin," perform[ed] ceremonial functions and their office [brought] them prestige. The office entail[ed] considerable expense, for much of the financial burden of the Guadalupe fiesta [was] borne by them. They [were] partly reimbursed from some of the funds collected by the Cacique. The Majordomos [were] nominated by the Cacique, who consult[ed] with the outgoing Majordomos, and [were] "elected" at the New Year's Eve Pueblo Meeting [Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 54; at fn. 5 he added, "The changing of officers with the New Year is also found at Isleta and Isleta del Sur. See French, Factionalism, pp. 6-10, and Fewkes, Pueblo Settlements, p. 62). However, Parrish, El Paso Times, June 14, 1951, p. 15, notes that the officials were changed at Isleta del Sur on June 13, the day of their patron, Saint Anthony. If so, this date has been altered since Fewkes' report of 1902.]

In addition, there were Sacred Clowns called Abuelos, "Grandfathers," selected yearly, numbering not less than six [Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 55; and at fn. 7, citing Parsons, Isleta, p. 255, at Isleta there were six clown masks for the Te'en (Grandfathers), adding (from pp. 263,264), that theoretically, there were four from each moiety.] These offices no longer exist in the Tortugas Pueblo or in the Tribe. What remained of their ritual

functions, if any, apparently was taken over by the War Captains in Las Cruces (Slagle, PMT Field Notes, 1991).

Oppenheimer (Thesis, p. 55) operated under the premise that the split between the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe and its daughter corporation, Los Indigenes de Nuestra Sra. de Guadalupe, as he observed that split developing for a time in the 1950s, was temporary; and he felt under those circumstances it was safe to say that the Tortugas governmental structure "has retained the old Ysleta pattern." However, he failed to show that the Piro/Manso/Tiwa government in force prior to contact with the U. S. derived from Ysleta del Sur, or whether it was the same as the form the Tribe brought with them to or instituted in the Mesilla Valley. Findings of other investigators of the El Paso del Norte Pueblo governments suggest that it is too simplistic to say that the Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribal government derived from Ysleta del Sur in particular (see above). Further, the governmental structure at Tortugas actually adhered to the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe's pre-Tortugas form only to a point in the process of schism. Thereafter, the Tribe's daughter Corporation laid claim to the bare legal title to the appurtenances of Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribal government following the break between the Tribe and its daughter business council/corporation. Indeed, the Corporation appears to have dropped many of these, lacking any real need or claim to them.

c. economic organization and condition

Prior to their eventual settlement in the Mesilla Valley, the Piro, Manso and Tiwa ancestors of the Tribe lived under the conditions common to northern Pueblo peoples. Besides subsistence agriculture involving such crops as the hybrid corn, legumes and vegetables long in use, the pursuits of hunting, fishing, and economically significant crafts and manufactures undoubtedly played a major role in the economic life of these forebears. Long before their arrival in their present homeland, their subsistence skills were well-developed. Speculation as to the extent to which missionization and forced contact with non-Indians influenced, and altered or degraded their pre-contact lifestyle must rely on information about the effects of such influences on their immediate neighbors, chronicled elsewhere. The chronicles of the experiences of such neighbors as Chamisal, Senecu, Socorro, El Paso, Ysleta del Sur or Isleta provide some support.

Oppenheimer concludes that the Piro/Manso/Tiwas never held agricultural land as a community after coming to the Mesilla Valley (Thesis, 1957: 27); though how they owned, cultivated and otherwise treated their territories in pre-contact times, and from the 1680s to the 1840s, may be reflected in the customary deference to the will of the line of Caciques. Ownership of realty was a matter of custody in the Cacique, under the supervision of Spanish and Mexican colonial jurisdiction and church supervision, and probably was communal (as suggested above).

According to senior members of the Tribe, few if any of their ancestors were able to read or write, though many if not all were practicing Catholics. A record of adult males pledged to build the church of Our Lady of Guadalupe is the sole list of Piro/Manso/Tiwas from the 1800s (CGP 1890). Thirteen of the 34 listed were on the 1844 or 1862 lists or had ancestors on those lists of El Paso area Indians. Among these were members of the Avalos, Jemente, and Roybal families, and they believe they brought the veneration of the Virgin of Guadalupe to Las Cruces area. The Roybals carried the line of the Cacique, hereditary among modern Guadalupe Tiwas (PMT Field Notes, 1989). Jose Roybal

(1862 Draft list of El Paso) was father of Felipe, the Cacique until his death in 1906 (LCC 1906), and his descendants have kept the post since.

The Piro/Manso/Tiwas' early reputation as agricultural workers and laborers (especially, makers of adobe bricks) was in all likelihood the result of many generations of life in and around their aboriginal Pueblos (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957: 27). In the Mesilla Valley, and probably before their arrival there, they grew many crops, including both foreign and native varieties, including Indian corn, beans, and chilies, as well as some herbs and the like. Though useful herbs were gathered, there was little else available in terms of useful wild plants (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957: 28-29). They undoubtedly brought to Las Cruces their skills as potters and basket makers, though the extent to which they did weaving is uncertain, for by the 1950s, Oppenheimer found none who recollected or performed the craft (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957: 30).

Hunting activities primarily involved deer and rabbits in the Mesilla Valley, and considering the comparable climatic, animal habitats and other factors in their earlier homelands in the northern Pueblos or El Paso del Norte region, they brought to the Mesilla Valley and employed there to good effect their own aboriginal subsistence skills. The rabbit-hunts were particularly important during lean times, but had importance in the ceremonial life as well. Fishing was of considerably lessor significance in Mesilla Valley, but the extent to which they relied on fishing elsewhere is unknown (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957: 30-31).

The gender-based division of labor in the life of the Pueblo in the Mesilla Valley after the 1840s was at least in part derived from pre-contact custom. Women organized and kept house, did most of the childcare and discipline, and probably gathered, prepared and cooked most of the food, though butchering and the preparation of meat, or making jerky, was the men's responsibility. Corn-grinding probably always was an example of women's activity (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957: 32), while men probably did much of the farming of domesticated corn, beans, melons, chilies and the like.

Men made adobes, and likewise, they baked or cooked in slipped pottery, probably "indistinguishable from that of Isleta del Sur" as of the late 1600s (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957: 33), and the people used beehive-shaped outdoor adobe ovens for kilning and baking. Men caught and broke wild horses (once they began to arrive, probably in the mid-1500s), dressed and tanned the deer, antelope, rabbit and cowhides, and made moccasins, while women made at least some of the clothing (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957: 35-36). Both men and women also made willow wickerwork baskets for domestic use and trade, including trays, bowls, and carrying baskets, some with waterproofing (p.35). They may have made 4' cane bows strung with sinew, and 2 1/2' cane arrows, and points by flint chipping (p. 36); Adolfo Avalos, Victor Roybal, Jr., and perhaps others still recall the craft, if they do not engage in it (Field Notes, 1990).

Prior to settling permanently in the present sites in Las Cruces/ Dona Ana Bend Colony, the core community lived in jacales, brush shelters, on what later became the Plaza at Church Street and Las Cruces Avenue. They found a natural setting convenient for the establishment of a community reminiscent to their accustomed ones. Adobe houses belonging to the core community of Piro/Manso/Tiwa families remain standing in Las Cruces, predating those built for families in Tortugas, and most remained in direct family lines to contemporary times (Field Notes, 1989-1990). The Pueblo styles of

architecture and building technology doubtless were adapted to the materials and needs of living in the Mesilla Valley. Men probably constructed the buildings in precontact times and kept them in repair (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957: 36).

4. European-Indian relations in Paso del Norte

a. land claims and boundary disputes

Displacement by invading non-Indians was the common experience of many Pueblos, including those in the Paso del Norte area in the late 1700s and early 1800s, particularly after Mexican independence:

> In the peripheral sector the process of displacement from the land took place at a slower pace, generally lasting throughout the nineteenth and even into the twentieth century. . . . In other areas what has been called the patron-peon pattern remained dominant. . . . Generally . . . the patron was a landlord and the peon some kind of tenant. Tenantry could be based on agriculture, with the tenant making payments in kind to a patron. It could also be a kind of pastoral tenantry, such as in the partido system that dominated New Mexico and Colorado sheep ranching during this period. In the partido system, the landlord provided the tenant with a herd and with access to grazing lands, and the tenant was usually obligated to repay the patron with a certain payment in sheep at regular intervals (Charles 1940). The patron-peon relationship could be very tight, as when a situation of virtual debt peonage existed. It could also be somewhat loose. In all cases, however, the peon was dependant on the patron in a number of ways, and the relationship always included social and political obligations as well as economic ones. To the extent that links with the outside economy existed, they were mediated by the patron (Barrera, Race and Class: 54-55).

However pertinent this discussion may be to the question why some Tiwas may have come to Las Cruces as early as 1851, to leave the matter there disregards the history of Indian presence and settlement in the immediate Las Cruces area which perhaps predate settlement in the Tortugas area in 1851.

The cumulative weight of socioeconomic and cultural oppression which some may have felt living in the El Paso area may have led to permanent relocation. Contemporary reports suggest the condition of servitude in which some may have found themselves. Sept. 4, 1846, at Bernalillo, at the home of a wealthy man, there was a meal [at which] "serving . . . was chiefly performed by the master, his Mexican guests, and a few female serfs" (Emory, Reports:46). Another account is explicit:

> In case of debt, . . . the delinquent is sent to jail -- provided the creditor will not accept his services. If he will, however, the debtor becomes nolens volens the servant of the creditor till the debt is satisfied; and serving, as he does, at very reduced wages, his expenses for clothing, and other necessaries, but too often retain him in perpetual servitude. This system does not operate, however, upon the higher classes, yet it acts with terrible severity upon the unfortunate poor, whose condition is but little better, if not worse indeed than that of the slaves of the South. They labor for fixed wages, it is true; but all they can earn is hardly sufficient to keep them in the coarsest clothing and pay their contingent expenses. Men's wages range from two to five dollars a month, and those of women from fifty cents to two dollars; in payment of which thereof, articles of apparel and other

> necessaries at the most exorbitant prices. The consequence is that the servant soon accumulates a debt which he is unable to pay -- his wages being often engaged for a year or two in advance. Now, according to the usages, if not the laws of the country, he is bound to serve his master until all arrearages are liquidated (Gregg, Commerce:165-166).

The casual attitude of non-natives toward the history of Indians in the area may have resulted in the lost of significant indicia of the Tribe's early history:

The University Archives once came into possession of official

> Spanish language documents dating during the middle 1800s when Ysleta was the county seat of El Paso. Since these papers should not have been floating around anywhere except in the county government, an inquiry began. It ended when we learned that the records were thrown out upon completion of the new city-county building. How many there were, nobody knows; nor does anybody know how many are left (if any) or where they are (Metz: 125).

It is probable that many of the early (pre-1850) records in the El Paso archives were lost or taken by the U. S. Army. Some may lie in the National Archives. Remnants survive in archives in Austin and El Paso.

III. MIGRATION TO THE MESILLA VALLEY, 1843 - 1913

The Earliest Dona Ana Bend Colony Emigrants - Relations to Paso del Norte Indian population and San Juan de Guadalupe Tiwa ancestors; Mesilla Valley, Dona Ana Bend Colony, and the early settlement of the PIRO/MANSO/TIWA PUEBLO at the present site of LAS CRUCES

Some writers have concluded wrongly that the origin of the present Indian population of the Las Cruces area was the Pueblo of Ysleta del Sur, now acknowledged as a distinct tribal entity. It is important to correct the impression in other sources which arose due to neglect, or the complaint of the expense of examining the historical evidence.

Oppenheimer concluded that perhaps the takeover of Ysleta del Sur native-owned lands, which Lt. Bourke noted in 1881, already was underway in 1851, and could have caused some El Paso del Sur Piros to flee as early as that date for Las Cruces. However, other documentary evidence suggests leading Piro families were settling in the Mesilla Valley area, at least as squatters or on a part-time basis, as early as the 1840s (see below). At Chamisal, by this time, the Manso descendants had generally intermarried with the Piros and were integrated into that population. In all probability, there was movement by individuals, families, and the Caciques Roybal from Chamisal between Paso del Norte area and Las Cruces and Tortugas during this period which resulted in the Roybals' decision to maintain the permanent, perhaps earlier, Piro/Manso/Tiwa settlement in Las Cruces.

In adopting the strong view that the Las Cruces ("Tortugas") based Tribe derives from Ysleta del Sur, Oppenheimer took issue with the theory that the grounds existed for denying the Ysleta del Sur was the source of the Tribe which had settled Tortugas, and hence, of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe. Part of his basis was the evidence that the Tiwas of Ysleta del Sur venerated San Antonio de Padua:

> Fewkes makes no mention . . . . of Tortugas village. While there is the theoretical possibility that this migration of Tiwas north from Ysleta del Sur may account for the settlement at Tortugas village, there are several reasons which suggest otherwise. The Patron Saint of Ysleta Del Sur is San Antonio de Padua, the same Saint as Isleta in central New Mexico; while the Patron Saint of the Tiwas of Tortugas is the Virgin of Guadalupe. It would seem improbable that the name of the Patron Saint would be changed. Ysleta del Sur was founded in 1681 by some 385 captives from Isleta, New Mexico. . . . The name of the Patron Saint was preserved in this migration (Thesis, p. 18-19, citing Wesley Hurt, Tortugas, pp. 106, ff.; see also Houser 1979; Burrus 1981).

Hurt believed that the Tortugans' veneration of the Virgin of Guadalupe, Patron of the Mansos, "may give a clue to the origin of the Tortugas Tiwas . . . . whether the Tortugas Tiwas have always lived in the area. . . . , or whether they represent a backwash from the resettled Manso band at Juarez or the Ysleta del Sur Tiwas cannot be determined without further historic investigations." The obvious thing to do is look at the geneaological evidence.

As a rule, Indians of a particular Piro or Tiwa town established their own doctrina or Indian parish with its own mission church under Franciscan jurisdiction. The Order cared for the Piro and Tiwa natives' acculturation

and christianization in these settlements long before they came to El Paso. San Antonio de Padua was Patron from 1681-1692 of Isleta del Sur, but under the Franciscans (1692-present), the church was named Corpus Christi de Ysleta, and "while a correspondence of Patron Saints might be admissible evidence for provenance, the lack of it can hardly negate this proposition." Elsewhere, Oppenheimer noted in passing that at the time of his research, Isleta del Sur currently had elections of officers on the feast of San Antonio de Padua, June 13, rather than New Year's Day, as in the case of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe (Thesis, p. 54). Oppenheimer remained reluctant to accept the difficult conclusion that Isleta del Sur and Piro/ Manso/ Tiwa might have remained separate, if geographically and linguistically-related tribes and traditions as late as the 1800s, just prior to the Piro resettlement at Las Cruces. He does not mention the Piros' connection with Chamisal, or trace the source of Cacique lines to that or any other source, including Ysleta del Sur.

The matter appears still more complicated when one considers the Piros' origins and history. The Piros derived from several New Mexican villages, and could not have all venerated a single saint in common even in El Paso, where they were settled in three communities. The El Paso del Norte Piros venerated Nuestra Sra. de Guadalupe, as at Las Cruces and Tortugas. The Socorro Piros venerated Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception (noting that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception dates to the nineteenth century). The Senecu Piros venerated San Antonio de Padua, as did Ysleta del Sur (Decorme n.d.) The feast day for the patron saint of each group was the occasion of dances in the respective group's church plaza. Such dances occurred in the El Paso area as a part of church festivities as early as 1668 at the dedication of the Guadalupe mission (Walz 1951: 18).

Geneaological studies of the present membership of the Piro/ Manso/ Tiwa Tribe have identified only about five Tigua/Tiwa ancestors with documented historical connections with Ysleta del Sur, representing well under 10% of the ancestors of the original Piro/Manso/Tiwa population in the Mesilla Valley of the 1800s. Regardless what other conclusions one may choose to draw over the Patron Saints perplex, or the question whether the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe's origins were predominantly Piro or Tiwa in the El Paso del Norte area, it appears from these data that the El Paso del Norte Piro created the Las Cruces settlement.

Another significant error in some earlier studies is the belief based on slim evidence or none that the Las Cruces-based Tribe moved "lock, stock, and barrel" to Tortugas, New Mexico in 1914, or that the Piros in Las Cruces today are an overflow population of San Juan de Guadalupe Pueblo at Tortugas, New Mexico. Oppenheimer, operating on the presumption that there was no need to consider the importance of the Las Cruces core Piro/Manso/Tiwa community after the Corporation began in 1914, appeared to believe that Indian settlement in Las Cruces originated from Tortugas at some date after the turn of the century. In his study of the 1940s and 1950s Tortugas community, he wrote:

> Las Cruces is the main "big town" for Tortugas. Many Tortugenos work in Las Cruces, and not a few have established their permanent residences there (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 46).

Indeed, this casual observation appears in his account of the development of job opportunities and economic growth generally in the Las Cruces area resulting from the establishment of the White Sands Proving Ground. He

assumed the residency of "Tortugenos" in Las Cruces was a strictly contemporary phenomenon relating to the introduction of new jobs at White Sands, though he admits, "I did not learn of any Tortugas people working for this establishment directly, but the growth and economy of Las Cruces especially was quickened" (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 46). It is peculiar, but characteristic of the research of scholars from the turn of the century to disregard the importance of Piro/Manso/Tiwa presence and activities in Las Cruces itself, and their direct connections with the Tortugas Pueblo and Corporation.

Interviews with descendants of the core community still live in Las Cruces, some in or close to the "Old Neighborhood," as it is called; and this residency pattern predates the move to Tortugas on the part of part of the population, and dual residency of others.

Prior to coming to Mesilla Valley, it is unlikely that there were significant or substantial contacts between these Indians and the United States or its Territorial or State governments or their agents.

Mesilla Valley

The Mesilla Valley provided a historical trade route link between northern and central New Mexico and an area of convenient stopping-places (camping places, or parajes) for centuries prior to non-Indian contact in the area. It was a natural trade route for traders and hunters. The Mesilla Valley was part of the Camino Real, and necessarily so, because it was part of the ninety-mile stretch of the Jornada del Muerto (Journey of the Dead Man). The Mansos in the area had been witnesses to the influx of Spaniards centuries before (Michael Romero Taylor, in Granjon 1982: 4).

The earliest reference to the established Mesilla Valley settlements Oppenheimer found was Brevet Captain John Pope's, in his Report of Exploration, p. 6, in about 1854:

> Dona Ana, opposite the northern extremity of the Mesilla (valley), is the oldest town in this part of the country, having been first settled in 1842. Las Cruces, Las Tortugas, and the military post of Fort Fillmore [1851-1862], are the only settlements between Dona Ana and El Paso, and the population of the valley opposite and the Mesilla does not exceed fifteen hundred. . . . At the northern extremity is the town of Dona Ana, on the river and about seven miles below the Jornada [del Muerto]. Extending from this village a distance of fifteen miles along the east or left bank of the river are the towns of the Las Cruces and Las Tortugas, and the military post of Fort Fillmore`. Opposite we find the valley and town of Mesilla (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 20; emphasis added).

The work of Brevet Captain Pope (Army Corps of Engineers) and his contemporaries support the view that the Mesilla Valley was the first site of significant and substantial contacts between these Indians and the United States or its Territorial or State governments or their agents. There are indications that some ancestors of the present population were among early colonists at Dona Ana; further, very early settlers of Las Cruces included founders of the present core group of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe. Mesilla Valley lands outside Tortugas or the core community in Las Cruces had fallen into the hands of Anglo commercial farmers or ranchers, including rough range mesa land near the mountains, by the late 1930s (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 42).

The Establishment and Settlement of Dona Ana Bend Colony

In 1839, citizen Jose Maria Costales and 115 men from Paso del Norte applied to their prefect, Jose Ronquillo, to settle the place called Dona Ana. The petition was sent on to the governor of Chihuahua, but no action was taken on it during the governor's term. In 1840, many of the same applicants submitted a new petition to the new prefect of Paso del Norte, Jose Morales, who passed it on to the new governor in Chihuahua. On July 31, 1840, regulations for the settlement of the Dona Ana Bend Colony were established, and the grant became official. The regulations set out the procedures for the distribution of land and the colonization of the grant (Bowden 1971:67-68).

On January 26, 1843, which was the scheduled date for the colonists to proceed to Dona Ana, they advised the prefect that they couldn't travel due to their poverty and fear of Apache attacks. Thirty-three of the original 116 petitioners requested a month's extension for travel to Dona Ana. That request was granted, and in February of 1843, the colonists proceeded to Dona Ana, and began construction of the acequia madre to provide water to the land for irrigation. It appears that of the original 33 colonists, only 18 participated in the 3 months of labor on the acequia. These 18, and 8 others who were residing in the colony again petitioned the governor in April, asking for a detachment of troops to protect them from Apache attacks, exemption from taxes and military service, and to be furnished with arms, ammunition, and more colonists to help them finish the acequia. Apparently, other colonists were persuaded to join the expedition, because in January 1844, another petition was made to the prefect in Paso del Norte, asking for the distribution of land, and signed by 68 colonists, many of whom were not among those previously listed.

The available documents indicate that the founding of a new colony was a difficult proposition. In their petition to the Governor on April 16, 1843, the first inhabitants of the Dona Ana Bend Colony, who were laboring to dig the acequia madre, ask for a detachment of troops and a resupply of arms and ammunition so that they could protect themselves (presumably from the Apache who were still raiding in the area), more men to help with the work of founding the settlement and the land that had already been cleared, and relief from the taxes that were levied on them. The first year of colonization was especially hard on them because of Apache raids and lack of provisions. On one occasion, General Ugarte, who was military commander of the frontier, was travelling north with his troops and stopped at Dona Ana. He was met by only four of the settlers. When the general inquired about the other colonists, he learned that they were hiding in the hills because they had no clothing (Bowden 1971:69).

The terms of colonization of Spanish or Mexican Land Grants were such that specific measurable improvements had to be made to the land within a short period of time for the colonist to hold title (Bowden 1971). Often, sufficient improvements were beyond the means of the economically depressed settlers, and the land was lost to the more affluent. This was probably the case with the Indian families who attempted to colonize the Dona Ana Bend Grant.

Mesilla Valley Settlements after Dona Ana Bend Colony

During the Mexican War, on Christmas Day, 1846, Col. A. U. Doniphan and the Missouri Volunteers were attacked by Mexican forces in the only battle on New Mexico's territory, near the present community of Brazito, eight miles south of Las Cruces. In 1848, the U. S. and Mexico signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, leaving doubtful the ownership of land between the Rio Grande and Colorado rivers and as far north as the Gila River. Overcrowding and other pressures in the Village of Dona Ana required measures to establish new settlements in Mesilla Valley. The Dona Ana Bend Colony daughter settlements of Las Cruces (1849) and Mesilla (1850), were originally formed by inhabitants of Dona Ana.

Las Cruces

Las Cruces was established in 1849, when the Prefect of Dona Ana requested the commanding officer of the garrison, Lt. Sackett, to survey a town site composed of 84 blocks in what is now Las Cruces. Las Cruces is located in the Mesilla Valley of Dona Ana county, New Mexico, near the Texas and Chihuahua, Mexico boundaries, about 3.5 mi. north of Mesilla and Tortugas, bounded on the east by Mesilla Park and by NMSU, formerly New Mexico College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts, formerly Las Cruces College, is located. El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua lie some forty miles to the south. U. S. Highway 85 intersects 180/80/70 just north of the Las Cruces Civic Center. The Rio Grande River, which last flooded and changed its course in this area in 1906, flows to the west, passing around Mesilla. In 1881, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad arrived in Las Cruces, bringing a new economy and population influx (Michael Romero Taylor, in Granjon 1982: 6). Atchison Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad runs through town (Michael Romero Taylor, in Granjon 1982: 126, n. 22, from Las Cruces Historic Building Survey (Las Cruces: City of Las Cruces, 1981). The altitude is 3,863 ft. East lie "A Mountain" and the Organ Mountains, scaling over 9,000 ft. The climate is generally temperate and dry. The low of record is 8 deg. F, with the average minimum 44 deg. F. Highs can exceed 110 deg. F, with the average maximum 76.8 deg. F. The growing season averages 200 days/yr., with the average date of the last spring frost April 9, and of the first fall frost Oct. 26. Ave. ann. precip. 8.58" with ann. rel. hum. 48%. Ave. ann. sunshine 85%, w/228 days clear, 94 days partly cloudy, 43 days cloudy. Ave. days w/ at least .01 " precip. is 42. Wind velocity ave. 7.1 mi./hr. Mean snowfall 2.4"/yr. (Adapted from Introduction, Oppenheimer, Thesis, pp. 1-2.) The current population is over 50,000 (Michael Romero Taylor, in Granjon 1982: 126, n. 22, from Las Cruces Historic Building Survey (Las Cruces: City of Las Cruces, 1981).

The city of Las Cruces is on the Dona Ana Bend Colony Grant (El Ancon de Dona Ana), a Mexican grant of 1839 from the Governor of Chihuahua to Don Jose Maria Costales, who founded the village of Dona Ana, bordering the present northwest Las Cruces city limits, in 1843. San Juan de Dios as well as Las Cruces was established on this land grant (Bowden 1971: 66-76; Pope 1854; PRN 1980-1981).

La Mesilla

In the late 1840s, west of the Rio Grande in the upper Mesilla Valley, La Mesilla and Picacho also were founded. Mexican Commissioner Ramon Ortiz

formally granted these lands to the Mesilla Civil Colony in 1852 (Bowden 1971: 48-56). These lands provided settlement areas for persons who wished to remain under Mexican jurisdiction after the territory on the east bank of the Rio Grande joined the United States (Bowden 1971: 49), and it is also probable, for reasons indicated below, that among these were the Piro/Manso/Tiwa emigrants were fleeing Mexican jurisdiction, among other things, when they came to the Mesilla Valley.

The town of La Mesilla followed the establishment of Las Cruces, in 1850-1851, but was claimed and seized by Mexican authorities, leaving Las Cruces as a separate entity. Mesilla began to draw settlers (some from Dona Ana, because they thought Mesilla was in Mexico), or from El Paso del Norte, or other places where they had lacked land to work. Mesilla was well-settled by 1850, with 600 residents, and the following year the Mexican government included this settlement in the Mesilla Colony Civil Grant, in the disputed area west of the Rio Grande. Mesilla was settled by families from Dona Ana who wished to remain in Mexican territory when Dona Ana became part of the New Mexico Territory, within the United States. The Mesilla Civil Colony Grant, however, officially became part of the United States after the Gadsden Purchase of 1854 (Bowden 1971: 51).

Between 1850 and the 1870s, La Mesilla was the largest settlement, with good hotels and social activities, between San Antonio, Texas and San Diego, California. Mesilla was the Confederate capital of the Arizona Territory from July 1861 to July 1862. The routing of the railroad four miles north through Las Cruces ruined Mesilla, and the county seat moved to Las Cruces, too. Much of the town went on the National Historic Register in 1982 (Michael Taylor, Granjon 1982: p. 132, n. 36). Mesilla's association with the Billy the Kid legend has continued to keep the town notorious ever since.

Fort Fillmore

Fort Fillmore brought income into the area when it was established in 1851. In 1853, James Gadsden signed an agreement between the United States and Mexico for lands still in doubt in the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, clarifying titles, jurisdiction and sovereignty issues, and enabling smoother development. The 1854 Gadsden Treaty made this area U. S. territory, under the protection of Ft. Fillmore. A map of the valley in 1854 by Capt. John Pope of the Corps of Engineers shows the following settlements: Dona Ana, Las Cruces, Mesilla, Tortugas, San Tomas, and Ft. Fillmore. By 1854, Pope was able to write of warfare and Mescalero and Gila Indian raids in the Mesilla Valley:

> Fort Fillmore, which once occupied an important position opposite the valley and town of Mesilla, has, since the late treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, entirely lost its consequence, and since the establishment of Fort Bliss, forty miles below, has become entirely unnecessary. I therefore suggest that it be at once moved to the head of the Delaware Creek, east of the Guadalupe Mountains, and that its garrison be changed to two companies of dragoons and one of infantry. The establishment of this post would effectually cut off from the settlements below El Paso, and from the route to that place, the Indians of the White and Sacramento Mountains, who have been constantly in the habit of carrying their forays into that part of the country; and with these troops in their rear, and near their places of retreat in the mountains, they

would be extremely cautious about extending their depredations to the valley of the Rio Grande above (Report of Exploration, p. 13).

Some older Indians in Oppenheimer's study, such as the family of Frank Ramirez, recalled the attacks of Apaches, and the Tribe's own Cabellera, or Scalp, dance (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 81), celebrating the killing of one attacker, Raton.

Ft. Fillmore was in operation about six miles south of Las Cruces from 1851 to 1862. In 1855-1856, miners in the Organ Mountains brought disease, and with the contribution of unsanitary conditions such as the undrained swamps in the Tortugas riverbank area, a high death toll resulted, which in all probability slowed the expansion of that particular San Juan/Guadalupe settlement.

Fort Selden

The construction of Fort Selden in 1865 afforded protection to travelers on the Jornada del Muerto, sitting fifteen miles north of Las Cruces at the north end of the valley. Abandoned in 1879, the government reopened it in 1881, then closed it again in 1890. January 7, 1870, five Loretto sisters came to Las Cruces to open the Loretto Academy convent and school, which became a boarding school (The Academy continued until 1944, then was razed in the 1960s to build a shopping center In 1980; Michael Taylor in Granjon 1982: 128, n. 28, and Buchanan 1961: p. 18). Las Cruces College (New Mexico State University) was founded just north of the present town of Tortugas.

Guadalupe/ San Juan de Dios, or "LAS TORTUGAS"

Consisting of "Tiwa-Piro, Spanish-American, Anglo-American, and Mexican Indian cultural elements," Oppenheimer wrote, the village of Tortugas, New Mexico has reformulated and unified these influences "into a meaningful and peculiarly individual pattern." Oppenheimer viewed the village as a "laboratory for the study of cultural dynamics." His contacts and consultants included local citizens of Las Cruces, Tortugas and Mesilla Park, and Dr. Florence Hawley Ellis (unpublished Isleta field notes).

Oppenheimer's description of the local geography is again useful:

> The village of Tortugas is located in the Mesilla valley of Dona Ana county, New Mexico, near the Texas and Chihuahua, Mexico boundaries. [3.5 mi.] north is Las Cruces . . . . Tortugas is bounded on the north by Mesilla Park and by [NMSU]. El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua lie forty miles to the south. U. S. Highway 85 passes [1/4 mi.] west of the village. Although originally built on the Rio Grande River, which last flooded and changed its course in this area in 1906, Tortugas is now [3.5 mi.] from the river. The village is on the Dona Ana Bend Colony Grant (El Ancon de Dona Ana), a Mexican grant of 1839 to Don Jose Maria Costales, who founded the village of Dona Ana, [12 mi. north]. [Altitude, 3,863 ft.] East of the village lie the Organ Mountains [over 9,000 ft.] (Introduction, Oppenheimer, pp. 1-2.)

The hamlets of San Juan de Dios (1852; Pope 1854) and Guadalupe (1888; Rio Grande Republican, March 3, 1888) were the bases for the present town of Tortugas. Apparently, the original Indian settlement at that present site was Guadalupe. Tortugas appears on circa 1851 maps of the Mesilla Valley, indicating that some Mexican settlers had claimed lots nearby in San Juan

soon after the settlement of Las Cruces.

San Juan de Dios was less than a mile northwest of the Stephenson ore smelter, which operated in the 1850s and supplied jobs for some Pueblo Indians of the area. San Juan was within a few hundred feet of Rancho Viejo, the presumed original site of the Ascarate farming and livestock business (FN 1980-1981; NA 1908: 637).

Anastacio Ascarate settled here in the 1850s, and his descendants continued framing and ranching on the land south of Tortugas through the 1930s (USC-Tortugas 1860). The Ascarates also had ranching and mining interests in Paso del Norte, Janos, and Casas Grandes in Chihuahua (Bowden 1971: 126-127. Hugh Stephenson, husband of Juana Ascarate, bought a silver mine in the Organ Mountains east of Tortugas. In the 1850s he ran a smelter on the east band of the Rio Grande near the southern edge of Tortugas (Pope 1854). Juana's brother, Anastacio Ascarate, settled near the smelter (NA 1908: 637).

Notwithstanding considerable evidence above regarding the early settlement of the Mesilla Valley, what remains unclear is the date at which Guadalupe became a site of occupation in the Mesilla Valley for ancestors of the present Tribe after the initial settlement of the city of Las Cruces, because apparently some were squatting there at an early date prior to reclamation, when the land was swampy. The origin of the name "Las Tortugas," Spanish for "Turtles," is uncertain. Trumbo (MS, History of Las Cruces, in Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 21) dubiously cited a tribal legend attributing the naming of the village for an epithet others attached to their ancestor's village, after their purportedly dilatory participation in Otermin's retreat resulted in their having been left at the site in 1682. Oppenheimer (Thesis, p. 21) discounts any possibility of such an early, pre-1851 date of settlement due to the apparent dearth of contemporary potsherds or middens in the area of Tortugas. However, the original Piro, Manso or Tiwa Indian settlement was not at San Juan de Dios/ Tortugas, but as indicated above, probably was in Las Cruces. It is no more plausible that Tortugas derived its name from Ysleta del Sur, as one of Oppenheimer's sources suggested, than from Estero Largo, or some other turtle-infested area such as the river, in the Las Cruces area. Additionally, hardly anyone who ever saw "A Mountain", lying between Las Cruces and the Organ Mountains, has failed to comment upon the resemblance between that natural feature and the back of a turtle's shell.

Otermin is known to have stopped at Estero Largo, near the present Las Cruces (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 13), and Trumbo (New Mexico Place Name Dictionary, 1950) identified "Estero Largo" in the vicinity of Las Cruces, meaning, "long estuary or pond," from the shape of a waterhole. Elsewhere, Oppenheimer cited one traditional account of the name which may refer to such a watering-hole. A woman from the Mesilla Valley who moved north after marrying an Isletan told Oppenheimer, "the village was named Tortugas after a lake or marsh to the southwest which abounded in water turtles, for which the Indians fished. The lake has since dried up" (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 23). However, Fewkes (1902) and Bandelier indicated that by the 1600s, Mansos were living in the lower Mesilla Valley between Las Cruces and El Paso. During the 1800s and as late as early 1900s, in the cause of basic survival, ancestors of the present Tribe traveled frequently between the Mesilla Valley and the Chamisal/ El Paso areas, as during times of war and raids (1800s to 1850s), periodic food shortages, work shortages, recessions, epidemics (as in

1853-1854), and floods (as in 1906, when the Rio Grande moved its bed some 3.5 miles west from Tortugas).

The U. S. Census records of the Tortugas area for 1860, 1870 and 1880 shows great turnover in population through the decades (USC-Tortugas 1860, 1870, 1880). This constant movement of people into and out of the area comports with the idea that many heads of household were laborers without real estate holdings. Only the Piro emigrant descendant Jacinte Jemente was recorded on census records of the time as having resided in Tortugas (USC-Tortugas 1870). Other individuals who claim Piro/Manso/Tiwa ancestry, but have no known Piro or Tiwa ancestry, appear on these lists: Nicolas Beltran, Andres Domingues (1860), Victoriano Salvatierra (1870), and Manuel Ortega (1880). Most Piro/Manso/Tiwa who were in the area in these years, as might be expected, appeared on the Las Cruces census lists, but probably worked for the Stephensons or Ascarates, and were familiar with what became Tortugas before 1880.

Historical Causes of Piro/Manso/Tiwa Emigration from El Paso del Norte to Las Cruces/Mesilla Valley Prior to 1850

There are many possible reasons for the waves of Piro migration from Paso del Norte after 1840. Certain events of the middle 1800s had a direct effect on the Indian populations of the Paso del Norte area. Historical events of the 1850s drove the removal. From the time that the Paso del Norte area began to fill up with immigrants from Mexico and the United States, Indian families were hard-pressed to hold on to the land that first Spain and then Mexico granted in common to the Pueblos. Anglo and Hispanic settlers claimed squatters rights, or illegally "bought" land from the Native families who worked it. This process surely continued for many years, for in November 1881, while visiting the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, Lieutenant Bourke, U. S. Calvary, reported the largely "Mexicanized" village retained many Pueblo traits, including clans, while non-Indians still were taking over the valley without payment (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 17; Bloom, Bourke on the Southwest, p. 204-209).

When flooding destroyed huge tracts of land in the El Paso Valley, the press of population prevented the Pueblos' inhabitants from claiming alternate land for that which was lost. Therefore, many families moved north into the Mesilla Valley, where good agricultural land was available. Concomitantly, the growing importance of wage labor in the border economy, as it became more difficult to subsist on family or Pueblo agricultural lands, prompted other families to move in search of work.

Indians known to be El Paso Piros and their families began migrating to the Las Cruces area in the 1840s. Whatever their individual reasons, by the mid-1800s, the Piro/Manso/Tiwas already had become part of a migrating population settling in Dona Ana, La Mesilla, perhaps San Juan de Dios, San Miguel, La Mexa, Anthony and Tularosa, arriving as peones searching from land (Michael Romero Taylor, in Granjon 1982: 4). The largely-Piro Indian migration process between El Paso and Mesilla Valley was not a simply one-way matter from the 1840s to the 1870s, but probably indeed was underway, and tending toward relocation of the majority of the surviving Piro population in El Paso del Norte, no later than the late 1840s.

Piro/Manso/Tiwa Old Settlers of the Dona Ana Bend Colony

Of the men who signed the original two 1839 petitions to settle the Dona Ana Bend Colony Grant, or the petition for a one-month extension, 8 are listed in censuses of Native Families in the Juarez Archives. These men were:

Jose Garcia (JA 1863, Ysleta Native Family Heads)
Mariano Trujillo (JA 1862, Natives of the Regional Capital)
Jose Abalos/Avalos (JA 1803, Natives of Chamisal and Barrial)
Felipe Gonzales (JA 1863, Ysleta Native Family Heads)
Pedro Gonzales (JA 1863, Ysleta Native Family Heads)
Antonio Apodaca (JA 1863, Ysleta Native Family Heads)
Jose Velarde (1844 Chamisal & Barrial)
Francisco Ortega (JA 1844, Chamisal and Barrial).

In addition, one man is simply listed in the petition as Guerena the Suma. In the list of 33 men ready to proceed to Dona Ana in 1843, Jose Garcia and two others can be traced to Indian censuses: Juan Trujillo (JA 1844, Chamisal and Barrial), and Perfecto Avalos (son of Pedro Nasario Avalos, JA 1844, Chamisal and Barrial).

Direct descendants of at least 3 of these 7 men later settled in Las Cruces, and formed the Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe (Jose Abalos/Avalos, Felipe Gonzales, and Perfecto Avalos). In addition, 2 other men (Indian status unknown) on the original 2 lists of petitioners for land in Dona Ana in 1839 joined the Pueblo (Juan Herrera and Francisco Varela). In other cases, while direct descent has not yet been traced, the family names of many on these lists of hopeful immigrants are common to the Indian settlements of the Paso del Norte area, and/or to the past and present Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe. These family names include: Avalos, Benavides, Carbajal, Duran, Lino, Melenudo, Montoya, Ortega, Padilla, Perea, Rivera, Rodela, Trujillo, and Velarde.

Evidently, some of the early settlers were not able to sustain the poor living conditions in the new colony. New names appear on each of the lists pertaining to the colony, from the original petitions for settlement up to the granting of individual plots of land. Obviously, many men had to abandon the project and return to Paso del Norte. Of the known Indios who were at one time or another involved in the enterprise, only one, Antonio Apodaca, persisted long enough to be granted land in Dona Ana in 1844. After a temporary peace treaty was negotiated with the Mescalero Apache in 1844, and crops began to be harvested from the newly cleared fields, other settlers began to flood into the colony. Despite U. S. jurisdiction over the Mesilla Valley thereafter, life and custom there continued to be largely an extension of the Mexican/Hispanicized society and culture in the Paso del Norte region. The Piro/Manso/Tiwa emigrants to the area were now able to be near their aboriginal homelands, without having to adapt to a radically new American culture.

Ancestors of the Present PIRO/MANSO/TIWA TRIBE IN THE 1800s

It was common knowledge among non-Indian residents of the Las Cruces area in the 1800s that the origin of the Las Cruces area Indian population was Paso del Norte Piro. Lange and Riley (1970: 156) noted that Eugene Van Patten informed Bandelier in 1883 that there were Piros <u>in Las Cruces</u>. An early historian of the region wrote, "Not long after Las Cruces was settled, a band of Pueblo Indians from Juarez made their homes in the town" (Bloom

1903: 56).

In the mid-1800s, common last names in the El Paso/ Paso del Norte Piro population included Jemente, Lara, Trujillo, Salaso, Avalos, Melenudo, Gonzales, and Ortega. Therefore, other men whose names appeared on the 1890 San Juan de Guadalupe church pledge list probably had ancestors named in the 1844 and 1862 lists of El Paso Indians. Still others may have had ancestors among the Piro people at Senecu del Sur. Common names there were Alejo, Leyba, Moraga, Paz and Pedraza (JA 1844: Reel 13). (See 1844 list of Native Family Heads from Senecu del Sur.)

Certain emigrants from Ysleta del Sur or immigrants from Senecu who moved to Dona Ana with the original settlers, but did not stay included ancestors to certain Piro families in the present Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe: Perfecto Avalos and Juan Trujillo.

There was considerable emigration between El Paso/Juarez and the Mesilla Valley in the early decades of settlement. Oppenheimer, Loomis and Leonard and others have attributed this to changing economic conditions, the search for viable agricultural land in a safe haven, a volatile political climate involving U.S.-Texan-Mexican relations, church politics and repression of native religious expression, racial and intertribal tensions, raids of Apache war parties, feuds and rivalries, and various other factors. The combination of these pressures caused individuals and families to seek to relocate temporarily in the Mesilla Valley, and eventually to the permanent resettlement of the Piro, Manso and Tiwa ancestors to the region. The new villagers were labeled "American" after the War with Mexico and the Gadsden Purchase of 1853, subjected to a new and alien legal system, and by that time Mesilla and Las Cruces had major roles in the intercoastal trade system (Michael Romero Taylor, in Granjon 1982: 4).

Of the men who signed the original two 1839 petitions to settle the Dona Ana Bend Colony Grant, or the petition for a one-month extension, 8 are listed in censuses of Native Families in the Juarez Archives. These men were:

Jose Garcia (JA 1863, Ysleta Native Family Heads)
Mariano Trujillo (JA 1862, Natives of the Regional Capital)
Jose Abalos/Avalos (JA 1803, Natives of Chamisal and Barrial)
Felipe Gonzales (JA 1863, Ysleta Native Family Heads)
Pedro Gonzales (JA 1863, Ysleta Native Family Heads)
Antonio Apodaca (JA 1863, Ysleta Native Family Heads)
Jose Velarde (1844 Chamisal & Barrial)
Francisco Ortega (JA 1844, Chamisal and Barrial).

Certain family names of petitioners and emigrants or immigrants to the Las Cruces and Tortugas areas were common to the Paso del Norte area, Juarez (Chamisal and Barrial), 1844; Senecu del Sur, 1844; Regional Capital, 1862; and Ysleta del Sur, 1863) lists of Indians/natives. These names include:

Avalos
Trujillo
Duran
Padilla
Rodela.

The Juarez, Chihuahua Archives record the presence of persons with surnames of predominantly Piro Indians who were ancestors to members of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe, as the following lists attest:

See Document: List of Native Family Heads from the Districts of Chamisal and Barreal, 1844 in Juarez Archives Reel 13, Nos. 000049, Vol. 2, 1844;

List of Native Family Heads from the Districts of
Chamisal and Barrial, 1844
Juarez Archives Reel 13

Bicente Lara
Juan Pablo Gemente
Juan Sosa (Soto)
Juan Trujillo
Felipe Trujillo
Jose Melendes
Felipe Lara
Juan Simon Gemente
Manuel Rodrigues
Felipe Bargas
Tomas Garcia
Crecencio Melenudo
Juan Jose Salado
Mauricio Montoya
Cristobal Abalos
Perfidio Gemente
Bacilio Abalos
Agapito Abalos
Cristoral Melenudo
Juliano Rodrigues
Miguel Lara
? Lara
? Garcia
? Ortega (Orreza ?)
Diego Ortega (Orreza ?)
Francisco Ortega (Orreza ?)
Nasario Abalos
Agapito Roybal
Donacio Salado
Carlos Sanches
Mauricio Sanches
Juan Jose Mora (?)
Jose Maria Gemente
? Velarde
Francisco Abalos
Juan Luis Lara
Yndias
Cirilda ?
Juana Bargas (Brizas ? Vargas?)
Ygnacia Salado
Lucinda Leiba
Leograta Lujan
Tomasa Lara
Francisca Salado
Maria Lina (?)
? Gemente

Alphabetized

ABALOS, Agapito
ABALOS, Bacilio
ABALOS, Cristobal
ABALOS, Francisco
ABALOS, Nasario
BARGAS, Felipe
GARCIA, ??
GARCIA, Tomas
GEMENTE, Jose Maria
GEMENTE, Juan Pablo
GEMENTE, Juan Simon
GEMENTE, Perfidio
LARA, ??
LARA, Bicente
LARA, Felipe
LARA, Juan Luis
LARA, Miguel
MELENDES, Jose
MELENUDO, Crecencio
MELENUDO, Cristoral
MONTOYA, Mauricio
MORA, Juan Jose
ORTEGA, ??
ORTEGA, Diego
ORTEGA, Francisco
RODRIGUES, Juliano
RODRIGUES, Manuel
ROYBAL, Agapito
SALADO, Donacio
SALADO, Juan Jose
SANCHES, Carlos
SANCHES, Mauricio
SOSA/SOTO, Juan
TRUJILLO, Felipe
TRUJILLO, Juan
VELARDE, ??

Yndias

?? Cirilda
BARGAS/BRIZAS, Juana
GEMENTE, ??
LARA, Tomasa
LEIBA, Lucinda
LINA, Maria
LUJAN, Leograta
SALADO, Francisca
SALADO, Ygnacio

See Document: Native Family Heads Senecu del Sur, Juarez Archives Reel 13, Nos. 000029, Vol. 2, 1844 lists:
Native Family Heads, Senecu del Sur, 1844
Juarez Archives Reel 13

Bentura Alejo
? (P)edrasa
Santiago Ortiz
Pedro Rodela
Jose Cubero
Ramon Moragaa (?)
Jose (P)edrasa
Basilio Jojola
Polinario (P)edrasa
Juan Domingo Rivera
Juan Leiba
Anisado Moraga (?)
Tomas Leiba
Juan Jose Gutierres (?)
Feliciano Alejo
Pedro Leiba
Mariano (P)edrasa
Ignacio Marquez
? (P)edrasa
Locario Leyva
Jose Dolores (P)edrasa
Miguel (P)edrasa
Juan Maria Gonsales
?
Juan Domingo Alejo
? Larga
Eulegio Larga
Juan ? Marrujo (Marrufo ?)
Juan ? (P)edrasa
Geronimo (P)edrasa
?
Santiago Moraga
Francisco Alejo
Francisco Apodaca
Bautisto Ortega (?)
Jose Luis (P)edrasa
Juan Fernando Alejo
Palacio Padilla
Hilario (P)edrasa
Sebastian Duran
Juan Esteban Alejo
Juan Simon Alejo
Yndias
Andrea (?) Fragoso (?)
? Moraga
Guadalupe Sais (Pais)
? Alejo
Josefa Padilla
Salome Roman
Nicolasa Gonsales
Candelaria Gonsales
Francisca Moraga
Pastuala (?) Moraga

ALPHABETIZED

??

Yndias

??
ALEJO, Bentura
ALEJO, Feliciano
ALEJO, Francisco
ALEJO, Juan Domingo
ALEJO, Juan Esteban
ALEJO, Juan Fernando
ALEJO, Juan Simon
APODACA, Francisco
CUBERO, Jose
DURAN, Sebastian
GONSALES, Juan Maria
GUTIERRES, Juan Jose
JOJOLA, Basilio
LARGA, ??
LARGA, Eulegio
LEIBA, Juan
LEIBA, Pedro
LEIBA, Tomas
LEYVA, Locario
MARQUES, Ignacio
MARRUJO/MARRUFO, Juan ??
MORAGA, Anisado
MORAGA, Roman
MORAGA, Santiago
ORTEGA, Bautisto
ORTIZ, Santiago
PADILLA, Palacio
PEDRASA, ??
PEDRASA, ??
PEDRASA, Geronimo
PEDRASA, Hilario
PEDRASA, Jose
PEDRASA, Jose Dolores
PEDRASA, Jose Luis
PEDRASA, Juan
PEDRASA, Mariano
PEDRASA, Miguel
PEDRASA, Polinario
RIVERA, Juan Domingo
RODELA, Pedro]
ALEJO, ??
FRAGOSO, Andrea (?)
GONSALES, Candelaria
GONSALES, Nicolasa
MORAGA, Francisca
MORAGA, Pastuala (?)
PADILLA, Josefa
ROMAN, Salome
SAIS/PAIS, Guadalupe

Family names of certain petitioners and immigrants common to the Paso del Norte lists of Indians/natives occur in early lists of members of the Piro/ Manso/ Tiwa community and Las Cruces and in the Corporation: Avalos, Trujillo, Duran, Padilla, and Rodela.

A map of Las Cruces dating between 1853 and 1855 (the original plat map) shows the following names from the tribal base population ancestors or relatives:

J. Trujillo
M. Barela
M. A. Vaca

S. Perea
F. Benavides
Jesus Lara
V. Minjares
M. Avalos
A. Padilla
Jemente
Maria Trujillo
G. Madrid
E. Duran.

See Document: Natives of the Regional Capital, Juarez Archives Reel 24, 1862 lists:

Natives of the Regional Capital, 1862
Juarez Archives Reel 24

? Salido, 22
? Ortega
?
? Lara
? Salado, 47
? Anaya
? Garcia
Francisco Garcia, 28
?
?
Pedro Padia
Marcos (?) Duran
Felipe Duran
? Ylarega (?)
?
Jesus Tafolla, 26
Felipe Lara, 38
Vicento Lara, 18
Caderino (?) Lara, 16
Jose Trujillo, 20
Aloisco (?) Trujillo, 18
Locario Trujillo, 16
Miguel Lara, 27
Asi...(?) Lara, 28
Jose Ruibal, 30
Miguel Lara, 48
Aurelio Lara, 25
Geronimo Lara, 20
Dionicio Gonsales, 26
Teodoro Gonsales, 11
? Abalos, 20
Nestor Lara, 24
Placido Lara, 25
Cristoral ?
? Melenudo
Martin Melenudo, 28
Jose Rodrigues, 21

Jose Montollo, 17
?
Diego Ortega, 40
Urbino (?) Ortega, 15
Eugenio Ortega, 30
Pedro Perea, 29
Lalle (?) Leiba
Tomas Salado, 15

Mariano Trujillo
Luciano Trujillo, 28
Silverio Rodrigues, 50
? Rodrigues
?
Francisco Lara, 25
Nicomedes Lara, 23
Francisco Abalos, 20
Mario Perea, 48
Marcelino (?) Jemente, 39
Marcos Abalos, 27
? Villegas, 28

See Document: "To: The Most Excellent Municipal Government of Paso, Regional Capital of Canton Bravos, Native Family Heads, Ysleta Del Sur, Juarez Archives Reel 63, Nos. 0061, 1863:"

> The Native heads of families with deepest respect request that the intolerable treatment we are experiencing under the government of the Anglo-Americans and that it is already past time for the planting of wheat and vegetables, which we do not now want to plant in this Pueblo of Ysleta, because we are resolved to emigrate at all costs, even though we must abandon our homes and lands in order to establish our Pueblo in territory belonging to the municipality of this Villa, El Paso del Norte, in Mexico. For these reasons and because the Sovereign Congress of the State of Chihuahua has decreed in our favor concerning such land, awaiting only the judgment of this municipal Government, we request today very urgently that, taking into consideration our misery, our ignorance, and the sad plight of our existence, which surrounds us; and because above everything else we are patriots and wish only to belong to our beloved Mexican Republic, please have the goodness to meet as a body to consider the question of this land we desire, to review our petition, and to examine the circumstances, and to decide on it with all of your characteristic prudence so that it will not be detrimental to the building of our Pueblo of Zaragoza on the little hill resulting in great general and private benefit which the Municipal Government will make possible by its decision. We await your just decision in giving us the land so we can immediately go to settle it with efficiency.

Native Family Heads, Ysleta del Sur 1863; Juarez Archives, Reel 63
Domingo Marques, Gobernador
Juan Seberiano Gonsales, Cacique
Bernabil Granillo
Macedonio Trujillo
Siriaco Marques
Magdaleno Marques
Gervasio Gomes
Jose Maria Duran
Esteban Piarosa
Anastacio Marques
Aniceto Consales
Fermin Piarosa
Ponciano Olguin
Bernabo Olguin
Simon Olguin
Antonio Apodaca
Antonio Montolla

Felipe Gonsales
Patricio Perea
Pastola (?) Marques
Carlos Duran
Roberto Trujillo
Pablo Alejo
Francisco ?
Pedro Quaron
Santiago Vigil
Pedro Gonsales
Agustin Varela
? Garcia
Jose Garcia
Agustin Telles
Crus Trujillo
Cresencio Marques
Andres Granillo
Nemecio Marques
Reyes Trujillo
Tomas Granillo
Fabian Granillo
Ysidro Colmenero (?)
Anastacio Carbajal
Pablo Apodaca
?
Francisco Tapia
?
Luis Gonsales
Manuel Orreza (Ortega ?)
Alvisio Aguirre (?)
Cornelio Duran
Sebero Gonsales
? Crus Piarrote
Angel Granillo
Evaristo Granillo
Mariano Colmenero
Pedro ?
Encarnacion Granillo]

In addition to the above lists dating from the 1840s to 1860s, when the Piro/Manso/Tiwa removal to Mesilla Valley was getting underway, later lists provide additional connecting links:

See Document: LIST OF TORTUGAS PUEBLO MEMBERS - ESTIMATED DATE: 1888
ALDERETE, Paulo /Pablo
AVALOS, Damasio
Tanilado / Estanislado
Juan
Senobio
Antonio
BACA, Magdalen / Magdeleno
BARELA, Francisco

BENAVIDES, Pedro
DELFIN, Blas
DOMINGES, Adrres (?) /Andres
Jesus
E?ERA, Juan
GONZ(S)ALES, Severo
Pasteris (?)
Felipe (ONSALES) Gonsales
GOMES(Z), Felis
Visevio (?)
GRIJALBA, Ynasio
GURULE, Ju(a)na
JEMENTE, Jorje
Juan
MINJARES, Bindal / Bibal
LARA, Nicomedes
PAIS(?), Juan
PANIA, Pedro
PAS(Z), Diego
ROI(Y)BAL, Felipe
TRUJILLO, Jose
Pedro (Trujillo)
Alvido / Alvino (Trujillo)
Francisco
Lucario / Locario (Trujio)
QUETADA/QUINTANA(?), Erjina]

Family names of petitioners and immigrants appear in the names on the 1890 tribal base population list (list of men pledged to build church) See Document: Men Pledged to Build Church Approximate Date 1890; List of names of the inhabitants of the Pueblo of Guadalupe by the Commissioners of said Pueblo for those who will begin work on the church of Our Lady of Guadalupe which I witness. The undersigned promise mutually to lend and to contribute as we were levied by the Commissioners for which we sign the present contract in Precinct No. 6 in the presence of the Justice of the Peace of said precinct.]

Baca, Roybal, Trujillo, Jemente, Benavides, Sais, Perea, Avalos, Lara, Gomes, Dominges, Minjares, Gonzales, Pas, Gurule, Gomes, Madrid, Rivera.

See Document: This Pueblo of San Antonio de la Ysleta, Texas January 6, 1895 Declaration:

WE the Natives all gathered in a body have come together to make the following arrangement to comply with our duties which our ancestors observed and which they handed down to us so that we might preserve them. . . .

The Natives of the Pueblo acknowledged their obligatory annual observation of the Feast of San Antonio; second, they acknowledged the obligation to "respect our Native officials whom we ourselves name and choose; and furthermore, we must submit to the penalties which those same Native authorities impose without complaining or appealing to any other authorities regarding personal, matters, family matters, or those

matters concerning us Natives without damage or violation of the general laws of other citizens;" finally:

Third, we hold that whatever slight transgression committed against the respect owed to our Native authorities will be punished the first time with twenty-four hours of detention, leaving, however, to the discretion of those same Native authorities, the matter of adding to this penalty if the same person errs again so that this compact will have force and vigor, all of the undersigned freely and with enthusiasm put our signatures here: {listed}]

[Note that he following Senecu Piros signed this document (Fewkes 1902-73; Harrington 1909: 569):

Dolores Alejo
Alejandro Rodela
Victoriano Pedraza (Senecu War Captain)
Vicente Paiz.

The presence of these Piro signatures on a document relating to Ysleta del Sur was not particularly odd, because the resolution dealt with the Fiesta of San Antonio, which happened to be important for both Senecu and Ysleta del Sur, since San Antonio was the Patron Saint of both groups. More Las Cruces immigrants were Piro than formerly was believed, partly due to such confusions as participation of Senecu Piros in matters which affected both Piros and Tiguas in El Paso del Sur as late as 1895.]

Census lists for the Mesilla Valley/Dona Ana County in the 1890s included names of members of the base population/ancestral class mentioned in deeds, wills, 1895 testimony on voting legalities (deeds and wills refer to people who may be key to solving family histories & explaining interrelationships with members who do not appear at present to have Indian ancestry).

See Document: Guaranteed Deed to Estanislado Avalos, 29 December 1891; Precinct 6, County of Dona Ana, house lot at Block 28, No. 2; also,
Document: Guaranteed Deed to Damancio Avalos, 15 October 1902; Precinct 6, County of Dona Ana, house lot at Block 27, No. 5; also,
Document: Guaranteed Deed to Sirildo Avalos, 14 February 1913; Precinct 6, County of Dona Ana, house lot bounded by lots of Sostenes Gonzales and Victoriano Avalos; also,
Document: Felipe Roybal's Application for Land, 12 October 1896; Precinct 6, County of Dona Ana, "Said property I have taken for the purpose of building a chapel of Our Lady of Guadalupe where the entire body of native Indians can have their fiestas;" also,
Document: Deed of Confirmation No. 3238 from the Board of Trustees of the Dona Ana Bend Colony Grant to Eugene Van Patten, Francisca Abalos, Victoriano Abalos, and Bidal Minjares, Commissioners of the town of Guadalupe, 10 December 1908.]

The following Tribal families are documented as owning land in this area in the years from 1864 to 1900:

Avalos
Domingues
Gonzales
Jojola
Jemente

Trujillo
Roybal
Baca
Padilla
Lara
Madrid (Deeds & Wills, Dona Ana County Courthouse).

The Jojola family also owned land in the northern Mesilla Valley, near present day Hatch; and the Trujillo, Jemente, and Padilla families also owned land in Mesilla, where they first settled before moving to Las Cruces.

Summary of Geneaological Studies of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe

Terry Reynolds and Mary Taylor (1981) did extensive research in available census and parish records to document the approximate dates of emigration or immigration to the Mesilla Valley of Tribal Base Population members. Batcho and Kaufmann and Staff (1989-1991) conducted further intensive field work and research regarding this Tribe's geneaological history. It is clear that most of the families who can trace Piro/Manso ancestry from the Mission communities of Guadalupe and Senecu, and the Chamisal section of Paso del Norte settled in Las Cruces. They were also the earliest Indian immigrants to the Valley. Later, Piro families from Ysleta del Sur began arriving, along with a handful of Tiguas, and settled in either Las Cruces, Mesilla, or Guadalupe (Tortugas).

For instance, Jose Abuncio Trujillo and Locario Trujillo accompanied their mother to Mesilla in 1853 where they lived for a year before moving to Las Cruces (Testimony 1895: 190-192, 448-451). The names of these men, however, appear on the list of Indians to be drafted into the Mexican Army at Paso del Norte in 1862 (JA 1862a: Reel 24), and someone recalled that they lived there until 1865 when they returned to Las Cruces (Testimony 1895: 328-329). Nicomedes Lara, Bandelier's 1883 El Paso (Manso and Piro) informant, came to the Mesilla Valley in the late 1880s (Lange and Riley 1975: 255; CGP 1890). Ygnacio Grijalva, Jesus Domingues, and Felix Gomez may have been Piro, though these family names are not on lists of Indians at Paso del Norte. Their wives and/or mothers may have been Piro, as well.

El Paso Piro immigration to the Mesilla Valley area is not thoroughly documented, and certainly the comings and goings of individuals and families is not, partly because some of these individuals were evading Mexican military service or were following job and resettlement options on their own, and a permanent mass relocation was not an option. Based on immigration data culled from various sources which show or suggest approximately the date of entry to the U. S., or first mention of residency of various individuals in the Las Cruces area, one can see that the process of actual permanent resettlement of some individuals indeed took over 40 years (Terry Reynolds, Parish Records Notes 1980-1981; Testimony 1895; U.S. Census - Las Cruces, 1900):

Known Piro Indians, El Paso	Approx. Immig. Da.	1st Resettlement Site
Jose Abuncio Trujillo's Mother	1853	Mesilla
Ysabel Jemente	1854	Mesilla
Perfilio Jemente	1856	Mesilla
Miguel Lara	1856	Mesilla
Ylario Avalos [Perfecto's Uncle]	1859	Las Cruces
Ursula Avalos Lopes	1859	Las Cruces

Perfecto Avalos [Curandero]	1860	Las Cruces
Pedro Padilla	1862	Mesilla
Jose Roybal [Son of a Cacique]	1866	Las Cruces
Benita Madrid Van Patten	1873	Las Cruces
Nicomedes Lara	1890	Guadalupe

The emigration date is based on the 1890 List of Guadalupe inhabitants, the 1914 Articles of Incorporation List, J. P. Harrington's 1909 comments, parish records, and U. S. Census data, and may be several years in error.

It appears now that many other ancestors of the present tribal members migrated from Juarez, Chihuahua by way of El Paso del Norte between 1853 and 1873, and were Piro. Non-Indians who were to have a great impact on the Tribe arrived during these years, as well. Eugene Van Patten was a native of Rome, New York and came to the El Paso area in 1857. He worked on the Butterfield overland mail route, served in the Confederate Army, and was in business in the El Paso-Juarez area before coming to Las Cruces in 1873 with his El Paso Piro wife, Benita Madrid (Las Cruces Citizen, March 6, 1926, obituary). Eugene Van Patten was involved with the Tribe and with Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe until his death in 1926. His association with the Indians in Las Cruces took many forms. In 1879, he founded Company A, 1st Regiment of the New Mexico Volunteer Militia, and during the following 20 years he recruited many ancestors of the present Tribe:

Margarito Padilla
Felipe Roybal
Gabriel Villegas
Diego Paz
Damacio Avalos
Estanislano Abalos

[See National Guard Enlistment Certificates; Company A Muster Roll). This Regiment took part in Guadalupe festivities in Las Cruces (Mesilla Valley Democrat, December 17, 1889). Van Patten also employed others in Las Cruces. In the mid-1880s he was Sheriff of Dona Ana County, and Margarito Padilla and Gabriel Villegas worked at the jail for him as guards (County Commissioners 1885-1886). He also employed several of these Indians at his Dripping Springs Resort in the Organ Mountains, and formerly, Margariot Padilla's family lived in the Van Patten household (U.S.C.-Las Cruces 1880). Indians also entertained his guests with social dances at his house (Lange and Riley 1970: 158; Gerald 1974b: 189).

Much of the former El Paso Piro population eventually relocated to Mesilla Valley is uncertain, but there were 46 Indian family heads in the partidos of Barrial and Chamisal on May 31, 1844 (JA 1844a: Reel 13). There were 54 Indian males between the ages of sixteen and fifty living in Paso del Norte according to a draft list, in 1862 (JA 1862a: Reel 24). Bandelier said there were about a dozen families left in the Piro community there by 1883 (1890: 166). About two years later, a Las Cruces newspaper, Rio Grande Republican, reported about 80 Pueblo Indian families living in and around Las Cruces (December 19, 1885). By 1897, only 18 very impoverished Piro men remained in Senecu. Mooney reported the rest had gone to resettle and look for work up the river to Las Cruces (1897: December 7).

Houser said that the Mexican Revolution in the early 1900s destroyed the Indian group living in Juarez when many of these people fled to the United States (1966: 24). However, Bloom found that in 1923, 55 Piros were "maintaining their tribal organization and ceremonies" in a suburb of Juarez

designated as "el barrio del Pueblo" (1938: 206-207). Modern investigations of Piro existence in the present city of Juarez provided no evidence of a distinguishable Indina group with Pueblo Indian customs and identity (FN 1980-1981). Presently, the single extant Indian group continuing the traditions of the Paso del Norte Piros and biologically descended from them are the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe, Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe.

El Paso Piro Ancestors of the Present PIRO/MANSO/TIWA TRIBE in the 1800s

El Paso Piro ancestry can be traced for leaders of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe in Las Cruces, circa 1890. (Source: The Commissioners of Guadalupe Pueblo 1890; Juarez Archives 1844a: Reel 13; Juarez Archives 1862a: Reel 24.)

1890 San Juan de Guadalupe Piro	1862 Piro Ancestor	1844 Piro Ancestor
Felipe Roybal	Jose Roybal (father)	Agapito Roybal (grandfather)
Locario Trujillo	Locario Trujillo	
Francisco Trujillo	Locario Trujillo	
Jose Trujillo	Jose Trujillo (self)	
Pedro Trujillo	Jose Trujillo (father)	
George Jemente		P e r f i l i o Jemente (father)
Juan Jemente		P e r f i l i o Jemente (grandfather)
Nicomedas Lara	Nicomedas Lara	Lucinda Leyba (mother)
Damasio Avalos		Nasario Avalos (grandfather)
Estanislado Avalos		Nasario Avalos (grandfather)
Juan Avalos		Nasario Avalos (grandfather)
Senobio Avalos		Nasario Avalos (grandfather)
Pedro Padilla	Pedro Padilla (self).	

El Paso Senecu/Piro ancestry can be traced for some leaders of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe in Las Cruces, circa 1914. Delores Alejo, whose name appeared on the 1895 Ysleta Resolution and emigrated to Las Cruces in 1909, was one whose name also appeared on the 1914 San Juan de Guadalupe Corporation list (Source: The Articles of Incorporation 1914; Juarez Archives 1863: Reel 63; Native Resolution 1895; Fewkes 1902: 73; Harrington 1909: 569). He probably never resided in Ysleta del Sur.

Certain other persons formerly believed to be Tigua, and/or emigrants from Ysleta, are known to be Piro. Alejandro Rodela, who settled in Las Cruces in 1906, also signed the 1895 Ysleta Resolution, but Harrington identified him as a Piro (1909: 569). He resided at Ysleta, but his father was from Mexico (USC-Ysleta 1880). Rodela is a Senecu Piro name, not Ysleta (JA 1844, Reel 13). Tilana Rodela Rivera, who arrived in Las Cruces in 1876, may have resided at Ysleta, but both her parents came from Mexico and were Piro (USC - Ysleta 1860). The parents of Victoriano Eres and of Susano Herrara's wife immigrated to Ysleta from Mexico and were Piro (USC - Ysleta 1880). Miguel Paz, one of the original members of the Corporation living in Las Cruces in 1914, was the son of Vicente Paz, a Senecu Piro who lived in San Jose, near Ysleta (Harrington 1909: 569; USC-Ysleta 1880).

There were other immigrants to the Las Cruces area from Ysleta, Texas, including Susano Herrera and Alvina Trujillo (1895 Testimony; USC-Las Cruces 1900; USC-Ysleta 1880). Other families surnamed Olaga, Olquin, Marquez, and Cuaron may have come from Ysleta, but none of these names can be traced to Indians listed in the Ysleta Petition of 1863, the Resolution of 1895, or the 1900 U. S. Census Indian Schedule for Ysleta.

Tiwa Ancestors of the Present PIRO/MANSO/TIWA TRIBE in the 1800s

El Paso Tiwa/Tigua ancestry can be traced for some leaders of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe in Las Cruces, circa 1914. (Source: The Articles of Incorporation 1914; Juarez Archives 1863: Reel 63; Native Resolution 1895.)

1914 San Juan de Guadalupe Tiwa	1895 Tigua Ancestor	1863 Tigua Ancestor
Cornelio Duran (arrival: 1914)	Cornelio Duran (self)	Jose Maria Duran (father)
Eugenio Duran (arrival: 1914)	Cornelio Duran (self)	Jose Maria Duran (father)
Sostenes Gonzales (arrival: 1890)		Jose Severiano Gonzales (father)
Francisco Gonzales (arrival: 1890)		Jose Severiano Gonzales (father)
Felipe Gonzales (arrival: 1890)		Jose Severiano Gonzales (father)

The emigration date is based on the 1890 List of Guadalupe inhabitants, the 1914 Articles of Incorporation List, J. P. Harrington's 1909 comments, parish records, and U. S. Census data, and may be several years in error.
Some persons whose names appear on the pledge list of 1890 probably originated among the Tiwa/Tigua Indians of Ysleta del Sur. Two of these men, Felipe Gonzales and Severo Gonzales, were listed also as Native Heads of Families in 1863 at Ysleta del Sur (JA 1863: Reel 63).

Jose Trujillo's wife, Alvina Alvarez, was from Ysleta del Sur (Testimony 1895: 451). One or more other men on the church pledge list may descend from Ysleta del Sur Tiguas. Descendants of Ysleta del Sur Tiguas may also appear on the Articles of Incorporation list of San Juan de Guadalupe Piro/Manso/Tiwa in 1914. Of 53 names on that list, four belonged to Tiwa descendants. Their ancestors were named in the 1863 Native Family Heads list or in the 1895 Tigua Resolution.

Faustino Pedraza, a Piro descendant of Jose Pedraza of Senecu (JA 1844b; Reel 13; PR 1980-1981), and the father of Jesus Maria Rivera (Piro/Manso/Tiwa), married Maria Luz Duran Pedraza. The daughter of Jose Maria Duran, she was from Ysleta del Sur Tiwa and arrived in 1889, and first settled in Chamerino. Julio Rivera married a woman of whose family Gerald wrote: "The Rodela family are still numbered among the Tigua Indians" (1974b:176); however, according to archival sources, Rodela is Senecu Piro name (JA 1844: Reel 13). With Manso, Tiwa is at this point a relatively minor source of Piro/Manso/Tiwa ancestry, and Tigua migrants to Las Cruces in the 1800s must have composed a very small percentage of the whole number.

The removal of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa group from the El Paso del Norte area to the Mesilla Valley was a lengthy process, not a single abrupt exodus. For some time after the initial settlement had taken hold, at least some of the Piro settlers probably continued to travel between the El Paso del Norte and Las Cruces/ Mesilla Valley on a periodic basis for years during the resettlement process, setting up the community, providing for the relocation of families, while trying to make ends meet. Historical causes of Piro/Manso/Tiwa emigration from El Paso del Norte to Las Cruces/Mesilla Valley after 1855 will be discussed below.

It is likely that very few of the emigrants to Las Cruces were actually Tigua from Ysleta del Sur. Some who were once believed to have been Tigua, or their parents, probably originated in Senecu, Chihuahua and migrated to Ysleta, only to emigrate from there to Las Cruces. Piros from Senecu were immigrating or emigrating to Las Cruces into the latter half of the nineteenth century. Senecu lost half its land to the U. S., and eventually became part of U. S. territory, included in Ysleta, after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (Bowden 1971: 61, ff.)

Marriages of Piro/Manso/Tiwa in Mesilla Valley

Kaufmann's documentary research and geneaological research identified family relationships with known ancestors. Intermarriage between known El Paso Piro and Ysleta Tigua emigrants or their descendants cannot be traced at present, but there were marriages between Piro men and women and persons from other tribes. Jose Abuncio Trujillo's wife came from Ysleta, and Victor Roybal, a Piro descendant, married Jennie Eres, who parents emigrated from Ysleta (Testimony 1895, Geneaological data, U. S. C. - Ysleta 1880) and who may have been Indian. The Avalos family married into the Trujillo and Roybal

families (Geneaological data show Nasario Avalos and Jose Abuncio Trujillo's mother married, and Felipe Roybal married Francisca Avalos). The Trujillo and Roybal family were united by marriage (Geneaological data show Vicente Roybal and Isidra Trujillo married). The Padilla family married into the Trujillo and Van Patten families (Geneaological data show Asiana Padilla married Juan Trujilla, and Antonio Banegas, Eugene Van Patten's adopted Piro son, married Concha Padilla). The son of Faustino Pedraza, a Senecu Piro descendant, and Maria Luz Duran, married a daughter of Tilana Rodela Rivera (Geneaological data). Cirilo Avalos, and El Paso Piro descendant, married Guadalupe Cuevas, daughter of an Apache and a woman whose father probably was a Paso del Norte area Pueblo Indian (Geneaological data).

The Continuing Piro Settlement of Las Cruces after 1850

The Mexican Reform Laws, put into effect by the Mexican government after the overthrow of Santa Ana in 1855 and French occupation of Mexico, would have had disastrous effects on the native populations, forcing the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indians to flee (Knowlton 1976). The first of two Reform Laws that had a direct impact on the Piros was the prohibition of civil and church institutions from owning property that did not contribute directly to their day-to-day operations, which supplied unrelated business income (Meyer & Sherman 1979:378). This law effectively broke up the ejido lands that Indians of each community held in common, and proved disastrous to them, coupled as it was with the destruction of land by flooding. In most cases, they lost these lands and were forced to enter the wage labor market in order to survive (Meyer & Sherman 1979:378). The new communities of the Mesilla Valley, besides providing new agricultural land that Indian families might claim and work, also provided opportunities for wage labor. A large labor force was needed to dig irrigation ditches, clear and work new fields, care for livestock, haul freight and supplies between the new and old communities, and work in mining operations. The Paso del Norte Piros may have taken any of several different approaches to settling the new lands, depending on their individual economic positions.

The second Reform Law prohibited religious ceremonies and acts from taking place outside of churches unless written permission was given by local authorities (Ramirez 1978:662). This law allowed local, non-Indian governmental officials to regulate such activities as a saint's feast day procession, or Indian dancing outside a church. Such processions and dancing were considered by the Indians of Paso del Norte as integral to their identity and a long-established part of Indian Catholic ceremonialism. Both laws created problems in the Paso del Norte area (JA 1858: Reel 21; JA 1862: Reel 24, Reel 64), as the Indians sought permission to carry on the way of life they had established over the centuries in the area.

Indians at Paso del Norte were being impressed into the Mexican Army to fight the French during the occupation (JA 1862a: Reel 24). Father Ramon Ortiz, the influential priest at the Guadalupe Mission, favored the French occupation, early on, because the French appeared to be less reformist in their approach to the Catholic Church than the Mexican regime of Benito Juarez (cf. Knowlton 1976: 128-129). Father Ortiz, in taking this stance, encouraged some Piros to go to the Mesilla Valley to escape army service. Other problems, such as the arrival and stay of Juarez and his government in Paso del Norte, inevitably affected the Piros, because all persons in the

area were under the regime. The Reform Laws certainly were enforced in the region from the 1850s forward, and Indians could not carry on with their public ceremonial activities involving Church holidays. In 1897, the ethnographer Mooney reports being told by an El Paso Indian that the "Government of Juarez has taken away their government and prohibited also the dances" (December 7, 1897).

In the year 1849, Pablo Meleneres, Justice of the Peace, Prefect, and spokesman for Dona Ana, found that overpopulation of the village and the presence of the army made the locals nervous, and asked for the establishment of a new planned community. In 1849, U. S. Army Lieutenant Delos Bennent Sackett of Dona Ana Garrison surveyed on the hills south of the Mexican traders' three crosses ("Las Cruces," site of a modern monument). The convenient placement of Isidoro Armijo's irrigation ditch dictated the location.

On the basis of historical evidence regarding the migratory habits of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa population from the mid-1800s, and certain circumstantial evidence, it appears that the period of substantial and sustained contact between the U. S. government and the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe and its members probably happened in 1849, at the very day when an American surveying team arrived to lay out the town plan for the City of Las Cruces. The settlement of Las Cruces happened thus:

> When Sackett arrived, he found about 120 people camped in brush shelters (jacales) on what came to be the plaza near Church Street and Las Cruces Avenue. After Sackett finished his survey, heads of families gathered in a grove of cottonwoods of Griggs Street and drew suertes (lots) from a hat for their property (Staff, "Mesilla Valley's history: Rich, vibrant, and not that long ago," Las Cruces Bulletin, 13 Sept. 1989, C-2).

As appears from the records, the area in question has remained the site of the core community of the Piro/ Manso/ Tiwa Tribe since the drawing of those lots. Tribal Secretary Lamberto Trujillo has confirmed that what recent accounts refer to as "brush shelters" or jacales were constructed with branches and covered with adobe shells. The "brush" or thin, strong branches provide the frame for a substantial stucco-type frame house which could last for many years. These structures were not intended as temporary "tents" as in a camp, but reflected in all probability the common purpose of establishing a permanent settlement on the perimeter of a natural flat space large enough to accommodate the village and leave room for a Plaza (Staff, "Mesilla Valley's history: Rich, vibrant, and not that long ago," Las Cruces Bulletin, 13 Sept. 1989, C-2). A photograph of an old jacal building in Mesilla in about 1900 appears in a recent publication of Las Cruces history (Michael Romero Taylor, in Granjon 1982: 75).

A Piro Pueblo already was standing when the Army conducted the survey. The effect of the establishment of the town of Las Cruces was to resettle the Pueblo under the American authorities. Whether this particular settlement was composed entirely of Piro/Manso/Tiwas is unknown, but that there were leading Piro family heads there who participated in the initial lottery is clear (personal communication, L. Trujillo, 5/31/91). A map of Las Cruces dating between 1853 and 1855 (the original plat map) shows the following names from the tribal base population ancestors or relatives:

J. Trujillo
M. Barela
M. A. Vaca

S. Perea
F. Benavides
Jesus Lara
V. Minjares
M. Avalos
A. Padilla
Jemente
Maria Trujillo
G. Madrid
E. Duran.

The lack of detailed property and census records for the early decades of Las Cruces' founding make it extremely difficult to track the relationship that these individuals might have had to the PMT base population. Birth and census records are divided among Mexico, Texas, and New Mexico, according to the home town or parish of the families in the early and middle 1800s. Deed descriptions available in the Dona Ana County Courthouse do not describe parcels by lot and block; they simply give the precinct where the land was located (Las Cruces Original Townsite is Pct. 3), measurement of the land in varas, and the adjacent property owners. The use of lot and block designations was not common until the early 1900s.

Diligent investigation has failed to relate block and lot numbers with adjacent streets in the title trail for these properties for the period from the 1850s to the 1880s. Deed descriptions, while naming neighbors to a property owner by way of identifying and orienting the claimed lots, still appear to have been intentionally vague. If a family settled on a lot, put up a house, stayed two years, and perhaps some nominal amount, they appear to have obtained squatters' rights by settlement. [Under the 1859 Cramer and the later Klamath National Forest precedents, which cited prevailing Indian policy following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, tribes, Indian individuals and families were encouraged to abandon their migratory habits and settle on particular sites, in which their claim was defensible, if required, by the U. S. Justice Department.]

Still, the geographical center of the Paso del Norte Piro community in the Mesilla Valley certainly was Las Cruces. Early deed records show that tribal members often had adjacent or adjoining house lots, and land was often passed down through families or between tribal members.

By the late 1880s, moreover, when the available documentary evidence is more complete, the key ancestors to the present day Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe are documented as living in a tight cluster, or barrio, in the heart of the original Las Cruces townsite. The following Tribal families are documented as owning land in this area in the years from 1864 to 1900:

Avalos
Domingues
Gonzales
Jojola
Jemente
Trujillo
Roybal
Baca
Padilla
Lara
Madrid (Deeds & Wills, Dona Ana County Courthouse).

The Jojola family also owned land in the northern Mesilla Valley, near present day Hatch; and the Trujillo, Jemente, and Padilla families also owned land in Mesilla, where they first settled before moving to Las Cruces.

Examples of early deeds for land acquired by tribal members include:
Document: Guaranteed Deed to Estanislado Avalos, 29 December 1891; Precinct 6, County of Dona Ana, house lot at Block 28, No. 2; also,
Document: Guaranteed Deed to Damancio Avalos, 15 October 1902; Precinct 6, County of Dona Ana, house lot at Block 27, No. 5; also,
Document: Guaranteed Deed to Sirildo Avalos, 14 February 1913; Precinct 6, County of Dona Ana, house lot bounded by lots of Sostenes Gonzales and Victoriano Avalos. By the very land descriptions, we know that at least some tribal members consciously selected lands to settle upon during these years in close proximity to persons whose Piro/Manso/Tiwa ancestry we have identified, and whom they had to have known to be Piro/Manso, or Tiwa.

The Las Cruces town site was composed of 84 blocks within the present boundaries of Las Cruces. Each block along the streets was quartered into house lots or solares de casa, while below the town, farm plots (terrenos de labor) were laid out (Staff, "Mesilla Valley's history: Rich, vibrant, and not that long ago," Las Cruces Bulletin, 13 Sept. 1989, C-2). Early deed records show that tribal members often had adjacent or adjoining house lots, and land was often passed down through families or between tribal members.

Two other men, whose Indian ancestry is unknown, but who had a continuing relationship with the families of Nasario and Perfecto Avalos, were granted house lots in Dona Ana and later, Las Cruces. Their names were Esmeregildo (or (He)meregildo) Montoya and Gregorio Montoya. Gregorio served as the Executor of Nasario's estate in 1864, and Esmeregildo owned land in common with Perfecto Abalos/Avalos in the same year (Deed Books 1 & 6). Esmeregildo's wife was named Josefa Abalos. The Montoya family was also related by marriage to the Roybal family. Jose Montoya (Indigenes, 1862 JA) married Maria Isabel Roybal, Felipe Roybal's sister. Felipe's wife was Francisca Avalos, Perfecto Avalos's daughter.

Chamisal Cacique Caetano Roybal's son was, Jose Francisco Roybal; his son, Agapito, was Cacique in Chamisal in 1836. Agapito's son, Jose Roybal, born in Chamisal in 1832 (married to Isadore Lopez, then Isabel Salado), became Cacique in 1862 (ACCJ 1862: Reel 8), and was listed as one of the Indigenes de la Cabezera, Natives of the Regional Capital, Paso del Norte, as eligible for the Mexican Army's military draft in 1862 (JA 1862a: Reel 24), with other descendants of Indians on the 1844 census. Jose Roybal's son, Felipe, was Cacique of the Piro/ Manso/ Tiwa Tribe from about 1865 to 1906,.

The family of Felipe Roybal received title as early as 1849 to a block of land for homesites in the present downtown Las Cruces area from Dona Ana Land Grant's Commissioners at some time, quite possible by means of squatting establishing a homestead on the land for a period of years without legal challenge (see elsewhere, discussion of contemporary Indian policy and the Cramer doctrine). Felipe Roybal gave lots there to his sons, Candelario, Victor, and Vicente. The walls were shared by adjoining houses. The compound was like a multi-roomed Pueblo-type house, and part of it is still standing. The original site for the settlement of the core community was there, and remains in the general area, though many of the lots in the original neighborhood no longer remain in the hands of the direct lineal descendants or members of the Tribe. Beatrix Apodaca's property sat adjacent to the Cacique's.

the Cacique's role in the Tribe, and the importance of the Cacique's family compound in tribal affairs, below).

The Roles of Traditional Pueblo Indian Religion and the Catholic Churches in Mesilla Valley in the Culture of the PIRO/MANSO/TIWA TRIBE

From the preceding documentation, it is certain that the Piro/Manso/Tiwa group was under the supervision of the Franciscans while under the domination of the Spanish and Mexican governments. In New Mexico, they continued to participate in the Catholic Church, looking to her for support and refuge through the years, even as they maintained the veneration of their Holy Mother, Sra. de Guadalupe, Patron Saint of Mexico. The apparition of Our Lady appeared to Juan Diego, an Indian, in December, 1531, speaking to him on the hill of Tepeyac, four miles north of Mexico City. The Virgin asked Juan Diego to tell the Bishop of Mexico, Juan de Zumarraga (1486-1548) to build a shrine in her honor on the hill. Juan Diego asked the Virgin for a sign to prove to the Bishop that she had appeared to him. She cause a portrait of Herself to appear on Juan Diego's cloak, surrounded with roses. Juan Diego showed the cloak to the Bishop, who ordered the shrine to be built on the spot and the cloak placed in it. The present shrine, the fourth, has stood since 1600s, and every December 12, Mexicans hold their most important religious fiesta in and around the shrine.

The Piros' association as a group with the Catholic Church was unabated throughout the 1800s, and from Baptism to Extreme Unction, they looked to the Church. However, in their own sense, looking to the Church meant that they were continuing with aspects of their own traditional Pueblo Indian cultural and religious life. These things have been known to the Church for hundreds of years, and tribal identity and the desire to retain it have been the matter of some conflict between the Tribe and the Church over the years.

The first French Bishop who had jurisdiction in New Mexico over Las Cruces area was Jean Baptists Lamy of Santa Fe in 1851, covering Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona, formerly under Diocese of Durango in Mexico. Catholic-sponsored hospitals and schools began to be established in the area at this time. On September 25, 1868, J. B. Salpointe became Vicar Apostolic of Tucson. Henry Granjon became Bishop of Tucson in 1900 and died on November 9, 1922 (Michael Romero Taylor, in Granjon 1982: 8). In 1902, his diocese included Arizona Territory and Grant, Luna, Sierra and Dona Ana counties in New Mexico. Regardless which diocese had authority over them, the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe had the same expectations of ministerial aid and tolerance from the Church. It was only in the 1880s that this faith began to be tested in fundamental ways, and the acculturative pressures of the Church itself began to endanger the structure of Piro/Manso/Tiwa culture, and the relationship between the Tribe and the Church.

Prior to the construction of St. Genevieve's, either the priest at San Albino's in Mesilla or at Our Lady of Purification in Dona Ana traveled to Las Cruces to perform marriages and baptisms. Some Piro families migrated first to Mesilla, but eventually the also joined St. Genevieve's parish (PRN 1980-1981). By 1859, the geographical center of the El Paso Piro relocation in Mesilla Valley was Las Cruces and its parish church of St. Genevieve's (Bloom 1903: 56). Most tribal members also belonged to St. Genevieve's Catholic Church, and their births, deaths, baptisms, and marriages are recorded in parish records as early as 1859. Buchanan (Thesis, "St.

Genevieve's: The First Hundred Years," 1949: p. 11) confirms that the Catholic church's records indicate that the church started in about 1859 (Michael Romero Taylor, in Granjon 1982: 127, n. 24). St. Genevieve's originally was at 200 N. Main, at the present site of 1st Western Bank, adjacent to the Las Cruces City Hall, and to the Plaza.

Although no record exists, El Paso Piro emigrants must have brought a santo, an image of their patroness, Nuestra Sra. de Guadalupe with them from El Paso del Norte. By 1872, the Piro/Manso/Tiwas were celebrating her Feast Day, December 12, in Las Cruces (The Borderer, December 14, 1872), and required an image of her to do this. St. Genevieve's did not acquire one until the 1900s (Buchanan 1961: 20).

The distinct matter in which they celebrated their devotion to this particular saint distinguished the Piro/Manso/Tiwas from their Hispanic neighbors from the beginning. A newspaper account of their Guadalupe Day celebration in 1872 proclaimed, "To a stranger the scene would have been novel in the extreme" (Las Cruces, The Borderer, December 14, 1872). This sort of interest suggests that this otherwise quiet, uneventful little Pueblo group was doing something extremely unusual and calling attention to itself, if inadvertently.

These reports and those of ethnographers who have studied their activities in El Paso del Norte and Las Cruces tell an interesting story. Their celebration of the Fiesta of Nuestra Sra. de Guadalupe lasted a week each December (Rio Grande Republican, December 116, 1904). Only two days of this week of rites received any particular notice. The rest of the week undoubtedly involved a variety of open religious rites and practical preparations, including preparation of the feast for December 12, decoration of the Virgin's image, preparation of the farolitos that would illuminated the outline of their houses and church on the night of December 11, holding a velorio on one or more nights to entreat the Saint's blessing for the group and for various households. However, none of these functions alone or together were critical to the event.

The critical tribal religious rites in connection with Guadalupe Day were performed the day and night before the feast by the Cacique and other officials of the Tribe in their capacities as religious leaders. On December 11, the Cacique, no longer Governor but Chief Priest, and the War Captains, who now were the abuelos, or maskless kachina-like clowns, left the Cacique's house in Las Cruces after he had instructed them. They marched to A Mountain and climbed it by difficult paths. They arranged piles of brush along three trails. They lit this brush after sundown to light the Virgin's way and to announce the fiesta of the following day (Reid 1935: 161; Bloom 1903: 56; Oppenheimer 1957: 104-106). Then they returned to the Cacique's house for a ceremony, or to the Assistant Cacique's house during the regency of Caciqua Francesca Avalos Roybal, and thence to the Cacique's house for a ceremony. Thereafter, they prayed at the church of St. Genevieve's, then returned to the Cacique's house for a feast (Oppenheimer 1957: 104-106).

On the following morning, the Tribe attended Mass, and afterwards, to the accompaniment of drumming and gunfire, they danced in front of the church (Reid 1935: 162; Rio Grande Republican, December 19, 1885). Before the dancing, the Cacique instructed the dancers on their sacred purpose in their performance (Burrus 1981). Both matachin and Pueblo dances were performed in alternate sets (Reid 1935: 162; Rio Grande Republican, December 19, 1885; Rio Grande Republican, December 16, 1904). At the Cacique's house, everyone

participated in a big feast, and none was turned away. Late in the afternoon, the Virgin was carried in a procession preceded by dancers and accompanied by shotgun blasts all the way from the home of the current year's majordomo to the home of the coming year's majordomo. The image stayed in the home of the new majordomo for a year (Mesilla Valley Democrat, December 17, 1889).

These activities were different from those of the Mesilla Mexican Catholics who celebrated Guadalupe Day in their traditional ways:

> The Mexican portion of our citizens on Tuesday last celebrated the feast of Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe, the patroness of Mexico, with vespers and other services at church. It was decorated and illuminated on the houses fronting on the plaza and down the two principal streets were set off with Chinese lanterns. The procession with the saint at the head and accompanied by a band of music paraded the streets and proceeded to the church where an appropriate service was performed, and all went off nicely. (The Mesilla Valley Independent, December 15, 1877).

The veneration of Our Lady of Guadalupe continued to be a central basis and justification for the persistence of ceremonies that continued to express essentially tribal religious values, hearkening to a much older veneration to a Mother Goddess. Loomis and Leonard (1938: 19) wrote:

> The following is taken from an article appearing in the El Paso Herald several years ago:
>
> > 'Lighting of fires on the mountains throughout Mexico in the Virgin's honor is an annual custom that is picturesque.
> >
> > 'Natives in their simple faith labor up the sides of heir rugged mountains surrounding or near their home with loads of wood and fagots and, as soon as darkness settles upon the country, they light their fuel and keep it burning throughout the night. Tradition is that the patron saint of the country returns once a year to give her blessings to the people. The fires are lights as a means of guiding her footsteps and as a signal of welcome from the faithful (Loomis and Leonard 1938: 19).

Piro immigrants also celebrated Christmas. The members lit farolitos on their homes on Christmas Eve, and bonfires in the Organ Mountains east of Las Cruces (Bloom 1903: 56). Some Indians went in procession from house to house singing mananitas and asking for admission. At first they were denied, on the excuse that all the occupant's clan was dead, but then they were admitted, because some relatives were still alive (Lange and Riley 1970: 157-158). This ceremony was their Piro version of the Hispanic Christmas Posadas procession (cf. Decorme n.d.; Burrus 1981).

On San Juan's Day, on June 24, the women went bathing in an irrigation ditch or in the river and cut off two inches of their hair with a blunt instrument (Lange and Riley 1970: 158). The Cacique held dances at his house during the day, and some family or families would host a social dance or baile de olla at their home in the evening (Oppenheimer 1957: 91-98). Indians also entertained Eugene Van Patten's guests, probably until the 1920s, with social dances at his house (Lange and Riley 1970: 158; Gerald 1974b: 189).

Other Las Cruces area Catholics celebrated the day by having chicken pulls and horse races down Main Street (Feather: n.d.)

Piros also danced at St. Genevieve's on the Parish feast day in January (Rio Grande Republican, December 14, 1888). They danced as well on the feast days of San Ysidro and San Lorenzo (Castillo 1981). Like their descendants, they may have celebrated Las Palmas activities during Holy Week by preparing

yucca and evergreens to be blessed by the parish priest and used on Palm Sunday in services. Families preserved their own to burn when they needed God's help and to ask for protection from things like violent storms (Oppenheimer 1957; Slagle, PMT Field Notes 1991).

Piro ceremonies unrelated to the Catholic church went without notice by outsiders, but Bandelier reports a girl's puberty ceremony and a sunrise ritual (Lange and Riley 1970: 158), and recent research suggests there is still a prayer or meditation still in use from precontact times in conjunction with veneration of the powers in each of the Four Directions (Juan Benevidez to Almarez, PMT Field Notes, 1991).

Another ritual activity was the rabbit hunt, or Cerco, which the Tribe ceased to conduct in the 1950s due to closing of range to hunting and poisoning (Beckett 1974; Oppenheimer 1957: 115-117; Slagle, PMT Field Notes, 1990-1991). One of the ceremonies that Chairman Louis Roybal remembers attending at Cacique Vicente Roybal's house regularly from the 30s to adulthood was associated with the Circo or Rabbit Hunt. The night before the hunt, the Cacique, five War Captains, and the keeper of the Hunt Fire met in this location to dance, chant, and prepare themselves for the hunt the next day. He also remembers that every quarter, the pueblo drummer and all of the War Captains got together there to "feed the spirit of life into the pueblo" (Tribal Interviews 1989). The Tribal arrows, gourd rattles, drum, and "all materials with which we made the spiritual blessing" were all kept in the Cacique's house. Victor Roybal, Jr. described a ceremony which occurred the night before the rabbit hunts, in which the men wore traditional clothing consisting of a white cotton shirt and pants, as well as a belt, and the dances would take place with all the men barefoot. Victor stated: "Ladies didn't dance in those ceremonial dances, only the males. A lot of these dances that are in the kiva, only the males [participate]; females weren't allowed. In fact they couldn't even see, they couldn't even witness" (Conn, PMT Field Notes, Tribal Interviews, 1989). Women were, however, an integral part of the baile del olla, or Water Drum Dance, a social dance that was held several times a year at Tribal members' homes. The social dances or baile de olla were held in conjunction with religious events, and may have been part of birthdays or other occasions during the year" (Conn, PMT Field Notes, Tribal Interviews, 1989).

When Indians from other tribes came to visit (Ysleta del Sur Pueblo in Texas and Isleta Pueblo in New Mexico were specifically mentioned, as was Santo Domingo Pueblo), they met at the Cacique's (Vicente's) house to talk, eat together, and chant. Louis Roybal recalls:

> when they would first get together, within the hour they'd break out the drum and they would chant their songs and our songs together by the hour. This would usually happen after eating dinner, or sometimes if they would only be there for a few hours during the day, they would break out the drum, because a drum and your chant from one tribe to another, is kind of like breaking the ice. It's a social gathering, when you trade information and songs. My uncle [Vicente], when he would go to Ysleta del Sur, Mr. Pedraza [Miguel Pedraza Sr., then Ysleta del Sur Tribal Chairman] would do the same thing. In fact, the first thing he would do, he'd go home and get the drum, and he and my uncle Vicente would chant and hour or two, trade conversation, and they'd also sing the Piro chants [Pedraza's family is Piro, from Senecu del Sur].

These events still were taking place at the Cacique's house between the 1920s

and the 1960s or '70s. (Note herein, elsewhere, the discussion of continuing contacts between the Las Cruces tribe and the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo in El Paso.)

Tigua emigrants, few in number, had some influence over time on tome of the ways rituals were performed in Las Cruces, but they did not have a major impact on the Piro ritual schedule of the group or on its devotion to Nuestra Sra. de Guadalupe. The Tigua patron, San Antonio, was not honored in Las Cruces, nor did the Piro/Manso/Tiwas celebration Santos Reyes, which entails an elaborate ritual (Gerald 1974: 186-188). Other Ysleta feast days for San Pedro, Santiago, Santa Ana and San Andres (Fewkes 1901: October 29) were not shared with the Piro/Manso/Tiwas in Las Cruces.

Other Indian ceremonials taking place at the Cacique's compound on San Pedro and Amador Streets were linked with Catholic Saint's Day celebrations important to the tribe (such as those in honor of their patron Saint, Our Lady of Guadalupe) and Christian holidays such as Christmas and Palm Sunday (Tribal Interviews 1989). In each case, private Tribal ceremonies were held at the Cacique's or War Captains' homes in conjunction with the more public and intercultural celebrations held at or in front of the Catholic Church (St. Genevieve's in Las Cruces; or later, Our Lady of Guadalupe Church in Tortugas).

Pierre Lassaigne was a French Priest under Bishop Lamy with the Santa Fe Diocese as early as 1865. He was placed in Las Cruces as priest in 1881, after serving at Yselta from 1877. He died July 18, 1909 at 72 years of age, according to C. LO. Sonnichsen, Tularosa: Last of the Frontier West (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, Revised ed., 1980; Michael Taylor, in Granjon 1982, p. 128, n. 26).] Lassaigne was apparently the Priest who so strongly objected to the continuation of the "pagan" tribal Piro rites in connection with Catholic ceremonies and holidays. He objected to the noisy singing, drumming and gunfire which accompanied the procession in which the Virgin's statue was carried to the new year's lodging at the new majordomo's house. He objected to the dancing, the luminarios, and the like. It is said that he also objected to baptizing babies who had not been conceived in Catholic marriages (Slagle, PMT Field Notes, 1990, 1991). While the Indians could use the plaza in front of St. Genevieve's until the 1880s, this church did not honor their Patroness. Father Lassaigne did not have a reputation for respecting Pueblo Indian religious traditions even while he was in Ysleta, Texas. While he was there, he ousted the patron saint of the Ysleta Church, San Antonio, to Our Lady of Mount Carmel (Gerald 1974b: 179), though the Ysletas had venerated San Antonio for nearly two centuries. While he did not try to dissuaded the Piros from their devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe, he tried to modify their practices by insisting on a three-day Guadalupe Day observance instead of the week of festivities. It is not clear which days he wanted to truncate, but a good candidate for his purposes would have been the days set aside for the special tribal ceremonies themselves which lent the observances their essentially Pueblo Indian character, including the Cacique's pilgrimage, vigil, fire-lighting, blessings, Pueblo dances in the Plaza. A three day feast to celebrate a saint's day would not have been out of the ordinary for some Mexican villages in honoring their patron saint, but the Piro practices had to go. The disputes (including the ones over ceremonial traditions) between the priest and the parish helped foment major changes for the Tribe and the community (Rio Grande Republican, December 16, 1904), though there was no complete break, and the ceremonies continued until

1909, when the French priest died. The Piro Indians were still dancing in front of St. Genevieve's on certain religious holidays (Buchanan 1961: 15), and continued to do so in later years, even after starting up a formal association with Tortugas.

In 1887, St. Genevieve's Church, by now the social and cultural center of Las Cruces, was replaced with a larger, brick, French Gothic revival church, financed by a fund drive by Father Pierre Lassaigne (Don Pedro) and Mother Praxedes Carty, Sister Superior of Loretto Academy (Rosemary Buchanan, The First Hundred Years/St. Genevieve's Parish/ 1859-1959 (Las Cruces, N. M.: Bronson Printing Co., 1961; see photo in Granjon 1982: 69).

In 1890, 34 men pledged to work on building the church of Our Lady of Guadalupe at Guadalupe, and to contribute funds toward its construction (CGP 1890), but for reasons which remain unclear, the construction was started (Las Cruces Citizen, May 10, 1902), but never done (see below, under Tortugas discussion). Cacique Felipe Roybal then applied of a tract of land east of the Las Cruces plaza, which is about where the old Fanny Dias house and community building once sat (Roybal 1896, translated from Spanish: Document: Felipe Roybal's Application for Land, 12 October 1896; Precinct 6, County of Dona Ana, "Said property I have taken for the purpose of building a chapel of Our Lady of Guadalupe where the entire body of native Indians can have their fiestas."] Note, moreover, that at the time of the Jan. 21, 1888 Petition to secure ownership to the land of the Tortugas Pueblo, a chapel already was standing in Tortugas [See Document: Town of Tortugas Petition; To the Honorable Justice of the Peace of Precinct No. 6 of the County of Dona Ana and the Territory of New Mexico, 21 January 1888]. This San Juan de Dios Church, called "the Chapel of Tortugas," was "on the other side of the road from Las Tortugas . . . it is bounded by the land of Andres Sandoval."

1891 is the last year for which the Tribe presently has available copies of documents showing Magdaleno Baca's affiliation with Tortugas. At some point, probably in 1896, Baca's role in soliciting construction funds for the church in Guadalupe from Las Cruces citizens had come into question, when the Tribe decided to build the Chapel in Las Cruces near the site of the core community and near or on the site of their old meeting house, Baca threw the money he had gathered for the construction project on the ground and stomped off. His last official act in cooperation with the Tribe was signing a transfer deed in 1902 (CGP 1902).

In 1902, Bishop Henry Granjon observed ceremonies for the Guadalupe Day festival on December 10, 11 and 12, and on New Year's Day, in Father Don Pedro Lassaigne's parish church while conducting a pastoral visit in Las Cruces:

> The Church is located a kilometer from the [Atchison and Topeka] train station. I am seated in a cart with benches, and the parade begins: the women and chidren on foot, through the dust, and the men on horseback. Just in front of my carriage, which advances majestically at a walk, an entire tribe of Indians and squaws executes, as in the time of David, a sacred dance. There they are heads bare, a row of men, a row of women, alternately, their faces decorated with red ochre, their bodies covered with furs of wild animals or cottons in bright colors, their feet covered with moccasins. A drum beats the rhythm. With their hollow voices, the "Redskins" roll out musical phrases to the Indian taste, which a composer of the Conservatory would have trouble recognizing. Two or three notes constitute the range of this bizarre

> chant of a primitive, prehistoric simplicity. The total effect produced is of a deafening buzz, hammered out and taken up, at equal intervals, by crescendos completely unexpected. The steps follow. The beat; and half dancing, half jumping, breaking ranks in cadence so as to change place by running back and forth, the corps de ballet advances slowly, raising a cloud of dust at its passage. The good bourgeoisie of the place come to their doors, curious and sympathetic. . . .
>
> We arrive at the plaza of the church. The Indian chorus installs itself at the entrance of the temple and for another quarter of an hour drums, hums, jumps, and dances, celebrating the great day in its own manner. The leader [the Cacique Felipe Roybal], a large, sturdy fellow, who carries hanging from his arms the hats of all the participants, beats the rhythm tirelessly. These good Indians, grave, impassive, with long, angular, beardless faces in which not a muscle moves, their gazes fixed before them upon the great altar all blazing with lights at the end of the nave, continue their choreographic cycles. All at once, suddenly and with out finales, song and dance stop in a final purr. Breathless, bathed with sweat, the dancers retire in good order. . . .
>
> From where do these Indians come, from three or four miles down the river, where they possess several plots of land which furnish them subsistence [Tortugas]. They are all Catholic. Sadly, their ranks are seeing the light from one day to the next, and soon their cachinas, or religious dances, will be no more than a distant memory. The conditions of modern life in America are poorly adopted to these sons of the desert. They suffer, they languish, and too often, alas! at the contact of the whites, they drift into a way of life which is not at all made for them and which demoralizes them (Michael Romero Taylor, in Granjon 1982: 37; see illustration of St. Genevieve's Church and the Las Cruces area circa 1903 a p. 69, 70; Loretto Academy, Las Cruces, p. 70; San Albino Church, Mesilla, 1902; Calle Santiago near San Albino Church, Mesilla, 1900).

This is one of the best contemporary eye-witness accounts of these dances from a subjective but sympathetic observer. The Bishop's assumption about the decline of the Pueblo culture may have been a mixture of sentimentality and wishful thinking, because in a few years, fearful of losing their right to carry on with their traditions, the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe sought out political, economic and religious alliances that would insure the survival of their culture.

In 1907, Las Cruces was incorporated as a town, excluding the neighboring Mesilla, Dona Ana Village, and Tortugas from its boundaries (Staff, "Mesilla Valley's history: Rich, vibrant, and not that long ago," Las Cruces Bulletin, 13 Sept. 1989, C-2).

In 1902, Father Lassaigne died. Father Michael Vandermaesen arrived in November, 1909, from an Arizona parish to pastor at St. Genevieve's (Las Cruces Citizen, November 13, 1909). Although there had been an uneasy peace with Father Lassaigne, the new priest drew a line in the dirt and adamantly refused to allow dancing in front of the church (Slagle, PMT Field Notes, 1991). He brought a statue of Our Lady of Guadalupe to St. Genevieve's to bring the devotion to Our Lady under his careful supervision and control (Buchanan 1961: 20). That was the last straw. Now, the Piros constructed their own Chapel at Guadalupe, and danced there in their own plaza the following December (Las Cruces Citizen, December 17, 1910). The next year,

the local newspaper reported:

> The feast of Guadalupe, on the 12th of this month, was observed with unusual solemnity in the Catholic Church of St. Genevieve, in Las Cruces, and the Indians had their usual celebration, accompanied by religious dances, in the neighboring town of Tortugas (Las Cruces Citizen, December 16, 1911).

From 1914 to 1982, all southern New Mexico, from Grant County south was under the Diocese of El Paso, until the Diocese of Las Cruces arose in 1982, comprising the southern one-third of New Mexico, under its first bishop, Ricardo Espinoza Ramirez (Michael Romero Taylor, in Granjon 1982: 6). In the 1860s, some Union soldiers who had marched from California to New Mexico decided to stay in the area (Michael Romero Taylor, in Granjon 1982: 4).

Discussion of the Tribe's role in the establishment and later history of the Church dedicated to Nuestra Sra. de Guadalupe, the other most-important of their churches of affiliation, at Tortugas, appears below.

PIRO/MANSO/TIWA Tribal Leadership in Early LAS CRUCES

In Las Cruces, as they had throughout Spanish and Mexican colonial experience, the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe governed themselves through officers and a government which combined elements of Pueblo tradition and Spanish colonial administration (see earlier discussion). Living under the U. S. and State of New Mexican, the Tribe continued to interact with care and respect with local governments. There is little indication of trouble between members of the Tribe and the local government or civil authorities. Indeed, members of the Tribe (specifically, tribal officers and their sons) were deputized as peace officers from the earliest times to deal directly and primarily with their own people, particularly during the events that marked the rather full ceremonial calendar of the Tribe. Many of the Tribe did not read or write English or Spanish, many of whom only spoke Spanish or Spanish and Piro. This custom of recognizing War Captains and the Cacique as civil officers served as a kind of cross deputization, and continued until the break between the Tribe and Los Indigenes de Nuestra Sra. de Guadalupe Corporation. Piros were eagerly recruited by their friend, Eugene Van Patten, to serve in his Company A, 1st Regiment of the New Mexico Volunteer Militia from 1879 to 1899, and the Piros did not flee this form of military service as they had the Mexican draft, because in Las Cruces, they felt they were home and had to defend it. Their skills as scouts and as ones familiar with the region equipped them particularly well for these purposes. The Cacique Felipe Roybal himself and various leading members of this Tribe served in this Company (National Guard Enlistment Certificates; Company A Muster Roll), and proudly displayed their colors in Guadalupe Day ceremonies (Mesilla Valley Democrat, December 17, 1889).

Within the Las Cruces Indian community, the residence of the Cacique was always a central site and focus of native ceremonial and community activity. There were two men among the early Piro immigrants who may have functioned as Cacique during the early years of settlement. One of these men, Perfecto Avalos, was an immigrant in the 1850s and possessed a large amount of knowledge pertaining to curing. It has been suggested that Perfecto Avalos, as a respected curandero of the 1850s, may have been Cacique, or at least Assistant to the Cacique, during the early years of the occupation of Las Cruces, even though the position traditionally passed through the Roybal male

lines.

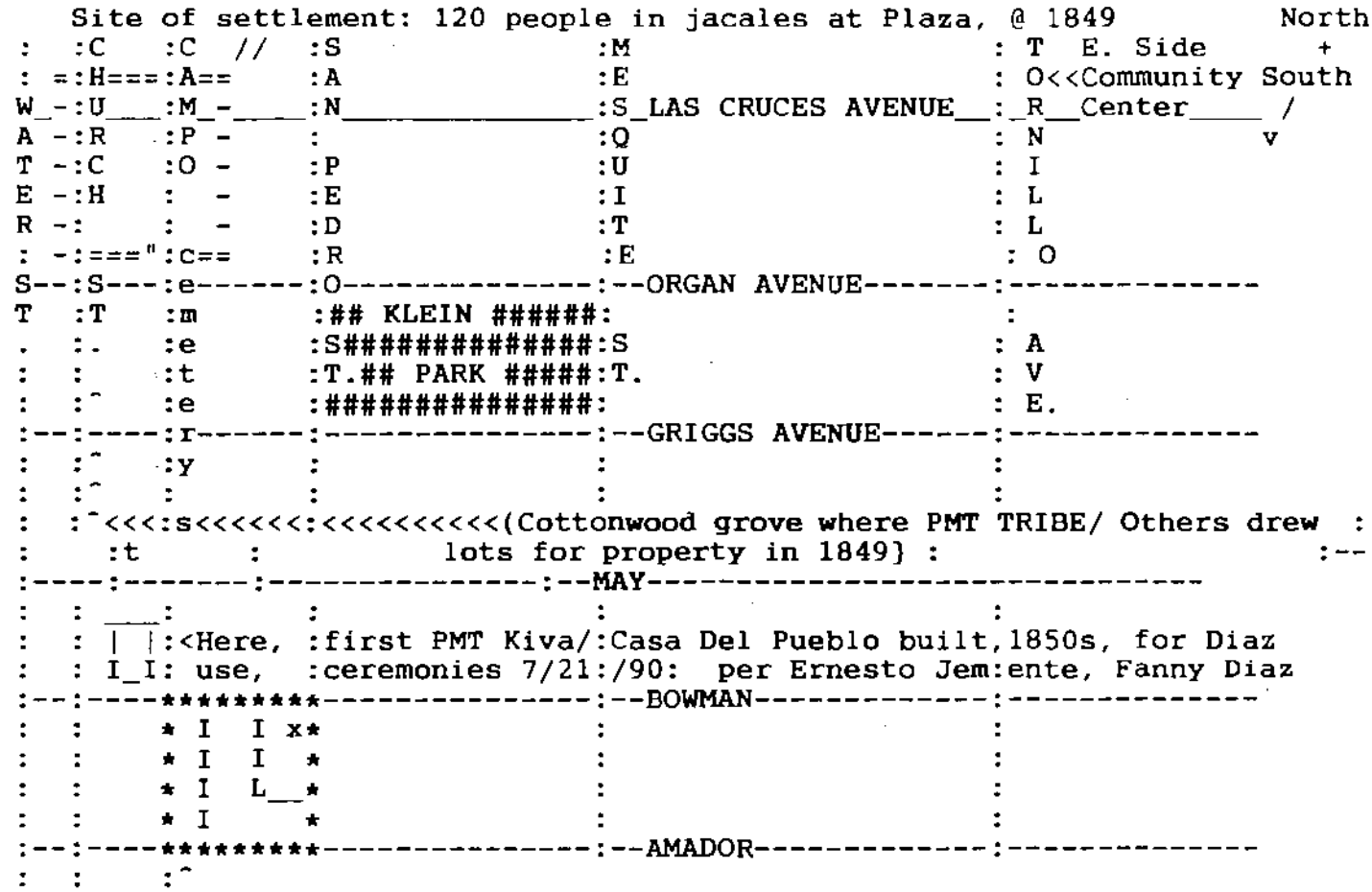
Tribal members today, however, consider the office of Cacique to be hereditary within the Roybal family; therefore, Jose Roybal, who immigrated in the 1860s, may have been the original Cacique of the group. Jose Roybal's father, Agapito Roybal, was referred to as a medico in the Juarez Archives in the 1850s, so his medical credentials must have been considered impressive, as well. His father (Jose's grandfather), Jose Francisco Roybal, was listed in the Juarez Archives in 1836 as the Cacique of the Paso del Norte Indians. The first recorded Cacique of the Las Cruces Indian group was Felipe Roybal, Jose's son (Rio Grande Republican, November 9, 1906).

Jose Roybal was in the Las Cruces area in the 1860s, and may have been the original Cacique of the group in Las Cruces. His son, Felipe Roybal, was the first recorded Cacique (and he was murdered outside a bar in Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican, November 9, 1906; Las Cruces Citizen, November 10, 1906). On the death of Felipe Roybal, his own oldest son declined the position and his other sons were too young and inexperienced to carry it on. It is certain that Senovio Avalos served as an Assistant to his Caciqua sister, Francisca Avalos Roybal, the widow of Cacique Felipe Roybal. There may be some merit to this suggestion that Perfecto Avalos, as father to both Senovio and Francisca, had an earlier leading role. It may be that while Felipe Roybal was a young man, until he permanently settled and established himself in Las Cruces, Perfecto Avalos indeed acted as Cacique.

By 1881, and perhaps earlier, Cacique Felipe Roybal owned 1/2 of the block at the corner of San Pedro and Amador Streets, and lived in an adobe house that he built there. When he died, he willed the lot in three equal portions to his sons Vicente (who became the new Cacique), Victor (Sr.), and Candelario. Victor built a home on the portion of the lot that faced Amador Street, and Vicente lived in the home his father had built. Next to Victor's home was that of Cirildo Avalos, their uncle. Louis Roybal, Victor's son, remembers that all of the Indian ceremonials were held at this family compound (Conn, PMT Field Notes, 1989-1990).

Tribal President Louis Roybal provided testimony and a map of the Cacique's house in the core community, and tribal governmental history in his own account, reflecting his review of tribal archives (Memorandum, 25 November 1990). According to former Piro/Manso/Tiwa War Captain Ernesto Jemente (great-grandson of Octavio Paz), the Tribe's original Kiva in Las Cruces was built prior to the 1850s near the intersection of Bowman Street and Campo Street, presently at the rear parking lot of a furniture store, razed probably early in the 1900s. The site would have been on the Plaza. The aunt of Ernesto Jemente, Fanny Dias, recalled that Mrs. Octavio Paz, whose husband was a very early settler, took in orphans of the Tribe, and a house was built for her on that site to contain a longhouse, which was used partly as a trading center, partly for Tribal meetings, public Indian dancing and ceremonies, prior to the building of St. Genevieve's Church. A section of this was used for Kiva meetings of the Cacique with tribal spiritual leaders or counselors to the Cacique (Consejos, later called Commissioners, prior to the creation of additional administrative offices), and other regular Council meetings. On the settling of Las Cruces, the Kiva was moved almost directly East, to the block owned by the Cacique himself.

RESULT OF LT. SACKETT'S 1849 SURVEY OF LAS CRUCES FOR FIRST SETTLERS
(MAP COVERS AREA APPROX. 2500' ON EACH SIDE)


Site of settlement: 120 people in jacales at Plaza, @ 1849
North
E. Side
Community South
Center
LAS CRUCES AVENUE
ORGAN AVENUE
KLEIN
PARK
GRIGGS AVENUE
(Cottonwood grove where PMT TRIBE/ Others drew
lots for property in 1849)
MAY
Here, first PMT Kiva/ceremonies 7/21:/90:
Casa Del Pueblo built, 1850s, for Diaz per Ernesto Jemente, Fanny Diaz
BOWMAN
AMADOR
THE INDICATED BLOCK IS THE CENTER OF THE PIRO/MANSO/TIWA TRIBE, PUEBLO OF SAN JUAN DE GUADALUPE CORE COMMUNITY.
NORTH
Beatrix Apodaca & Juana A. Abalos/Avalos
63'
18'
68'
[kiva]
[room.]
kiva room. small house Tribe used as kiva for secret religious ceremonies; Felipe Roybal's home was the ceremonial center.
5 VICTOR
0'E. ROYBAL
1 VICENTE
4'
[room][room]
AT LEFT IS ENLARGEMENT OF AREA INDICATED ON MAP AT A AMADOR & SAN PABLO, SITE OF CACIQUES' HOME. Though Roybals did not take the block in land lottery, Piro Cacique at Chamisal Jose Roybal, Jr. acquired @ 1849 (or his son, Felipe); lots went to sons Victente, Victor E., Candelario.
CANDELARIO
(Felipe lived here; 1800s-1900s)
[3 rooms]
[room][room]
63'
86'
AMADOR STREET (SOUTH) The 1960s Las Cruces Redevelopment Project widened Amador to 1-way st., razed some structures. One kiva wall remains.

Louis Roybal's brother, Victor Roybal, Jr., described the Cacique's home: "...in the house there were three rooms that were terraced off. Each room was a step lower than the preceding room. The third and last room was the ceremonial room and was two steps lower than the first room." Victor Roybal, Jr. referred to this as the ceremonial Kiva where the Cacique would perform the ceremonies. Candelaria Avalos confirmed this in the same interview (Conn, PMT Field Notes, Tribal Interviews 1989).

In the early years, as in the El Paso del Norte area (Lange and Riley 1970: 156; CGP 1890), the Cacique of the Las Cruces Piro not only provided ceremonial leadership, and a curandero or curer, a spiritual leader providing blessings to travelers. He also was head of a social welfare institution rearing orphaned children, and a liaison person between Anglo institutions such as schools and the Tribe, and a commissioner of the town of Tortugas as early as the 1880s (PMT Field Notes, 1989 -1990; also see notes from documents related to Tortugas, below); the Cacique carried out the secular functions of a Pueblo Governadorcillo, in addition to his religious or ceremonial functions. The Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe did not have the office of Governor as a named role in their hierarchy (Lange and Riley 1970: 156). They were organized with particular emphasis on religious activities, and their leadership roles depended heavily on the religious aspect of their cultural background. Secular leadership was unthinkable without a religious component in place, but the two went hand in hand. A secular leadership component with an unauthentic non-Indian religious veneer would have been unimaginable and pointless. Therefore, the primary focus of tribal activity always was the place where the Cacique lived. Since the 1880s, that location has been the area around San Pedro, Amador, and Mesquite Streets in Las Cruces.

The earliest available written records belonging to the Tribe date from 1888, indicating the holders of traditional tribal secular and religious offices. They also show that in addition to their religious functions, the Cacique's subordinates in religious matters were understood to have secular administrative functions as well, not only in Las Cruces, but in Tortugas. The data regarding succession and elevation to offices during the period from 1888 to the creation of Los Indigenes Corporation appear in the following section, including citations of the documents attesting to these facts.

War Captains no longer were simply scouts, trackers, and community guards, but conducted rituals under the Cacique's guidance and maintained religious discipline during ceremonies (Oppenheimer 1957). The activities closest to their previous roles in El Paso del Norte involved such things as their organization and carrying out of the rabbit hunts (Oppenheimer 1957; Beckett 1974). Their election was an annual event. The first record of these offices in the Las Cruces area shows the names of only two Captains, George Jemente and Pedro Benavides (CGP 1890). It is impossible to determine whether the early hierarchy of authority of this group had only two Captains, or whether only two names of Captains were recorded.

When Felipe Roybal died in 1906, and his wife Francisca Avalos Roybal succeeded him, the event was unusual only to those unfamiliar with the custom of having a woman in a position of religious and secular authority. Bandelier reported that the wife of the Cacique in Paso del Norte assisted him in a ceremony and was called Carica (Lange and Riley 1970: 165-166). Her gender prevented her from performing certain rituals, but her brother Senovio Avalos was appointed to carry on those tasks.

The Piro/Manso/Tiwa Colony at Tortugas

Most Indian emigrants to the Mesilla Valley worked in agrculture, livestock raising, mining, and packing. After 1881, some may have worked for Atchison and Topeka Railroad (Fewkes 1902: 61). Their jobs in the Valley put them in contact with the area known as Tortugas.

One reason Fewkes (writing in 1902) may have omitted any discussion of the relationship of Tortugas to Ysleta del Sur as being particularly significant is that in 1902, although some members of the Tribe had property in the Tortugas area since at least 1888, and the leaders clearly wanted to establish landholdings and a formal colony there, the core community and seat of tribal government already lay, as previously indicated, in Las Cruces. The Casa del Pueblo at Tortugas eventually became a business-meeting site of a colony community of the Las Cruces-based Pueblo perhaps a generation after the first Piro/ Manso/ Tiwa settlement of Las Cruces. Oversights in earlier studies of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe include the history of the Tribe's role in establishing a Pueblo that became the heart of Las Cruces, and misunderstandings about the political and cultural origin of the population itself. In the cases of all Piro/Manso/Tiwa individuals for whom earlier records exist in the Mesilla Valley, the recorded establishment of residency in or attachment to Tortugas came as late as 1873, according to local records. Piros were living elsewhere in the Mesilla Valley generations earlier.

Mrs. Henry Stoes, a resident of Las Cruces from 1876, indicated to Oppenheimer that the first settlement in Tortugas was in 1851 at the latest, even though records are vague the question whether Indians obtained land titles there at that early date. San Juan was settled first by Mexicans soon after the establishment of Las Cruces, and emigration to the Tortugas area and establishment of Guadalupe by Indians followed. Loomis and Leonard ("Standards of Living in an Indian-Mexican Village and on a Reclamation Project," U. S. Dept. of Ag. Farm Security Administration and Bureau of Ag. Economic Cooperating, Social Research Report No. XIV, Washington, D. C., August 1938, p. 4), date the beginnings of the village of Tortugas to "shortly after the settlement of Old Mesilla, which was once quite famous as a military outpost and frontier town on the Mexican border before the Gadsden Purchase in 1853," and suggested that the Indians there were primarily squatters, and seemed to come and go for a time before there was a permanent settlement. These sources fail to note that by 1849 Piro/Manso/Tiwa family heads already had obtained legal title through the Las Cruces block lottery, again in the core community (see also Bloom, Bourke on the Southwest, vol. 13, no. 2, p. 206).

Tortugas is divided in two settlements: San Juan de Dios (1852; Pope 1854), and Guadalupe (1888; Rio Grande Republican, March 3, 1888). The descriptions of these early settlements appears above. San de Dios/ Tortugas was at the south end of the Dona Ana Bend Colony Grant. A series of legal transactions led to the Tribe's involvement in acquiring the legal title to the lands of the Pueblo of Tortugas. Not all the land had been granted there to individuals by 1887, and during that year a number of parties petitioned to take land there. In September of that year, Magdaleno Baca, emigrant from Socorro, New Mexico, married a member of the Serna family from San Juan de Dios. He petitioned on behalf of twenty-five men who were family heads there, residents of Dona Ana County, N. M., all U. S. citizens with a right to

petition under probate law, who had resided there for at least 15 years, since 1873 or so. They wanted house lots, and planned to live "according to the law and to the customs established within the Grant of Dona Ana." None of the men named in the petition was known to be a Piro or Tigua Indian (Baca, et al., 1888). In December, 1887 at least nine non-Indian individuals petitioned for land in the Tortugas area. Among these petitioners were three sons of Anastacio Ascarate (Deed Book B). January 21, 1888, Piro Immigrants, Cacique Felipe Roybal and Jose Abuncio Trujillo, joined with Magdeleno Baca in a petition filed as Commissioners of Tortugas Pueblo for a tract of vacant land. This petition represented an effort on behalf of Pueblo Indian immigrants and their descendants to obtain a land base in the Las Cruces area. The petition's language resembles that submitted to various Paso del Norte and Chihuahua government officials in the previous sixty years to get land grants on which to establish colonies in El Paso del Norte.

In the petition, note that there already was a chapel standing in San Juan de Dios -- presumably, a chapel devoted to San Juan de Dios -- which the petition describes as being located on the west side of Tortugas, that is, "on the other side of the road from Las Tortugas in front of the Chapel of Tortugas, [Tortugas, on the San Juan de Dios side] is bounded by the land of Andres Sandoval." The Tribe wanted a chapel of their own on the Guadalupe side. dedicated to Nuestra Sra. de Guadalupe (Rio Grande Republican, March 3, 1888). This is the description of said tract of land by its limits and boundaries and by permanent objects: [See Document: Town of Tortugas Petition; To the Honorable Justice of the Peace of Precinct No. 6 of the County of Dona Ana and the Territory of New Mexico, 21 January 1888:

> The below-signed Commissioners for the Pueblo of Tortugas, County of Dona Ana, and the Territory of New Mexico, very respectfully come before Your Honor and ask in the name of said Pueblo of Tortugas that a certain tract of land situated in the same which now is vacant be given to us for house lots for the use of the inhabitants and settlers of the said Pueblo of Tortugas, informing Your Honor that said Pueblo has twenty five men as heads of families, and that the applicants are residents of the County of Dona Ana and the Territory of New Mexico and also are citizens of the United States of America and that they have a right to petition said land under probate law, and that said applicants offer to improve and live on said land according to the law and to the customs established within the Grant of Dona Ana, and that the said pueblo is in the Dona Ana Grant and the Territory of New Mexico. The greater part of these applicants have held possession of said tract for a space of fifteen years. Said tract is described as follows: From north to south on the east 400 yards and bounded in the east with vacant land; from east to west 1000 yards and bounded on the west by the main irrigation ditch of Las Cruces; from north to south on the east 400 yards and bounded on the south by land of Francisco Ascarate; from south to north on the west 300 yards and bounded by Robert Taylor, Mequiades Tome, and Perfecto Montoya on the bank of the ditch, and on the other side of the road from Las Tortugas in front of the Chapel of Tortugas it is bounded by the land of Andres Sandoval. This is the description of said tract of land by its limits and boundaries and by permanent objects. These boundaries are well-known and have been sworn to with all good intention. {signatures}

This description makes clear that this described tract is the part of

Tortugas Pueblo referred to as the settlement of Guadalupe (CGP 1890, 1891, 1902; Rio Grande Republican, March 3, 1888). Later lots were transferred from the Commissioners to family heads for the consideration of one dollar (CGP 1891, 1902). No complete records remain listing all the persons who received house lots in Guadalupe in 18888 nor during the subsequent 25 years. The lots were transferred to original residents (CGP 1891-1892, but also to subsequent settlers (Roybal 1913). It is unclear how many Pueblo Indian families actually moved to the settlement of Guadalupe from Las Cruces, because some took lots without moving onto them.

The 1900 U. S. Census for Tortugas shows only the families of Damasio Avalos, Cenobio Avalos (eldest son of the Cacique, and heir apparent to that title), and Margarito Padilla living the Tortugas Precinct. At least fourteen families of San Juan de Guadalupe Tiwa ancestors were recorded in Las Cruces that year. Some of those living in Las Cruces built homes on their plots of land in Guadalupe, and then rented to other Indians. Unless employment could be found with the Ascarate farming and ranching concerns, it was impractical to live in Guadalupe and commute to Las Cruces for job, particularly when the main mode of transportation was walking. Cars were not around for some years (about the late 1920s -- see Loomis and Leonard 1938). At least one family, the Margarito Padilla, had a member employed with the Ascarates (Slagle, PMT Field Notes 1991).

There is a list of Tortugas Pueblo members dating from the time. Many of these individuals had homes in Las Cruces and held property in Tortugas. Many of these named individuals were considered members of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe at the time, and had proven geneaological connections to the Piros, Mansos and Tiwas in the El Paso del Norte area ("*":

LIST OF TORTUGAS PUEBLO MEMBERS - ESTIMATED DATE: 1888

ALDERETE, Paulo /Pablo
AVALOS, Damasio*
Tanilado / Estanislado*
Juan*
Senobio* [who acted as PMT's Assistant Cacique after 1906]
Antonio*
BACA, Magdalen / Magdeleno
BARELA, Francisco
BENAVIDES, Pedro*
DELFIN, Blas
DOMINGES, Adrres (?) /Andres
Jesus
E?ERA, Juan
GONZ(S)ALES, Severo*
Pasteris (?)
Felipe (ONSALES) Gonsales*
GOMES(Z), Felis/ Felix
Visevio (?)
GRIJALBA, Ynasio
GURULE, Ju(a)na
JEMENTE, Jorje*
Juan*
MINJARES, Bindal / Bibal/Vidal [In 1908, he became a commissioner for

Tortugas.]
LARA, Nicomedes*
PAIS(?)/PAZ, Juan*
PANIA, Pedro
PAS/PAZ, Diego*
ROI(Y)BAL, Felipe [Cacique until 1906]*
TRUJILLO, Jose*
Pedro (Trujillo)*
Alvido / Alvino (Trujillo)*
Francisco*
Lucario / Locario (Trujio)*
QUETADA/QUINTANA(?), Erjina]

Certain legal records in the Dona Ana County records indicate that the political and religious leaders of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe in Las Cruces held secular offices and functions in Las Cruces. The earliest available written records belonging to the Tribe date from 1888, indicating the holders of traditional tribal secular and religious offices. According to senior members of the Tribe, few of their elected tribal leaders were able to read or write until well into the 1930s; even though many spend some amount of time in Indian schools, they remained functionally illiterate, and signed official documents with an "X" in most cases.

TRIBAL OFFICES 1888: (to the extent known from records)
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUE -- Felipe Roybal
B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES: NONE EXISTED PRIOR TO 1914 except as part of Casiques', Captains', and Commissioners' functions.
C. COMMISSIONERS: PUEBLO DE TORTUGAS
Magdaleno Baca, Jose A. Trujillo, Felipe Roybal
(Source: Affidavit before Justice of the Peace, Precinct No. 6, Genobeo P. Molina, Dona Ana County, dated January 21, 1888.)

Already, the Cacique was taking part in the affairs of the Guadalupe section of Tortugas, and wore his hat as Commissioner there in addition to his hat as Chief.

TRIBAL OFFICES 1891:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUE -- Felipe Roybal
B. COMMISSIONERS: PUEBLO DE TORTUGAS
Magdaleno Baca, Jose A. Trujillo, Felipe Roybal
(Source: Affidavit before Justice of the Peace, Precinct No. 6, Genobeo P. Molina, Dona Ana County, dated January 21, 1888.)

In 1890, while Magdeleno Baca was still involved in the Tortugas Pueblo, 34 men pledged to work on building the church of Our Lady of Guadalupe at Guadalupe, and to contribute funds toward its construction (CGP 1890), but for reasons which remain unclear, the construction was started (Las Cruces Citizen, May 10, 1902), but never done; and by the mid-1890s, the momentum was gone, and the land was lost for failure to pay taxes. Some members recall the story of a huge wind and electrical storm at the construction site which was interpreted as a premonition, leading the Cacique to call off construction because of the omen (Slagle, PMT Field Notes, 1990). Thereafter,

the Tribe decided they wanted to build the Chapel in Las Cruces near the site of their old meeting place in the core community, about a block west of the Cacique's house (see above). Baca, who had been raising funds to build the Chapel in Tortugas, was incensed, and even though the building never was completed and the Tribe lost the property in Las Cruces, after 1902, Baca would have nothing to do with the Tribe or Tortugas.

TRIBAL OFFICES 1891:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUE -- Felipe Roybal
B. COMMISSIONERS: PUEBLO DE TORTUGAS
Magdaleno Baca, Jose A. Trujillo, Felipe Roybal
(Source: Warranty Deed: above Commissioners to Damacio Abalos dated December 21, 1891.)

By 1908, the Town of Guadalupe had new commissioners. Felipe Roybal and Jose Abuncio Trujillo were dead. Magdaleno Baca had left in anger. Francisca Avalos Roybal was one of the new commissioners, acting as the Regenta Cacigua since her husband's death, because her eldest son did not want to accept the position, and her others were too young and inexperienced. Bidal/Vidal Minjares, another new commissioner, had been involved with the community since 1890 (CGP 1890), but nothing is known about his background. Victoriano Avalos, a third commissioner, lived next to Sirildo Avalos and Sostenes Gonzales by 1913, though little else is known of him (see above). His association with the Avalos family is also unclear. The fourth commissioner, Eugene Van Patten, was responsible for getting the land officially deed to the town in his capacity as Land Registrar in Las Cruces since 1906 [Gerald 1974b: 186-187; See: Document: Deed of Confirmation No. 3238 from the Board of Trustees of the Dona Ana Bend Colony Grant to Eugene Van Patten, Francisca Avalos/Abalos, Victoriano Abalos/Avalos, and Bidal Minjares, Commissioners of the town of Guadalupe, 10 December 1908.]

Eugene Van Patten (arrival, 1873) was married to an El Paso Piro, Benita Madrid, and was involved with the Tribe and with Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe until his death in 1926. His association with the Indians in Las Cruces took many forms. In 1879, he founded Company A, 1st Regiment of the New Mexico Volunteer Militia, and during the following 20 years he recruited many ancestors of the present Tribe:

Margarito Padilla
Felipe Roybal [Cacique]
Gabriel Villegas
Diego Paz
Damacio Avalos
Estanislano Abalos/Avalos

[See National Guard Enlistment Certificates; Company A Muster Roll). This Regiment took part in Guadalupe festivities in Las Cruces (Mesilla Valley Democrat, December 17, 1889). Van Patten also employed others in Las Cruces. In the mid-1880s he was Sheriff of Dona Ana County, and Margarito Padilla and Gabriel Villegas worked at the jail for him as guards (County Commissioners 1885-1886). He also employed several of these Indians at his Dripping Springs Resort in the Organ Mountains, and formerly, Margariot Padilla's family lived in the Van Patten household (U.S.C.-Las Cruces 1880). Indians also entertained his guests with social dances at his house (Lange and Riley 1970:

158; Gerald 1974b: 189).

It is likely that he helped the younger generation of Piros with employment. Felipe Roybal's son, Victor Roybal, Sr., worked for the Las Cruces Police Department for many years. All the Captains of the Tribe had to be deputies in Las Cruces in order to have authority to act as peace officers during the public ceremonies in Las Cruces and Tortugas, and at A Mountain, and undoubtedly Eugene Van Patten was involved in their activities.

TRIBAL OFFICES 1908:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUE -- Francisca A. Roybal

B. COMMISSIONERS: PUEBLO DE TORTUGAS
Eugene Van Patten, Francisca Avalos, Victoriano Avalos, Bidal Minjares
(Source: Deed of Confirmation dated December 10, 1908.)

Also, in 1908, the Tribe prepared for incorporation of Guadalupe into the Tortugas enterprise. [See Document: Deed of Confirmation No. 3238 from the Board of Trustees of the Dona Ana Bend Colony Grant to Eugene Van Patten, Francisca Abalos, Victoriano Abalos, and Bidal Minjares, Commissioners of the town of Guadalupe, 10 December 1908.]

The Piros constructed their own Chapel at Guadalupe, and danced there in 1910 (Las Cruces Citizen, December 17, 1910; see discussion above). The church at Tortugas was on land, like the rest of Guadalupe, officially deeded in 1908 to the Commissioners of the Town of Guadalupe by the Board of Trustees of the Dona Ana Bend Colony Grant (Guadalupe Deed 1908). The Roybal family held land directly across the street from the Guadalupe Church, and on the block that contains the Casa de Comida. This land today remains undeveloped, and serves as a parking lot for visitors to Guadalupe Day festivities, because the Corporation sued the family for the land and took it in a 1957 suit. The deed was for the same land described in the 1888 petition. It is uncertain whether the Town Commissioners tried to re-issue deeds to persons who already had received transfer deeds to house lots. The next year, the local newspaper reported:

> The feast of Guadalupe, on the 12th of this month, was observed with unusual solemnity in the Catholic Church of St. Genevieve, in Las Cruces, and the Indians had their usual celebration, accompanied by religious dances, in the neighboring town of Tortugas (Las Cruces Citizen, December 16, 1911).

The altar in the church at Tortugas was the gift of Clotilde Amador de Terrazas, and her mother provided the picture of Our Lady of Guadalupe, which became a special object of veneration in this century (Las Cruces Sun-News, December 10, 1939).

Economic Structure in PIRO/MANSO/TIWA Tribal Life, 1851-1881, 1881-1916, in Mesilla Valley

Oppenheimer divided development in the valley into three periods: Early Tortugas, 1851-1881; Transitional, 1881-1916; Recent, 1916-1950s. He compared the economic system of Tortugenos in the early period to that of the northern New Mexico Pueblo peoples, although the land holdings in the former case

"were not nearly so extensive or well-protected by treaty. Besides subsistence agriculture, the pursuits of hunting, fishing, and economically significant crafts and manufactures played a major role" (p. 25). He concluded that Tortugas never held agricultural land as a community, though they apparently had squatted on or owned and farmed some land (prior to assertion of claims or takeovers by non-Indian settlers, who later employed many of the Indians as laborers). Bartlett (Personal Narrative, pp. 212-213) described the process of American/Texan colonization-by-encroachment of the Rio Grande Valley before and after the war with Mexico, especially through claims asserted through "Texas head-rights" by war veterans. This process appears to have been affecting the Tiwas in Ysleta del Sur, Texas by 1881. The irrigated land, all near the river in Mesilla Valley, was limited. Oppenheimer concludes some Tortugenos were sharecroppers, keeping 1/3 - 1/2 of the produce. The late resettlements and lack of land thereafter set the Indians in the Mesilla Valley apart from those in other Pueblos. Even though our conclusions about the identity and location of the core community differ from Oppenheimer's, his conclusions in these respects appear justified (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957: 26-27), especially on the point that Tortugas always was considered relatively "poverty-stricken," although, "there is no quantitative data on the standard of living for early tortugas as there is for the more recent period" (p. 37, citing Loomis and Leonard, p. 10). What remained unclear was "whether there was actual subsistence distress or merely comparative shortage of prestige goods such as fashionable clothing and foodstuffs, status-marked home furnishings, and the like."

Wage labor then, as well as subsistence agriculture, formed the basis for the economy of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa core community in Las Cruces (as well as with the Tortugas community with which it was identified from the early 1900s until the schism of the 1940s). Wage work appears to have been most important for the core Las Cruces community by the time of the establishment of the establishment of a colony in Tortugas, and here, we can identify the characteristics of Tortugas economic activity most consistently and continuously associated with Piro/Manso/Tiwa culture both at the core community and in Tortugas.

The Piro/Manso/Tiwas' early reputation as agricultural workers and laborers (especially, makers of adobe bricks) was, according to one old resident, "They were considered fine and honest and were trusted by all" (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957: 27). They grew many crops, including both foreign and native varieties, including Indian corn, beans, and chilies, as well as western fruits, vegetables, grains, and forage crops. Goats as well as cattle supplied milk products, hides, and dung for fires, though Oppenheimer found no mention of the use of the flesh or milk as such, or whether people in Tortugas owned the cattle. Though useful herbs were gathered, there was little else available in terms of useful wild plants (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957: 28-29). Picacho Mt. was a source of colored glazes for pottery (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957: 30).

Hunting activities primarily involved deer and rabbits. The rabbit-hunts were particularly important during lean times, but had importance in the ceremonial life as well. Fishing was of considerably lessor significance (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957: 30-31).

Women prepared most of the food, though butchering and the preparation of goat jerky was the men's responsibility. Corn-grinding was cited as an example of women's activity. They ground only Indian or dent corn

(Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957: 32). They baked or cooked in slipped pottery, and used beehive-shaped outdoor adobe ovens. Men caught and broke wild horses, dressed and tanned the deer, antelope, rabbit and cowhides, and made moccasins, while women made at least some of the clothing (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957: 35-36).

Men made adobes and pottery -- mostly simple, slipped or unpainted, coil-built "puro barro" clay ollas, dippers, dishes and bowls, fired in dung-fueled kilns -- in historic times, and Hurt (Tortugas, p. 117) said the Cacique made and sold pottery to tourists (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957: 33). This would have been a natural sideline for Vicente Roybal, as a builder and adobe-maker (Field Notes, 1990). Oppenheimer's sources said Tortugas pottery was indistinguishable from that of Isleta del Sur (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957: 33), and were sold throughout the valley (p. 34). Men and women also made willow wickerwork baskets for domestic use and sale, including trays, bowls, and carrying baskets, some with waterproofing (p.35). They made 4' cane bows strung with sinew, and 2 1/2' cane arrows, and points from scrap metal, though Oppenheimer found no record of flint chipping (p. 36).

Adobe houses belonging to the core community of Piro/Manso/Tiwa families remain standing in Las Cruces, predating those built for families in Tortugas, and legal title to most of these remained in direct family lines to contemporary times (Field Notes, 1989-1990; (Michael Romero Taylor, in Granjon 1982: 69, illustration of Las Cruces structures). Oppenheimer described the architecture as "the usual type of Spanish colonial architecture in New Mexico," though our sources in the Tribe noted the presence of certain features -- such as seven Vigas oriented toward seven peaks in the Organ Mtns. -- which had local importance and cultural significance. Men constructed the buildings (p. 36).

Women prepared and cooked the food, kept house, did most of the childcare and discipline, and also made pottery, and some worked as domestics and took in laundry.

Federal Contacts with the Piro/Manso/Tiwas in Las Cruces after the 1850s

The Piro/Manso/Tiwas had been in the Las Cruces area for about two generations in some cases before the United States dealt with them directly as an Indian tribe, recalling that after starting their initial settlement in the 1840s, and after their contacts with the U. S. Army in the laying out of Las Cruces in 1849, Piros and others continued to move into the area to establish permanent residency for decades. By the end of their first sixty years in the Mesilla Valley, the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indians certainly were a well-organized group, with individual land holdings, and meeting places, with a well-known and defined leadership hierarchy and their own church. Throughout the year, they observed a rich ceremonial calendar, and their devotion to Nuestra Sra. de Guadalupe each December was matter for press comment from time to time. They continued their rabbit hunts, social dances, and the construction of an Indian Pueblo, while maintaining a group identity and their El Paso Piro traditions to the greatest extent possible. The only significant contacts with the Federal government involving the providing of services to members of the Tribe was due to their eligibility for Indian School admission based on their membership in the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe, a Pueblo Indian tribe.

Certain of the base population, ancestors to members of the current

Tribe, attended Federal Indian Boarding Schools for a time in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Eugene Van Patten and Cacique Felipe Roybal and Caciqua Francisca Roybal encouraged Indian parents to send their children to Federal Indian boarding schools. About 82 Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indian children attended various boarding schools from 1893 to at least 1913 in Albuquerque, Chilocco, Phoenix, Santa Fe, Sherman, and Haskell. No records have come to light as yet explaining exactly how the U. S. Indian School Service decided to attend the educational needs of the children of this Tribe. It is presumed likely that the initial contact was through Eugene Van Patten, but members of the Tribe recall an Indian Agent came into Las Cruces and rounded up the Indian children, and put them on a train for Albuquerque (PMT Field Notes). Since 64 Las Cruces children were known to have been at the Albuquerque Indian School and 22 of them were first enrolled in 1894, it appears likely that a Federal Agent did come to the community and contacted Indian families regarding sending their children to the Albuquerque Indian School. They were enrolled over the years because they were identified as members of an existing U. S. Pueblo Indian tribe which had not abandoned tribal relations, and which was not merely a Hispanic or Mexican group living in the United States. These students are mentioned in Albuquerque Indian School enrollment records from September, 1894 to January, 1907. There are notes about the "Tigua Community," in Ysleta, Las Cruces, and El Paso, Texas, in a listing attached to a memorandum dated June 10, 1970 in the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe's files. This memorandum was written by Carlyle W. Cullar for Keith O. Lamb, Superintendent of Albuquerque Indian School.

[See also: Letter of Walter O. Olson, Area Director, U. S. Dept. of Interior, Albuquerque Area Office, to {Tom} Diamond, Rash, Boling, Leslie & Schwartz, Attorneys at Law, El Paso, Texas, June 16, 1970, ICC Docket 22C, Intervenor's Exhibit # 83.

See also: 12 July 1966 letter from Samuel Rosenberg, Principal Albuquerque Indian School, to Nicholas P. Houser, Arizona State Museum from September 13, 1894 until July 27, 1907, 131 Indians from El Paso and Las Cruces enrolled in the Albuquerque Indian School.]

The Las Cruces Pueblo Indians who went to Albuquerque Indian school represented about half of the number that attended from El Paso and Las Cruces combined. Certainly, representation of the Las Cruces-based Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe was as significant as was representation of the Ysletas of El Paso del Norte. The group affiliation of some Las Cruces children is unknown. Another eight children are reported to have attended Albuquerque Indian School, but they did not appear on the 1894-1907 list of students in Las Cruces and El Paso, and were generally younger than those on the enrollment list suggesting they began attending the school in 1908-1909. Four other children went to Chilocco in Oklahoma. Two Las Cruces boys attended the Santa Fe school in 1893, but their relationship to the Tribe is uncertain, though they were "Pueblo Indians" (Santa Fe Indian School Record Book 1894-1899). Three of Magdaleno Baca's children went to Phoenix Indian School for a short time. Finally, the father of the former President of the Tribe, Charles Madrid, Jr., did attend Sherman Institute from 1909 to 1911, and Haskell Institute from 1911 to 1913.

By 1900, schools in the Las Cruces area were able to provide primary and secondary education for some Indian students, and by the end of the 1920s, the primary and secondary education was available to most Indian children, following the general pattern around the U. S. Consequently, there was little

need for the children to go away from Las Cruces for schooling. There was a school at Tortugas at least by 1914, as well as schools available in Las Cruces, including the Loretto Academy, and other schools. There was little need to ship these children to boarding schools after 1913.

The development of the Las Cruces School System considered with the decision of the Indian School Service to attempt to exclude from non-reservation schools children who did not meet certain criteria. Among criteria was a 1913 rule that children of less than one-quarter blood "where there are adequate free-school facilities should not be enrolled" (Indian School Service Rules 1913: Regulation 13), and in 1919, Indian children not under Federal supervision could not be enrolled in a Federal boarding school (Sells 1919). Santa Fe and Albuquerque Indian School officials also wanted to expel any students who were "Mexican" (Howard 1981: 42; McKinney 1945: 208-209), which meant that a child who spoke Spanish rather than an Indian language was removed or barred (McKinney 1945: 208-209). These attempts to rid these schools of "Mexican" students began in the early 1890s and continued until at least 1908 (Howard 1981; McKinney 1945). There is no evidence that any Piro/Manso/Tiwa child was expelled or turned away from any Indian school for being "Mexican." Most attended the Albuquerque Indian School during the years involved in this purge, and this suggests that the Piro/Manso/Tiwa children were considered Indian and could attend a non-reservation Indian school.

	Name	Enrolled	Home [parent/guardian]	Age
1.	Armijo, Daniel	9/13/1894	Juan Armijo	15
2.	[V]Billegas, Teodora	"; re-enrolled 9/1/99	Gabriel Billegas	13
3.	Banegas, Febrionio	9/13/94	Esan Banegas	17
4.	Barela, Santa Cruz	"; re-enrolled 9/1/98	Jesus Barela	13
8.	Cruz, Simon	9/12/94	Gregorio Cruz	13
9.	Duran, Santiago	9/13/94	Faustino Pederiz	9
10.	Garcia, Leonides	9/1/97	Manuel Garcia	14
11.	Holguin, Juan	9/1/97	Jose M. Holguin	15
12.	Johnson, John J.	9/13/94; re-ent. 9/1/98	John Johnson	12
13.	Kelsey, Modesto 1/4	9/17/97	Geralda Kelsey (mo.)	14
14.	Lopez, Martine	9/13/94	Ramon Lopez	10
15.	Lujon, Margarito 1/4	9/13/97	Margarito Lujon	13
16.	Maese, Carlos	9/12/94	no relatives	17
17.	Mendosa, Carlos	9/13/94	Antonio Mendosa	17
18.	Padilla, Eugenio	9/1/95	Margarito Padilla	11
	re-entered	9/1/1898		
19.	Padilla, Eulogio	9/1/94	Concepcion Mendosa	13
	re-entered	9/1/1898		
21.	Quinones, Gabriel	9/13/94	Refujia Urtiago	12
	re-entered	9/1/1898	(Mesilla)	
22.	Quintano, Longines 1/4	9/21/96	Guardian -- Francito	16
	re-entered	9/21/1896	Hidalgo	
23.	Rivera, Celso	9/13/94	Julia Rivera	14
24.	Rivera, Miguel	9/12/94	Eulogio Borrego	14
25.	Roybal, Candelario	9/13/94	Felipe Roybal	17
28.	Ruiz, Jose	9/13/94	Antonio R. Ruiz	18
29.	Urtiago, Victoriano	9/13/94	Tiodoso Grijalva	17

	re-entered	9/1/1898		
30.	Vegas, Marcos	9/1/97	Manuel Vega	12
31.	[V]Billegas, Martine	1/4 9/1/98	Gabriel Billegas	12
36.	Francisco, Maesis	9/4/1900	Tranquilino Trujillo	9
			Mimbres Pueblo near Las Cruces, N.M.	
37.	Jurado, Jose	1/2 9/4/1900	Eugene Jurado	15
39.	Carrier, Joe M.	1/4 9/4/1900	Charles Carrier	17
			both parents dead	
40.	Ortega, Daniel	3/4 4/11/1901	Maximo Ortega	11
41.	Ortega, Maximo	3/4 4/11/1901	Maximo Ortega	14
42.	Olege, Julian	1/2 8/1/1901	Jesus Olege	16
43.	Tirre, Francisco	1/2 8/30/1902	Abraham Tirre	12
44.	Tirre, Ramon	1/2 8/30/1902	Abraham Tirre	11
45.	Tirre, Louis	1/2 8/30/1902	Abraham Tirre	11
	{ the last three ran away 8/31/1902 }			
49.	Roybal, Victor	1/2 11/9/1903	Felipe Roybal	14
50.	Dominguez, Josefa	1/8 9/1/97	Guardian--Primo; Saliedo	16
	re-entered 11/4/1901 (attended Spanish schools)			
51.	Garcia, Candelaria	8/30/96	Guardian--Antonio Garcia	8
52.	Kelsey, Mary	8/30/96	Gerald & Geralda Kelsey	12
53.	Montoya, Josephine	9/12/94	Fanny Montoya	13
	re-entered	9/1/1898		
54.	Montoya, Rafela	9/12/94	Felipe Roybal	11
55.	Nunes, Amelia	9/12/94	Paz Munez	12
56.	Padilla, Maria	9/1/95	Margarito Padilla	11
	re-entered	9/1/1898		
57.	Rivera Josepha	8/30/96	Guardian--Julio Rivera	9
	re-entered	7/1/1899	Petra	
58.	Rivera Manuela	8/30/96	Guardian--Julio Rivera	9
59.	Salmon, Francesca	8/30/96	Gdn. Antonio Salmon	11
60.	Trujillo, Josephita	9/12/94	Antonio Trujillo	10
61.	Arinevas, Juena	9/12/98	Mr. Guadalupe Arinevas	14
62.	Chiribal, Josephine	9/1/98	Mrs. David Montoya	14
63.	Herrera, Marina	9/1/98	Mr. Natividad Herrera	13
64.	Herrera, Mera	9/1/98	Mr. Natividad Herrera	10
66.	Ortega, Marciana	4/11/1901	Maximo Ortega	8
67.	Diaz, Manuela	8/30/1901	Mr. Miguel Diaz	12
69.	Ortega, Margarita	3/4 8/31/1901	Maximo Ortega	14
125.	Gomez, Felix	1/2 12/30/06	Gdn:Francesca Roybal	10
126.	Roybal, B[V]icente	12/30/06	Francesca Roybal	9
127.	Carbajal, Catrina	1/2 12/30/06	Juana Abalos Gdn.	9
128.	Rodella, Maria	1/2 12/30/06	Alejandro Rodella	13
129.	Rodella, Francisca	1/2 12/30/06	Alejandro Rodella	15
130.	Chacon, Viclavia	1/5/07	Tiburcio Chacon	12
131.	Chacon, Suisa	1/5/07	Tiburcio Chacon	11.]

There were 16 fullbloods and two 1/8-bloods from the Las Cruces Piro/ Manso/ Tiwas.

Below is a summary of available records on Federal Indian School attendance by Piro/Manso/Tiwas through 1914. A Hyphen (-) indicates that the child is related to a present day member of the Tribe, or was related to a known Piro immigrant. An Asterisk (*) indicates that the child is related to a present day member of the

Tribe, or was related to a known Piro immigrant. The sources for this list are the Albuquerque Indian School Enrollment List of 1966, the Santa Fe Indian School Record Book of 1890-1899, PMT interview materials and geneaological studies of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe (regarding the notations "+" and "-").

Las Cruces PIRO/MANSO/TIWA Children Attending Indian School

Albuquerque School

Name \ Parents or Guardian	Date, 1st Enrollment	2nd Enrollment
Dan Chacon\Tiburcio Chacon	1893	
Zacarias Chacon\Tiburcio Chacon	1893	
Daniel Armijo\Julien Armijo	1984	1899
*Teodora Villegas\Gabriel Villegas	1894	
Febronio Banegas\ Esan Banegas	1894	
Santa Cruz Barelo\Jesus Barela	1894	1898
*Miguel Villegas\Gabriel Billegas	1894	1899
Simon Cruz\ Faustino Pedraza	1894	
*Santiago Duran\Faustino Pedraza	1894	
John G. Jonson\ John Johnson	1894	1898
Martin Lopez\ Ramon Lopez	1894	
Carlos Maesa/ ?		
Carlos Mendosa\Antonio Mendosa	1894	
-Eulogio Padilla\Concepcion Mendosa	1894	
Gabriel Quinones\Refugia Urtiago	1894	1898
*Celso Rivera\Julia Rivera	1894	
Miguel Rivera\Eulogio Borrejo	1894	
*Candelario Roybal\Felipe Roybal	1894	
Jose Ruiz\Antonio R. Ruiz	1894	
-Victoriano Urtiago\Teodosa Grijalva	1894	1898
Josephine Montoya\Fanny Montoya	1894	1898
*Rafela Montoya\Felipe Roybal	1894	
Josefita Trujillo\Antonio Trujillo	1894	
Amelia Nunes\Paz Nunes	1894	
*Eugenio Padilla \Margarito Padilla	1895	1898
*Maria Padilla\ Margarito Padilla	1895	1898
Longinio Quintana\Trancito Hidalgo	1896	
Candelaria Garcia\Antonio Garcia	1896	
Mary Kelsey\Geralda Kelsey	1896	
*Josefa Rivera\Julio Rivera	1896	1899
*Manuela Rivera\Julio Rivera	1896	
-Francisca Salmon\Antonio Salmon	1896	
Leonides Garcia\Manuel Garcia	1897	
-Juan Olquin/Jose M. Olquin	1897	
Modesto Kelsey\Geralda Kelsey	1897	
Margarito Lujan\ Margarito Lujon	1897	
Tomas Padilla\Nestacio Padilla	1897	
Marcos Vegas\Manuel Vegas	1897	
Josefa Dominquez\Primo Salciedo	1897	
*Martin Villegas\Gabriel Villegas	1898	
Juana Arinavas\Guadalupe Arinavas	1898	
Josephine Chiribel\Mrs. David Montoya	1898	

1894-1907; RG 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Entry 96, General Records, 1824-1907, Letters Sent, 1870-1908. 2,668. 333 ft. Division: Education, Vols. 1-27. National Archives, Wash., D. C. Branch, Federal Records Center. The correspondence from the Commissioner to various officers connected with Albuquerque Indian School and agencies in Arizona and New Mexico from 1892 forward reflected the problems with filling the school with Indians only, and excluding Mexican whites or Indians (see Vol. 46, 12/17/1892-1/19/1892, Letter Books 196-197; Letters to Civil Service Commission, Jan. 4, 1893. P. 386. Letter, W. O. Belt, Acting Commissioner, to D. S. Keck, Supervisor of Education, Dist. 5, Albuquerque, N. M., Re: to Letter from C. W. Crouse, U. S. Indian Agent, Pima Agency, Re: inability to collect pupils for Albuquerque School.) The Commissioner determined then that Arizona Indians should attend Arizona schools (see Vol. 54, 10/20/1893-11/17/1893, Letter Books 212-213; October 16, 1893. P. 212. Letter, D. M. Browning, Commissioner, to Supt. Creager, Albuquerque Indian School). With apparent growing frustration, the Commissioner directed Creager to fill the school with Indian students "from New Mexico, only" (see Vol. 54, 10/20/1893-11/17/1893, Letter Books 212-213; October 26, 1893. P. 476. Letter, D. M. Browning, Commissioner, to Supt. Creager, Albuquerque Indian School; ref. Education 39886-1892).

The tradition of farming out Indian students to learn vocational skills as apprentices in local homes was installed at Albuquerque following the Carlisle Indian School model in 1894 (see Vol. 57, Letter Books 218-219; Book 219. P. 47. Letter, Frank C. Armstrong, Acting Commissioner, to Supt. W. B. Creager, Albuquerque Indian School, Education 7197-1894, aproving Creager's request of February 14, 1894 to allow students to work in private homes, provided that he report their names to the office, carry them as outing pupils and drop them from ration returns).

Acting Commissioner instructed Superintendent McKoin of the Albuquerque Indian School in October, 1894 that: "The appropriation bill provices for two hundred fifty pupils at one hundred sixty-seven dollars each at your school. You must keep your expenses within that sum. Money from general fund cannt be used for increased attendance. You will govern yourself accordingly" (see Vol. 62, 9/17/1894-10/12/1894, Letter Books 228-229; October 1, 1894. P. 212. Letter, D. M. Browning, Commissioner, to Supt. Creager, Albuquerque Indian School, Education 37903-1894).

In 1894, the Commissioner became very explicit in directing the Superintendent at Albuquerque Indian school to eject Mexican Indian and install American Indians, only in their places. The Commissioner ordered the Superintendent (Vol. 64, 11/20/1894-1/9/1895, Letter Books 232-233; December 18, 1894. P. 167. Letter, D. M. Browning, Commissioner, to John J. McKoin, Supt. of Indian School, Albuquerque, N. M., Re: Mexican Children said to be in school):

> I am in receipt of yours of the 11th instant, in regard to Mexican children said to be in attendance at your schoool. In reply your

attention is called to office letter 48139-1894, December 14, 1894, in regard to these same children. You are hereby authorized and instructed to discharge all pupils whom you find in the school to be of Mexican blood. Authority is also granted you to fill their places with full Pima and Navajo boys and girls, and from what I hear from those Agencies, I think you will have no trouble in keeping your school filled with Pimas and Navajoes. You should correspond with the Pima and Navajo Agents in regard to the matter.

In 1893-1894, according to memories of Piro/Manso/Tiwa elders, most of the Tribe's children were rounded up in Las Cruces by a matron from the Albuquerque Indian School (probably Letitia Creager, or her replacement) and taken to the school by train. I appears that the Rules of the Indian School Service mandated parental consent at that time for enrollment of children ages 5-18 in boarding schools, if the children lived off-reservation.

When Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribal members began to attend the Albuquerque Indian School in large numbers, certain Piro/Manso/Indian students, among others, were retained to work at the school for pay as a part of their training, as an alternative to participating in the Indian School Service's "Outing Program." Among these was a Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indian girl, Cipriano Abalos/Avalos, daughter of Perfecto Avalos and sister of Juan Avalos:

Vol. 75, 1/27/1896-5/27/1896, Letter Books 254-255; April 28, 1896. P. 471. Letter, Thos. Potsner, Commissioner, to John J. McCoin, Supt. of Indian School, Albuquerque, N. M., Re: Albuquerque School authorized to appoint Cipriano Abalos and Ursula Padilla jointly as Assistant Seamstresses:

You are advised that in a letter dated the 25th instant, the Honorable Secretary of the Interior authorized the employment of two assistant seamstresses at your school at $60 per annum each, in lieu of assistant seamstress at a salary of $180 per annum.

You may appoint Cipriano Abalos and Ursula Padilla to these positions as per letter of the 13th instant from M. D. Shelby, Special Agent in Charge.

Following this appointment, there was an investigation of the conditions at the Albuquerque Indian School, following the scandal over the former Superintendent Creager's conduct (Vol. 76, 5/28/1896-7/7/1896, Letter Books 256-257; Letter, Commissioner Browning to Samuel M. McCowan), commenting on the problem of Mexican students' continued attendance at the school. The Commissioner was adamant about eliminating the non-federally-recognized Indians, specifically, the Mexicans, from the school:

It is stated (in report to Commissioner) that there were 119 children in the school when the informant was there, the ohters being at home or in the mountains outing, and judging from the percentage of Mexicans in the number it was thought that when all were in the school the percentage of Mexicans must be very large, that there are an abundance of Indian children in the territories

> of New Mexico and Arizona without bringing in and crowding the school with Mexicans; and that out of 300 enroled [sic] pupils at your school, judging from the number present, there were not 100 full blood Indians among the number.
>
> These matters are submitted to you for a full and detailed report and such recommandations as you may care to make.

No Piro/Manso/Tiwa children were barred or sent home from the school as a result of this inquiry and purge. These children were always listed as Pueblo Indians from Las Cruces. The only reasonable conclusion is that Cipriano Abalos, and the other Piro/Manso/Tiwa children recruited and enrolled en masse after the purge of Mexican children from the school in 1894 were viewed as members of an Indian tribe, hence eligible for admission and continuation in institutions of the Indian School Service. The Commissioner was recognizing the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe for the purposes of federal service eligibility, including health services, employment training, and the like available at the schools, including paid leave (Vol. 77, 7/8/1896-8/11/1896, Letter Books 258-259; July 16, 1896. Letter, Thos. Potsner, Commissioner, to John J. McCowan, Supt. of Indian School, Albuquerque, N. M., Re: Leave granted from attendance and work, with pay, from Albuquerque School effective August 1, for Cipriano Abalos). Instructions arrived from time to time regarding the right of these Pueblo children to attend religious services of their choice (Catholic Mass, Confession, etc. at the local parish; Vol. 95, May 16, 1898-June 14, 1898, Letter Books 294-295, Book 2, p. 167), as well as instruction on reporting the "name, tribe, age and sex of each pupil, and number of days the pupil has attended school during the quarter" (Vol. 75, 1/27/1896-5/27/1896, Letter Books 254-255; April 28, 1896. P. 471. Letter, Thos. Potsner, Commissioner, to John J. McCowan). Records continued to reflect that the Piro/Manso/Tiwa children in attendance were Pueblo Indians of Las Cruces.

The issue of tribal recognition as a factor in the government's continuing trust responsibility toward Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indians who had fulfilled their contracts to attend the Albuquerque Indian School for three years suddenly crystallized in 1897 around the issues of Indian identity and cultural as well as racial purity of two children of a Piro/Manso/Tiwa leading family. Superintendent McCowan wrote from Phoenix and stated that:

> Juan and Cipriano Avalos, aged 17 and 16 respectively, are attending school at Albuquerque; that they entered school 3 years ago for a term of 3 years; that their mother is very anxious that the children should remain at school, but the father, a drunken, disreputable rascal, declares that they must come home, he intends to marry the girl to a drunken "Greaser," and that the children and the mother desire that they should go to Phoenix, but that you object. I can see no reason why they should not be transferred.

(Vol. 87, 8/28/1897-9/1/1897, Letter Books 278-279; P. 279. Letter, W. A. Jones, Commissioner, to Edgar A. Allen, Supt., U. S. Indian School, Albuquerque, N. M., Education 34101-1897).

Maria Herrera\ Mrs. Natividad Herrera 1898
Mera Herrera\ Mrs. Natividad Herrera 1898
*Martin Quintana\ Trancito Hidalgo 1898
Ramon Porras\ Mrs. Cleofas de Pachina 1899
Jose Jurado\Eugene Jurado 1900
Joe M. Carrier\Charles Carrier 1900
Francisco Maese\Tranquilino Trujillo 1900
Daniel Ortega\Maximo Ortega 1901
Maximo Ortega\Maximo Ortega 1901
-Julian Olega\Jesus Olega 1901
Marciana Ortega\Maximo Ortega 1901
Manuela Diaz\Miguel Diaz 1901
Margarita Ortega\Maximo Ortega 1901
*Victor Roybal\Felipe Roybal 1903
*Jose Alejo\Dolores Alejo 1904
*Antonio Rodela\Alejandro Rodela 1904
*Ysidro Rodela\Alejandro Rodela 1904
*Maria Rodela\Alejandro Rodela 1904
*Francisca Rodela\Alejandro Rodela 1906
*Felix Gomez\Francisca Roybal 1906
*Vicente Roybal\Francisca Roybal 1906
-Catarina Carbajal \Juana Avalos 1906
Viclavia Chacon\Tiburcio Chacon ?
Suisa Chacon\Tiburcio Chacon ?
*Antonio Parra\Francisca Roybal ?
*Gabriel Parra\Francisca Roybal ?
*Jose Gomez\Francisca Roybal ?
*Domesio Parr\Francisca Roybal ?
*Jesus Lara\Julian Lara ?
*Lamberto Trujillo\Juan Trujillo ?
*Lojenio Pedraza\Faustino Pedraza ?
*Andreas Duran\? ?

Sherman Institute

*Charles Madrid, Sr.\Savannah Madrid 1909

Chilocco School

*Isabel Padilla\Margarito Padilla ?
*Eugenio Padilla\Margarito Padilla ?
*Frank Padilla\Margarito Padilla ?
*Ventura Rivera\Julian Rivera ?

Phoenix School

*Barbara Baca/Magdeleno Baca ?
*Rita Baca/Magdeleno Baca ?
*Augustin Baca/Magdeleno Baca ?

Haskell Institute

*Charles Madrid, Sr.\Savannah Madrid 1911 (Enrolled until 1913)

IV. THE CORPORATION: A FAILED EXPERIMENT, 1914 - 1947

1. Background to incorporation

a. The political climate on the eve of WWI among the Pueblos, in the State of New Mexico, and in the U.S. encouraged the Corporation's development and the establishment of a landhold in Tortugas connected to the core community in Las Cruces. Oppenheimer (1957) disregarded the importance of the Las Cruces core Piro/Manso/Tiwa community after the Corporation began in 1914, and if he considered the matter at all, appeared to assume that Indians and other residents of the Pueblo must have moved into Las Cruces at some later date, and his discussion receives more attention elsewhere. Scholars who studied Tortugas in this period characteristically disregarded the importance of Piro/Manso/Tiwa presence and activities in Las Cruces itself, or the presence there of the originating core community, and its direct connections with the Guadalupe side of Tortugas Pueblo and Los Indigenes Corporation. Had there been no core community of Piro/Manso/Tiwas in Las Cruces, there would have been no Corporation in 1914, and no Tortugas Pueblo as it existed at the time of the 1945 breakdown, and probably none after 1964. Likewise, had the core community not persisted in Las Cruces throughout the period of control Tortugas property and the Corporation, there would be no Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe as it persists today.

Ysleta del Sur participated in the formation of a corporation under Texas law shortly before the Piro/Manso/Tiwas did, and the close ties of the two pueblos may have encouraged the Piro/Manso/Tiwas to follow suit. Though that corporation bore no relation to Los Indigenes, some have noted the marked similarity between the two sets of corporation documents, and Eugene Van Patten's association with persons who created the Ysleta corporation. It does not appear that, despite the similarity in internal discord within the Ysleta-related corporation, that the Ysleta corporation has been identified as the tribal government of Ysleta del Sur. There similarly is no reason to identify Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe with either corporation.

Under the leadership of Eugene Van Patten, some Piro and Tigua/Tiwa emigrants and/or their descendants became involved in two major developments of 1914 which set the course for much of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe for generations. The core community and its leaders made the decision to engage in the establishment of a development at Tortugas, along with the Chicano immigrants and others who already had residences there. The long term prospects for subsistence, survival and growth of the community, free of excess outside involvement or interference, were strong concerns of the community at the time. The organization the Piro/Manso/Tiwas and their associates formed April 12, 1914 to aid in meeting some of their community goals was Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe. However, the organization was not established for the preservation of the religious activities or secular customs of the Piro/Manso/Tiwas. The corporation indeed recognized that these Indians identified with their patron saint through its name and its stated intent, of maintaining a Catholic Church in Guadalupe devoted to the Virgin; however, Los Indigenes was not designated as a religious, or even an Indian organization. It was a community development corporation.

More about the development and history of the organization appears below. It is important to note at the outset that the said Los Indigenes organization was not solely an instrumentality or creation of the Tribe, nor was it the embodiment of tribal government. Similarly, Tortugas has been

viewed a the site of a colony of Piro/Manso/Tiwas, and we have referred to it as such here in a particular sense, but Tortugas was never entirely a colony of the Las Cruces Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe. The Tribe never emigrated to Tortugas as a body, though it had close relations with members who did move there, and with the social and religious activities that transpired there. San Juan de Dios had been the site of Mexican and non-Piro Mexican Indian occupation before Guadalupe was started, and the loose combination of the two into Tortugas did not create a tribal entity, nor is there any evidence that the creation of social and religious institutions at Tortugas intended to supersede the tribal existence of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe in Las Cruces.

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Relying heavily on C. P. Loomis and O. E. Leonard's "Standards of Living in an Indian-Mexican Village and on a Reclamation Project" [U. S. Dept. of Ag. Farm Security Administration and Bureau of Ag. Economic Cooperating, Social Research Report No. XIV, Washington, D. C., August 1938, at p. 10, ff.; see also the Loomis companion study, "Social Relationships and Institutions in Seven New Rural Communities," U. S. Dept. of Ag. Farm Security Administration and Bureau of Ag. Economic Cooperating, Social Research Report No. XVIII, Washington, D. C., January, 1940), Oppenheimer has labelled as "Transitional," the period 1881-1916. He compared the economic system of Tortugenos in the early period to that of the northern New Mexico Pueblo peoples, although the land holdings in the former case "were not nearly so extensive or well-protected by treaty," (p. 25), concluding that Tortugas never held agricultural land as a community, though they apparently had squatted on or owned and farmed some land prior to non-Indian settlement. (See above, discussion of settlement of Mesilla Valley).

Opening Oppenheimer's Transitional period in 1881, the Southern Pacific Railroad "revolutionized the economy of the Mesilla Valley and started the processes which have markedly changed the economic structure of Tortugas," while the construction of the Elephant Butte Dam in 1916, coinciding with the building of new homes for many members of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa by the Los Indigenes Corporation at Tortugas marked the beginning of the Tribe's association with that former business arm of the Tribe (p. 37).

Land speculation and takeover increased in the valley as eastern Anglo-American farmers arrived in greater numbers and attempted large-scale commercial ventures capable of exporting surplus without understanding appropriate locally-appropriate agricultural practices or crops. Their early failures threatened the Mesilla Valley economy until experience and investment afforded reinforcement. Meanwhile, subsistence agriculture retreated, and family holdings became smaller among Mexican colonists due to fractionalizing through heirship. Small holdings were sold, and owners became laborers on their former lands, while squatters' rights dissipated before enforced claims of legal title. While the new settlers began to prosper, Mexicans and Indians lost "land, security, and prestige," and Anglo-American employers replaced the former Mexican employers (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 39).

The completion of the Elephant Butte Dam, 85 mi. north of Tortugas on the Rio Grande in 1916, marks the start of Oppenheimer's Recent Period, due to the profound economic impact on the Mesilla Valley. Cotton came to the Valley by 1921. Having addressed the vagaries of water availability, the Mesilla Valley generally was able to plan and grow into the national economy, but there was a lag in the development of opportunity for the Tortugas population (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 39-40). In Las Cruces, there was a

similar lag effect among the Piro/Manso/Tiwa population, and it appears the Corporation venture was an attempt to reorganize and advance the conditions of the Indian population to allow the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe to close the gap:

> Where formerly they had gained their livelihood from agricultural wage work, crafts, and manufactures, they now engaged almost completely in agricultural wage work, but of a different sort. Mining and other industrial activities also occupied them in the more recent times. (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 41-41).

The introduction of Egyptian long staple cotton, then the finest grown in the country, led to the first gin, built by Oliver, in 1921, and to a revolution in the local economies. All family members could pick cotton, and the old roles in labor distribution were "shattered" in Tortugas, while self-sufficiency ebbed; money became necessary to obtain necessities imported from areas which were not devoted to growing cotton (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 41-42).

Common Holding of Land and other Property: Responsibilities of the Corporation

Oppenheimer denied the common holding of land among the Tortugas Pueblo community (Oppenheimer, Thesis, pp. 25-27). Arising shortly after the U.S. v. Sandoval decision of the U. S. Supreme Ct. in 1913, the establishment of the corporation and a Pueblo "colony" within Guadalupe at Tortugas represented an effort to establish an infrastructure to support the growing community on a basis very similar to northern Pueblo models and experience. This is reflected in the conveyances of land to Commissioners of the Indian town of Guadalupe, later conveyed to the Corporation called Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe, as well as in the other organic documents establishing the Corporation.

The Tribe retains copies of the April 12, 1914, Minutes of the meeting leading to incorporation of Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora De Guadalupe, wherein Eugene Van Patten was elected President, Francisca Royval was elected Regenta Casiqua and Treasurer, and M. V. Jackson was elected Secretary. A resolution was adopted setting out the purposes and nature of the non-profit corporation, its membership, duration of corporate life (fifty years from the date April 12, 1914, showing the intent was to create a corporate entity, but not one of indefinite or infinite duration), the identities, terms of office, purposes and duties of officers. This was a creation of an institution which involved the Tribe, but which was not identical with the Tribe, by its terms. Filing of corporate documents was 2 June 1914, 5 p.m, with the observation:

> That the object of this association is to secure the moral, physical and intellectual development of the members of the Pueblo of Guadalupe and their familias and to improve and secure improvements in the vicinity of the said Pueblo of Guadalupe and to assist and encourage the members of the said Pueblo to build and construct homes and improve lots in the said Pueblo of Guadalupe.
>
> And to cooperate in construction in buildings and improvements [and in] improving the buildings streets and plazas in the said Pueblo of Guadalupe where said buildings and improvements are of community use and benefit.

As a mutual help building association, Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe was intended to promote the subsistence and survival of members of

the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Las Cruces Pueblo, since at the outset the members of the Pueblo consisted primarily of Piro/ Manso/ Tiwa members, it was "Indian" in character, and religious and economic in purpose. Participants in the Corporation and the Pueblo included Indians, Hispanics, and non-Indian patrons, such as Eugene Van Patten, who was married to a Piro. The business of the Tribe became progressively more identified in the public mind with the business of the Corporation and Tortugas because of the degree of Piro/Manso/Tiwa participation in the latter enterprises, including the ceremonial life and establishment of residences and roles in the community which have persisted, in some cases, to the present day. It was never intended to become the vehicle for tribal government for the Piro/ Manso/ Tiwa, despite later developments and the gradual commingling of property and overlapping of functions. Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe association was intended to promote opportunity for members and secure their future by enhancing a multi-use land base acquired. The center for the Tribe, however, remained in Las Cruces.

The members of Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe in 1914 are listed below. Notations are from Articles of Incorporation, 1914; Juarez Archives 1844a: Reel 13, 1862a: Reel 24, and 1863: Reel 63; Native Resolution 1895; Albuquerque, Haskell and Sherman Indian School Records. If the named individual obtained a house lot in Guadalupe in 1916, that is indicated with a "^".

1914 Corporation Members

ALEJO, Dolores [Piro; his son, Jose Alejo, started at Albuquerque Indian School in 1904]
ANDRADA, Emilio [Mexican? Name appears on no list of PMT ancestors.]
AVALOS, Estanislado [Piro] ^
Juan [Piro] ^
Victoriano [Mexican?]
Luciano [Piro] ^
Senobio (1st Capitan) [Piro] ^
Sirildo (2nd Capitan) [Piro]
CARABAJAL, Jose Maria [Piro? Involved in Corp. meetings until at least 1938; note that Catarina Carbajal was listed as child of Juana Avalos when she attended Albuquerque Indian School in 1906.]
CUARON, Modesto [Mexican? Not Piro; name cannot be traced to Indians listed in the Ysleta Petition of 1863, the Resolution of 1895, or the 1900 U. S. Census Indian Schedule for Ysleta; none by this name attended Federal Indian schools.] ^
DURAN, Cornelio [Tigua]
Eugenio [Tigua]
Elifonso/Alfonso [Mexican?] ^
[Santiago and Andreas Duran, not on this list, attended Federal Indian Boarding Schools after 1894, and Santiago was listed as ward of Faustino Pedraza, a Piro.]
ENRIQUEZ, Jose Miguel [Piro?]
Jose Angel, Sr. (4th Capitan) [Piro; was PMT Captain in 1926, 1928, 1932; not otherwise verified on record as Piro]
Pantalion [Mexican?] ^
GIBARA, Cleofas [Mexican?]
GRIJALVA, Carlos [Mexican?]

Catarino [Piro? was PMT Captain in 1923, 1930.
Ygnacio (Mexican?)
HERRERA, Susano [Piro?] ^
Dominguez/Domingo (Commissioner of Building & Houses) [Piro?] ^
Vivian (Commissioner of Building & Houses) [Piro?]
Ignacio (3rd Capitan) [Piro?] ^
[Note that Marina, Maria, and Mera Herrera are listed as students of Albuquerque Indian School after 1894, as children of Mr. Natividad Herrera.]
JEMENTE, Jacinto [Piro] ^
LOPEZ, Francisco [Piro, listed with Martin Lopez as sons of Ramon Lopez, as students at Albuquerque Indian School after 1894. In 1930 and 1932, served on committee to organize Guadalupe Day -- Benideros included one Beatris Lopez, for the Corporation.] ^
MADRID, Mariano [Piro?] * ^
Baltazar [Piro?]
[Charles Madrid, Sr., son of Savannah Madrid, attended Sherman Institute, 1909.]
MARQUEZ, Adriano [Mexican? name cannot be traced to Indians listed in the Ysleta Petition of 1863, the Resolution of 1895, or the 1900 U. S. Census Indian Schedule for Ysleta.]
OLAGA, Juan [Piro? name cannot be traced to Indians listed in the Ysleta Petition of 1863, the Resolution of 1895, or the 1900 U. S. Census Indian Schedule for Ysleta; Jesus Olege sent a child to Albuquerque Indian School from Las Cruces.] ^
Santiago [Piro? name cannot be traced to Indians listed in the Ysleta Petition of 1863, the Resolution of 1895, or the 1900 U. S. Census Indian Schedule for Ysleta.] ^
OLGUIN/HOLGUIN, Lorenzo [Piro? name cannot be traced to Indians listed in the Ysleta Petition of 1863, the Resolution of 1895, or the 1900 U. S. Census Indian Schedule for Ysleta.] ^
ORTEGA, Juan [Piro?]
[Note: Though Maximo Ortega did not appear on this list, he and his family were considered Piro. Note that Mariana, Margarita, Daniel, and Maximo Ortega (Jr.) were listed as his children, attending Albuquerque Indian School after 1894].
PARRA, Merced (5th Capitan) [Piro] ^
[Antonio Parra and Gabriel Parra were listed as wards of Francisca Roybal attending Albuquerque Indian School after 1894.]
PAZ, Diego [Piro, son of Vicente Paz] ^
PEDRAZA, Lonfino/ Lonjino/ Longino [Piro; note that at different times, Lonjino and other men of the Pedraza family served as Corporation officers or as tribal officers from time to time from this point. Santiago and Andreas Duran attended Federal Indian Boarding Schools after 1894, and Santiago was listed as Faustino Pedraza, a Piro related to Longino Duran.] ^
RIVERA, Jesus [Jesus Maria Herrera, son of Faustino Pedraza, Piro]
Julio [son of Faustino Pedraza, Piro] ^
ROYBAL, Francisca Avalos [Piro, Cacique Regenta]
Victor [Piro]
TRUJILLO, Albina A. [Piro; Juan and Antonio Trujillo served in a variety of Corporation offices and Tribal offices.]
JACKSON, Harry/Harvey V. Jackson [An Anglo doctor, he was Secretary for Corporation and for Tribe through 1924.]

Mina [Mexican?]
VAN PATTEN, Eugene (President) [Anglo; Amelia Van Patten Ascarate was also on the list, because Patten's wife was identified as Piro frequently, and because she appears in Paso del Norte/Guadalupe Mission records. Her parents cannot be traced geneaologically to a list of Piros (Lange and Riley 1970: 158).

Ethnic Composition of Los Indigenes Membership List

Piro	Tigua	Piro, Unverified	Mexican or Anglo	Total
17	4	9	14	44

This organization's composition clearly was not exclusive or tribal. The persons of certain or possible Piro or Tigua ancestry were only 59% of the membership. Extracting those with less than complete records of Piro or Tigua ancestry, tribal members were only 47.7% of the total membership. The membership did not include classes of membership for children, spouses, honorary members, or non-residents of Tortugas. Anyone could join who paid the initiation fee and was approved by 2/3 vote of the current members at any meeting [Articles of Incorporation 1914].

Compare: New members of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe could only be approved at the New Year's Eve meeting by the members of the Tribe, and admission could not be gained by paying a membership fee [Slagle, PMT Field Notes 1991].

Francisca Avalos, as Cacique Regenta, was the sole female member, no doubt because her ceremonial role in the Tribe made her membership in the Corporation necessary in order to engage the participation of the Tribe. All five Captains and the Caciqua/Treasurer were Piro. The President and Secretary were Anglos.

It became apparent very early on, that because the Tribe was in a position to dominate the Corporation due to loose By-Laws structure and sheer voting majority in Corporation membership, the Tribe could determine Corporation business policy through peremptory actions. In order to assure the business health of the Corporation, consistent with tribal custom in installing a male to assist a female Cacique in decision-making and ritual activities from which females were barred, Dona Francisca Roybal, acting as Caciqua of both the Tribe and as Caciqua of the Natives of Our Lady of Guadalupe, appointed, through a Dispatch, Senobio Avalos as her Interim Governor (Casique) of the Corporation of Natives of Our Lady of Guadalupe, on January 1, 1920, at 1:00 a.m. [at the occasion of the annual tribal meeting], to serve as her Lieutenant in both Tribal ritual activities and Corporation and tribal business. This action required no Corporation action, in that her election to serve the Corporation was a lifetime appointment and the By-laws did not forbid her appointment of an Assistant. Immediately afterwards, annual appointments of tribal officers were made. Senobio Avalos's oath of office was:

> I, the below signed, do solemnly swear to carry out my duties as Governor of my tribe to the best of my ability. May God and my Virgin of Our Lady of Guadalupe help me.

The role of the Caciqua as Regent during the years preceding Senobio Avalos', and then Vicente Roybal's investiture as Cacique is a matter of some confusion for students of Tortugas, perhaps because her traditional role seemed foreign to the Corporation and somehow contradictory. Particularly,

there seemed to have been some confusion about her ability to make business decisions in days before the idea of womens' suffrage, professional or business roles was particularly common or acceptable to mainstream non-Indians. There was a lag in the business of the Corporation in identifying Senobio Avalos as the Caciqua's Assistant on a formal basis and in ratifying the Tribe's decision. In 1923, Senovio Avalos began to be identified in Corporation records as Cacique.

The Caciqua, her Assistant, and five Captains, as well as a President and Secretary, formed the official leadership of the Association, with the Caciqua acting as Treasurer. The offices of President, Caciqua/Treasurer (Francisca Avalos Roybal), and Secretary were designated as permanent positions in that no regulation in the Articles of Incorporation provided for their election. Eugene Van Patten was the President for life. Dr. Harvey V. Jackson was Secretary. The five Captains were to be elected annually (Articles of Incorporation, 1914). However, the officers of the official corporate structure and the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe initially wore different hats, even if they served as leaders of both at the same time.

The Town of Guadalupe in Tortugas Pueblo: Early Settlement

The land on which the community was to be built was deeded in 1908 by the Guadalupe Pueblo Commissioners of Dona Ana Bend Colony to Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe (Corporation Deed 1914 is the "Deed by Board of Trustees of Dona Ana Bend Colony Grant to Eugene Van Patten, Francisca Ab[v]alos, Victoriano Ab[v]alos, and B[V]idal Minjares, Commissioners of the Town of Guadalupe," Document 18, Deed No. 35360, Book 6, P. [], 14 September, 1914. Reconveyed 14 September 1914 to Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe. The Guadalupe deed was dated 8 January 1909, filed 8 January 1909 in Book 29, p. 1032, Dona Ana County, New Mexico). The enterprise was under a cloud from the beginning. Because the entire tract was turned over to the Corporation, the transfer of specific house lots to individuals by the Commissioners predating 1914 were overlooked. Worse, 57 persons were assigned house lots in Guadalupe after the new Corporation came into being [(Indian Town Plant 1916; Van Patten Map n.d.; see Plat of Indian Town of Guadalupe near Tortugas (1916)].

Assignments of house lots were made by blocks in the Indian Town of Guadalupe:

Block #/	Assignee(s)/ "*"=Corporation member / Piro/Anglo/Mexican/Tigua/?
1	Cemetery
2	Juan Olaga * (Piro?)
	Diego Paz * Piro
3	Juan Avalos * Piro
	Luis Baudrad (?)
4	Merced Parra * Piro
	Juan Herrera (Piro?)
5	Luciano Avalos * Piro
	Carlos Duran (Tigua?)
6	Santiago Olaga * (Piro?)
	Especion Alejo (Piro?)
7	Lorenzo Holguin * (Piro?)
8	Pantaleon Enriques * Mexican

Mariano Madrid * Piro
9 - -
10 - -
11 Emelia Patten Ascarate * Piro (daughter of Eugene Van Patten)
Tillie Amador Mexican
Pedro Benavides * (Piro)
Eugene Van Patten * (Anglo)
12 - -
13 Ygnacio Herrera * (Piro?)
Candelario Roybal * Piro
Ignacio Pasos Mexican
Julio Rivera * Piro
14 Victoriano Herrera (Piro?)
Alfonso Duran * (Tigua?)
Domingo Herrera * (Piro?)
Victor Roybal * Piro
15 Susano Herrera * Piro
Formund (?) Enriques Mexican
16 Faustino Pedraza * Piro
Andres Dominques * (Mexican?)
Catarino Grijalba * (Piro?)
Jesus M. Rivera * Piro
17 - -
18 Cemetery
19 Francisca Avalos * Caciqua Regenta, Piro
20 - -
21 Andriano Marques * Mexican
Jose A.[Angel] Enriques * Piro
Cleofas Ybarra * Mexican
Francisco Gonzales * Tigua
22 Modesto Cuaron * Mexican
Senobio Abalos * Piro
Luis Herrera (Piro?)
23 Jacinto Jemente * Piro
Jose M. Carbajal * (Piro?)
Lonjino Pedraza * Piro
Jose A. Enriques * Piro
24 Vidal Minjares * (Piro?)
Dolores Alejo * Piro
Manuel Trujillo * Piro
Ignacio Grijalba * (Piro?)
25 - -
26 Sostenes Gonzales * Tigua
Dr. H. V. Jackson * Anglo
Cirildo Avalos * Piro
Senobio Avalos * Assistant Cacique, Piro
Juan Ortega * (Piro?)
27 Sostones Gonzales * Tigua
28 - -
29 Alejandro Benevides Piro
Jose Gonzales * Piro
30 Jose Gonzales * Piro

	Francisco Lopez * Piro
31	Eugenio Duran * Tigua
	Miguel Paz * Piro
32	Carlos Grijalba * Mexican
	Estansilado Avalos * Piro
33	- -
34	- -

Twenty-nine assignments were made to known Piro, one of whom was not a Corporation member at the time. Fourteen were made to persons who may have been Piro, three of whom were not Corporation members at the time. Eight were made to persons who probably were Mexican, five of whom were not Corporation members at the time. Two were made to Anglo members of the Corporation. Three were made to Tiguas, two to a person who may have been Tigua, all of whom were Corporation members at the time:

Lot Assignments	Piro	Piro ?	Tigua	Tigua ?	Mexican	Anglo	Total
	29	14	3	2	8	2	58

Twenty-two of the block assignments were shared by at least two co-assignees. On thirteen of these shared block assignments, at least two of the co-assignees were verified Piros. No block was without at least one Piro assignee. Fifteen of the assigned 24 blocks had a majority of Piro assignees, or only Piro assignees. The Guadalupe portion of Tortugas was solidly Piro-dominated. Some individual Piros even had assignments on more than one block.

The Church of Guadalupe

The town of Guadalupe was cut into thirty-four numbered blocks (Indian Town Plat 1916). Nine blocks were not assigned, and tow were set aside for a cemetery. One additional block was shown on the Guadalupe map as deed by the Commissioners of Guadalupe, not by the Corporation, to Henri Granjon, the Catholic Bishop of the Tucson Diocese [October 26, 1914 conditional deed was executed by Eugene Van Patten, Francisca Abalos, Victoriano Abalos and Bidal Minjares, Commissioners of the Town of Guadalupe and delivered to Henri Granjon, Bishop of the Tucson Diocese of the Roman Catholic Church covering land and real estate located in Dona Ana County, New Mexico, whereon was located the Church of Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe. In another Deed, Document 21, Warranty Deed No. 21447 recorded at Dona Ana County Clerk's Office, Deed Book 58, P. 59, dated July 17, 1918, Eugene Van Patten, et al., Commissioners of the Town of Guadalupe, conveyed the property on which their church sat to Henri Granjon, Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Tucson, Arizona for the purpose of maintaining their old customs, reserving the right to collect alms for the feast day expenses and otherwise continue customary use of the premises.]

The commissioners and Guadalupe residents reserved a number of rights regarding the celebration of Guadalupe day in transferring this land to the Church. These stipulated rights included power to celebrate Guadalupe Day with a fiesta in keeping with the tradition of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe without intervention by parish priests. The 1914 deed also provided burial rights in the new cemetery to any Corporation member in good standing. During the next 33 years, in addition to the core community and Cacique's compound

in Las Cruces and St. Genevieve's Church, the Corporation and Guadalupe Church became central organizational foci for the Piro/Manso/Tiwa and their descendants (Church Deed 1914).

Corporation Records predating 1920 include a November, 1916 to April, 1917 listing of Indians to monthly masses. Leading the list were Francisca Roybal, Casique Regenta/ Chief, and President Eugene Van Patten.

The Tribe and the Corporation in the 1920s and 1930s: Years of Piro Control

As time passed, the distinction between the Corporation based at Guadalupe/Tortugas, and the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe based in Las Cruces, began to blur, certainly in the popular mind. Personnel and officials of the Indian Tribe, the Corporation, the Guadalupe landholders, and the Guadalupe residents overlapped. It appears that Tribe's normal practice was to decide at their own meetings who they wanted to hold offices on the Corporation by holding a tribal meeting to work out who would be nominated from the Tribe in order to assure control over Corporation elections so that there would be no election disputes or "confusion." The Corporation elections then became a virtual rubber-stamp operation for the Tribe's benefit and to serve the Tribe's agenda. The Tribe treated the Corporation so much as their property that they came to think of it as a tribal organization for various purposes. By 1920, Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe was being referred to as a (Tribu) in Corporation records (Governor's Dispatch, 1920).

In 1936, records designated the Tribe, Pueblo of Guadalupe, and the Corporation as the same organization (Roybal Letter, 1936). The group's activities also reflected a merger of the Tribe, the town of Guadalupe, and the Corporation. Community projects (road maintenance, tax collection, church improvements, cemetery maintenance, building and care of the Casa del Pueblo and Casa de Comida) were Corporation concerns. The Corporation was functioning as an instrumentality of the Tribe in many respects.

The Corporation's records reflect that it was involved in Piro religious observances in that it collected donations for Guadalupe Day festivities, determined Indian dance personnel for December 12, appointed majordomos for the Guadalupe Day, and made palmas for Palm Sunday (LINSG 1914-1917). The Corporation also regulated the activities of non-Pueblo dance groups on December 12 at the Guadalupe Church. When a Mexican immigrant named Juan Pacheco settled in San Juan de Dios in 1920, he brought a form of Mexican Indian matachin dancing and taught it to others in the community. His dance group became Los Azteças. They had permission from the Corporation to dance on one side of the Guadalupe Church, where they continue to perform (LCARI 1980-1981; FN 1980--1981; Almarez, PMT Field Notes 1991). The Corporation organized Indians to dance for non-religious occasions such as an activity at New Mexico State University in 1924 and La Fiesta de la Frontera sponsored by the Las Cruces Chamber of Commerce in 1940 (Hood Letter, 1940). The Casa del Pueblo contained a kiva (tula) restricted to Indian men or the husbands of Piro Indians, including Eugene Van Patten and Valerio Alvarez (Hood Letter, 1940). The Cacique led rituals for feeding the drum (tombe) needed for Indian traditional dancing (Conn, Slagle, Almarez, PMT Field Notes, 1990, 1991).

Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe records reflect that in time, the Association's focus shifted from the development of the Guadalupe community towards the organization and maintenance of the activities relating to religious festivals. The Cacique Vicente Roybal, and other men of the

Corporation and of the Tribe, had participated heavily in the actual construction of the houses and improvements in the Pueblo for years. They worked on these projects, from making the adobe bricks to finishing and maintaining the structures, until there was housing available, though not all lots had been built upon or occupied, and some remain vacant today (see below). In the early 1920s the regards were the language of a small government and reflected community business. There were feuds between the Mexican immigrants and the Piro/Manso/Tiwas already, reflected in squabbling between the town of Guadalupe and the town of San Juan which led to the segregation of the cemetery into San Juan de Dios/Mexican and Guadalupe/Indian sections (LINSG 1914-1947).

In the late 1920s, the organizational hierarchy of the Corporation came to include a President/ Governor, a Vice President, three Counselors and four Civil Commissioners, reflecting the structure of an older Tortugas governing board on which members of the Tribe had served in the past. On March 6, 1926, Eugene Van Patten died, and his daughter and grand-daughter moved to California. Many Piro members who had supported the Corporation never moved onto their assigned lots, including those who held leadership positions in the Corporation through the years. Indeed, President Louis Roybal retains one such lot today (Slagle, PMT Field Notes 1991). With the death of Van Patten and his emphasis on maintaining community solidarity and the sense of open participation, Piro Indians in Las Cruces were even more resistant to moving into the Tortugas area. Still dominated by the Piro Indians' leadership, the Corporation interest in the Guadalupe side of the community as such waned, since most Piros, and certainly their leaders, did not live there anyway. The reemphasis of ceremonial matters reflected their own priorities. Ceremonial activities still were a primary focus of Piro organization in the Las Cruces area, as they had been at the beginning. The Piro emphasis on ceremonialism pulled the Corporation toward a Piro organizational model.

As construction of housing units and roads waned as a necessary activity, in the late 1920s, the records became more ritualistic in tone, and by the 1930s the support and maintenance of religious observances such as the Feast Day of Our Lady of Guadalupe, San Juan's Day and Palm Sunday were the primary focus of Corporation activities (LINSG 1914-1947). This included constructing the Casa de Comida in the mid-1930s for cooking and dining during the feasts prepared by Corporation members during the three-day Guadalupe Day feasts.

The dissension in Tortugas between the Indians in Guadalupe and their relations and supporters and the Mexicans and others in San Juan de Dios led to quarreling between dance groups and competition among them. In 1933, each dance group organized its own Guadalupe Day feast, reflecting the growing division among elements of the Corporation membership. Los Aztecas, for the Mexican Indian immigrants, met at the home of a Mexican immigrant, Juan Pacheco. The Corporation's Pueblo Indians and Matachin dancers met at the home of a Tiwa, Rosario Gonzales. Father Roux, the parish priest, who had conflicts with the Corporation, held yet another feast (Las Cruces Citizen, December 7, 1933, LINSG 1914-1947).

The Tribe was using the Corporation as a vehicle to do more and more of their own business, while staying largely in the core community. The Piro/Manso/Tiwas continued to live mostly in East Las Cruces in the core community area where their ancestral homes were, or where they had settled themselves, and rented their Tortugas units to others (Slagle, PMT Field

Notes 1991). Through the years, most Corporation meetings were held in Guadalupe at the Casa del Pueblo (see Minutes of Corporation meetings, below, LINSG 1914-1947), and whereas at the beginning they were held monthly in keeping with the By-laws, they came to be quarterly affairs. Attendance at Corporation meetings remained relatively small (10-15), while far more persons supported Corporation activities through donations of money, goods and services through the year, and participated in the ceremonies (LINSG 1914-1947).

The names of men in attendance were shown in minutes of tribal as well as Corporation meetings, but not the names of women, even when the meetings were held at the Caciqua's house. Men remained the decision-makers in corporate affairs, as they were the only participants in Indian rituals before public events (Oppenheimer 1957). The brother and sister Caciques functioned as a unit, sharing the duties of the traditional Pueblo Indian leadership position, as husband and wife, brother and sister, or parent and child would perform the duties of the majordomo position with relationship to Guadalupe Day festivities. Thus, through the years, some Corporation meetings, or meetings at which Corporation business was discussed in tribal meetings as a part of tribal business (annual appointment of majordomos, consejos and bailledores), were held at the home of the Caciqua or the Cacique in Las Cruces (see Minutes of Corporation meetings, below), and in these cases, the names of women (such as those appointed to tribal ceremonial positions for the coming year) would be listed (PMT 1888-Present). Francisca Roybal usually organized the feasts accompanying ceremonial activities. The Tribe sought her opinion in many matters, and many persons sought her blessing. Tribal meetings also frequently were held separately at the home of the Caciqua, Assistant Cacique or Cacique.

& Indian rituals and dances were performed both in Tortugas and in Las Cruces (LINSG 1914-1947; Conn, Slagle, Almarez PMT Field Notes 1991; see especially comments by Louis Roybal, above). The Tribe continued the practice of approving membership at their own annual tribal elections at the Caciqua's and Cacique's house. The Mexican/Mexican Indian immigrant dance groups kept their business separate. Piro Indian rituals and dances were performed both in Tortugas and in Las Cruces (LINSG 1914-1947).

The Ties That Bind: Catholicism and Traditional Ceremonial Religious Devotional Activity of the Piro / Manso / Tiwa Tribe through the 1930s

As indicated above, although certainly church activities were a central overt justification for the effort to establish a satellite village for the Las Cruces Piro/ Manso/ Tiwa Tribe, and the Tortugas and Las Cruces church buildings were local hubs of community functions, conflicts with the local church hierarchy, and the desire for freedom to practice their religion -- as Indians seeking to preserve certain aspects of aboriginal tradition who also were Catholics -- contributed to the decision to form a satellite community and ceremonial center near Mesilla. Loomis and Leonard (1938: 19) found in 1935:

Since the Catholic Church of Las Cruces has held that the pagan rites of the dance are essentially non-Christian even though they are intended to solicit the sympathy and expiation of the patron saint of Guadalupe (Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe), the Indians about Tortugas carry on their annual dances beyond the purview of church ordinance or control.

The years of church tolerance in downtown Las Cruces for the nativistic aspects of the Piro rituals had given way to a new order which saw the syncretic Indian Catholics as different from non-Indians and from other Catholics, hence deviant and threatening. Self-reported participation in the community's activities among 37 Surveys of Tortugas families in 1935 led to the following finding:

> 33 reported no attendance at organizations other than the church on the part of the male head and homemaker. Only 8 of the 135 children living at home participated in any secular organization. The larger an individual's expenditure for clothing, the more often he attended church. This was true even though expenditures for suits and dresses were few; and it provided further evidence that clothing expenditures are related to and correlated with social activity (Table 7). The male heads and homemakers of the families with the largest incomes more frequently went to church than those whose earnings were less (Loomis and Leonard 1938: 17).

These remarks do not delineate the difference between the Catholic Indians and non-Indian members of the corporation, or non-member residents of the Pueblo, regardless whether the latter two types of residents were communing Catholics. Nor did the authors consider that the responsibilities for arranging and conducting ceremonial activities of the Tribe, according to tradition, were carried by Majordomos and their wives, who were individuals nominated by the Cacique or Caciqua and vested for one or two-year periods to fund and conduct those ceremonies. Nor did the authors consider that the ceremonial chief, the Casique, always lived at the true tribal center, in Las Cruces. Indeed, while their characterization of Tortugas is not necessarily one applicable to all Indians in the Mesilla Valley or Tortugas at the time, in their haste to develop a model of broad application, the authors suggested strongly that the conditions in Tortugas were representative of most Mexican or Pueblo Indian communities in the region.

Naturally, most individuals' direct involvement in meetings and ceremonial activities would be restricted to the periods in which one was directly "in charge" of them:

> Although only a few are selected for active participation, the entire village is vitally concerned and everyone turns out on these occasions (Loomis and Leonard 1938: 20).

In a number of major religious traditions, most members are expected to undertake a vocation or "cargo" and do so at one time or another in their lives; and on the other hand, all communicant members of the religion are expected to turn out for the "main events" and "big doings." It would be more instructive to find what questions, if any, the interviewers asked relating to these matters. They do offer this intimation, suggestive of connections to a kiva tradition:

> So strong is the tradition that the inhabitants of Tortugas have united and built an instruction chamber where the young warriors are given their first lessons in tribal dancing as soon as they become of age. Popular vote dictates the dance master and trainer for the year, age, dancing ability, and racial purity figuring most prominently in the ultimate selection (Loomis and Leonard 1938: 19). . . . At present, all dancing is confined to the local building at Tortugas. The ceremonies begin on the night of December 11 and continue through the next day, the performers leaving the dance only as they become utterly exhausted

(Loomis and Leonard 1938: 20).

The ceremonial roles of the Pueblo's Indian, as opposed to non-Indian, members in specific celebrations appear even more important in light of the cost of participation even in these few periodic rites of intensification, due partly to the costs of devoting time to preparations for the annual festivals imposed on selected members of the community on a periodic basis, as will appear below.

The ceremonial life of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe in the 1930s in Tortugas was a particular matter of interest to the field supervisor for the study, who found that few men of Tortugas -- and those, Indians -- took an active role in church activities on a weekly basis, or attended constantly or regularly, as long as they went to confession, and kept to "scrupulous" observation of Lent and other religious occasions. Loomis interviewed the priest at Tortugas about these matters. Particularly important were the Christmas Eve nativity pageants, "Los Pastorales, which the Tortugas Indians, together with certain Indian-Mexican factions residing in Las Cruces, produce each year" (Loomis and Leonard 1938: 17), which Loomis characterized as a play "originally devised by early Spanish Catholics in Mexico as a means of imparting to the native Indian an understanding of certain basic precepts and doctrines of Christianity," adding:

> Pantomime was peculiarly adapted to the cultural tastes of the Indian. His savage nature had found expression in tribal dances for centuries past. Nothing could so quickly arouse his passions or sooth his fiery disposition as the rhythmic movement of his dance. Therefore, in adopting pantomime as a teaching instrument, the Spanish missionary availed himself of an invaluable aid.

The authors are explicit in discussing the Catholic and indigenous sources of the pageant as they are in the participation of Indians of Tortugas and Las Cruces in the pageant, as opposed to the non-Indians living in Tortugas, regardless of membership in the Corporation: "Los Pastorales, as it is produced each year by the Tortugas and other local Indians, is a beautiful portrayal of the birth of the Christ" (Loomis and Leonard 1938: 17). At footnote 13, the authors add:

> "Indians" here is used advisedly since Mexicans, generally, do not participate in the giving of this play. Of course not all those who do participate are entirely free from Spanish blood; but only those who identify themselves with the ancient Indian and cling tenaciously to certain elements of his primitive culture find the play meaningful and strive to perpetuate the tradition. Origin from a common Indian ancestor is for them a point of mutual pride.

The production of these plays clearly was a function of the Tribe, at this time, and of interest primarily to them, according to the authors, and suggested the strength and depth of tribal tradition and participation:

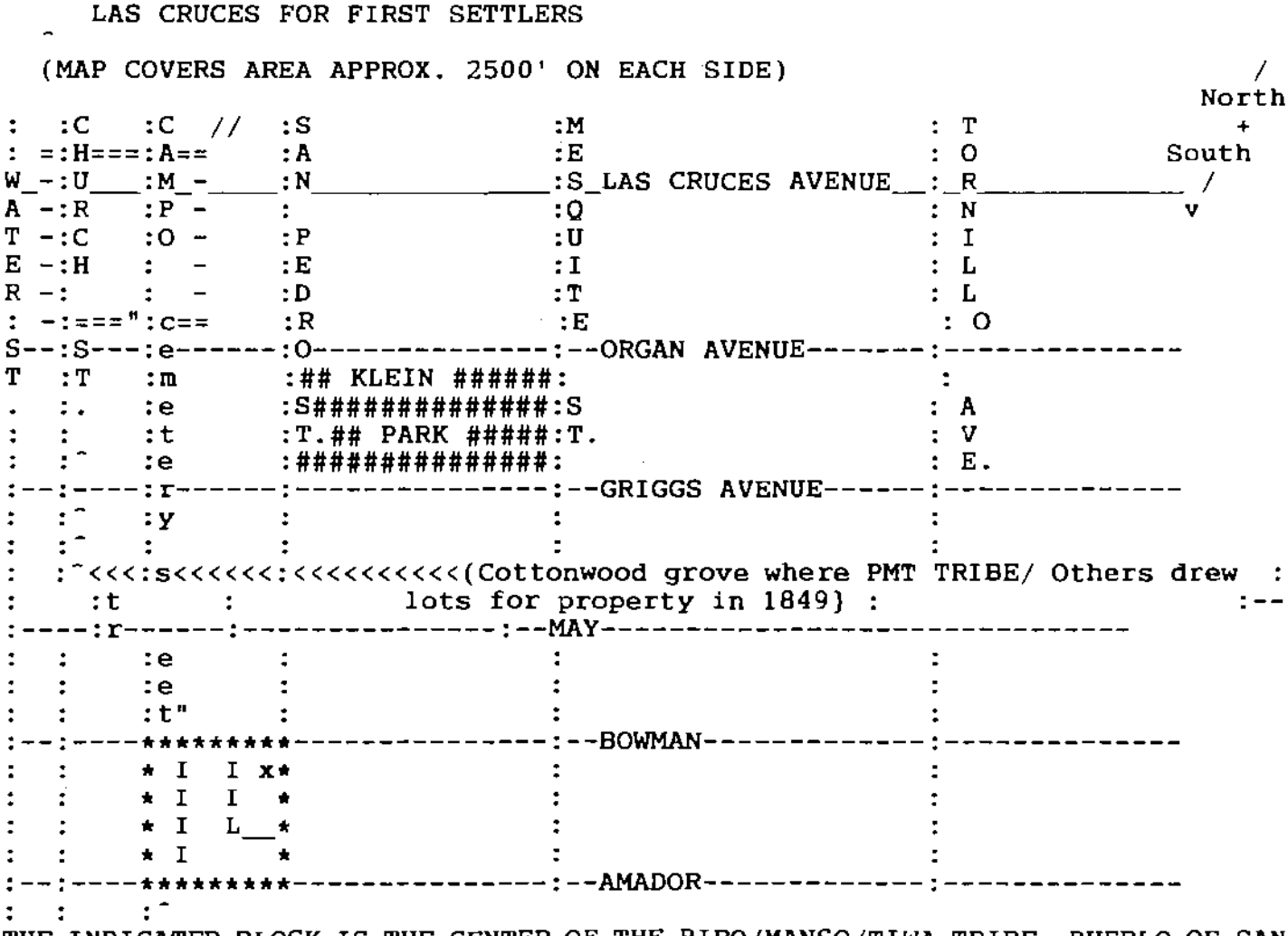
> From the administrative and executive viewpoint, the production of Los Pastorales is interesting because of the democratic and business-like way in which all arrangements and plans for its production are made. Each year, after the play has been given, the Indians assemble for a fiesta to celebrate its success. At this time a committee is chosen to assume the responsibility for the next year's production, and a chairman is elected. The chairman is play director and upon his shoulders falls the burden of superintending the whole undertaking. Also he must provide for the fiesta that will follow the next rendering of the play (Loomis

and Leonard 1938: 17) (see also Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957, pp. 117-118). These undertakings were most demanding in time and resources, it appears, just prior to the Second World War (fn. 14):

> Mrs. F. D. Butts, who wrote a master's thesis on the origin of Los Pastorales, described the difficulties that the impoverished Indians encountered in giving the play during the severe years of the depression. All decorations had to be borrowed. No money was available for costumes, and poverty was so general among the Indians that the quality of the play suffered much; but the play was given just the same.

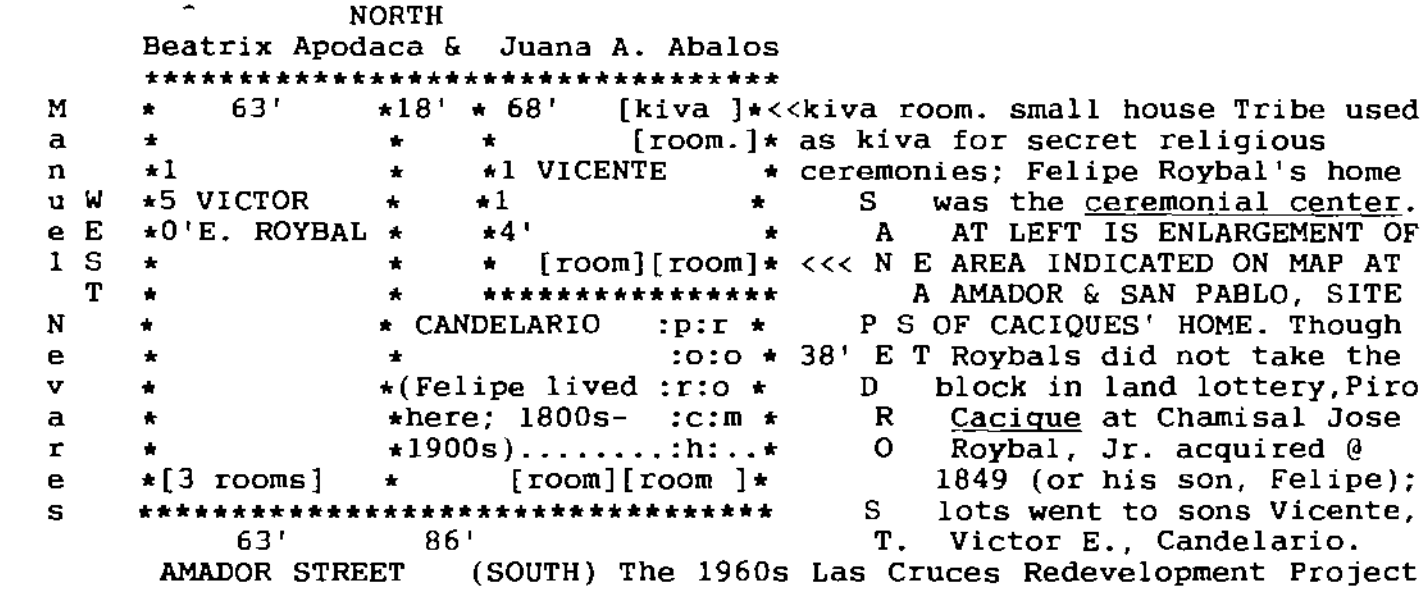
The authors concluded: "Besides Los Pastorales and the fiesta, there are other institutionalized forms of group activities which integrate social tradition and sentiment. The most important of these are the tribal dances which are given each year on the twelfth day of December," (Loomis and Leonard 1938: 19), the occasion of tribal meetings for which the tribe retains many minutes.

Continuity and Leadership Responsibilities



THE INDICATED BLOCK IS THE CENTER OF THE PIRO/MANSO/TIWA TRIBE, PUEBLO OF SAN

JUAN DE GUADALUPE CORE COMMUNITY.



AMADOR STREET (SOUTH) The 1960s Las Cruces Redevelopment Project widened Amador to 1-way st., razed some structures. One kiva wall remains. Tribal Vice-President Louis Roybal provided information and map of the Cacique's house in the core community, and tribal governmental history in his own account, reflecting his review of tribal archives (Memorandum, 25 November 1990).

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT OF THE PIRO/MANSO/TIWA PUEBLO IN LAS CRUCES

The earliest available written records belonging to the Tribe date from 1888, indicating the holders of traditional tribal secular and religious offices. According to senior members of the Tribe, few of their elected tribal leaders were able to read or write until well into the 1930s; even though many spend some amount of time in Indian schools, they remained functionally illiterate, and signed official documents with an "X" in most cases.

Senobio Avalos, who was a local bureaucrat with such skills, became an important asset to the tribe in acting as Interim Cacique to his sister, the Caciqua, and his nephew, Vicente Roybal. Others who were voted into office primarily because of their understanding of the outside political, business and legal world included the non-Indians Eugene Van Patten, and the later Mexican immigrant, Miguel Fierro. Some persons were made honorary members for the purposes of assuring access to their skills and administrative services, a practice which continues to contemporary times. As Louis Roybal has observed (Conn: PMT Field Notes, 1989), "From the beginning of the incorporation . . . , the non-Indians had more financial backing, were able and did act more as a group, pursuing their own inclinations, acting as a faction."

The data regarding succession and elevation to offices during the period from 1888 to the creation of Los Indigenes Corporation appears below, including citations of the documents attesting to these data:

CORPORATION OFFICES 1914:

A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:

1. CASIQUA -- Francisca A. Roybal

C. COMMISSIONERS OF BUILDINGS AND WORKS: PUEBLO DE TORTUGAS
Vivian and Domingo Herrera
(Source: Minutes of 1914 Incorporation.)

TRIBAL OFFICES 1915:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUA -- Francisca A. Roybal
B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Eugenio Van Patten
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Damacio Avalos
3. SECRETARY -- Jorge Jemente
4. TREASURER -- Pedro Benevides
C. COMMISSIONERS OF BUILDINGS AND WORKS: PUEBLO DE TORTUGAS
Magdaleno Baca, Jose Trujillo, Felipe Roybal

TRIBAL OFFICES 1916:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUA -- Francisca A. Roybal
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Cornelio Duran
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Lonjino Pedraza
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Jose Gonzales
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Jose Angel Enriques
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Audencio Marques
7. HUNT CAPTAIN ("Humero")
(In rabbit hunts-keeper of Hunt/Signal fire)
B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Eugenio Van Patten
2. SECRETARY -- Harvey V. Jackson
C. COMMISSIONERS OF BUILDINGS AND WORKS: PUEBLO DE TORTUGAS
Vivian and Domingo Herrera

TRIBAL OFFICES 1916:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUA -- Francisca A. Roybal
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Cornelio Duran
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Lonjino Pedraza
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Jose Gonzales
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Jose Angel Enriques
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Audencio Marques
B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Eugenio Van Patten
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- (Created 1921)
3. SECRETARY -- Harvey V. Jackson
4. TREASURER -- Francisca A. Roybal
C. MAYORDOMOS: PUEBLO DE TORTUGAS
1. 1ST MAYORDOMO -- Longino Pedraza
2. 2ND MAYORDOMO -- Francisco Gonzales
1. 1ST CONSEJO -- Gabriel Paz
2. 2ND CONSEJO -- Longino Pedraza
(Source: 1916 List of Members; Consejo/Advisor to the Casiqua or

Casique, generally experienced tribal elders).

TRIBAL OFFICES 1917:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUA -- Francisca A. Roybal
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- [Pedro Benevidez]
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- [Lonjino Pedraza]
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- [Jose Gonzales]
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- [Jose Angel Enriques]
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- [Audencio Marques]
B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Eugenio Van Patten
2. SECRETARY -- [Harvey V. Jackson]
3. TREASURER -- Miguel Fierro
C. MAYORDOMOS: PUEBLO DE TORTUGAS
1. 1ST MAYORDOMO -- [Longino Pedraza]
2. 2ND MAYORDOMO -- [Francisco Gonzales]
1. 1ST CONSEJO -- [Gabriel Paz]]
2. 2ND CONSEJO -- [Longino Pedraza]

TRIBAL OFFICES 1920:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUA -- Francisca A. Roybal
Interim Casique Senobio Avalos [Casiqua's brother was elected Interim Casique at a Tribal meeting January 1, 1920]
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- [Cornelio Duran]
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- [Lonjino Pedraza]
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- [Jose Gonzales]
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- [Jose Angel Enriques]
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- [Audencio Marques]
B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Eugenio Van Patten
2. SECRETARY -- [Harvey V. Jackson]
3. TREASURER -- Miguel Fierro

TRIBAL OFFICES 1921:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUA -- Francisca A. Roybal
Interim Casique Senobio Avalos [Casiqua's brother was elected Interim Casique at a Tribal meeting January 1, 1920]
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- [Cornelio Duran]
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- [Lonjino Pedraza]
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- [Jose Gonzales]
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- [Jose Angel Enriques]
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- [Audencio Marques]
B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Eugenio Van Patten
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Victor A. Roybal*
3. SECRETARY -- [Harvey V. Jackson]
4. TREASURER -- Miguel Fierro
* (Elected Vice-President at a meeting held February 6, 1921 and at another held May 15, 1921.)

TRIBAL OFFICES 1922:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUA -- Francisca A. Roybal
Interim Casique Senobio Avalos [Casiqua's brother was elected Interim Casique at a Tribal meeting January 1, 1920]
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- [Cornelio Duran]
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- [Lonjino Pedraza]
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- [Jose Gonzales]
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- [Jose Angel Enriques]
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- [Audencio Marques]
B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Eugenio Van Patten
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Victor A. Roybal*
3. SECRETARY -- [Harvey V. Jackson]
4. TREASURER -- Miguel Fierro
* (Meeting held 12/3/21-1/1/22 at Casiqua's home.)

TRIBAL OFFICES 1923:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUA -- Francisca A. Roybal
Interim Casique Senobio Avalos [Casiqua's brother was elected Interim Casique at a Tribal meeting January 1, 1920]
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- [Cirildo Avalos]
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- [Catarino Grijalva]
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- [Jose Paz]
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- [Simon Gonzales]
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- [Balerio Albanez]
B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Eugenio Van Patten
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Victor A. Roybal*
3. SECRETARY -- Jacinto Jemente
4. TREASURER -- Miguel B. Fierro (Non-Indian)
C. MAYORDOMOS: PUEBLO DE TORTUGAS
1. 1ST COMMISIONADO -- Jose M. Gonzales
1. 1ST CONSEJO -- Francisco Gonzales
2. 2ND CONSEJO -- Francisco Dominguez
3. 3RD CONSEJO -- Cornelio Duran
* (Meeting held 12/3/21-1/1/22 at Casique's home, Las Cruces, N. M., May 13, 1923; Commissioner, or Comisionado, referred to in Tribal Minutes for 2 September, 1923.)

TRIBAL OFFICES 1922:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUA -- Francisca A. Roybal
Interim Casique Senobio Avalos [Casiqua's brother was elected Interim Casique at a Tribal meeting January 1, 1920]
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- [Cornelio Duran]
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- [Lonjino Pedraza]
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- [Jose Gonzales]
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- [Jose Angel Enriques]
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- [Audencio Marques]
B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:

1. PRESIDENT -- Eugenio Van Patten
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Victor A. Roybal
3. SECRETARY -- [Harvey V. Jackson]
4. TREASURER -- Miguel Fierro

TRIBAL OFFICES 1924:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUA -- Francisca A. Roybal
Interim Casique Senobio Avalos [Casiqua's brother was elected Interim Casique at a Tribal meeting January 1, 1920]
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Miguel Fierro, Non-Indian
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Andres Dominguez
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Jose Gonzales
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- [Audencio Marques]
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Bidal Rosas
B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Eugenio Van Patten
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Victor A. Roybal
3. SECRETARY -- Harvey Jackson
4. TREASURER -- Miguel Fierro

TRIBAL OFFICES 1925:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUA -- Francisca A. Roybal
Interim Casique Senobio Avalos [Casiqua's brother was elected Interim Casique at a Tribal meeting January 1, 1920]
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Faustino Pedraza
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Jose Angel Enrique
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Trinidad Calderon
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Salbador Valasquez
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Eugenio Pena
B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Eugenio Van Patten
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Victor A. Roybal
3. SECRETARY -- Harvey Jackson
4. TREASURER -- Miguel Fierro
(Source: Meeting Minutes 12/31/24-1/2/25, home of the Casiqua, in Las Cruces, N. M.)

TRIBAL OFFICES 1926:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUA -- Francisca A. Roybal
Interim Casique Senobio Avalos [Casiqua's brother was elected Interim Casique at a Tribal meeting January 1, 1920]
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Cirildo Avalos
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Jose Angel Enriquez
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Juan Fuentes
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Bidal Rojas
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Pedro Pedraza
7. HUNT CAPTAIN ("Humero")
(In rabbit hunts-keeper of Hunt/Signal fire)
B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:

1. PRESIDENT -- Eugenio Van Patten
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Victor A. Roybal
3. SECRETARY -- Harvey Jackson
4. TREASURER -- Miguel Fierro

(Source: Meeting Minutes 12/31/25-1/2/26, home of the Casiqua, in Las Cruces, N. M.)

TRIBAL OFFICES 1927:

A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:

1. CASIQUA -- Francisca A. Roybal
   Interim Casique Senobio Avalos [Casiqua's brother was elected Interim Casique at a Tribal meeting January 1, 1920]
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Cornelio Duran
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Jose Gonsales
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Jose Paz
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Balerio Alvarez
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Pedro Ramirez

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:

1. PRESIDENT -- Eugenio Van Patten
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Victor A. Roybal
3. SECRETARY -- Harvey Jackson
4. TREASURER -- Miguel Fierro

(Source: Meeting Minutes 12/31/26-1/2/27, home of the Casiqua, in Las Cruces, N. M.)

TRIBAL OFFICES 1928:

A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:

1. CASIQUE -- Interim Casique Senobio Avalos, at nomination of Casiqua Francisca A. Roybal, was elected Casique at a Tribal meeting March 25, 1928
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Jose Angel Enriquez
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Jesus Jojola
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Jacinto Jemente
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Salvador Velasquez
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Dioniscio Parra
7. HUNT CAPTAIN ("Humero")
   (In rabbit hunts-keeper of Hunt/Signal fire)

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:

1. PRESIDENT -- Victor A. Roybal
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Jacinto Jemente (at Meeting held 1 April, 1928)
3. SECRETARY -- Saturninto Gonzales (at Meeting held 1 April, 1928)
4. TREASURER -- Miguel Fierro

(Source: Meeting Minutes 3/25/28, home of the Casiqua, in Las Cruces, N. M.)

TRIBAL OFFICES 1929-1930:

A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:

1. CASIQUE -- Interim Casique Senobio Avalos, at nomination of Casiqua Francisca A. Roybal, was elected Casique at a Tribal meeting March 25, 1928 at Caciqua's home in Las Cruces, N. M.

2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Jose Paz
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Cirildo Avalos
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Pedro Pedraza
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Balerio Alvarez
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Andres Ochoa

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Victor A. Roybal
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Jacinto Jemente
3. SECRETARY -- Saturninto Gonzales

(Source: Minutes of a meeting held 7 July 1929, at the Casa del Pueblo, mention a discussion of building needs for the community and records of contributions of labor:
Victor E. Roybal {Presidente}
Senobio Abalos
Francisco Dominguez
Vicente Roybal
Jose M. Gonzalez
Juan Fuentes
Trinidad Calderon
Balerio Albarez

On 31 December 1929/ 1 January 1930, at a Las Cruces meeting of the Tribe at the Casiqua's house, funds were received to cover expenses of the Tribe, and a selection of Mayordomos.

TRIBAL OFFICES 1930-1931:

A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUE -- Casiqua Francisca A. Roybal
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Catarino Grijalva
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Juan Fuentes
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Andres Ochoa
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Balerio Alvarez
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Vicente Roybal

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Victor A. Roybal
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Jacinto Jemente
3. SECRETARY -- Saturninto Gonzales

(Source: Tribal meeting 12/31/1930-1/1/31 at Caciqua's home in Las Cruces, N. M.; funds were received to cover expenses of the Tribe, and a selection of Mayordomos:
Victor E. Roybal, President
Jacinto Fuentes
Senobio Abalos
Francisco Dominguez
Jose Paz
Pedro P. [edraza?]
Balerio Albarez
Andrez Ochova
Jose M. Gonzalez
Octoviano Calderon
Jose Carillo
Juan Fuentes
Pedro Cruz

Saturnino Gonzalez
Jesus Jojola
Vicente Roybal
Ignacio Pena
Sabino Parras
Hilario Apodaca
C. Grijalba
Miguel B. Fierro
Juan Trujillo.

On 4 October 1931, at a Las Cruces meeting of the Tribe at the home of Francisca Roybal, the Caciqua, funds were received to cover expenses of the Tribe in 1932, and the Tribe selected Officers and Mayordomos:
Faustino Pedraza
Juan Fuentes
Jose Gonzalez
Hilario Apodaca
Pedro Cruz
Saturnino Gonzales
Balerio Alvarez
Jesus Jojola
C. Grijalba
Sabino Parro
Trinidad Calderon
Paz B. Pena
Juan Trujillo.

TRIBAL OFFICES 1931-1932:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUE -- Casiqua Francisca A. Roybal
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Balerio Alvarez*
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Andrex Ochoa
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Jose M. Gonsales
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Gabriel Hernandez
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Saternino Gonzales

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Victor A. Roybal
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Jacinto Jemente
3. SECRETARY -- Saturninto Gonzales

(Source: Tribal meeting 12/31/1931-1/1/1932 at Caciqua's home in Las Cruces, N. M. *Election Certificate for Balerio Alvarez, Fourth Captain in 1930, before becoming First War Captain, and their certificates have survived:
Victor E. Roybal (Presidente de la Corporacion)
Senobio Abalos (Interim Cacique)
Jacinto J. Jemente (Vice Presidente de la Corporacion)
Balerio Alb[v]arez (Primero Capitan).

At a meeting held 6 March 1932, at the Casa del Pueblo, there was a Majordomos report.

At a meeting held the first Sunday in June, 1932, at a Las Cruces, the following leaders were present:
V. E. Roybal, President

Senobio Abalos
Francisco Dominguez
Faustino Pedraza
R. M. Gonzalez
Jose M. Gonzalez
Vicente Roybal
Trinidad Calderon
Andrez Ochova
Sabino Parras
Catarino Grijalba
Juan Trujillo
Juan Fuentes
Balerio Albarez
Alejandro Aragon
Saturnino Gonzalez
Donicio Parras.

At a meeting held 11 September, 1932, at the Casa del Pueblo, there was discussion of building needs for the community; indeed, many of the meetings centered on specific needs for supplies, like timber and adobes, or on rental arrears of members or tenants in the Pueblo; also, there were records of contributions of labor:
V. E. Roybal, President
Senobio Abalos
Francisco Dominguez
Faustino Pedraza
R. M. Gonzalez
Jose M. Gonzalez
Vicente Roybal
Trinidad Calderon
Andrez Ochova
Sabino Parras
Calarino Grijalba
Juan Trujillo
Juan Fuentes
Balerio Albarez
Alejandro Aragon
Saturnino Gonzalez
Donicio Parras.

On 2 October 1932, at a Las Cruces meeting of the Tribe at the home of Francisca Roybal, the Caciqua, funds were received to cover expenses of the Tribe in 1933, and the Tribe selected Officers and Mayordomos:
V. E. Roybal, President
Senobio Abalos {Interim Cacique}
Francisco Dominguez
Faustino Pedraza
Trinidad Calderon
Juan Fuentes
Hilario Apodaca
Donicio Parras
Maxsimania Paz
Vicente Roybal

Miguel B. Fierro.

In a 6 November 1932 meeting at Casa del Pueblo, the order of business was, "con el fin derisivir Baliadoras en el ano de 1932." The list of "Bailadoras Para el ano - Benidero" included:

1. Anita Castillo
2. Antonia Trujillo
3. Biatris Lopez
4. Cruz Contreras
5. Candelaria Abalos

Lorensa Hererra
Catarina Montoya
Soledad Miranda
Francisca Sombaso
Adela Gonzales
Maria Luisa
Aurora Hernandez.

TRIBAL OFFICES 1932-1933:

A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
   1. CASIQUE -- Casiqua Francisca A. Roybal
   2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Balerio Alvarez*
   3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Jose M. Gonsalez
   4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Jose Angel Enriquez
   5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Adrez Ochoa
   6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Trinidad Calderon

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
   1. PRESIDENT -- Victor A. Roybal
   2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Jacinto Jemente
   3. SECRETARY -- Saturninto Gonzales

(Source: Tribal meeting 12/31/1932-1/1/1933 at Caciqua's home in Las Cruces, N. M.; funds were received to cover expenses of the Tribe, and a selection of Mayordomos:

V. E. Roybal, President
Senobio Abalos
R. M. Gonzalez
Francisco Dominguez
Sabino Parras
Juan Trujillo
Gabriel Hernandez
Saturnino Gonzalez
Alejandro Aragon
Juan Fuentes
Donicio Parras
Pete Cruz.

On 2 April 1933, there was a meeting of the Pueblo's officers at Casa Del Pueblo, Guadalupe, N. M. meeting of the Tribe.

On 14 May 1933, at a Guadalupe, N. M. meeting of the Tribe, funds were received to cover expenses of the Tribe for the Fiesta of the Virgen.

There was a 4 June 1933, Guadalupe, N. M. meeting of the Tribe.

At a meeting held 6 August 1933, the Casa del Pueblo at Guadalupe, the following leaders were present:

Francisco Dominguez
V. E. Roybal, President
Senobio Abalos
Faustino Pedraza
Jose M. Gonzalez
R. M. Gonzalez
Jose Gonzalez
Trinidad Calderon
Saturnino Gonzalez
Juan Trujillo
Juan Fuentes
Vicente Roybal.

At meetings held 6 August and 10 September, 1933, at the Casa del Pueblo, there was discussion of building needs for the community; indeed, many of the meetings centered on specific needs for supplies, like timber and adobes, or on rental arrears of members or tenants in the Pueblo; also, there were records of contributions of labor.

At a meeting held 1 October 1933, at the home of the Casiqua in Las Cruces, ballots were taken for the election in which the following Majordomos were selected:
V. E. Roybal, President
Senobio Abalos
Francisco Dominguez
Faustino Pedraza
R. M. Gonzalez
Gabriel Hernandes
Jose M. Gonzalez
Andres Ochova
Inacio Pena
Juan Fuentes
Saturnino Gonzalez
Juan Trujillo
Jose Angel Enriques
Trinidad Calderon
Alejandro Arragon.

On 14 October 1933, President Victor Roybal sent a late-rent notice to Jose Paz and Dario Silva on their unit at Lot No. 4 Block No. 23, which they had rented September 1927, at the rate of $1.50/month and on which they then owed $108.00.

At a meeting held 5 November 1933, at the Casa del Pueblo, the following Captains were selected:
Francisco Dominguez
V. E. Roybal, President
R. M. Gonzalez
Senobio Abalos
Faustino Pedraza
Trinidad Calderon
Juan Fuentes
Andres Ochova
Juan Trujillo
Rosario Gonzalez

Gabriel Hernandez
Sabino Parra
Jose M. Gonzalez
Saturnino Gonzalez
Balerio Albarres
Vicente Roybal.

TRIBAL OFFICES 1933-1934:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUE -- Casiqua Francisca A. Roybal
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Francisco Dominguez
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Jesus Jojola
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Vicente Roybal
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Ignacio Pena
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Alejandro Arragon
B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Victor A. Roybal
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Jacinto Jemente
3. SECRETARY -- Saturninto Gonzales
C. MAYORDOMOS: PUEBLO DE TORTUGAS
1. 1ST COMICIONADO SIVIL -- Miguel B. Fierro
(Source: Tribal meeting 12/31/1933-1/1/1934 at Caciqua's home in Las Cruces, N. M.; funds were received to cover expenses of the Tribe, and a selection of Mayordomos:

On 31 December 1933/ 1 January 1934, at a Las Cruces meeting of the Tribe at the Casiqua's house, funds were received to cover expenses of the Tribe, and a selection of Mayordomos, including a replacement for the post of Jose Paz, removed for rental arrears:
V. E. Roybal, President
MAYORDOMOS
R. M. Gonzalez
Jose M. Gonzalez
Juan Trujillo
Andres Ochova
Saturnino Gonzalez
Sabino Parra
Trinidad Calderon
Juan Fuentes
Jesus Jojola
Ignacio Pena
Alejandro Arragon.

At a meeting held 5 May 1934, at the Casa del Pueblo, a census was taken of the members of the Pueblo for the year. Other set of business meeting minutes (dealing with such matters as assigning the work duties of the Tribe) exist for 3 June 1934, 1 July 1934, 19 August 1934, 7 October 1934, at Casa del Pueblo. Majordomos were commissioned at a meeting in Casa del Pueblo 2 September 1934.

At a meeting held 4 November 1934, at the Casa del Pueblo, ballots were taken for the election of 12 December 1934 in which the following Captains were selected, and discussion of the Bailadoras:
V. E. Roybal, President

R. M. Gonzalez
Francisco Dominguez
Alejandro Arragon
Jose M. Gonzalez
Trinidad Calderon
Miguel Fierro
Inacio Pena
Juan Fuentes
Jose Jojola
Balerio Albarres
Juan Trujillo
Sabino Parra
Vicente Roybal
Andres Ochova
Simon Gameza.

TRIBAL OFFICES 1934-1935:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUE -- Casique Senobio Avalos
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Miguel Fierro
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Sabino Parra
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Andres Ochoa
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Simon Gonzalez
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Jose Gonzales

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Victor A. Roybal
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Jacinto Jemente
3. SECRETARY -- Saturninto Gonzales

(Source: Tribal meeting 12/31/1934-1/1/1935 at President's home in Las Cruces, N. M. On 31 December 1934/ 1 January 1935, at a Las Cruces meeting of the Tribe at the Casique's house, the Tribe selected Mayordomos:
V. E. Roybal, President
R. M. Gonzalez
Faustino Pedraza
Francisco Dominguez
Miguel Fierro
Sabino Parras
Andrez Ochova
Jose M. Gonzalez
Balerio Albarez
Manuel Teller
Saturnino Gonzalez
Jose Jojola.
In meetings on 10 February 1935 and 7 April 1935, at the Casa del Pueblo, the Majordomos reported on their activities, including such things as road projects.)

TRIBAL OFFICES 1935 (ELEVATION OF VICENTE ROYBAL):
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUE -- Casique Vicente Roybal*
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Miguel Fierro

3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Sabino Parra
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Andres Ochoa
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Simon Gonzalez
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Jose Gonzales

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Victor A. Roybal
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Jacinto Jemente
3. SECRETARY -- Saturninto Gonzales

(Source: Tribal meeting 5/5/1935 at Casiqua's home in Las Cruces, N. M. resulted in Vicente Roybal's elevation to position of Casique.)

TRIBAL OFFICES 1937:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUE -- Casique Vicente Roybal
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Jose Gonzales
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Andres Ochoa
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Saturnino Gonsales
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Juan Fuentes
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Dionicio Parra
7. HUNT CAPTAIN ("Humero")
(In rabbit hunts-keeper of Hunt/Signal fire)

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Victor A. Roybal
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Jacinto Jemente
3. SECRETARY -- Saturninto Gonzales

(Source: Tribal meeting 12/31/1936-1/1/1937 at Cacique's home in Las Cruces, N. M.)

TRIBAL OFFICES 1938:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUE -- Casique Vicente Roybal
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Andres Ochoa
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Jose Paz
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Julio Beltran
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Feliz Talamantes (Non-Indian)
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Francisco Padilla
7. HUNT CAPTAIN ("Humero")
(In rabbit hunts-keeper of Hunt/Signal fire)

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Victor A. Roybal
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Jacinto Jemente
3. SECRETARY -- Saturninto Gonzales

(Source: Tribal meeting 12/31/1937-1/1/1938 at Cacique's home in Las Cruces, N. M.)

TRIBAL OFFICES 1940:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUE -- Casique Vicente Roybal

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Victor A. Roybal

(Source: Letter from Chamber of Commerce, 7/29/1940 at Cacique's

home in Las Cruces, N. M.)

TRIBAL OFFICES 1944:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUE -- Casique Vicente Roybal
B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Victor A. Roybal
(*Source: Affidavit of election to office, 1/31/1944 at Cacique's home in Las Cruces, N. M.)

THE CORE COMMUNITY OF THE PIRO-MANSO-TIWA TRIBE

Minutes of meetings show important changes and adaptations in the organization and business functions of the Tribe after the creation of the Corporation, and many of these occurred during the Great Depression. Lack of salary or wage labor increased the degree of want which the original loss or lack of land had caused. The acquisition of the land base at Tortugas had not insured economic or social stability. Prohibition lasted until 1932, and during this time, many young Tortugas men became bootleggers, were caught by Federal authorities, and imprisoned, leaving families in dire poverty, at the mercy of social welfare agencies. The rigors of these years made education and acquisition of training for skilled jobs and professions attractive if not essential (Oppenheimer, Thesis, pp. 47-48.)

Loomis and Leonard (1938) studied the economic conditions at Tortugas in some detail during the 1930s. Cotton-picking was not adequate source of income for many families, requiring women to seek supplemental income more than ever as domestics, and requiring foraging and hunting to regain for a time their former importance. The extent of differentiation between Tortugenos' and Piro/Manso/Tiwas' subsistence strategies at Tortugas and in Las Cruces during this period is unclear in many respects, because they lived cooperatively and in close proximity with non-Indians in Tortugas and Las Cruces.

Minutes survive of meetings during the 1930s in possession of the Tribe, in the period when Senobio Abalos was Interim Cacique, and until Vicente Roybal finally assumed the full responsibilities of the Cacique. A construction laborer and professional ceramicist by trade, Vicente Roybal took a direct role in the building projects of the Pueblo. It is important to note that notwithstanding the schooling of some members, many of the officers were unable to read or write, or to sign their names. According to the summary conclusions of Loomis and Leonard (1938: 20), "The average schooling for the males heads was less than 2 years of attendance; for the homemakers it was less than 3. The 57 children over 6 years of age and not attending school had completed only slightly over three grades."

The act of holding office in the Pueblo, being in a position of responsibility, was called being "en cargo," in many of the meeting minutes. Political office had the character of practical and secular municipal office holding in many respects, but with ceremonial and sacerdotal aspects. There was a clear sense of members' personal, financial responsibility owed to the Pueblo, and a linking of status to service. Contributed labor and annual contributions (typically, $1.00/year) "para la Fiesta de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe were understood to be required. The system remained intact and was in control of the Tribe through the Depression years into WWII, when in the

tradition of men of the Pueblo, military service drew on the Tribe's youth for the war effort.

The Corporation documented the election of an officer in minutes and by filing an election certificate:

> Certificado de Eleccion y Juramento de oficial
>
> A QUIEN CONCIERNA, SALUD;
>
> ESTA CERTIFICA: Que el dia primero de Enero, A. D. 1932, a la una de la manana, en junta reglamentaria tenida en la casa de la Casica, Francisca A. Roybal, de la tribu de los indigenas de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe, llevada a cabo por dicha tribu y corporacion de la misma con el fin de eligir oficiales para servir in los diversos puestos eligibles en dicha fecha para el period del presente ano de 1932, y hasta que sus respectivos sucesores sean electos y celificados, Sr. Balerio Alvarez fue electo Primero Capitan for unanimidad, quien recibira su cargo y ejercera su autoridad y deberes como tal oficial desde el instante en que preste el prespective juramento.
>
> Y para que asi conste, se le extiende el presente certificado de elecion, fijandose en el mismo el sello de la corporcion y firmadose los autoridades respecivas, al calce.
>
> Dado en Las Cruces, N. Mex. este dia 2 de Enero, A. D. 1932.
>
> [Signatures]

Typically for elected officials in the Pueblo, Balerio Alvarez had to succeed in earlier appointments, as to the position of Fourth Captain in 1930, before becoming First War Captain.

Minutes of a meeting held 7 July 1929, at the Casa del Pueblo, mention a discussion of building needs for the community and records of contributions of labor:

Victor E. Roybal (Presidente)
Senobio Abalos
Francisco Dominguez
Vicente Roybal
Jose M. Gonzalez
Juan Fuentes
Trinidad Calderon
Balerio Albarez;

also there are surviving minutes of other meetings bearing on the same topic of discussion. A study of conditions in the Pueblo in the 1930s described those adobe houses the Pueblo work teams constructed and repaired (C. P. Loomis and O. E. Leonard published "Standards of Living in an Indian-Mexican Village and on a Reclamation Project," U. S. Dept. of Ag. Farm Security Administration and Bureau of Ag. Economic Cooperating, Social Research Report No. XIV, Washington, D. C., August 1938):

> The 37 families included in this study lived in houses that averaged 2 rooms in size, were 20 years of age, and had a replacement value of $166. But these dwellings were more satisfactory than the figures might indicate (at 10).

It is important to recall that Loomis' sociological field work dated to the summer of 1935. In other words, the authors found that these small, these low-cost, practical housing units all originally were built within a few years of the beginning of the Corporation venture of the Tribe, probably by 1918. The average value of "housing and maintenance, including both the

furnished and purchased items" was $55, including $22 for rent, $20 for fuel, $4 for furniture and utensils, and $9 for housekeeping (at 10). As for the architectural style typical of the dwellings, many of which are still standing:

> The walls were constructed of bricks made of sun-dried earthen mortar to which sticks and straws had been added to give tensile strength. For the most part, the roofs were made of logs laid across the adobe walls and laced together with small boughs, the latter often skillfully woven into some intricate pattern. Loose dirt, thrown upon the foundation of logs and branches to a depth of several inches, completed the roof. Floors, particularly in the homes of the poorest families, were usually of dirt. During the winter months they were covered with straw as a protection against the cold. People who live in houses with earth under, over, and all around them really do not fare so badly. The thick adobe walls, which resist the penetrating rays of the sun in summer, serve equally well to retain the meager heat produced by the little mesquite fires in winter.

At a meeting held 3 November, 1929, at the Casa del Pueblo, there was discussion of building needs for the community and records of contributions of labor:

Jose M. Gonzalez
Jose Erniquez
Juan Fuentes
Miguel Fierro
Elario Apodaca
Sirildo Abalos.

On 31 December 1929/ 1 January 1930, at a Las Cruces meeting of the Tribe at the Casiqua's house, funds were received to cover expenses of the Tribe, and a selection of Mayordomos:

Victor E. Roybal, President
Jose Paz (1st Capitan de Guerra)
Cirildo Avalos (2nd Capitan de Guerra)
Pedro Pedraza (3rd Capitan de Guerra)
Balerio Alvarez (4th Capitan de Guerra)
Andres Ochoa (5th Capitan de Guerra).

On 31 December 1931/ 1 January 1932, at a Las Cruces meeting of the Tribe at the Casiqua's house, funds were received to cover expenses of the Tribe, and a selection of Mayordomos:

Victor E. Roybal, President
Jacinto Fuentes
Senobio Abalos
Francisco Dominguez
Jose Paz
Pedro P. [Peraza]
Balerio Albarez
Andrez Ochova
Jose M. Gonzalez
Octoviano Calderon
Jose Carillo
Juan Fuentes
Pedro Cruz
Saturnino Gonzalez

Jesus Jojola
Vicente Roybal
Ignacio Pena
Sabino Parras
Hilario Apodaca
C. Grijalba
Miguel B. Fierro
Juan Trujillo.

On 4 October 1931, at a Las Cruces meeting of the Tribe at the home of Francisca Roybal, the Caciqua, funds were received to cover expenses of the Tribe in 1932, and the Tribe selected Officers and Mayordomos:

Faustino Pedraza
Juan Fuentes
Jose Gonzalez
Hilario Apodaca
Pedro Cruz
Saturnino Gonzales
Balerio Alvarez
Jesus Jojola
C. Grijalba
Sabino Parro
Trinidad Calderon
Paz B. Pena
Juan Trujillo.

On 1 January 1932, at a Las Cruces meeting of the Tribe at the Casiqua's house, the following leaders were selected, among others, and their certificates have survived:

Victor E. Roybal (Presidente de la Corporacion)
Senobio Abalos (Interim Cacique)
Jacinto J. Jemente (Vice Presidente de la Corporacion)
Balerio Alb[v]arez (Primero Capitan).

At a meeting held 6 March 1932, at the Casa del Pueblo, there was a Majordomos report.

At a meeting held the first Sunday in June, 1932, at a Las Cruces, the following leaders were present:

V. E. Roybal, President
Senobio Abalos
Francisco Dominguez
Faustino Pedraza
R. M. Gonzalez
Jose M. Gonzalez
Vicente Roybal
Trinidad Calderon
Andrez Ochova
Sabino Parras
Calarino Grijalba
Juan Trujillo
Juan Fuentes
Balerio Albarez
Alejandro Aragon
Saturnino Gonzalez
Donicio Parras.

At a meeting held 11 September, 1932, at the Casa del Pueblo, there was discussion of building needs for the community; indeed, many of the meetings centered on specific needs for supplies, like timber and adobes, or on rental arrears of members or tenants in the Pueblo; also, there were records of contributions of labor:

V. E. Roybal, President
Senobio Abalos
Francisco Dominguez
Faustino Pedraza
R. M. Gonzalez
Jose M. Gonzalez
Vicente Roybal
Trinidad Calderon
Andrez Ochova
Sabino Parras
Calarino Grijalba
Juan Trujillo
Juan Fuentes
Balerio Albarez
Alejandro Aragon
Saturnino Gonzalez
Donicio Parras.

On 2 October 1932, at a Las Cruces meeting of the Tribe at the home of Francisca Roybal, the Caciqua, funds were received to cover expenses of the Tribe in 1933, and the Tribe selected Officers and Mayordomos:

V. E. Roybal, President
Senobio Abalos {Interim Cacique}
Francisco Dominguez
Faustino Pedraza
Trinidad Calderon
Juan Fuentes
Hilario Apodaca
Donicio Parras
Maxsimania Paz
Vicente Roybal
Miguel B. Fierro.

In a 6 November 1932 meeting at Casa del Pueblo, the order of business was, "con el fin derisivir Baliadoras en el ano de 1932." The list of "Bailadoras Para el ano - Benidero" included:

1. Anita Castillo
2. Antonia Trujillo
3. Biatris Lopez
4. Cruz Contreras
5. Candelaria Abalos
Lorensa Hererra
Catarina Montoya
Soledad Miranda
Francisca Sombaso
Adela Gonzales
Maria Luisa
Aurora Hernandez.

On 31 December 1932/ 1 January 1933, at a Las Cruces meeting of the

Tribe at the Casiqua's house, funds were received to cover expenses of the Tribe, and a selection of Mayordomos:

V. E. Roybal, President
Senobio Abalos
R. M. Gonzalez
Francisco Dominguez
Balerio Albarez
Jose M. Gonzalez
Jose Angel Enriquez
Andrez Ochova
Trinidad Calderon
Sabino Parras
Juan Trujillo
Gabriel Hernandez
Saturnino Gonzalez
Alejandro Aragon
Juan Fuentes
Donicio Parras
Pete Cruz.

On 2 April 1933, there was a meeting of the Pueblo's officers at Casa Del Pueblo, Guadalupe, N. M. meeting of the Tribe.

On 14 May 1933, at a Guadalupe, N. M. meeting of the Tribe, funds were received to cover expenses of the Tribe for the Fiesta of the Virgen.

There was a 4 June 1933, Guadalupe, N. M. meeting of the Tribe.

At a meeting held 6 August 1933, the Casa del Pueblo at Guadalupe, the following leaders were present:

Francisco Dominguez
V. E. Roybal, President
Senobio Abalos
Faustino Pedraza
Jose M. Gonzalez
R. M. Gonzalez
Jose Gonzalez
Trinidad Calderon
Saturnino Gonzalez
Juan Trujillo
Juan Fuentes
Vicente Roybal.

At meetings held 6 August and 10 September, 1933, at the Casa del Pueblo, there was discussion of building needs for the community; indeed, many of the meetings centered on specific needs for supplies, like timber and adobes, or on rental arrears of members or tenants in the Pueblo; also, there were records of contributions of labor.

At a meeting held 1 October 1933, at the home of the Casiqua in Las Cruces, ballots were taken for the election in which the following Majordomos were selected:

V. E. Roybal, President
Senobio Abalos
Francisco Dominguez
Faustino Pedraza
R. M. Gonzalez
Gabriel Hernandes

Jose M. Gonzalez
Andres Ochova
Inacio Pena
Juan Fuentes
Saturnino Gonzalez
Juan Trujillo
Jose Angel Enriques
Trinidad Calderon
Alejandro Arragon.

On 14 October 1933, President Victor Roybal sent a late-rent notice to Jose Paz and Dario Silva on their unit at Lot No. 4 Block No. 23, which they had rented September 1927, at the rate of $1.50/month and on which they then owed $108.00.

At a meeting held 5 November 1933, at the Casa del Pueblo, the following Captains were selected:

Francisco Dominguez
V. E. Roybal, President
R. M. Gonzalez
Senobio Abalos
Faustino Pedraza
Trinidad Calderon
Juan Fuentes
Andres Ochova
Juan Trujillo
Rosario Gonzalez
Gabriel Hernandez
Sabino Parra
Jose M. Gonzalez
Saturnino Gonzalez
Balerio Albarres
Vicente Roybal.

On 31 December 1933/ 1 January 1934, at a Las Cruces meeting of the Tribe at the Casiqua's house, funds were received to cover expenses of the Tribe, and a selection of Mayordomos, including a replacement for the post of Jose Paz.

V. E. Roybal, President
Francisco Dominguez (First Captain)
Jesus Jojola (Second Captain)
Vicente Roybal (Third Captain)
Ignacio Pena (Fourth Captain)
Alejandro Arragon (Fifth Captain)
Miguel B. Fierro (Comicionado Sivil)
R. M. Gonzalez
Jose M. Gonzalez
Juan Trujillo
Andres Ochova
Saturnino Gonzalez
Sabino Parra
Trinidad Calderon
Juan Fuentes
Jesus Jojola
Ignacio Pena

Alejandro Arragon.

At a meeting held 5 May 1934, at the Casa del Pueblo, a census was taken of the members of the Pueblo for the year. Other set of business meeting minutes (dealing with such matters as assigning the work duties of the Tribe) exist for 3 June 1934, 1 July 1934, 19 August 1934, 7 October 1934, at Casa del Pueblo. Majordomos were commissioned at a meeting in Casa del Pueblo 2 September 1934.

At a meeting held 4 November 1934, at the Casa del Pueblo, ballots were taken for the election of 12 December 1934 in which the following Captains were selected, and discussion of the Bailadoras:

V. E. Roybal, President
R. M. Gonzalez
Francisco Dominguez
Alejandro Arragon
Jose M. Gonzalez
Trinidad Calderon
Miguel Fierro
Inacio Pena
Juan Fuentes
Jose Jojola
Balerio Albarres
Juan Trujillo
Sabino Parra
Vicente Roybal
Andres Ochova
Simon Gameza.

On 31 December 1934/ 1 January 1935, at a Las Cruces meeting of the Tribe at the Casique's house, the Tribe selected Mayordomos:

V. E. Roybal, President
R. M. Gonzalez
Faustino Pedraza
Francisco Dominguez
Miguel Fierro
Sabino Parras
Andrez Ochova
Jose M. Gonzalez
Balerio Albarez
Manuel Teller
Saturnino Gonzalez
Jose Jojola.

In meetings on 10 February 1935 and 7 April 1935, at the Casa del Pueblo, the Majordomos reported on their activities, including such things as road projects.

In 1935, C. P.Loomis and O.E. Leonard published sketched living conditions of members in the Pueblo (in "Standards of Living in an Indian-Mexican Village and on a Reclamation Project," U. S. Dept. of Ag. Farm Security Administration and Bureau of Ag. Economic Cooperating, Social Research Report No. XIV, Washington, D. C., August 1938):

> Ramon Salvador [fictitious names were used in the report; see fn. 9, p. 9] had 6 persons living in his house. Of the $247 that represented the total family earnings, almost 50 percent went for food. Ramon fed the household on $23.50 per person for the year, his three most

> important items of expenditure being $42 for flour, $32 for lard, and $26 for beans (Loomis and Leonard 1938: 9) . . .
>
> Señor and Senora Padilla, together with their 6 children, lived in a one-room adobe, measuring 15 by 20 feet. They had no floors save the hard surface of the earth. Had they possessed a southern exposure to admit the warmth of the sun, the lack of flooring might not have been so serious; but unfortunately their bootlegger predecessors had the southern door sealed with a 2-foot adobe wall [apocryphal]. Therefore, as shoes were unattainable on their $400-a-year income, their barefooted children shivered in the cold house all through the winter. Fortunately it was usually warm outside in the sunshine (p. 10).

That last fact afforded little comfort during rainy seasons.

Furnishings typically were inadequate in Tortugas. Wood stoves were the heating and cooking in 34% of the families; two families used fireplaces, and one had both. Thirty-six of the homes used kerosene lamps, while "one had electric lights and a radio, but none possessed a telephone and all of the families carried water from outside wells" (p. 10). Education attainment was a major problem, even after the years of Indian school for the former generation (Loomis and Leonard 1938: 16):

> When the Tortugas child enters school he must learn a new language. He does this in a surprisingly short time even though his customary speech at home and at play is the Spanish spoken by his parents. His home life is likely to furnish a poor educational background as the father in the average household has completed less than two, and the mother less than three, grades in school.
>
> Sixty-seven children over 6 years of age who were living at home were not attending school at the time the survey was made. Six had never attended school, and one-half of those who had been in school had failed to complete more than the fourth grade. Children in the early grades of school are apparently retarded (Table 6), a condition that is due in some measure at least to irregular diet.

The role of family, social, and economic factors, health, diet and other reasons for irregular school attendance or achievement received no attention in this study.

Following several relatively quiet years of struggle during the Great Depression, in which the rabbit hunts became fundamentally necessary to the members' survival, Vicente Roybal became Cacique on Cinco de Mayo, 1935: a propitious day, or perhaps only a coincidence, or a holiday for members generally, perhaps [See Document 24: Corporation Minutes, 5 May, 1935].

> Meeting held as is the custom of the Pueblo.
>
> The first order of business was to inform the members of the Pueblo what had been decided -- that Senobio Avalos had retired as Interim Cacique in favor of Vicente Roybal who will be in charge of the general meetings this year. This closed the meeting until the coming meeting.

In meetings on 14 July 1935, 1 September 1935, 12 September 1935, at the Casa del Pueblo, the Majordomos reported on their activities, including such things as road projects.

At a meeting held 13 October, 1935, at the home of the Casique in Las Cruces to select the Majordomos for 1936:

> V. E. Roybal, President
> Senobio Abalos
> Francisco Dominguez

Faustino Pedraza
R. M. Gonzalez
Jose M. Gonzalez
Vicente Roybal
Trinidad Calderon
Andrez Ochova
Sabino Parras
Catarino Grijalba
Juan Trujillo
Juan Fuentes
Balerio Albarez
Alejandro Aragon
Saturnino Gonzalez
Donicio Parras.

There was meeting 3 November, 1935, at the home of the Casique in Las Cruces to deal with the arrangement of dances for December 12.

In the Loomis and Leonard study of Tortugas, "Standards of Living in an Indian-Mexican Village and on a Reclamation Project," U. S. Dept. of Ag. Farm Security Administration and Bureau of Ag. Economic Cooperating, Social Research Report No. XIV, Washington, D. C., August 1938, the first chapter was, "A Study of Tortugas, an Indian-Mexican Village." This included a history, a study of economic conditions, demographic and sociological, living standards, education, and community participation. The Foreword is interesting in that it not only talked about the community as an aboriginal tribal group, but contrasted it as well with a non-Indian subject community. It is important to observe that the authors acknowledge the distinction between the 37 Indian families living in Tortugas and the remaining, predominantly Mexican/ non-Indian families (53 out of 90 in the latter category; p. 5). The authors stated:

> In this report appear level-of-living studies of two very dissimilar types of communities. It is because the communities are so dissimilar that the analyses of them are presented under one cover. One of them is the study of 37 families living in a Mexican village made up of families who are a part of a culture that has been in existence for probably a thousand years. The other is a study of 65 families living in a community established a little less than a decade ago on a Reclamation project, the families having come from various geographic sections of the Nation, each family carrying with it the habits, attitudes, and customs of its old location. This particular study has to do largely with the material elements in the family levels of living in the two communities, although some description is given of the non-material elements in their level of living as necessary orientations to the obvious differences in the two communities.
>
> The reader may wonder why no description is given concerning the cultural background of the Tule Lake community similar to the one given of Tortugas in Chapter I of the study. The answer to such an query is that the highly rationalized and planned development of the Reclamation community, Tule Lake, precluded the possibility of such an old cultural background as existed in the case of Tortugas: automatically, therefore, it precluded the possibility of a description of such a background. The analysis of the Tortugas community, on the other hand, would be incomplete and the empirical data probably misinterpreted unless a

description of the cultural background were included.

> Two other studies in this series will deal with other aspects of the life of these two communities. . . . The [one in point] is "Social Relationships and Institutions in Three Established Rural Communities."

The study, though hardly created for the purpose of establishing a case for the existence of a Tribe, expressly talks about the Tribe as such, as distinct from the non-Indian contrasting group. The characterization of Tortugas as "Indian Mexican" has some explanation in this comment (p. 5):

> The first inhabitants of Tortugas were very largely of native Indian parentage. The present residents of the village are recognized as having more of what is essentially Indian in their physiological make-up than do the majority of Mexicans who now inhabit the Valley. However, as far as this investigation was able to determine, there are now only two persons in Tortugas whose lineage is entirely void of Spanish blood.

There is no indication of the basis of this "finding;" however, blood quanta and lineages indicated for previous generation of Piro-Manso-Tiwa school children in Las Cruces counter this conclusion, as do the authors' subsequent findings (pp. 17, ff.), regarding actual participation in what at the time were "Indians only" activities:

> The Native or pagan element is particularly marked among the Mexican Catholics whose ancestry is predominantly Indian and whose traditional heritage has been preserved. The Tortugas Indians fairly well represent a homogeneous strain of native ancestry. It is true that they are Catholics and as such worship and pay tribute as Catholics must; but in the conduct of their religious ceremonies and ritual they have retained much of the native custom, color, and manner. Thus we find them paying special tribute to their patron saint in Tortugas each year by means of a tribal dance and fire which illuminate the Tortugas Mountain (Loomis and Leonard 1938: 19).

The authors concluded that Tortugas, having started as a "native Indian village engaged in agriculture," had "lost the full bloom of its ancestral culture as the capitalistic form of agriculture and its concomitant, money economy, have deprived it first of its material possessions and then of its heritage" (p. 5). When children were shipped off to Indian boarding schools, continuity of participation in tribal culture and the passing on of tribal traditions was threatened. Upon the death of Caciqua Francesca Avalos Roybal, leadership was supposed to have gone to the eldest son of Felipe Roybal, Candelario Roybal, who resided in Guadalupe/Tortugas, and then moved to Albuquerque. Candelario Roybal, however, married a woman he met at the Indian School in Albuquerque, and he did not aspire to be Cacique due to the distance and commitments to his family. Victor Roybal, Sr. declined the position, and it passed on to Felipe's youngest son, Vicente, who served for over 40 years until his death in 1979 (Letter, February 2, 1991, Antonio Rey Mojaro to LCD Anniversary Edition.)

A brief sketch of the Piro-Manso-Tiwas and their neighbors in the Torgugas Pueblo follows (at pp. 1,2):

> Thirty-seven Indian-Mexican families, typical of the other farm laborers living along the Rio Grande in lower New Mexico, comprise the first group; and 65 families, almost exclusively farm operators, engaged in commercial large-scale agriculture in northeastern California and southwestern Oregon make up the second. Widely separated in space, different in cultural and racial heritage as well as the forces of

nature to which they must adjust themselves, these two groups are equally dependent upon the market. If the commercial farmer on the irrigation project in the Northwest cannot sell his products, he cannot pay his taxes, repair his machinery, or buy food for his table and clothes for his back. If the Mexican laborer cannot sell his only product, labor, he cannot buy the few dollars' worth of beans, flour, chili, and lard that keep his body and soul together.

The average total value of family living for the 37 Indian-Mexican families was $347. For the 65 Oregon-California families it was $2,843. Adding to this disparity was the larger household of the Indian-Mexican laborer, composed of 5.3 full-time residents as compared with 4.4 for the farm-operator group. In both groups most of the value of living was purchased, such purchases comprising 96 percent of the living of the laborers' families as compared with 80 percent of the farm operators' families. . . .

Of the 37 families in the study, two families had gardens and one operated a farm (p. 5.); further:

Food valued at $193 was consumed by the farm-laborer families [the highest income consumed $720 in goods and services; see p. 6] . . . Fifty-five percent of the entire value of living of the 37 farm-laborer families went for food, one-half of this being expended for purchases of flour, chili and beans . . .

Clothing cost the 37 farm-laborer families an average of $50 for the whole family as compared with an average of $219 for the 65 farm-operator families. . . . [representing 14 . . . percent . . . of the total values of family living. For health, births, and deaths, the proportions of the total values of family living allocated by the two groups varied less than for any other category. The farm-laborer families allocated 6 percent of the total value of family living, on the average, as compared with 5 percent for the farm operators.

Levels of living cannot be expressed in terms of dollars and cents. In the life of any person non-material elements may be just as important, or even more important, than food or wearing apparel. However, the traditional non-material culture of the Indian-Mexican farm laborer in the Valley of the Rio Grande is as frayed as his own ragged clothes, and the extent to which the remnants of the old culture may bolster up a lack of material well-being is a matter of conjecture. The commercialized agriculture upon which the individual is dependent today seems to offer little enough for either body or soul. On the other hand, the comparatively well-to-do commercial farmer on the Pacific coast can readily buy the material elements that compose his level of living. But whether he will ever be able to purchase the happiness and abandon which the Indian-Mexican derives from his tribal dance or rabbit hunt is a matter of speculation (Loomis and Leonard 1938: 1).

The concluding sentence contains an isolated mention of the importance of the rabbit hunts, though during the depression years, there is little doubt that is activity helped keep the families fed. The rabbit hunt was another aspect of Piro/ Manso/ Tiwa Indian culture which the mixed community at Tortugas Pueblo retained after the takeover of the Corporation by non-tribal people, though the practical aspects of the hunt largely had dissipated by the year 1946, after which the Piro/ Manso/ Tiwas, and others in their former Pueblo, had suspended the

practice (Patrick H. Beckett, "A Tiwa Rabbit Hunt as Held by the Tortugas Indians," AWANYO, 1974: 40).

Lamberto Trujillo recalled (Slagle: PMT Field Notes, 1990) that the practice of applying pesticides to a wide range of BLM lands and other range lands, as well as widening human occupation and increasing reluctance or hostility among non-Indian landowners to visitations by rabbit hunters. It appears that the ceremonial activity resurfaced as a cultural nostalgia at some point after 1952, at which time Hurt stated the hunts had been suspended since 1946 (Hurt 1952: 116).

The sociological field-work for the data for expenditures and income were for the year of 1935 (p. 4, fn. 4, citing Loomis, C. L., "Social Organization of Tortugas Indian Village," unpublished mscpt.) The study of Tortugas, "An Indian-Mexican Village," contains many editorial or descriptive features indicating a fundamental misconception of the authors regarding the Piro/ Manso/ Tiwa tribal center which still remained in the home of the Casiques in Las Cruces. Worse, the narrative portions betray an overt ethnic bias and racism, including subjective observations such the one on lack of information among members of the Pueblo regarding contraception: "Nor is such information particularly desired, for in a community of this sort [!] the economic and social uncertainties of daily living bring little real worry." This comment, in light of the findings of the study, ignores the profound influence of Roman Catholicism (the authors observe in passing, "As is usual in Mexican villages, the houses are grouped about the church," p. 5), on the "daily living" in this community, as well as the duress which deep poverty created in the community. Further, they beg the question on the importance of the ceremonial life:

> Needless to say, the tradition is losing much of its native flavor as the ceremony attracts more and more American spectators. With commercialization, the Indian is losing much of the natural spontaneity and genuine self-expression which characterized him in his native environment (Loomis and Leonard 1938: 20). [QUERY: IS THIS AN ACCURATE REFLECTION OF NON-INDIAN TAKEOVER AT THE TIME? APPARENTLY NOT; NON-INDIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE ACTUAL TRIBAL CEREMONIES AT THE TIME WERE MINIMAL].

See "Table 1.-Average value, per family and per adult male unit, of goods and services consumed, 37 farm-laborer families, Tortugas, New Mexico, 1935," p. 6; see also "Table 2.-Percentage distribution of total goods and services consumed, by value-of-living groups, 37 farm-laborer families, Tortugas, New Mexico, 1935" (p. 7.) The authors observe that these "farm laborers" had "contributed much to the success of the commercialized agriculture that now dominates the Valley" (p. 3), while value of goods consumed of comparable samples of "poverty families" living in Cuba and Appalachian Highlands were slightly higher (p. 6, fn. 4, continued, p. 7).

Noting the poverty-stricken conditions in the Tortugas Pueblo, and the subsistence on uncertain availability of work in cotton fields, truck farms and irrigated fields in the area, the authors admitted that kitchen gardens were hard to maintain in the absence of water (p. 3), and that the Tortugas community is a "landless proletariat" consisting "of an aggregate of farm laborers and their families" (p. 5); and, while:

> most of the inhabitants own the small adobe houses which they themselves built and in which they live, but the land upon which those houses stand is public property and the owners pay no taxes. The fertile valley . .

Exemption 6

. is owned by American farmers. The desert-like mesa to their north and east belongs to the Government and is worthless for agricultural purposes."

The diet of these Pueblo families was "slightly more than one-half of . . . [the authors' base-line] estimate for a restricted diet (p. 9)," consisting, apparently, primarily of beans and chili pepper (major source of vitamins A and C). Except for some scant goat-pasturage, whose brush and roots provided year-round fuel, there were scant other resources.

Loss of land following the influx of non-Indian settlers caused a change in status for the Piro/ Manso/ Tiwa in Mesilla Valley, while "He retained his group or community integrity because his dwelling, fortunately, had been built on uncultivable land. But his flocks soon disappeared as he lost title to grazing lands . . . (Loomis and Leonard 1938: 5). However, this rule did not necessarily apply in Las Cruces.

First, looking to the issue of lost lands, Louis Roybal recollects (Conn: PMT Field Notes, 1989):

> A lot of the old people died. Some had deeds, others did not. And when they died, in some cases the heirs, they never lived there and in some cases, the deeds were turned back to the tribe, in other cases they were not. The Corporation has them now. In some cases the taxes were not paid on the lot or property and then the state started selling a lot of the properties for non-payment of taxes. When this started to happen, a lot of people inside and outside started buying up some of the property and the tribe always being poor, no money, had no means of paying the taxes. So, problems about ownership and litigation arose. Questions as to who was the legal owner. My dad tried to recover some of these properties, to save them for tribal use, and I think the interpretation of the court was that we didn't own them.

In Las Cruces, the Tribe's core community continued in the presence of non-Indian neighbors as it had since at least 1848 on land owned by tribal members. The Las Cruces non-Indian neighbors of Indians in the core community knew the members of PMT Tribe living among them were Indians. The cobbler (b) (6) did, and the son of the cobbler is still living in Las Cruces, who has a show shop now on (b) (6) [Conn, Slagle: PMT Field Notes, 1989, from Louis Roybal]:

> There were Indian people here on Amador/Cordero; probably dead now. Can't remember first names. Others lived across the street from San Pedro/Amador, on Amador: the Barrio family. Maybe some Indian blood, but not active participants in the tribe, they're trying to get in now. They talk to Victor [Roybal, Jr.]. One [of them] might have made up the tribal roll. Our next door neighbor to the west was Miguel Nevarez, Justice of the Peace and City Judge. Their relations would know [they're non-Indian]. The ex-Governor of N. M., [Jerry] Apodaca, used to live on this site; Ray Apodaca [Jerry's father], related to us some way, knows we're Indian.

These families certainly experienced hard times, but many held onto at least part of their land through the 1960s. L. Roybal continued:

> At the corner of Amador and May St. was the home of a man named (b) (6) . (b) (6) , and one of his sons married one of (b)(6) Knows we're Indians. Right next to him, corner of May and S. San Pedro, the (b) (6) , non-Indians. (b) (6) (b) (6) was some sort of teacher. All of this was from the 20s to the

50s, maybe up to the 60s.

Some of these neighbors, by local standards, certainly were prosperous.

The local labor market, even in prosperous years, according to Loomis, was "scarcely adequate to maintain the village level of living, low as it is. Other sources must be tapped for additional capital, particularly since land on which the families might produce part of their living is not available" (p. 12):

> For several years preceding this study Government projects provided much of the supplementary income reported by the families. Wages, which constituted 78 percent of all cash receipts, were almost 50 percent attributable to public works. . . . Gifts, loans, and, in a few instances, the sale of farm products were other sources from which funds were derived (Table 4). Actual cash relief went to 5 percent of the families. The average family received goods of a non-monetary nature valued at $23, the surplus commodities distributed by the Government amounting to $3 and the contributions of local charities and relief, $20. Thus cash relief, work on Government projects, and gifts of a non-monetary nature amounted to $168 per family. Donations of cash from family members and other persons, none of whom were living in the house, came to another $48 [including $13 from the sale of livestock, poultry, and garden produce of three families; see fn. 2, p. 18]. Of the total receipts, 97 percent was absorbed by family living. One percent went for investments, most of which could be ascribed to premiums on the life insurance policies held by 7 of the families [See "Table 4.-Average amounts and percentage distribution of all cash receipts and expenditure, 37 farm-labor families, Tortugas, New Mexico, 1935," p. 18].

Further, due to the lack of gardens and livestock, the Tortugas Pueblo had the same problems as Las Cruces or other urban counterparts would have had, requiring them to follow:

> the pattern of the urban family until the children are old enough to sell their labor. Hence the larger the number of young children, the more difficult it is to obtain necessary food, shelter, and clothing. The large families . . . had to skimp even on the necessities. They spent only $47 per adult male unit for food as contrasted with $64 for the smaller families (Table 5). The value of housing and maintenance per adult male unit for large families, $11, was one-half that for small families, $23 (p. 14).

On aspects of the material culture such as clothing, Loomis and Leonard noted, "the influx of industrially-made cloth and other products discouraged the handicrafts of weaving, pottery, basket-making, and wood carving" (p. 5), and elsewhere added:

> Not so many years ago, comparatively speaking, the natives of Tortugas wore the handmade bonnets and native Indian dress of their ancestors. In those times, when the Indians went through their tribal ceremonies, indigenous clothes and dance made an integrated whole. But nowadays, though the same dances persist in the ceremonies that are held in December of every year, rags from cotton mills 2,000 miles away and a few worn and bedraggled survivals of tribal garb combine to create a picture that is at one grotesque and pathetic.
>
> According to the families included in the study, 14 percent of all their expenditures went for the modern work clothes and shoes that have

> replaced the traditional tribal dress. As the active head of the household must be clad, $21 was spent for clothes for men less than 45 years old,; $12 sufficed for those more than 44 years of age [see "Table 3.-Average cost of clothing for parents and offspring, by sex and age, 37 farm-laborer families, Tortugas, New Mexico, 1935," p. 11]. Obviously, no suits or silk shirts could be bought on any such annual expenditures. Women fared worse. On the average those under 45 years old spent $11 and those over 44 years, $6. There could be no spring hats on budgets of this kind; only the men could afford hats or caps. Out of the total clothing expenditure for 11 random families, footwear claimed the largest proportion, 34 percent; work clothes were next, accounting for 30 percent; and underwear was third with 10 percent (Table 18-A).
>
> Although the people in this Pueblo had little income for medical services, in the period of study, Loomis found that doctor fees claimed 60% of all expenditures for health, births and deaths, and that 11% of the payments in this category went for patent medicines. Each family paid an average of $20, or 6 % of the entire income, for the costs of births, health, and burial (p. 11). The Caciques, including Vicente Roybal (for whom we have specific data, Interview) served as a traditional doctor for the Tribe in Las Cruces, and his services were being used in this period for such things as bonesetting, chiropractic work, and the administration of herbal medicines. Members of the tribe continue to be aware of the use of certain herbs (Interview).

Loomis and Leonard isolated a category of "advancement" expenses, including payments for formal education, reading, social participation, theaters, movies, and the like (p. 11):

> Before the Tortugas families for their forbears gave up their old Indian and Mexican culture in favor of the new, they spent very little for those items. Even today disbursements for "advancement" are almost negligible, averaging only $6, or 2 percent of all expenditures, per family.

Oddly, however, the individual costs of participation in the Fiestas and general tribal activities in Tortugas and in the Pueblo in Las Cruces, including "almas," fees, fines and dues, are listed in many sets of tribal records as obligatory on tribal members, as was contributed labor, suggesting similarities to the "cargo" system of many traditional Mexican Indian communities, even today. These expenditures, including public and private devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe, were part of gaining and maintaining status in the community, and with God. It is appropriate here to describe the original Guadalupe Day Fiesta, which persists on a sporadic basis distinct from the Tortugas fiestas. These matters will received detailed attention in a separate section below on ceremonial activities, distinguishing PMT from Tortugas and others.

Nine families owned cars, and spent an average of $39/year for operation and maintenance, and "owners of automobiles [stood] high in the modern social scale. Since the old Indian hierarchy based on inherited status and achievement has disappeared from Tortugas, money income and the conspicuous consumption it makes possible have created a basis for a new order" (p. 12). The authors beg the question of the disappearance of traditional values and the importance of inherited status in the Pueblo. Particularly of interest is the question which tribal members had drivers' licenses and who had cars in this period, in Tortugas and in Las Cruces [NOTE: see DMV or tax records,

photos, etc.]

Interestingly, the basis of the incipient new order in the Pueblo to which the authors refer may, indeed have been based in part on conspicuous consumption, is attributed to unknown individuals in Tortugas, not to the Tribe and its traditional leaders, who still lived in Las Cruces. The authors' conclusion that the traditional tribal hierarchy had utterly eroded from Tortugas, let alone from the core Pueblo in downtown Las Cruces, ignored the structure of the Tribal government, itself, and the bureaucracy operative in Tortugas. The cost of incidentals, such as gifts, tobacco, candy, soda-fountain expenditures, liquor, toilet articles, and personal care, with the reputed average use of $2 for pleasure travel, personal taxes, and mortgages (p. 12).

Of perhaps tangential interest was the range of other beliefs in Tortugas, as shared or not shared with the core P/M/T and non-Indian population in the area, including such things as vows (example: vows to Guadalupe, Escapula, or Augustin, among Indians as well as non-Indians in the Las Cruces area), ritual processions (to honor Guadalupe, or the like, shared among Catholics in the area), smokes/humeras (primarily or exclusively Indian in the rabbit hunts or processions or blessings), sings, ritual numbers (the Tribe uses the number four primarily, whereas the primarily Mexican Roman Catholics prefer three, and have superimposed this on the native preference in the transmogrified Tortugas versions of PMT ceremonies), gift-giving and receiving (as in vesting of officers with symbols of office) to ritually obligate them, or the cigarette gifts to honor a Cacique when visiting his jurisdiction, and prevalence of belief in witchcraft, or attribution of the practice of witchcraft, among the Tortugas community, which Oppenheimer found. It is unclear whether he even asked about witchcraft in Las Cruces, but the only mention of witchcraft was in Tortugas and attributed to Mexican redheads. On the other hand, among Indians in the area there was attribution of good medicine practice at Isleta and Sandia and the interest of practitioners there in occurrences in Tortugas. Hispanic Catholics (not members of the P/M/T) in the area generally believed in the efficacy of a pilgrimage to a statue of Christ at the junction of New Mexico, Texas and Chihuahua (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957, p. 118, ff.)

TORTUGAS DURING LATE YEARS OF ASSOCIATION WITH THE CORE COMMUNITY

Loomis (1940) compared the economic conditions at Tortugas with those of other "artificially constructed communities" in some detail during the 1930s (see 'Foreword,' by Carl C. Tailor, Loomis, 1940). Tailor observed of Loomis's work as a sociologist:

> In his attempt to discover how a community grows in terms of its intimate associational life he generally has to depend upon historic records, interviews with "old settlers," and sometimes folklore and even legend. During the last six years a number of Subsistence Homesteads and Resettlement communities have been constructed from the ground up, so to speak. Their members are selected from diverse areas and for the most part are not acquainted with each other when they move into the new communities. Thus, communities whose physical structure is definitely determined in advance must go through the processes of forming their own formal and informal associational patterns.

The importance of this second Research Report on Tortugas is that it purports

to study comparatively the "extent and the characteristics of social participation previous to and after resettlement, and the configurations of informal associations . . ." in a study including mostly non-Indian settlements, including a number of newly-created settlements (Loomis 1940: Foreword). South Holland, Illinois and Tortugas, New Mexico served as control settlements, because they were not "constructed communities" for the study (Loomis 1940: 6, Fig. 1). The Loomis (1940) study compared data for four "control communities," defined as "communities which grew of themselves," with "constructed communities." Proposed follow-up studies to not appear to have occurred. The report attempted "to set a bench mark measuring quantitatively and objectively the extent of social participation among the families on seven resettlement projects previous to and after resettlement." This followed, in the case of the Tortugas community of 1935, a study of economic conditions and "level of living."

In 1938, at the time of the survey, Tortugas, New Mexico was found to have contained 100 households/families, and 300 individuals, and of these, 33 households provided interview subjects; there were 91 children under age 15, and 22 over age 15 (Loomis 1940: 5, Table 1). The Loomis study apparently does not strictly distinguish between subjects who were Indian and non-Indian, between members of the Corporation and non-members at the time, between Indians who were members of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe and Indians who belonged to some other tribe, if any. Loomis's primary concern was with the community or Pueblo as a whole, assuming membership from residency, and family affiliations. It appears unlikely that Loomis would have excluded or ignored members of the Tribe in a sampling of nearly 1/3 of the population, but by the nature of his study, Loomis attempted to include as large a sampling of households as possible, and about 1/3 of the total Tortugas population, while excluding unmarried adult individuals. Loomis did not purport to investigate the direct relationships between Tortugas and the core community in Las Cruces, though he undoubtedly was aware of the connection. In the cases of the subject communities of Bosque and Cumberland, Loomis did examine interactions between the subject communities and neighboring communities which had been the points of origin for the "created communities" of Bosque and Cumberland (Loomis 1940: references appear throughout study).

Loomis reported:

> Tortugas is typical of many Mexican villages of farm laborers in the Rio Grande Valley. . . . in terms of material goods and services consumed, the level of living of this group was one of the lowest ever reported in the United States. <u>But in terms of non-material cultural heritage from Indian forebears the village is not so poverty stricken.</u> This Catholic community of farm laborers, almost entirely dependent upon the labor market and public relief for its existence, stands in sharp contrast to the group of cosmopolitan, well-to-do farmers in Klamath Falls. [Emphasis added.]

At the pre-WWII date of the Loomis field studies, then, the Tortugas village, as an extension of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa core community, was impoverished, except in maintaining aspects of Indian cultural heritage.

Loomis was concerned with sociable and cooperative activities in his control groups, including Tortugas, and used the control groups as a standard against which to compare the "created groups," observing:

> The importance of such a problem cannot be overestimated when one realizes that the development of the human personality is largely

> dependent upon reciprocity of relationships and social stimulation. People not privileged to have such associations in their local neighborhood must be considered as disadvantaged. (Loomis 1940: 22).

Particularly, the "extent of unorganized participation" was an important part of this inquiry, consisting of "sociability and cooperativeness, the visiting, exchange of work, and borrowing activities . . ." (Loomis 1940: 23). He observed, "At Tortugas the farm laborers had so little land that there was little borrowing or change of work. For the resettlement projects, however, the indexes proved more meaningful." Still, in his "Table 7.-Percentage of interviewed families who reported that at least one other family visited, borrowed farm implements, or exchanged work with them, at time of study and previous to settlement, 1 reclamation and 7 resettlement projects and 4 control groups," Loomis reported that at Tortugas, of 33 families interviewed, 89% reported visits, 11% reported exchange of work with other individuals, and 14% reported borrowing.

In the "Appendix/Supplementary Table/ Table 30.-Total number of associating families reported by interviewed families, at time of study and previous to settlement, . . ." at Tortugas, Loomis reported that of the types of associations evaluated, 102 families visited, 7 families exchanged work, 7 families borrowed, and 151 carried on no associations at all ("Do not visit, exchange work, or borrow although living close together."--fn. 2), at least within the subject area of the study, namely, Tortugas. The study did not extend formally beyond the borders of Tortugas, as the studies of Bosque and Cumberland extended to their "neighborhoods" and points of origin. This limitation in the research methodology renders the utility of the Loomis study relatively less important than evidence of associations among residents of the core neighborhood in Las Cruces and the Tortugas satellite.

Since many of the elected religious and secular officers of the Tribe in Las Cruces and of the Corporation in village of Tortugas always lived in Las Cruces until the break between the Tribe and the Corporation, and were known to meet there, the known close ties between tribal members and the core community are even more significant, in light of the Loomis study's findings of relatively few interactions among families residing in Tortugas. The Loomis study does not reflect such tribal and corporation-related activities as work on community and tribal projects, work details or assessments for building projects, visiting related to church projects and commitments and the like (1940: 23), but mentions, in passing only, that most non-church social participation involved the "annual tribal dance festivities" (Loomis 1940: 64). The larger created settlements reported higher percentages of such visiting, exchanging of work, and borrowing.

Loomis also was concerned with "overlapping of informal relationships as an indication of integrations." He observed:

> Visiting is predominantly a social relationship and may have little economic significance. Borrowing and exchanging work, however, are predominantly economic activities, though they usually do have certain sociological implications. If the families who make up the primary face-to-face group contacts of a given family all visit, exchange work, and borrow farm implements, one with another, the informal group life may be considered intensive. If, however, the family chooses associates or stands in mutual relationship to families who do not in turn associate among themselves, then the informal group life may be considered largely atomized. Theoretically, in a completely atomized society the individual

> would choose his relationships in such a way as to attain his own ends regardless of anything which in other societies might be called bonds or ties. In case there existed such atomized societies, a given family would probably not visit, borrow, and exchange work with another given family merely because the families were related by kinship, long-standing friendship, or by various types of compatibility. On the other hand, it may probably be assumed that there is a high degree of integration if, in a group of families who require assistance in several types of activities, all such assistance is obtained from or within the same group of families. (Loomis 1940: 24).

Loomis found that settler families tended to associate more on the project than they did previous to settlement for the most part. Informal social relationships were found to have cooperative economic aspects more frequently among new residents in the projects than did social relationships of those same residents in their former communities (1940: 24). On the other hand, "Since families in the control communities exchanged work or borrowed less frequently, there was not so much overlapping in their relationships with visiting families as in the case of the resettlement families."

In his "Figure 4.-Overlapping of relationships as indicated by percentage of families visiting interviewed families who had specified additional relationships, at time of study and previous to settlement, 1 reclamation and 7 resettlement projects and 4 control groups," Loomis reported that at Tortugas, 2% not only visited, but borrowed and exchanged, while 2% visited and borrowed only, 2% exchanged work and visited only, and 94% reported visits only. Again, the study does not reflect in detail such tribal and corporation-related activities as work on community and tribal projects, work details or assessments for building projects, visiting related to church projects and commitments and the like (1940: 23, 64). The created settlements reported higher percentages of such overlapping of visiting, exchanging of work, and borrowing, while the non-Indian control group reported the smallest overlap of all the groups. The number of families who participated in either of the two economic activities of borrowing and exchanging work but who did not visit was small, because the activities almost always went together: "economic participation of this nature is usually accompanied by social participation."

In his "Figure 5.-Overlapping of relationships as indicated by percentage of families exchanging work with interviewed families who had specified additional relationships, at time of study and previous to settlement, I reclamation and 7 resettlement projects and 4 control groups," Loomis reported that at Tortugas, fewer than 15 families were involved in work exchange relationships. Again, the study does not reflect such tribal and corporation-related activities as work on community and tribal projects, work details or assessments for building projects, visiting related to church projects and commitments and the like (1940: 26).

Blood kinship was found to be a "more significant factor in the informal group life of . . . the Indian-Mexican village of Tortugas," than in other communities in the study. In the Tortugas study, 41% of those who visited interviewed families were kin to those they visited. Loomis suggested that "perhaps, . . . one of the significant differences in community organization in the older established areas . . . and the newer areas . . . may be traced to the more significant influence of kinship as a bond in the former" (Loomis 1940: 32). In his "Table 9.-Percentage of families related by blood to the

interviewed family with whom they had specified associations, previous to settlement, 1 reclamation and 7 resettlement projects and 4 control groups," Loomis reported that at Tortugas, in addition to the 41% who were visited by kin in the community, 86% exchanged work with those kin who visited them, and 43% borrowed from kin who visited them (total of 15 cases involved; Loomis 1940: 33).

In his "Table 10.-Percentage of visiting families reported as having specified blood relationship with the interviewed families, at the time of study and previous to settlement, 1 reclamation and 7 resettlement projects and 4 control groups," Loomis reported that at Tortugas, 17% of visits were from a parent, 14% from a sibling, 2% from a nephew or niece, 3% from an uncle or aunt, 12% from some other family relation, and 59% from unrelated individuals. Relative to the other control group, South Holland, the ratio of kin-visits to total visits was 59% vs. 36%. However, in South Holland, blood ties were "relatively important, associating families had blood relationships with non-associating kin who lived close by (Loomis 1940: 34).

In his "Table 11.-Percentage of families whose children played with those of the interviewed family with whom they had specified associations, previous to settlement, 1 reclamation and 7 resettlement projects and 4 control groups," Loomis reported that at Tortugas, such relationships existed for 56% of families who exchanged visits, for all who exchanged work, for 75% of those that borrowed, while no such relationships existed for 31%. Having comparable ages among children tended to result in many life-long relationships and "closer community integration as the community becomes older, for among older people community ties established in childhood may be particularly strong, especially where kinship strengthens the bond" (Loomis 1940: 35).

Loomis and Leonard (1938) and Loomis (1940) offer little to help one distinguish between Piro/Manso/Tiwa and other Tortugas interview subjects in their studies. There was a loose boundary between San Juan and Guadalupe, a "Mexican" division and an "Indian" division to Tortugas, but Loomis's findings do not consider such distinctions. The distance in miles between homes of associating families varied from .5 miles to .10 miles, while the average distance was .5 miles (see Loomis 1940: 36, "Table 12.-Average distance in miles between homes of visiting families and nearest non-associating families, at time of study and previous to settlement, 1 reclamation and 7 resettlement projects and 4 control groups.") Interestingly, non-associating families averaged a distance of .1 miles from the homes of other Tortuguenos, which was the same as the average reported distance of the interview subjects from "places of religious organizations attended by families" (Loomis 1940: 67, Table 26). The church and its associated buildings was located in what some have referred to as the "Mexican" side of the Pueblo. The geographical factor of distance was more important in determining associations as the resettlement projects than in Tortugas or South Holland. Tortuguenos were found to have common organizational participation, in that all the visiting families attended the same church, reflecting a high degree of homogeneity in study-year of 1938: a matter of particular importance, in Loomis's view, because "few processes in social change are of more far-reaching importance than secularization" (Loomis 1940: 37).

In "Table 20.-Average number of meetings of formal community organizations attended annually by husbands and wives, at time of study and

previous to settlement, 1 reclamation and 7 resettlement projects and 4 control groups," Loomis reported attendance by husbands and wives separately. For wives, he reported an average of 46.9 meetings attended annually (total), 37.1 attended annually (church), 9.8 (Sunday school), and no attendance (0) at meetings of young people's organizations or other religious organizations. For husbands, he reported an average of 33.1 meetings attended annually (total), 27.6 attended annually (church), 5.4 (Sunday school), and no attendance (0) at meetings of young people's organizations or other religious organizations (Loomis 1940: 52).

In his "Figure 10.-Average number of meetings of religious organizations attended annually by parents, at the time of study and previous to settlement, 1 reclamation and 7 resettlement projects and 4 control groups," Loomis reported that at Tortugas, 40 was the average number of meetings attended by parents (1940: 54). Like the South Hollanders, these "highly religious" Tortugueno "Indian-Mexican farmers" were more involved in these activities than were members of any of the other study groups, with their "highly rationalized, mechanized, and commercialized enterprises." The participation level was only higher (in frequency) at South Holland, Indiana.

In his "Table 21.-Annual participation of husbands and wives in religious organizations, at time of study and previous to settlement, 1 reclamation and 7 resettlement projects and 4 control groups," distinguishing husbands from wives, Loomis reported the following regarding husbands at Tortugas:

> Church -- 72.7% attending, 38.0% average attendance
> Sunday School -- 21.2% attending, 25.7% average attendance
> Young people's organization -- 0% attending, 0% average attendance
> other religious organization -- 0% attending, 0% average attendance
> (1940: 56).

Loomis reported the following at Tortugas (wives):

> Church -- 97.0% attending, 38.3% average attendance
> Sunday School -- 33.3% attending, 29.4% average attendance
> Young people's organization -- 0% attending, 0% average attendance
> other religious organization -- 0% attending, 0% average attendance
> (1940: 56).

The wives were more likely to attend than their spouses, as a part of community participation and religious instruction; however, again, the study makes no distinction among ceremonial activities, the rigorous requirements for participation in certain kinds of events, or the like. Loomis indicated that, "Of the control communities, only South Holland with its all-encompassing religious program reported persons attending these miscellaneous church meetings," such as Sunday school, special bible classes, young people's organizations, choral societies, and meetings of other church groups (Loomis 1940: 59).

Kinship was the strongest indicator of associations among the Tortugas study group (Loomis 1940:48, note 5), more significantly so than lifelong bonding started among children of a similar age.

In "Table 19.-Average number of meetings of formal community organizations attended annually by offspring, at time of study and previous to settlement, 1 reclamation and 7 resettlement projects and 4 control groups," Loomis reported an average of 46.9 meetings attended annually (total), 39.8 attended annually (church), 7.1 (Sunday school), and no attendance (0) at meetings of young people's organizations or other religious

organizations (Loomis 1940: 51).

In his "Figure 9.-Average number of meetings of religious organizations attended annually by offspring living at home, at the time of study and previous to settlement, 1 reclamation and 7 resettlement projects and 4 control groups," Loomis reported that at Tortugas, 45.4 was the average number of meetings attended by offspring living at home (1940: 53).

In his "Table 22.-Annual participation of offspring in religious organizations, at time of study and previous to settlement, 1 reclamation and 7 resettlement projects and 4 control groups," distinguishing children under 15 from those over 15, Loomis reported the following at Tortugas (Children under 15):

Church -- 96.7% attending, 37.0% average attendance
Sunday School -- 31.9% attending, 29.4% average attendance
Young people's organization -- 0% attending, 0% average attendance
other religious organization -- 0% attending, 0% average attendance
(1940: 57).

Loomis reported the following at Tortugas (Children over 15):

Church -- 95.5% attending, 41.8% average attendance
Sunday School -- 27.3% attending, 26.0% average attendance
Young people's organization -- 0% attending, 0% average attendance
other religious organization -- 0% attending, 0% average attendance
(1940: 57).

The younger generation attended primarily with their own families, as a part of community participation and religious instruction; however, the study makes no distinction among ceremonial activities, which may be important in view of the tribal practice of excluding one gender or non-initiates or children from certain religious observances or meetings, or rather, of reserving certain ceremonies for specific groups or functionaries.

At Tortugas, where church activity dominated informal social participation at the time of 1938 and everything seemingly revolved around religious activity, no visiting families had common membership in non-church organizations, whereas in the highly secularized community on one of the resettlement projects, the percentage was 50% (Loomis 1940: 43). Further, the individual Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribal member or Tortuguenos' level of participation in ceremonial and religious activities of the Tribe at Tortugas (that is, relating to the Corporation, reflecting the Tribe's influence on customs) was partly linked to elective office or periodic appointment as ceremonial participant or leader. Not everyone necessarily had to prepare for or participate directly in any one year's activities, so results had to be skewed if actual tribal ceremonial participants and leaders were contacted. Indeed, Loomis reported: "In . . . Tortugas, where social participation was predominantly in church organizations, smaller percentages of residents held office than was the case for the settlers during the year before their move to the various projects" (1940: 69), and Table 28 (Loomis 1940: 70) indicates that only 3.03% of husbands, and 0% of wives, held any offices in the formal community organizations (all tribal-traditional or church-related) among the Tortugueno interviewees contacted. The Cacigua Francesca Avalos Roybal, on the other hand, had served as Regenta in earlier years while her brother, Senovio, acted as interim Cacique. This apparent absence of female participation in leadership or organizing does not consider the roles of wives of elected or appointed officers; for it appears that generally spouses operated as teams, while only men held office.

Tortugueno parents reported absolutely no meetings of non-religious organizations at the time of the study (Loomis 1940: Figure 11). Loomis's study, again, does not distinguish traditional tribal religious activities from those which were derived solely from the Church, or those related to subsistence-gathering.

The intensity of full religious participation of the average individual Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribal member (as indicated in the number of days involved in attending any single ceremony, the number of days of home-preparation for ceremonial events, making of regalia, cooking and the like required for the Guadalupe Day and other festivals) is not reflected in Loomis's study, either. Subjectively, miles of walking over rough terrain in the Guadalupe Day events, dance practicas, and the recovery-time involved in several nights and days of such activities appears more demanding than, say, weekly choral society practices, or other more conventional religious activities of mainstream christian groups. Frequency of events and frequency of participation were the sole indicators Loomis studied. Loomis did nothing to distinguish tribal-only from Tortugas-community-wide observances, noting that the Cacique's observances with the Captains were often separate from the general community observances. The tribal members' level of participation in ceremonial rabbit-hunts on weekends and similar non-church subsistence-related but traditionally-run activities is not apparent in Loomis and Leonard's work. At Tortugas, though Indians started the church and community, non-Indians participated as well, and adoptees came into the Tribe through their own Church activity or participation, or through their adoption by members of the Tribe in infancy.

In "Table 25.-Average number of meetings available to persons reporting availability, at the time of study and previous to settlement, 1 reclamation and 7 resettlement projects and 4 control groups," Loomis reported that at Tortugas, 4 was the average number of church meetings, and 2.3 was the average number of Sunday school meetings, reported available to persons reporting availability (1940: 65). There were no formal young people's organizations, fraternal, PTA, Home Demonstration, Farm Bureau or Grange, 4-H Club, or cooperative organizations available in Tortugas. What this study does not appear to consider is the availability of meeting opportunities outside the village.

In discussing the holding of, or "common possession of property as a social bond," Loomis expected "solidarity and homogeneity to be pronounced when land and other property is held in common in some form of tenure arrangement" (1940: 43; see Table 16, p. 44). Tortugas and one other study group had almost no instance of such an arrangement; however, though such arrangements among individuals were not reported, we know that shared responsibility for improvements such as roads, the church building and housing was the rule at Tortugas. All subjects of the Tortugas study belonged to the village Catholic Church; however, this did not take into account the church attendance of members of the Tribe who lived in Las Cruces, or kept Las Cruces core community residences throughout their association with the Tortugas satellite community.

Aside from church activity, the "political affiliations" of Tortuguenos would be of more significance and interest if the political relationships among Indians alone had been studied. Political affiliation could mean party affiliation as well as tribal affiliation and Corporation membership, but

these distinctions are not clarified in Loomis's discussion of methodology, if indeed such distinctions actually concerned him. It is nonetheless interesting that at Tortugas, the percentage of variation among types of associations was extreme (1940: 46). In his "Table 17.-Percentage of families having political affiliations similar to those of the interviewed family with whom they had specified associations, previous to settlement, 1 reclamation and 7 resettlement projects and 4 control groups," Loomis reported that at Tortugas, there was similarity of political affiliation among only 59% of those who were visited in the community and their own families, 100% between those who exchanged work with those who visited them, 86% with those from whom they borrowed, and 83% between interviewed families and neighbors with whom they had no associations (total of 15 cases involved; Loomis 1940: 46). However, in "Table 18.-Percentage of families having habits similar to those of the interviewed family with whom they had specified associations, previous to settlement, 1 reclamation and 7 resettlement projects and 4 control groups," Loomis reported a habits-correlation of nearly 100 percent between any that visited, exchanged work or borrowed from one another, but only 81 percent correlation between those visited and those with whom they had no such relations (Loomis 1940: 47). There was a higher degree of homogeneity here, among those who associated with each other, than among the other groups studied.

Loomis cited contemporary studies of rural youth which indicated a minimum of participation by such youth in non-church organizations, though they reported that they wanted to participate in such activities (Loomis 1940: 61). However, Loomis reported (1940: 64):

> the proportion of children in the Indian-Mexican village attending such meetings was greater than for all families on the 7 resettlement projects. For the year previous to resettlement none of the children under 15 years of age and only 2 percent of the children 15 and over had attended meetings of such organizations. The proportion of children in the Indian-Mexican village attending such meetings (8 and 14 percent respectively) was greater than for all families on the 7 resettlement projects (2 and 9 percent respectively) and for South Holland (4 and 8 percent respectively). In . . . Tortugas . . . those meetings were primarily those of the Boy Scouts, although in the Indian-Mexican village the annual tribal dance festivities . . . had an important place.

On 1 March 1936, at Casa del Pueblo meeting of the Tribe, plans were made for the coming April meeting, and reports made of the fulfillment of obligations to the Tribe.

On 3 April 1936, at a Las Cruces meeting of the Tribe, funds were received to cover expenses of the Tribe, and a selection of officials, including Majordomos:

V. E. Roybal, President
Vicente Roybal
Francisco Dominguez
Faustino Pedraza
Miguel B. Fierro
Jose Paz
Jose Gonzales

Juan Fuentes
Saturnino Gonzales
Jesus Jojola
Frank Padilla
Juan Salcido.

On 5 April 1936, 3 May 1936, and on 14 July 1936, at Las Cruces, the Tribe's officials, there were discussions of finances and progress on construction projects in the Pueblo, among other things.

On 4 October 1936, at Las Cruces, in the home of the President, Victor Roybal, where appointments of Mayordomos were made for the next year, according to custom:

R.M. Gonzales
V. E. Roybal, President
Francisco Dominguez
Vicente Roybal
Faustino Pedraza
Jose Gonzales
Andres Ochova
Alejandro Arragon
Trinidad Calderon
Balerio Albarrez
Ignacio Pena
Juan Trujillo
Jesus Jojola
Miguel B. Fierro
Jose Paz.

[See Document 23] At a meeting of the Tribe of 2 November 1936, Cacique Victor E. Roybal, President of the Corporation, certified Juan Salcido "is an honorary member of the Pueblo of Guadalupe Indians, at present acting as secretary to said tribe," although he had served in elective office. The exact purpose of this certificate was unclear.

12 September 1937, there was a special meeting in the Casa del Pueblo on building projects, and nominations for offices, etc.

31 December 1937/ 1 January, 1938, at the home of the Casique in Las Cruces to elect the Officers and Majordomos for 1938:

V. E. Roybal, President
Vicente Roybal
Francisco Dominguez
Miguel Fierro
Faustino Pedraza
Jose M. Gonzalez
Andrez Ochova
Juan Fuentes
Gabriel Hernandez
Felipe Carabajal
Ignacio Pena
Autencio {?} Gomez
Eusevo Villanueva
Juan Salcido.

On 31 September 1938, there was a general meeting in the Casa del Pueblo on building projects, work plans for the year, and nominations for offices, etc.

On 6 November 1938, there was a general meeting in the Casa del Pueblo on arrangements for the carnival.

At a meeting held 12 December 1938/ 1 January, 1939, at the home of the Casique in Las Cruces to elect the Majordomos for 1939.

4. schisms in the Corporation

The Los Indigenes organization proved that it was not established for the preservation of the religious activities or secular customs of the Piro/Manso/Tiwas, or to embody the tribal government, upon the successful takeover of the organization by non-Indians, and the transition to primarily non-Indian involvement in the organization. The Corporation continued to recognize that these Indians identified with their patron saint through its name and its stated intent, of maintaining a Catholic Church in Guadalupe devoted to the Virgin; however, Los Indigenes no longer could be anything other than a community development corporation, even by association with the Tribe, or correlation of membership.

a. The purpose of the Corporation was to obtain a land base, and to secure religious and cultural freedom for the tribe and other persons they allowed to settle in their Pueblo at a time when they maintained control of it. On April 12, 1914, the ruling body set out the purposes and nature of the non-profit Los Indigenes corporation:

> That the object of this association is to secure the moral, physical and intellectual development of the members of the Pueblo of Guadalupe and their familias and to improve and secure improve and secure improvements in the vicinity of the said Pueblo of Guadalupe and to assist and encourage the members of the said Pueblo to build and construct homes and improve lots in the said Pueblo of Guadalupe.
>
> And to cooperate in construction in buildings and improvements and in improving the buildings streets and plazas in the said Pueblo of Guadalupe where said buildings and improvements are of community sue and benefit.

-letter from Van Patten's granddaughter re. formation of the corporation, Van Patten's influence

b. the function of different cultural groups in the Corp.

Interviewees between 1989 and 1991 supported and reinforced published earlier studies about the Tortugas community's demographic changes and the differences between actual tribal members and individuals of Mexican or multi-ethnic/ multi-racial ancestry in the towns of San Juan and Guadalupe. Other historical research and these accounts show that with few exceptions members of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribe maintained their primary affiliation with the Las Cruces core community, and kept their actual domicile there, though some members built houses there as rental units or resided there for varying periods of time during their relationship with the corporation.

Cultural and personality conflicts emerged and worsened as the seasonal influx of farm laborers from Mexico became a process of permanent migration and resettlement in Tortugas. The Fierro faction and some of their supporters who had changed affiliations from the Tribe to the Fierro family removed control of what had been the Tribe's colony and put it in the hands of the recent immigrants, vesting their actions with a veneer of Indian culture while the Tribe withdrew for most purposes to Las Cruces.

An important distinction which particularly older members and former

members of the tribal government is one they make between the Tribe's traditional and the reflected version of their traditions in Tortugas. It is appropriate here to refer to the alternative ceremonial form of the Guadalupe Day Fiesta in the pre-Corporation to post-WWII era as an example of the separation of cultural groups in the Tortugas/non-Las Cruces community after WWII.

Louis Roybal's recollections of WWII and events thereafter in the Tribe and at Tortugas shed light on the frictions and developments at the Tortugas Pueblo leading to the schism:

> From the beginning of the incorporation . . . , the non-Indians had more financial backing, were able and did act more as a group, pursuing their own inclinations, acting as a faction. During WWII, many of the younger men, including Victor [Roybal, Jr.], Charlie [Madrid], myself, and the present Cacique [Felipe Roybal], and Bindy [Trujillo], the Secretary/Treasurer, were all in the service. [The traditional drummer and singer], Adolfo Avalos, also was in the service, along with his brothers and cousins.
>
> Victor [Roybal], Sr. [Corporation President] went to work for a factory early in the 1940s in California (S.D.), leaving a large vacuum in the organization. Vicente [Roybal, then the Cacique] was not as educated as Victor, Sr., and didn't have as much grasp of paperwork and organization. Victor, Sr. stayed in Cal. until he died in the early 60s. For economic reasons, his kids lived with their mother in Las Cruces. His kids stayed in Las Cruces till I graduated from high school and enlisted in service in 1945. Dad was sending money home. We lived at 323 E. Amador--dad's house--and uncle Vicente lived on San Pedro; half of the block belonged to his grandfather.
>
> The property was divided into 3 parts: to Uncle Candelario in Albuquerque, to Uncle Vicente, and to Victor, Sr., who had just an empty lot. That corner that faces San Pedro and Amador belonging to Candelario was sold to a non-Indian, (b) (6) [a cobbler]; they lived in half the house, and Vicente lived in the other: The portion of the original house my grandfather built. My father built a house on the portion facing Amador.

Next to the houses on San Pedro lived Louis's uncle, (b) (6), and aunt (b) (6) and their son (b) (6). In the 1940s, the house fell down, because there was no money to fix it; the (b)(6) family moved away.

Indian ceremonies were moved onto (b)(6) lot. The one-room Vicente Roybal house (on the other end of the lot) was the site of all ceremonies, such as the rabbit hunt ceremonies. The Cacique and five captains, the humero (keeper of the hunt fire) met there before the rabbit hunt. Also there were quarterly meetings there to feed the Pueblo drum. The Cacique assembled all the war captains in spring, summer, fall and winter to "feed the spirit of the life in the Pueblo." The Cacique kept the tribal arrows, gourd, rattles, drum, and all materials with which they made the spiritual blessing; all were kept in Vicente's house. Oppenheimer (Thesis, 1957) referred to, and partly described the Guadalupe Day authentic ceremonies as the tribal leaders practiced them, apart from the transmogrification of them for which Tortugas is known. Some non-Indians were aware of these things at that time, but were not aware when the actual ceremonies happened, and they were not participating in them.

There always was a clear sense of Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribal

members' personal, financial responsibility owed to the Pueblo, and a linking of status to service in secular and ceremonial capacities, including elective office and construction labor on community projects. The system remained intact and was in control of the Tribe into WWII, when in the tradition of men of the Pueblo, military service drew on the Tribe's youth for the war effort. Aggrandizive individualistic efforts and lifestyles tended to supplant the tribal character of the community at Tortugas, leaving the Tribe to seek ways to continue a tribal existence in or near their existing core area. The core community spread out in Las Cruces over the central parts of Las Cruces during the 1950s and 1960s in the time of the urban renewal projects.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the Tribe continued to consider possibilities for acquisition of some alternative land base for the core community and revitalization of their existence as an organized Tribe. The continued devotion of the members to the preservation of their tribal existence drove these efforts and resulted in attempts to gain compensation for loss of land base and to formal petitioning for federal acknowledgement. Individual efforts on behalf of the community preserved the ideal of loyalty to the Tribe and its traditions. That zeal had no place in the Tortugas community, and Piro/Manso/Tiwa loyalists had no place there, even at fiestas that formerly had been the occasion of their own ceremonies. Forlorn hopes to regain control of the Tortugas pueblo persist into the 1908s among members who had a role in tribal activities as adults during the loss of the pueblo to the Fierro faction.

About 70% of the enrolled Piro/Manso/Tiwa population still lives within the 84 block core area of Las Cruces, predominantly on the east side, about 20 city blocks on each side. In the accompanying map, the streets and avenues indicated remain the same as they were in original settlement, where "Many of the homes located on those streets were built for families whose livelihood depended on the rolling wheels of what would become the Chihuahua Trail" (Staff, "Mesilla Valley's history: Rich, vibrant, and not that long ago," Las Cruces Bulletin, 13 Sept. 1989, C-2).

V. DISSENSION AND REORGANIZATION 1948 - 1980

Continued Social and Economic Disruption: WWII and the Post-War Economy

In 1945, White Sands Proving Ground (now Missile Range) was established on July 9, one week before the first atomic bomb test. This development had a profound effect on the local economy at the time, and continues to be an influence, but not one which particularly improved immediate conditions for the Tribe. By the 1940s many of those persons originally involved in organizing the Corporation were dead or no longer involved in its affairs. Second and third generation descendants of Piro and Tigua immigrants as well as non-Pueblo Indian persons were now the leaders and members of the Corporation (LINSG 1814-1947). The Corporation began to move in a new direction, away from the Tribe's control, before the Tribe quite knew what was happening.

During WWII, many Piro/Manso/Tiwa youth and older tribal members were engaged in the armed forces, many in battles from the European theater to the Pacific. Some became career soldiers. Examples of Piro/Manso/Tiwas involved in armed forces include Sergeant Santiago Brito, Second Gun Section, Battery "A" 62nd F. A. Btn., Fort Bliss (who served from 1941 until 28 October, 1955), Louis Roybal, Lamberto Trujillo, Jr., and Victor Roybal, Jr. The young Piro men who in peacetime would have served the Tribe in office, or who would have worked in Las Cruces area, who would have been active in tribal and Corporation affairs, were unavailable for years. Whereas during the 1930s internal "Mexican vs. Indian" partisan bickering had led various factions in the Corporation to host their own Guadalupe Day feasts, wartime rationing prevented the annual feasts from being given as part of the Guadalupe Day celebrations altogether (Las Cruces Sun, December 10, 1943).

In the post-WWII period, there was some movement of tribal members from Las Cruces in search of jobs, along with other responses to economic and social changes. These changes required advanced education and retraining beyond what was available in Las Cruces.

The Tribe's Hard Times: the 1930s and 1940s in Las Cruces and Tortugas

Following Loomis and Leonard's field work by fifteen years (C. P. Loomis and O. E. Leonard published "Standards of Living in an Indian-Mexican Village and on a Reclamation Project," U. S. Dept. of Ag. Farm Security Administration and Bureau of Ag. Economic Cooperating, Social Research Report No. XIV, Washington, D. C., August 1938; see also the Loomis companion study, "Social Relationships and Institutions in Seven New Rural Communities," U. S. Dept. of Ag. Farm Security Administration and Bureau of Ag. Economic Cooperating, Social Research Report No. XVIII, Washington, D. C., January, 1940), Oppenheimer found in 1951 that conditions had not improved markedly since the Depression:

> The wage standard had risen, but so had the cost of living. No comparable data was gathered in 1951, but the impression was gained that rather more meat was to be found on the table than previously, and that, in general, the standard of living had improved (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957: 49).

By 1951, most families had at least one car, but wages were below the prevailing level. One informant told Oppenheimer:

> In this part of New Mexico they don't get much for labor. Lucky if he gets seventy-five cents an hour for hard labor. For instance, _____'s husband gets a dollar and a quarter an hour, but he's a union man. Fifty cents an hour and they're getting big wages over here. After you get away from this

part of the country you get big wages on the outside.

Generally, Oppenheimer found:

> The most significant factor in the economy of Tortugas has been a shift in recent years from a relative self-sufficiency, with some degree of subsistence farming, to an increasing dependence upon outside economic forces, with wage work forming the major source of support. This change has been due to certain historical influences. The economic expansion of the Mesilla Valley was brought about in large measure by improved transportation facilities, integrating it with the national economy. And, as Tortugas lost what little land she must have had when the village was founded, she became more dependent on economic events in the Mesilla Valley as a whole, and ultimately on economic events in the national scene. The ownership of the land passed from the hands of carriers of Spanish-American culture to those of northwest European culture. Increasingly efficient land use and the introduction of new crops in the valley made large-scale agriculture profitable. The consequences of these changes in terms of the village of Tortugas were far-reaching, touching upon many aspects of culture (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957: 49).

In Oppenheimer's discussion of his third ("Recent") period in the Tortugas history, 1916-1950s, he said of the Tortugenos that where formerly they had gained their livelihood from agricultural wage work, crafts, and manufactures, they now engaged almost completely in agricultural wage work, but of a different sort (cotton), and "mining and other industrial activities also occupied them in the more recent times" (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 40-41).

Most subsistence activities, including hunting, gathering, trapping, or economically significant crafts had dissipated, though ceremonial activities and related skills, gathering and craft-making remained (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 42-43). Pastimes always included some degree of drinking, at least in Las Cruces, and some deaths were attributed to drinking (Slagle, Field Notes, 1989-1991]. There were no bars in Tortugas, and Oppenheimer attributed this to the location adjacent to the State College. Drinking, nonetheless, was "an important recreation for Tortugas men," and had been the cause of death for some. Bootlegging had been prevalent both in Las Cruces and Tortugas in the Prohibition years. Another feature in this matter was that until after Oppenheimer was finished with his early-1950s Mesilla Valley field work, the legal federal prohibitions against Indian drinking, and drinking in Indian Country, still prevailed (Oppenheimer, 1957 Thesis p. 69).

Mesilla Valley lands outside Tortugas or the core community in Las Cruces had fallen into the hands of Anglo commercial farmers or ranchers, including rough range mesa land near the mountains (See above, discussion of land losses and retention in Tortugas and Las Cruces in the 1920s-1960s, esp. Louis Roybal's interview; Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 42). Lacking farms of their own, Indian farm workers had to work for others. Agricultural and other wage labor had come to be the dominant pursuits for non-Anglos in the Mesilla Valley, Indian and Mexican alike; while importation of seasonal laborers from Mexico for the service of large cotton operators during the October-January picking season had diverted work opportunities from local workers (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 42-43). In the years in which imported laborers became more prevalent in the area, some became permanent residents, and eventually acquired influence in the community, and as Oppenheimer indicates, "included men of high ceremonial or governmental position. Indeed when the writer was at Tortugas, one of the first rumors concerning his presence there was that he was a border patrolman" (Oppenheimer, Thesis, pp. 44-45). African-

Americans had entered the Valley, and had received some degree of acceptance in Tortugas (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 45). One Piro/Manso/Tiwa source suggests that acceptance was primarily among Mexicans who joined the community in Tortugas after the turn of the century, and may have been attributable to the patterns of Mexican intermarriage with African-Americans and the African-American ancestry of such individuals (Field Notes, 1990).

Anglos, according to Oppenheimer, tended to create jobs rather than compete, taking the skilled jobs, service and commercial occupations restricted primarily to whites. Mining was the primary source of skilled jobs for Tortugenos, including Piro/Manso/Tiwas (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 45). Automobiles produced other important changes for labor, increasing access to jobs at Morenci copper mines in Arizona, near San Carlos Apache Indian Reservation. Men commuted there, returning Saturday mornings to Tortugas. They learned about labor unions, and one of Oppenheimer's contacts told him he was beaten for labor activities. Job changes were frequent, though not always resulting in upward mobility (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 45). By 1945, the White Sands Proving Ground for rocket research introduced a new source of income through direct and indirect employment. [At least one tribal member has had long-term profession in military research, though Oppenheimer had no contact with any.] Women still were working as domestics in Las Cruces as well as in Mesilla Park to supplement family incomes, as in the 1930s (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957 p. 45).

Growing Post-WWII Unrest between the LAS CRUCES-Based Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe, and the Los Indigenes Corporation in Guadalupe, Tortugas

Formerly (pre-WWII), the "public" portions of the Guadalupe Day fiestas had been the portions in which most members were eligible to participate and to witness. Even in the mid-1930s, the pilgrimage to "A" Mountain still was not itself the public focus of Guadalupe Day, except that individuals who had made a vow to the Virgin might vow to be involved in the pilgrimage in thanks for help from the Virgin. As has been described herein elsewhere, the Cacique and Capitanes de Guerra/Abuelos conducted that December 11 preparatory ceremony by themselves; the dances were held by Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indian groups and Mexican groups, while the feasts were open to all. Even though the attraction of the Guadalupe Day had changed due to wartime, and the Feast was no major factor, the need to express faith and hope in an act of hope and affirmation was greater than ever. Now that the war was underway, many people wanted to make vows to the Virgin for the protection of their families and themselves, and hundreds of persons from the southern New Mexico/west Texas/northern Mexico took part in the pilgrimage to the top of "A" Mountain on December 11 (Slagle, PMT Field Notes, 1990-1991).

In 1940-1944, the Cacique was Vicente Roybal. The Tribe's President was Victor E. Roybal, and the Fifth Captain was Louis Roybal (Slagle, PMT Field Notes, 1990-1991). The number of pilgrims greatly escalated in the 1940s and continued to do so after WWII, in part because so many made wartime promises to climb the mountain in return for God's protection of servicemen and their families (Slagle, PMT Field Notes, 1990-1991). More persons also had become aware of Guadalupe Day festivities at Tortugas through articles beginning to appear in the late 1930s in regional publications and newspapers concerning this celebration (Cunningham 1938; Hood 1938, 1946). In 1947, five hundred and nine persons made the pilgrimage to "A" Mountain (Las Cruces Sun-News, December 12, 1947). Guadalupe Day festivities had become a major occasion in the Las Cruces area, complete with a Carnival in Tortugas on the land Victor Roybal, Sr. owned near the Church. Indians from a wide

area had concession stands there, and sold craft items. The Cacique himself made pottery for sale.

The Corporation sought donations to support the costs of the priest's services, of the free feast, and of the cost of decorations and the like. The gathering of contributions became a matter of jealous concern, though the actual amounts in dispute were nominal. In 1947, the donations totaled $130, of which the priest received $35 (Las Cruces Sun-News, December 12, 1947). At this juncture, internal hostilities surfaced in the Corporation, and the Miguel Fierro and his supporters moved within a few years to unseat the Roybal President, Victor E. Roybal, Sr., and then to apply pressure to drive the rest of the Tribe out of involvement with the Corporation's business affairs, and finally to usurp even the emblems of office, in order to maintain all appearances of propriety, in outright usurpation of control.

Oppenheimer agreed that the fight over Carnival of the Guadalupe Day Fiesta was a focal issue in the separation of the Tribe from the Corporation. The Parish Priest, Father Ries, found himself in a world of trouble:

> a shy man, . . . drawn into controversy on the explosive subject of the Carnival. It is on this problem that the Conservatives have a liberal view and the Progressives take the more conservative attitude. The point in question is whether a carnival should be allowed on church property during the fiesta. The Conservatives state that the feast is for rejoicing and merrymaking, and that the carnival is perfectly in place, having also the not inconsiderable virtue of adding to the coffers of the community. The Fierro faction argues that the fiesta is a solemn religious performance and that a carnival is out of keeping with the religious aims of the celebrations (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957 p. 87).

There was very strong support for the "Conservatives'" position on this matter, and it came from studies of the original source of the Guadalupe Day fiestas, namely, the December 12 fiestas the Piros held in El Paso Del Norte as early as the mid-1700s. Recall that the December 12 Guadalupe fiesta was a major event at El Paso del Norte for all the residents. The dances were organized and managed in El Paso del Norte much as the Piro/Manso/Tiwas ran them in Tortugas, complete with the lighting of bonfires (luminarias) on mountaintops around El Paso on December 11 night, and dances outside the church after Mass on December 12 (Reid 1935: 161-162). The El Paso Guadalupe fiesta lasted a week, and included activities at least as boisterous and obnoxious to the strait-laced and squeamish as a mere carnival: bull fights, cockfights, games of chance, and night-time fireworks displays (Reid 1935: 161-162; Escobar 1946: 63; JA 1861: Reel 64). People traveled fifty miles for the fiesta (Reid 1935: 161-162; NA 1908: 704). These features of the old Guadalupe Day festival, watered down in Tortugas in the form of a secular carnival on the Presidente's land adjacent to the church during the Guadalupe Day festival at Tortugas, provided the purported justification for the Tribe's eventual loss of control over the village corporation. However, the real reason for the Fierro faction's move to take over the Corporation was control:

> Crucial to their argument . . . is the question of the distribution of funds both from this source and from contribution boxes at the fiesta. The priest was backed by his bishop in demanding that the funds were to be in his hands (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957 p. 87).

Money, ethnocentricity by both sides, and the desire to control the Corporation, its direction and assets were the core issues:

> The Roybal faction claims that the church property is Vicente's and that he allowed the priest, whom he thought underpaid, to rent the church grounds

for the carnival. Before that, Vicente was taking twenty-two dollars for the mass and the remainder of the money for himself to pay for the fiesta. Apparently, also, there were two contribution boxes, one of the priest, and one for fiesta expenses. The contribution box for the priest was in the Pueblo House. The location of the other one is unknown. The Fierro faction insisted on an accounting of these funds (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957, p. 87). The Fierro faction, composed primarily of late-comers to the area, were unfamiliar with the Tribe's history and the basis of its customs and decision-making. The Fierro faction purported to be unaware of the Tribe's adoption of the El Paso del Norte custom governing public celebration of Guadalupe Day; moreover, having the agenda of taking over the Corporation, they probably were indifferent to the historical basis for allowing general merry-making in connection with these fiestas, and probably were only vaguely aware that the Tribe placed far greater emphasis on the serious religious character of the Cacique's and the Capitanes de Guerras' private Guadalupe Day rites.

Thus, serious dissension fomented from the mid-1940s as the Piro/Manso/Tiwas rallied around the traditional leadership of the Cacique Vicente Roybal and his brother, Victor Roybal, President of the Corporation. The other group coalesced under the leadership of Miguel Fierro, ex-Treasurer of the Corporation. A number of allegations included focussed on misappropriation of funds (relating particularly to fundraising for the fiestas and access to the collection box), ethnic origins (Piro/Manso/Tiwas rejecting non-Indians, particularly non-Piro Mexican Indians), marital status (people married to or living with the wrong kinds of people, having children out of wedlock, etc.), deviant behavior (by the standards of the community, including drunken comportment, inattentiveness of officers to Corporation business, etc.), or acts of intimidation, made by each faction about leaders and their supporters of the other (including reported incidents in which members of one side publicly or privately threatened, or beat up, a member or members of the other side, and in one case, nearly beat to death a leader of the other side; Slagle, PMT Field Notes, 1990-1991; Metzger 1981; Oppenheimer 1957: 82-88; Hurt 1952: 111-114).

But the main focus of contention was the presidency of the Corporation: eliminate Victor Roybal, control the Cacique with overt and veiled threats, and you can control or eliminate the Piro influence and control. In 1914, the Corporation had adopted the practice of electing the President (a non-Indian benefactor, but one married to Beatriz Madrid, believed to be Piro) to serve for life. Victor Roybal, Piro, was trained under him Patten to succeed him. Miguel Fierro, a Mexican immigrant, had been Treasurer of the Corporation for ten years (1918-1928), and afterwards served in other offices, but was not in at the helm thereafter. He rightly perceived that the top posts and real influence were under Piro control and were likely to remain so unless something was done, particularly about the "lifetime" tenure of officers in these posts. If indeed he did not give up his post as Treasurer willingly, he may have been disgruntled that he, a Mexican, was not allowed to serve for life in a position for which he felt himself more qualified than any Piros. Regardless whether he left the post on his own, or was nudged or pushed out of office, historically it was after he left the post of Treasurer that the problems within the Corporation seemed to begin. The Corporation split around a variety of issues, but the heart of the matter was Corporation control.

Even though the Corporation was now acting in many ways as an instrumentality of the Tribe, perhaps more so than ever, the non-Piros felt, rightly so, that Piros had the advantages in what after all was a community organization supposedly

subject to the will of all its non-Indian as well as approved Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indian members. It was fine with all concerned that the organization happened to have an Indian cultural bias, because association with an Indian-oriented organization improved the outlook and self-esteem of the recent Mexican immigrants who participated. The problem was that no one acquired real rights, influence, or access to the leadership "Inner Circle" except by being a Piro, and non-Piros began to feel and say that a Piro could have or get away with anything. Piros could be absentee landlords over Tortugas residents, having acquired property by paying the fantastic sum of $1.00 for the property assignment. Piros like Victor Roybal, Sr. could exert influence over Tortugas affairs without living in the Pueblo, to the possible detriment of actual residents.

Not all Indians in the Corporation sided with the Piro/Manso/Tiwas, and not all Mexicans sided with the Fierro faction. Family relationships, personal ambition and financial motives, personal friendships and grudges all came into play in sometimes peculiar ways. Individuals might take sides based on some particular grievance or disappointment because the Corporation remained under Piro control. For example, when, in the 1940s, the Fierro group accused the President, Victor Roybal, of abusing his position by misappropriation of funds and providing Corporation land to members of his own family, Fierro's assertions were made in wake of the land acquisition activities of Jose Santiago "Jim" Duran in Tortugas. Duran was born in Ysleta del Sur in 1886, and was a stepbrother of Pedro Pedraza (Slagle, PMT Field Notes, 1991; Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 70). During the late 1930s, he started buying properties up in Tortugas for his own purposes, but although he was Indian, his efforts met strong resistance from the Tribe through the Corporation, who questioned his motives and challenged his activities, resulting in his loss of many of those properties. Eventually, though a Tiwa, he became an ardent Fierro supporter, and his own experience of Piro control of the Corporation undoubtedly motivated his choice of affiliations. The feeling was that if Jose Santiago Duran, an Ysleta Tigua, couldn't buy up unused properties in Tortugas, why was it that a Piro Indian of the leading family, and President for life at that, was allowed to assign Corporation properties to his own relatives?

When Victor Roybal, Sr. left the Las Cruces police force and moved to San Diego to work for the Army during WWII, the Fierro faction contended that he, as President, should not be allowed to stay in the lifetime office because he was living out of state (Oppenheimer 1957: 82-84; Hurt 1952: 111-112). The Fierro group wanted to institute changes in Guadalupe festivities and in Corporation facilities in Guadalupe. Although Carnivals were a traditional part of the Guadalupe Day festivities by the mid-1940s. The Carnivals had never been challenged before, because, even gambling, blood sports and general carousing had been common features of the Guadalupe Day fiestas even in El Paso del Sur (Reid 1925: 161-162; Escobar 1946: 63; JA 1861: Reel 64), suddenly the Fierro faction hit on the idea that there was something sacrilegious about them now. His position might have seemed more plausible in the late 1940s than it might have before WWII, because, during the Depression and the War, the serious ceremonies associated with the Guadalupe Day activities had dominated the observance, and had become increasingly more public affairs and open to non-Piro participation. Besides, according to the Fierro faction, only the Cacique and his family directly profited from the Carnival. Fierro wanted to ban the carnivals and modernize the existing physical plant of the Corporation.

Fierro financed the construction of a chapel to house the image of the Virgin and another small building near the Casa del Pueblo as a dressing room for the Matachines for use as a dressing room and rest area during fiestas and practices.

Recall, the Matachines were the non-Pueblo, Mexican dance group assigned to dance in their own area during the fiestas. The Fierro faction sought a shift of emphasis in Corporation priorities toward the Hispanic-Mexican aspects of cultural heritage of Tortugas, and toward Mexican control in general, while the Piro/Manso/Tiwas, led by the hereditary Roybal Cacique and President, considered the Corporation a tribal instrumentality.

The Piro/Manso/Tiwas felt that the Fierro group's "Mexican-oriented" innovations and criticisms threatened the structure of tribal organization and detracted from the Indian way of honoring the Virgin (Conn, Slagle, and Almarez, PMT Field Notes, 1989-1990). The idea that the President's lifetime tenure on any pretext could be challenged by non-Indians in order to allow them Corporation control was unthinkable. The Piros claimed funds had been distributed as they always had been, to pay the priest for his services, and to finance the Corporation's activities. The Carnival, the craft booths and the like were traditional parts of Guadalupe Day in its aspect as a traditional Indian gathering. The dirt floor in the Corporation ceremonial rooms allowed the people to be in direct contact with the ground, which was considered important for the Piros' religious purposes, and the lack of other new-fangled "improvements" and "conveniences" in Corporation buildings kept them "Indian". The altar constructed to display the Virgin throughout the year had been housed in the home of a Majordomo (who appears always to have been selected from the group of Piro or Tigua descendants living in Guadalupe) for many years. Fierro's gesture of building a capilla or shire for the image was interpreted, rightly so, as an effort to remove the ceremonial activities relating to the veneration of Nuestra Sra. entirely from the control of the Tribe. After all, Nuestra Sra. of Guadalupe was the Patroness of Mexico, so to the Fierro group, nothing seemed wrong with Mexican control of the Corporation and local ceremonial life, allowing concessions to the Indian influence which had shaped the local veneration of the Virgin.

In his 1933-1940 work related to Tortugas and Guadalupe, Loomis had in mind no rigid definition of a community , viewing it as a relative concept, but used a rule of thumb definition: "the 'ideal' community is composed of families that live together and share life's experiences" (1940: 75). Loomis felt that the "more completely and intensively people in a given group live together, the more nearly the group would approach the 'ideal' community" (1940: 75). The ideal community would contain a large enough group of individuals, families and institutions to be relatively self-sufficient, while it would be small, homogeneous, and integrated enough that each resident would be aware of the problems, powers and limitations of all others. There would be concert of action and common purpose to a pronounced degree in such an ideal community.

"Community," Loomis maintained, "is a relative term" (Loomis 1940: 75). The extent to which the schism between Tortugas and the core community disrupted the community character of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe is a matter of some controversy. The indicators of Piro/Manso/Tiwa community character which Loomis's 1940 study found most important in Tortugas in 1938 (namely, kinship, religious affiliation and participation, geographic proximity, friendship or companionship) survived the Tortugas split primarily at the site of the Core community in Las Cruces. Loomis was quite aware of the issue of disunity and the phenomenon of the death of a community:

> [k]inship is a powerful integrating bond in group life, but it is impossible to say that it must always be or to what degree and extent it must be present. Geographical proximity is important and distance must be considered in the description of communities, but there are instances when a loved one

> on the other side of the world comes nearer being in the same community with one than does his next-door neighbor. Friendship is necessary for community integration, but few communities have individuals who are not at odds with one another. It is impossible to set a limit on the number of such antagonistic relationships that may disqualify a group from being a community (Loomis 1940: 75-76);

however, the number of antagonistic relationships which grew within the Corporation between tribal members and non-tribal members led to the eventual collapse of affiliation of the Tribe with what had been their business council and corporation. A community, in Loomis's sense, was possible for the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe only separate from Tortugas by the mid-1950s. Loomis concluded:

> Community . . . becomes a concept which may mean different things to different people. In this study it is though of as a localized group larger than an American family, with a maximum of self-sufficiency, economically and socially, as well as a maximum of fellow feeling on the part of the members who share one another's experiences and interests. As Sanderson writes, the rural community is the smallest geographical unit of organized association of the chief human activities (Loomis 1940: 76; fn. 34, p. 76, citing Sanderson, Dwight, "Locating the Rural Community," Cornell Extension Bulletin 413, College of Agriculture, Cornell University, Ithica, New York, June 1939.)

The key roles and rituals of the traditional Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribal leaders in Tortugas continued at the site of the Las Cruces core community. Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribal leaders' participation in Tortugas ceremonial life largely dissipated, along with opportunities for most tribal members, especially the young, to have a direct role in the aspects of tribal activity which had evolved at or in connection with Tortugas. The ceremonies which persisted at the site of the core community in Las Cruces never had required the direct participation of all tribal members, and indeed their access to the Guadalupe Day activities was a relatively recent development, following the creation of the Corporation in 1914, and preceding WWII.

The split in the Tortugas community came to include controversy over the very heart of the community and the Tribe, centering as the feud did, on a church-related controversy. Loomis wrote:

> It should be remembered . . . that extreme homogeneity with respect to church membership does not preclude a lack of community solidarity; on the contrary, it may cause bitter factional strife. But wherever a single church, or any other organization with a large membership, dominates the social life and economic cooperation of a community, there is evidence favoring the assumption that integration is more likely than would be the case if special-interest groups predominated (Loomis 1940: 41).

Loomis's observation that "bitter factional strife" as well as "community solidarity" may result from "homogeneity with respect to church membership" is particularly significant in the Piro/Manso/Tiwa case. Within a few years of the Loomis and Leonard field studies, such factional strife bitterly and (it appears) permanently divided the community, severing the ties between Tribal religious practice and Tortugeno religious practice, except in some of the uses and outward forms. When Tortugenos (literally) coopted the Tribe's property, public ceremonies and some of their paraphernalia, as well as documents, between 1945 and 1958, the Tribe was forced (by new leaders of the Corporation and their supporters) to withdraw eventually from all participation in Tortugas. Understandably, because the Tribe's emotional, political and economic ties with their satellite of

Tortugas had remained very strong until the time of usurpation, many members, and the Cacique and Caciqua themselves, were reluctant to sever ties and the hope of eventual reconciliation of some sort, if not the actual restoration of the village's ties with the Tribe. Loss of control over and contact with its religious life undoubtedly was an impoverishing event to the Tribe and its members. Members had to rely upon the core community leadership and the Tribal leaders' religious ministrations or side with the Fierro faction, if they had the opportunity.

At the time the split was becoming irreversible (late 1940s, early 1950s), Wesley Hurt was studying the Tortugas village and to some extent the Las Cruces core community (1952: 104; at the time he was an Assistant Professor of Anthropology and Director of Museum at the University of South Dakota, former field assistant with the Museum of New Mexico for four years.) He characterized the 1952 community as containing:

> the remnants of several bands of Indians who have received scant attention in scientific literature. One of the groups considers itself to be Tiwa Indians who have always lived in the vicinity. The other major group classify themselves at Indios or Mexican Indians. There is some evidence that remnants of Mansos, Piros, and Tanos also exist in the village. The tribal identity of the Tiwa Indians is preserved, while the various groups of Mexican Indians now consider themselves to be one large group of Indios. The village presents the rare phenomenon of non-Indians endeavoring to become identified as Indians, rather than the reverse condition usually found in highly acculturated communities (Wesley Hurt 1952: 106.)

The village at that time had a population he estimated at 300. He compared it to communities of northern Mexico in architecture and dress, as well as life-style, but found it superficially so. The houses were adobes and jacales, and the Tortugas village was still divided in the San Juan and Guadalupe sections. The Church was in the Mexican section, though members of the Cacique's family held property adjacent to the plaza itself, and even held carnivals there during the Guadalupe Day activities. The Casa del Pueblo, with the Pueblo ceremonial buildings on the east side, was the modern equivalent of the northern Pueblo clan house. The oratorio, where the image of the Virgin was kept. The Casa de Comida was the cook-house, for feasting. However, the nature of the community itself frankly escaped him (Wesley Hurt 1952: 106). He reflected on the "confused and contradictory accounts" in the minds of the Indians, journalists and others:

> One informant, Jacinto Jemente, a man of about fifty years, claims that his grandfather came from northern Mexico. His cousin, Vicente Roybal, fifty-four years old, stated that his grandparents had lived in the vicinity of south Las Cruces and that his grandparents had always lived in small rancherias in the Rio Grande valley of southern New Mexico. One newspaper account labels these Indians as Mansos [Hood, 1938, p. 11], while others call them Tiguas or Tiwa Indians [Anonymous, 1940] (Wesley Hurt 1952: 106.)

The members of the Tiwa group were certain to identify themselves as Tiwa, but Hurt found that the Tortugas community was not necessarily identifiable as Tigua, and certainly did not believe that the Tortugas or Las Cruces community was an offshoot of the Ysleta del Sur community, despite certain affinities and emigration from El Paso del Sur to Las Cruces. Hurt did not believe that the individual emigrations resulted in the establishment of Tortugas (Wesley Hurt 1952: 106.)

Included here as relevant to the contemporary debate about the group's origins, note Hood's relation (1938: 11) of an old account of the origins of some of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa group. Hood found in his investigation of the account that

various individuals in the community not only opposed the account, but were downright hostile to the Piro/Manso Indian who told it. The narrator said that some of the Tribe came from Pueblito, an Indian village between Juarez and Senecu, whose members moved into the Mesilla Valley to settle at the foot of the Tortugas Mountain. Aspects of this account are plausible, others are not. Faustino [supposed to be, "Pedraza"], claiming to be one of the parties who recollected the Manso origins in that region, reported: "When we came from Pueblito I was the youngest. . . . We must teach the young ones the dance. My son, Cipriano [Pedraza], my granddaughter, Marcellina, they can dance as we old ones did."

Faustino said the group had followed in the path of a "a fabulous beauty of their tribe" with flowing copper-colored hair ("Marcellina, granddaughter of Faustino"), who had married Don Eugenio Van Patten, the soldier of fortune and politician of Dona Ana; and upon their arrival settled near their hacienda, where Don Eugenio got an Indian grant for them on the mesa, near his home. In fact, the daughter of the Piro woman Beatriz Madrid and Eugene Van Patten may have been a red-haired beauty, but she was Emilia Van Patten Ascarate, who married into the wealthy mining family of Ascarate near Tortugas, and moved to California with her daughter in 1926. Her daughter supplied an affidavit in support of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe's authority some years ago.

Faustino [Pedraza] told the interviewer that as more Indians arrived in the area, they needed stronger organizational structure, and so created a corporation and made Van Patten the presidente. He added that his tribe always had dances on December 12 in Pueblito and Senecu, and carried on those same dances with them to dance before St. Genevieve's. They had had to move their dances to Tortugas due to the objections of the local priest to noise and disturbances from the dancing (Wesley Hurt 1952: 109.) This account did not really make sense on a number of accounts, and townspeople denied the validity of this account, or the existence of a Cipriano. The alleged Marcellina was denied by Pedraza's own son Pedro, to Hurt. Lalo Pacheco, capitan of the Danzantes or Los Azteca, denied to Hurt that any Marcellina ever had danced with them (Wesley Hurt 1952: 109.) The real Faustino did not dance the Mexican dances, but the authentic Indian dances. Lalo Pacheco gave a different, conflicting account of the origins of the Tribe. Further, Lalo Pacheco's mother said Faustino Pedraza was an outsider who started dressing like an Indian after marrying a full-blood woman. Geneaological research indicates, however, that Faustino Pedraza was, in all probability, a Piro.

Other anecdotal research as to the origins of the Guadalupe community's members were less controversial, and geneaological sources tend to confirm these contemporary reports, but hearsay, gossip, and false accounts could as easily have been innocent mistakes or jokes on interviewers, as they were likely to have been intended to mislead. Hurt cited Victor and Vicente Roybal, Pedro Pedraza (a Tortugas resident), Jacinto Jemente, Santiago Duran, and Patricio as claimed full-blooded Tiwa or Manso Indians associated with Tortugas, but added that most of them lived in the "Mexican" (East) section of Las Cruces, while Victor Roybal had moved to San Diego. In other words, Hurt correctly identified the core community (where the majority of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe actually resided) with Las Cruces. Hurt found that the full-blooded Indians in Las Cruces still maintained their connections with Ysleta del Sur in social and religious matters (1952: 111)

The question of Federal relations with the Tribe or its members on an intergovernmental basis arose. Hurt remarked of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa community in general that they were unacknowledged Indians:

> They no longer maintain legal status as Indians. However, when Vicente Roybal's father, Felipe, died, Vicente, then nine years old, went to the

Indian school in Albuquerque (Wesley Hurt 1952: 111.)
Since the late 1920s, the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe had not been treated as a Tribe by the Federal Government. They had been passed over for acknowledgement under IRA, as had the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo in El Paso. Still, they had not been formally terminated, and the cessation of the practice of sending their children to boarding school had only to do with the later practice of sending them to local parochial academies and public day schools. In the 1950s, Oppenheimer wrote:

> All [Piro/Manso/Tiwa[children attend school after they are six years of age. Some like school and some do not, but they go nevertheless, for attendance is required. To what extent the law is enforced by truant officers is not known. The school was formerly in Tortugas, but at the time of my visit, the children went by bus to a school in Mesilla Park. Almost all of the children today finish elementary school, and most attend high school, at least until they are seventeen. The older people think that the children receive a very good education (Oppenheimer, 1957 Thesis p. 60).

The abortive attempt to run the Tribe's economic affairs under a corporate form was the topic of considerable discussion in Hurt (1952: 111, ff.) He described three distinct groups of officers present at Tortugas or connected with it until the "recent disruption of the organization by an opposing faction." The primary group, he said, was led by "Their religious chief . . . . Cacique, and the office is hereditary" (1952: 111). He noted the last change in leadership, from Felipe to Vicente Roybal (about 54 years old in 1952), disregarding the interim rule of the Cacigua and Regent. He declared that:

> the secular affairs are handled by the Presidente, Victor Roybal, Vicente's brother, who is now living in San Diego. The Vice Presidente is Jacinto Jemente. In addition one Capitan de la Guerra and four subordinate capitanes are appointed easy year by the Cacique. The change and appointments of the capitanes takes place each year on New Year's Eve in the house of Vicente Roybal in the Mexican section of Las Cruces (Hurt 1952: 111).

Although others have leaned toward the non-Indian or Chicano Tortugenos as having claims to the Tribe's authority and identity, Hurt accurately indicated the location of the core community and its activities: the Cacique's house in Las Cruces.

Hurt (1952) pointed out that at that date, Victor Roybal, the Presidente, lived in San Diego, and that the Cacique, Vicente Roybal, was trying to get a rein on the secular affairs of the "Tiwa Indians," by which he called all the Indians of the Tribe. Hurt did not doubt that the control of the Tribe was in the hands of the Cacique, his Piro/Manso/Tiwa Officers, and his Captains, not in the hands of the Corporation. There was always the hope that somehow the Tribe could resume control over the Corporation. Hurt acknowledged the power of the Tribe to determine its own membership, and to allow membership to new members subject to the approval of the governing body:

> The Tiwa Indians and the Mexican Indians of Tortugas both recognize the different social and cultural identities of the two groups. It is possible for the Mexican Indians to be initiated in the Tiwa band during the initiation ceremonies held on New Year's Eve in Vicente Roybal's home. The major rite consists of swearing to be "good Indians." For a Mexican Indian to become a member of the Tiwa band it is necessary that the present members of the group approve the presentation of his name by one of the members. This initiation into membership in the Tiwa band is considered highly desirable by many of the Mexican Indians because the Tiwa band enjoys high position of prestige, leadership, and certain rent and tax exemptions in

Tortugas village.
The question of membership and control of membership rules and rolls at this time in Piro/Manso/Tiwa history is unclear. As indicated in (Section IV), the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe had elections on December 31/ January, and at that time, they also decided upon the membership requests or honorary membership cases (Slagle, Piro/Manso/Tiwa Filed Notes, 1991). Many of the members at that date have died, have joined the Miquel Fierro takeover faction since 1952, or have ceased or withdrawn their participation in either group, even moving out of the area entirely.

The institution of Compadrazgo, the relationship between godchildren and godparents (ahijados and padrinos) is formed after both parties partake in a sacrament together, and in the Mesilla Valley, the institution was said to cause ties similar to family ties to form, and clan affiliations, tying families together, and godparents took care of godchildren as if they were their own. We have seen that the Caciques were often godparents to many. Hence, the multiple adoptions of godchildren by Caciques and Caciquas over the decades, upon the loss of parents. This relationship was one of prestige, honor and close affiliations, and supported political and economic power (Michael Romero Taylor, in Granjon 1982: p. 126, n. 124). It is an irony that one of Francisca Roybal's foster children, Rafaela Dominguez, became the Piro descendant to lent credibility to the forces that overthrew Piro/Manso/Tiwa control over the Corporation.

The Fierro Takeover, and Resulting Schism between the Tribe and its Instrumentality: the Split with Los Indigenes de Nuestra Sra. de Guadalupe

In March, 1948, Miguel Fierro swore that he was President of the Corporation (Civil Records 10810). He claimed that he now was President of the Corporation's Board of Directors (Oppenheimer 1957: 83). There is no indication that the Board of Directors ever functioned as a part of the Corporation's governing structure prior to this time, and how it came into being is difficult to determine without access to the Corporation's minutes in that regard. There is little doubt that Miguel Fierro and his followers created it and installed it in place of the Corporation's existing governing structure in order to facilitate their control. The primary goal of this maneuver was to change the tenure of the President and to remove the seated President-for-Life, Victor Roybal, Sr., allowing the immediate installation of Miguel Fierro as President. In December, 1948, he was reported to be "President of the Tigua Tribe" (Las Cruces Sun-News, December 10, 1948).

By 1947, the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe and the original governing Board were at a loss to determine exactly what was going on in the Corporation and what it meant, but soon found out to their dismay. Litigation regarding control of Carnival activities and proceeds therefrom, and the controversy and break between Tribe and Corporation, consumed the attention of the Corporation and Tribe for several years. The controversy was over the carnival on church property during the fiestas. Oppenheimer wrote, "Conservatives state that the fiesta is for rejoicing and merrymaking, and that the carnival is a perfectly in place, having also the not inconsiderable virtue of adding to the coffers of the community" (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957, p. 87). Fierro's followers argued that the fiesta was a solemn religious activity in which a carnival had no place. On the other hand, Fierro and his followers insisted that if money was to be made from the fiesta, they should have control over its care, distribution and use, and not the priest. Indeed, they

became so absorbed in their supposedly righteous anger that they defied their priest and Bishop:

> A series of suits in law were filed by the Fierro faction against the Cacique and the priest, although this step was taken very reluctantly. . . The last lawsuit was held on March 28, 1951. The judge ruled against a carnival on church property and stipulated further that the proceeds of the cash box were to be disposed of by the priest, and not by the Cacique. . . . The Conservatives also wish for more forceful leadership from the priest, who, they claim, was afraid of Fierro (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957 p. 87).

[See: Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe, a Corporation; the Commissioners of the Town of Guadalupe, Miguel B. Fierro, Mariana Alvarez, Pedro Pedraza, Felipe Carabajal and Saturnino Gonzales, et al., vs. Lee Rice, et al., N. M. D. C., 3rd Dist., March 28, 1951, Docket 11751. An Injunction and restraining order were granted to Plaintiffs (primarily, citizens and officials of Guadalupe, N. M.) to prevent Defendants (Leo Rice (Ries), parish priest of the Church of Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe, Guadalupe, N. M., and the Bishop of the Diocese of Tucson) from interfering in rights and reservations granted in deed and to restrain defendants from allowing a Carnival to operate on the land at Tortugas described in a deed before the court, but request to prevent defendant Leo Rice (Reis) from collecting alms as set forth in complaint, "and in derogation of the rights of plaintiffs," was denied. W. T. Scoggin, Jr. Dist. J. Board of Commissioners of Dona Ana County submitted separate answer, Dec. 27, 1950. Complaint of Nov. 27, 1950 demanded that the parish priest collect and turn over the Cacique alms collected to support the Feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe during the annual Dec. 10-12 festival, and that the Carnivals on the church property cease, in keeping with reserved rights of the Town of Guadalupe. Dona Ana Commissioners had issued annual permits for the Carnival.

The "Roybal faction" had claimed the church property belonged to the Cacique, Vicente Roybal, and indeed, the adjacent property remains in the hands of Roybals (See Letter, February 2, 1991). He allowed the priest, whom he believed to be underpaid, to rent the plaza for the carnival. Prior to the carnivals, Vicente took $22.00 for the mass and kept the rest to pay for the fiesta. There were two separate contribution boxes for the priest (in the Casa del Pueblo) and for the fiesta (site unknown to Oppenheimer, but apparently located in Vicente's custody Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957, p. 87).

Oppeheimer viewed Fierro's intimidation tactics as characteristic of behavior of Pueblo governors in the Rio Grande Pueblos (fn. 33, Dr. Florence Hawley Ellis, in Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957, p. 88); however, the basis of that inference was attenuated in the extreme, deriving from the accounts of Fierro's standing in front of the Church after Sunday mass to "'cuss the priest out' (the priest not being present)." It might have been simpler to infer the obvious, that Fierro was intimidating the Father in his own domain, showing there were few lengths to which he would not go, even after the lawsuit. How he managed to presume moral authority in this fashion escaped all but Fierro's partisans.

Land tenure remains a continuing issue, even today, as a result of this initial action. Louis Roybal reported in his interview with Steven Conn the land tenure problems and social unrest that led to further deterioration of the tribal community [Conn: PMT Field Notes, 1989]:

> A lot of the old people died. Some had deeds, others did not. And when they died, in some cases the heirs, they never lived there and in some cases, the deeds were turned back to the tribe, in other cases they were not. The Corp. has them now. In some cases the taxes were not paid on the lot or property

> and then the state started selling a lot of the properties for non-payment of taxes. When this started to happen, a lot of people inside and outside started buying up some of the property and the tribe always being poor, no money, had no means of paying the taxes. So problems about ownership and litigation arose. Questions as to who was the legal owner. My dad tried to recover some of these properties, to save them for tribal use, and I think the interpretation of the court was that he didn't own them. Santiago Duran [a Tiwa] bought some of the tax deeds and the tribe had a problem getting the property back. After the Fierro faction came in, we had no records of where or when the faction had their meetings, or who the members were. We had some suspicion that they brought some outsiders who were never members of the tribe or the Corporation. They elected their own organization. The makeup of their organization was never really challenged in the court. They had a smart attorney and we never had one; Sutherland [their attorney] made all the legal claims acting on behalf of the Corporation. Our atty's, Weir and Whatley, never understood or knew how the Corporation worked or what the difference was between the Corporation and the Tribe, or what the makeup of each was. Most of the actions and activity of the Corporation was against the Indian people. The court records show they were against the Roybal, Avalos, Jemente, Madrid and all the Indian families who made up the tribe. Most of the people that belonged to the other Tiwa group went with the Fierro faction. The Indian Tiwa families were Pedraza, Gonzales and Dominques, and the Duran family.

Members of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe dealt with Miguel Fierro with a particular form of private justice: a group of Piro men yet unnamed went out drinking, and then tracked Miguel Fierro, beat him to a bloody pulp, and left him for dead. Though Fierro never quite recovered from his injuries, it does not appear that any of his assailants were prosecuted. No witnesses survive (Slagle, PMT Field Notes, 1991). After this incident, the hostilities between the Tribe and the Corporation only escalated.

Miguel Fierro had every intention of retaining control over Corporation affairs by legitimizing the takeover through acquiring the appurtenances of the Tribe's ceremonial properties in addition to the Corporation records and the Tribe's own records. In 1948, on behalf of the Corporation, Miguel Fierro filed a write before the Justice of the Peace in Precinct 3, Dona Ana County, claiming that Vicente Roybal, Victor Roybal, Sr., and Victor's son Louis Roybal (5th Captain), were wrongfully detaining in their possession the Corporation records, seal, maps, and instruments. President Victor Roybal, Sr. was then in San Diego and could not get over to Las Cruces for the hearing, and lacking legal counsel who understood the situation, the Tribe was unprepared to contest the suit. The Justice of the Peace ruled against the Roybals (Civil Records 10810). Although accounts differ on how the confiscation was accomplished and what was taken, briefly, Fierro, in the company of a Sheriff's Deputy, ransacked Vicente Roybal's home as Roybal stood helpless and seized all written records of every kind in his possession regardless whether they were Corporation records, as well as the Corporation seal. The Deputy also took the ceremonial varas or switches used by Captains of the Tribe from them individually (Oppenheimer 1957: 85).

Though the confiscation of the trappings of tribal authority was of political and psychological importance to Miguel Fierro, the confiscation of tribal records and his subsequent hoarding of such documents away from access to the tribal leadership. The failure in his plan was that he did not and could not hope to confiscate the tribal records and actual heritage which were not the property of

the Corporation. However, the Cacique was forced to hand over to Fierro certain properties of the Tribe which were not Corporation property, a usurpation which was entirely inexcusable. [See Document 25, and text below.]

Estella Sanchez vividly recalls the incident in 1946 when the court ordered Vicente and her father to turn over ceremonial objects and tribal records to the Fierros, who contended they were Corporation property [Slagle and Conn, PMT Field Notes, January 23, 1990.]

In 1948, Miguel Fierro made his most oppressive power play against the traditional Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indian population by going after Vicente Roybal in his capacity as Cacique by suing him in an attempt to seize the symbols of office in the final phase of his junta [See Document 25: Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe, a Corporation; the Commissioners of the Town of Guadalupe, Miguel B. Fierro, vs. Victor Roybal, Vicente Roybal and Luis Roybal, Defendants, N. M. S. C., Precinct 3, Dona Ana County, New Mexico, 9 March 1948, Docket 1737-N was a writ for a replevin action to deliver certain "chattels" the plaintiffs alleged the defendants wrongfully held in their possession by 2:00 p. m. Tuesday, March 16, 1948. Fierro, as President of the Corporation, demanded the surrender of the seal, maps, records, books, minutes, instruments and all other papers of the said corporation, totalling in value some $200.00. Following a default and a final judgment in the Justice's Court Vicente and Luis (Louis) Roybal attempted to appeal the decision in the Third Judicial District Court for Dona Ana County, filing 1 April 1948, Docket 10810, but they lost.] Deputy sheriffs from Dona Ana County brought a warrant to Vicente Roybal's house in Las Cruces to remove the ceremonial objects which Miguel Fierro claimed were the property of the Tortugas Pueblo:

> These included all written records in Vicente's possession, the official seal of the pueblo, the varas, the tombe, maps and possibly the Cacique's staff. The Conservatives claim that Vicente did wrong in allowing the deputy to search the house for these objects [Oppenheimer (1957:85).]

The Cacique was not merely frightened, and he had not surrendered entirely. According to [Louis Roybal, May 30, 1991], he recalled the end of Felipe Roybal by assassination in front of a local bar, and the excesses to which fierce competition between the Indian and Mexican factions at Tortugas might lead. His reasoning was that the symbols of office meant nothing compared with the lives of the people, and left the final outcome to the will of God.

Hurt wrote about the status of the Tribe, and pointed out a critical distinction between the Tribe and the Miguel Fierro Faction at Tortugas:

> This change of status from a Mexican Indian to a Tiwa is considered so highly desirable that one Mexican Indian, Miguel Fierro, has attempted to become the actual leader of the Tiwa band. When Victor Roybal, the Tiwa Presidente, moved to San Diego, some of the tribal members, among them many initiated Mexican Indians, became dissatisfied because they considered he was neglecting his duties. In addition, they were not willing to accept the leadership of Vicente Roybal, his brother and the Cacique. Vicente is most unpopular with some of the Tiwa group. Miguel Fierro, who had been appointed one of the war capitanes, with the connivance of another capitan, was able to obtain the keys to the Casa del Pueblo, some of the tribal records, and the tribal seal. Vicente and Victor and some of the loyal tribal members have been attempting for the last six years to bring a law suit against Miguel for repossession of the property, but have been unsuccessful in bringing the case to court. During the ceremonies of December, 1949, Miguel borrowed the Cacique's drum. According to Vicente and his family, since

> Miguel did not know the proper drum ceremonies, the drum would not "play right." As a result, Miguel accused the Cacique of being a witch. Some of the loyal members in the faction led by Vicente refused to participate in the December ceremonies in Guadalupe.

In usurpation, the Fierro faction took the Tribe's property, but not the Tribe.

According to Oppenheimer (1957:81), "Many aggressions and latent hostilities" channelled into factionalism at Tortugas. Factionalism, he believed, did not "resolve itself into clear-cut groups or sharp lines of demarcation," and it was difficult to predict into which faction any particular individual would fall:

> Apparently factionalism cross-cuts lines of age, sex, economic circumstance, education, and even family ties. On a relative basis, however, there are tendencies which can be noted, and which have a certain validity if not pressed too far.

Oppenheimer found suggestions that the factionalism at Tortugas derived from the founding of the community, and said, "According to legend, Tortugas was founded by a dissident group at Isleta del Sur" (Oppenheimer 1957:81). The catch, of course, was "The reasons for this budding off appear to be completely lost in Tortugas." What was apparent in both Tortugas and Las Cruces proper was that certain families and individuals lived there who had links with the Isleta del Sur Pueblo; however, Oppenheimer surmised, "the mysterious assassination of the Cacique in 1908 was a result of factionalism, but here again the reasons are hidden. Factionalism appears to be deeply ingrained at Tortugas. As one person put it, 'We always have a fight over this or that.'" Oppenheimer pointed to the Isleta split, with two Governors fighting over control of tribal assets.

Oppenheimer defined the warring camps loosely as dividing along predominantly "Conservative" and predominantly "Progressive" lines, claiming his contacts primarily were among the "Conservatives." These categories were his own, and he never explained what they meant in this context. He warned of some "unconscious bias" in favor of his "Conservative" consultants. The religious leaders were "Conservatives," while the Cacique and Tortugas priest were unwilling participants in the factionalism. The "Conservatives" had a sense of religion-based righteous indignation, and had "definite feelings of persecution," and verbalized this feeling in various ways Oppenheimer (1957:82, fn. 32).

> Oppenheimer saw the "Progressives," the Fierro faction, as the aggressors: In general, the aims of this group are primarily to reform what appear to them as abuses and secondarily to improve the physical plant of the community. At the time of my visit, this group was led by Miguel Fierro, who later died, it is rumored, as the result of a beating [Oppenheimer (1957:83).]

An important matter to recall here is that the Las Cruces-based Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe and its members had assignments in the Tortugas Pueblo, but few actually lived there. They were less concerned with the physical plant, aside from the Church and ceremonial precincts, than were the largely-Mexican population that actually lived there by this time. Oppenheimer observed:

> Much of the strife centers on the office of President of the Pueblo. It is claimed by the Conservatives that Victor Roybal, the brother of the Cacique, was elected to this office for life, and that his position was illegally <sic> usurped by Miguel Fierro. The Progressive faction feels that the position should be held by one of their group in order to correct abuses [Oppenheimer (1957:83).]

At the time of Oppenheimer's research, however, Miguel Fierro lacked the full power of Presidente, and was asserting authority as a true usurper, pending

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resolution through an election:

> Apparently Fierro's position had not legal sanction, for he could not sign documents as President. These papers are still sent to Victor Roybal in San Diego to be signed. Some people aligned with the Roybal faction feel that he should not sign them. The lack of a legal position for Fierro forced his faction to claim that Fierro was elected President of the Board of Directors and not President of the Pueblo. Fierro was a wealthy man by Tortugas standards, and it is claimed by the Conservative faction that he "bought" the Presidency. Fierro was known as "Don Miguel" even to those allied against him [Oppenheimer (1957:84).]

The Tribe lost little affection on the "Don" despite his title, which was a little like giving the Devil his due. He was viewed as an interloper from the beginning:

> He was Mexican-born and called a "wetback" by some of his opponents. When he died, some individuals hinted that he had much on his conscience and might find eternal glory somewhat difficult of attainment [Oppenheimer (1957:84).]

The means by which Fierro attained a claim to Presidency in 1948 appears to have involved "a great deal of political plotting:

> A meeting was called of the Progressive faction, at which time Fierro was elected or appointed to office. Vicente Roybal, the Cacique, was invited to this meeting but did not attend, for, he said, he did not know for what purpose it had been called. It is another instance of the shirking of his duties by the Cacique, and a lack of sensitivity to public opinion which has lowered him in the opinion of the members of both factions. The Progressive group had another meeting at a later date, and during this interval there appears to have been a good deal of shifting of allegiances among the people [Oppenheimer (1957:84).

(b) (6) [redacted] reports that at the time, Victor Roybal, Sr. still was working for the Navy in San Diego and had tribal documents with him. When Victor died, Louis Roybal took possession of the documents, but the Corporation was able to secure copies of the originals [Slagle and Conn, Field Notes, January 23, 1990.]

The Tribe felt that the Mexican faction was usurping the prerogatives of the Cacique, while the Fierros felt there was no longer a need to maintain a posture of civility toward the Cacique. Having divorced themselves from tribal membership by attempting to superimpose their own designs on the Tribe, the Fierros had to be in control of the symbols even if they no longer retained their meaning. Failing to understand the Cacique's position, Oppenheimer wrote:

> Both factions appear to be united in the opinion that the Cacique shirks his duties, and this is borne out in fact. It is claimed that he does not know enough of ritual and ceremonialism and that he is gullible. The Conservatives further feel that he is lacking in leadership and is not firm enough in defending the right. At the time of my visit the pueblo meetings and the New Year's elections were held by Fierro without the Cacique. The Cacique attends the annual Guadalupe fiesta but does not sing. It is claimed that he sings alone in his own home. Indeed many men in the Cacique's faction refused to join the chorus of Tiwa chanters, being satisfied to observe the performance and to criticize it. As one man put it, "We just stand around and laugh like coyotes." After one such performance I heard a War Captain announce, "Some of the members are not being regular" [Oppenheimer (1957:86).]

This finding is consistent with Hurt's, regarding the widening separation of the Tribe in ceremonial activities from the Fierro group.

Hurt wrote about the incidents marking the complete divorce of the Tribe from

Tortugas affairs. Hurt recalled that on February 12, 1950, the Fierro group held an annual Corporation meeting in the Casa del Pueblo. The various officers and twenty-two members were present. According to a newspaper account,

> Majordomos for 1949 gave a detailed report of credits and debits for the organization's feast last December, which was consolidated into one by outgoing Mayordomos. Those who left office were Cipriana S. Fierro and Sister Lucy, and Mr. and Mrs. Francisco Portillo. . . . Expenditures totalled $301.77 and covered dressing of the image of the Virgin, altar flowers, and expenses incurred in preparing meals for dancers and others participating in the Feast. Felipe Carabajal, treasurer, gave a complete financial report. . . . Total revenues for the year from donations, rent for Casa de Comida, food booths and the Fiesta, sale of land for adobes, Alms from 'A' pilgrimage, and improvements for Pueblo property was $365.99. . . . Miguel B. Fierro, Capitan de la Guerra for 1949, made a complete report on projects undertaken . . . outstanding projects for 1950 were given. They are: Flooring for Casa de Pueblo; fending around three Pueblo buildings; and construction and plastering of benches for Casa de Comida (Hurt 1952: 112).

Though this was a fairly typical Corporation meeting, it did not reflect the involvement of the Tribe. As Hurt noted:

> The office of Treasurer and the Mayordomos were not part of the original organization of the Tiwas. Undoubtedly they represent the influence from the Mexican Indians. The officer hierarchy of the Tortugas Tiwas is very similar to the Tiwas of Ysleta del Sur below El Paso, Texas. The major difference is the Tortugas call on group Presidente and Vice Presidente, while the Ysletans substitute Gobernador and Teniente Governador in the same fashion as teh Tiwas in central New Mexico (1952, at 113; citing Fewkes 1904: p. 9)

Miguel Fierro's taking of the Tribe's religious articles in itself was inconclusive. Louis Roybal recalls (Conn: PMT Field Notes, 1989):

> When I was 15 or 16, still in high school, they brought a writ against my uncle Vicente and my dad, Victor Sr., for the drum, bow and arrows, gourds, and tribal records. . . . Their atty. was Bill Sutherland, who brought the action under the name of Fierro and the Corporation. Our legal assistance was from Miguel Nevarez's brother [a Notary Public]. The Corporation said all tribal records belonged to the Corporation, with the drum and all the other articles. Legal representation was no help, and offered no challenge. This was the beginning of our legal battles. We turned over the drum, tribal records. The Tribe filed an appeal, but had no money to go to court, and gave up the appeal.

As far as the Tribe knows, the records and ceremonial objects are still in the hands of the Corporation. Roybal says: I've seen the ceremonial objects, but not the records." Indeed, some of the artifacts have been on public display from time to time. However, Hurt observed that while:

> A new drum is kept in the Casa del Pueblo, . . . Vicente Roybal retain[ed] at his home the old drum, which belonged to his ancestors. The old drum is a hollowed log and skin-covered Pueblo type of drum which is occasionally repainted with red ochre. A sun and moon symbol is painted on both faces of the drum in typical Pueblo Indian design. On one side of the drum is a small hole for "feeding" (1952: 114).

The gourd rattle belonging to his parents goes also with the drum.

Though Oppenheimer talked about the importance of the drum and the drum-feeding rituals, the drum-feeding of the original drum always happened at the home of the Cacique in Las Cruces. Hurt (Tortugas, p. 114) wrote:

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> The old drum forms an important part of the Tiwa ceremonies. Once every three months the Cacique 'feeds' the drum in his home. On New Years' Eve a more elaborate ceremony for the drum is held. The Cacique refused to reveal all the details of the drum ceremonies. He did state, however, that the 'feeding' consists of blowing cigarette smoke into the hole on the side of the drum. The drum is considered sacred by the Cacique, to the extent that he was not willing to sell it.

Parsons [Isleta, p. 281, in Oppenheimer (1957:93)], mentioned such feedings of ritual objects with smoke at Isleta. The important thing here is that the most important physical artifact, the drum, never was lost. According to Louis Roybal (Conn: PMT Field Notes, 1989):

> [Vicente Roybal's] daughter, (b) (6) , has the original drum. This is the drum that came with the tribe from Senecu Pueblo near Ysleta del Sur. Lou's father said that his grandfather Felipe bartered for the drum, gave a Piro Indian a horse or two for the drum. The Drum hasn't been passed on to the new Cacique because he's in El Paso, and Felipe, the Cacique, has problems with his wife. That's one reason he doesn't participate very much. His wife is [non-Indian]. The Court didn't take this drum because they [the Fierro faction] acquired another drum that they used.

The perception remains among some, however, that the drum actually was taken. (b)(6) retains it at her home, in the core community, in as close proximity to its original home as possible.

Miguel Fierro and his supporters had effectively turned the tables on the Piro/Manso/Tiwas. The Piro/Manso/Tiwas had used the Corporation as their instrumentality, and having taken control over the Corporation, Fierro now claimed leadership of the Tortugas Tiwa Tribe, and the right to make all decisions regarding it and dispose of its property. Certain Indians living in Tortugas had supported him, and though a Mexican of non-Piro/Manso/Tiwa descent, he relied on their presence and support to lend credibility to his claims to authority over the Tribe. The remaining old settlers of Guadalupe in Tortugas, and then-current residents of Tortugas, tended to fall into line with the Fierros, if for no other reason, simply because their homes were in Tortugas and they did not want to have their lives disrupted.

According to recollections of current members of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe who were witnesses to the taking of sides in the takeover, most of the Fierro's partisans were Mexican. Of the assignees of land or whole blocks at Guadalupe, or residents of Tortugas, the Fierro partisans included (Slagle, PMT Field Notes, 1991; see Oppenheimer 1957: 70):

Piros/Mansos/Tiguas
Pablo Pedraza
Rafaelita Dominguez (Piro by adoption only) and her children (b) (6)
Jose Gonzales
Patricio Gonzales
Roberto Gonzales
Rosario Gonzales
Daniel Gonzales
Jose Santonino
Diego Paz
Juan Herrera
Pedro Benavides

Mexicans
Granillos family
Luis Baudrad
Pantaleon Enriques
Tillie Amador (hotelier)
Ygnacio Herrera (Mexican, wood merchant)
Ignacio Pasos
Victoriano Herrera
Formund (?) Enriques
Andres Dominques, Family of (b) (6)
Catarino Grijalba
Andriano Marques

Francisco Lopez
Eugenio Duran (Tigua)
Jose Santiago "Jim" Duran
(Tigua, born at Ysleta, 1886)
Miguel Paz
Gabriel Hernandez

Cleofas Ybarra
Jose Carabajal
Rueben Carabajal
Fred Carabajal
Ignacio Grijalba
Juan Ortega
Carlos Grijalba
Andreso Ochova
Frank Brito (half
Sonoran Yaqui)
Miguel Fierro
(Fierros was not a Torugas
resident) and Family
Margarito Fierro
Pablo Fierro
Santiago Olaga
Especion Alejo

As indicated above, other original assignees were dead, had lost their assignments due to taxes or had sold their rights.

Piro/Tigua Tortugas Assignees, Residents

Merced Parra
Gomez Family
Eres Family
Luciano Avalos
Carlos Duran (Tigua)
Lorenzo Holguin (Piro? Oppenheimer 1957: 70)
Mariano Madrid (plasterer)
Francisco Madrid (plasterers)
Emelia Patten Ascarate
Candelario Roybal
Julio Rivera
Domingo Herrera
Susano Herrera
Lucy Pedraza Miranda (brother w/Fierro)
Jesus M. Rivera's Family
Tito Rivera
Jose A.[Angel] Enriques (farmer)
Francisco Gonzales (siblings w/Fierro)
Family of Senobio Abalos and Francisca Avalos
Luis Herrera
Jacinto Jemente
Lonjino Pedraza and Family
Vidal Minjares
Dolores Alejo Family
Manuel Trujillo
Sostenes Gonzales (Tigua)
Cirildo Avalos and Guadalupe Beltran
Alejandro Benevides
Jose Gonzales (sibling went w/Fierro).
Estansilado Avalos, Family
Ezekial Avalos, Family

Piro non-Resident Assignees

Juan Avalos
Victor Roybal

The handling of the process of sorting out alliances with the Indian side or the Mexican side often was tortuous for those who attempted to mediate between Piro and Tiwa families who continued to quarrel among themselves about the breaking away of the Corporation, and how to proceed.

Even among the Piro/Manso/Tiwa faction, there was confusion and hurt. Some Indians, more concerned for the Tortugas community's economic concerns than for tradition, veered toward the opposing faction at one time or another, particularly those who, though not of lineal Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indian descent, had been adopted. Others appear to have had personal reasons, such as passing grudges or resentments toward the hereditary chief or his household.

Individuals who joined the Fierro side were publicly rejected by the Tribe and disowned by their own families. The Roybal adherents were particularly incensed at the manner and timing of the takeover of the Corporation. (b) (6) names her cousins, (b) (6) as persons who aided the Fierros in gaining a monopoly on power, especially while Victor Roybal, Sr. was away during the war working for the Navy [Slagle and Conn, Field Notes, January 23, 1990]. During this period, her father, Victor Roybal, Sr., still returned to Tortugas to attend the ceremonies and fiestas. However, he was not able to maintain authority over all the disgruntled shirttail or adopted kin who sided with the Fierros. The most memorable account of the Tribe's treatment of the Fierro sympathizers, came in a meeting between Victor Roybal and (b) (6) (b) (6), his adopted sister, reported by his daughter, (b) (6). (b)(6) (b) (6) (the non-Indian adopted daughter of Cacigua Francisca Avalos Roybal) had joined the Fierro junta, and at a fiesta, approached Victor Roybal, penitent, crying and offering to recant and offering him the custody of the Chapel (Capilla) year-round. He brusquely declined [Oppenheimer (1957:84)]:

> My Aunt comes and greets my Daddy. Then they exchanged how they all were. Then my Aunt tells my Daddy that she is sorry that they appointed Don Miguel. Then she starts crying. Then she tells my Daddy to go ahead and have everything back. Then my Daddy gets mad and tells her to have them, that he doesn't want any part of it and to go with them if she wanted, he didn't care. What I mean is with the other party. Then one that she calls a member, a woman, one of the other party, comes and greets my Daddy while they're having that argument. She tells my Daddy that she's not with that other side because she doesn't know what kind of a man Don Miguel was. Then my Daddy tells her that he doesn't care but to go ahead with that party. He cussed my Aunt out. He told them that they weren't anything but fake Indians, and I guess that ended the argument because one of my cousins took my Daddy away because he was really angry. He also told her that if ever she was sick not to call on him or recognize him as a brother. Then he said, "Till [From] this day we are no longer brother and sister. I don't want to speak to you or you to speak to me." As long as she lived that if ever she would need him for anything not to call upon him because he didn't have anything to do with her anymore. Even the day that she would be dying not to call him or talk to him.

Vicente Roybal, the Cacique, supported his brother as Presidente and had to deal with the entire range of problems.

It appears that certain families, such as the Benavides, Pedraza and Duran families, kept at least some affiliation with the Tortugas and its doings over the years. For some, there were practical considerations such as having had a long period of settlement in the community, and no certain prospect of any improvement if they left the only homes they knew, or owned. They wanted to leave or have

something for their own households, and accepted or acquiesced to the new state of affairs. Actually, the Tribe's experience of becoming dispossessed for economic or political reasons was by no means new, as the preceding narrative makes obvious. Then, some apparently were confident that the schism in the community might eventually heal and that things would naturally right themselves in time. Those who strongly opposed the Fierro regime in the Tortugas Pueblo, particularly those who followed the Cacique, strongly resented the choice of their relations and colleagues who not only stayed in Tortugas, but maintained either the outward appearance of conciliation, or actually consorted with and supported the Fierro regime, and who have done so since.

One of the most frequent terms of vituperation in the Las Cruces area after the schism in the Corporation was, "fake Indian". One of the men with the most claim to Indian ancestry admitted, however, that "There isn't a Mexican that hasn't got rich Indian blood. All Mexicans are Indians" (Oppenheimer, 1957 Thesis p. 70-71).

Upon winning his court cases, Miguel Fierro immediately advertised his victory and consolidated his power, claiming to be President of the Tribe, while Victor Roybal, Sr. continued to claim to be legitimate President of the Corporation. Fierro and his supporters claimed the Cacique was now subject to them because they controlled all the ceremonial objects, and even the right to do the ceremonies themselves, their own way. Felipe Roybal, while Cacique, had bartered a tombe, the Piro/Manso/Tiwa's ceremonial drum, from Senecu Piros in exchange for a horse in the 1800s for use in Piro ceremonies. The Cacique's ceremonial vara and that tombe remained in the Tribe's possession, and today certain ceremonial keepers of these objects retain them on the Tribe's behalf (Conn, Slagle, PMT Field Notes, 1990-1991). The Corporation records which Victor Roybal, Sr. possessed in California were not confiscated, and now remain the Louis Roybal's possession in San Diego, California (Conn, Slagle, PMT Field Notes, 1989-1990), and these comprise the main body of tribal documents in the Tribe's possession. Few documents survive covering tribal meetings and activities for the period following 1948.

Piro/Manso/Tiwa Ceremonial Tradition vs. Tortugas Los Indigenes Tradition: "Before" and "After" . . .

After the split of the Tribe from the Corporation, the Fierro faction barred Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribal members from Tortugas rituals that the Tribe had created or inspired. This was nothing less than a naked attempt to usurp cultural identity from the Tribe. It is possible to learn something about this process by comparing the ritual lives of the Corporation, as opposed to the Tribe, after the schism, especially as examined in various studies which took a snapshot of such ceremonies at specific times.

In post-WWII and post-schism Piro/Manso/Tiwa history, the Tribe has moved to a more private, group-focused ceremonialism as non-Indians in Tortugas usurped ritual for their own uses, including the San Juan and Guadalupe Day fiestas, Pilgrimage to A Mountain, and rabbit hunts. The Tortugas population persists in conducting these activities to the present time on their own and after their own fashion; but while these practices may reflect the tribal observances of the past and even of today, the activities at Picacho have become far more important to the Tribe itself and have replaced in current practice the participation of most tribal members in the ceremonial activities at Tortugas. The occasional ritual activities of the Tribe proper at A Mountain are separate and quiet. As Hurt

reported (1952: p. 114-115):

> The major religious ceremonies take place during the last half of the month of December, by the members of the Tiwa band in their section of the village. Simultaneously, the more Christianized Mexican Indians hold their ceremonies in their own section of the village. Some of the Mexican Indian dancers, however, occasionally aid the Tiwa Indians in their dances. A certain amount of friction has arisen in Tortugas because the Mexican Indians have attracted visitors with their ceremonies. The Tiwa Indians prefer more privacy for their ceremonies.

This continues to be true.

The observances of church feast days in solemn Masses and subsequent fiestas, with food, game booths, and dances, as well as large gatherings following baptisms and weddings with music and traditional foods (cabrito, chile colorado, and pozole); funerals; and meetings of other kinds still occur often in the core community (Michael Romero Taylor, in Granjon 1982: 127, n. 24).

Hurt also found (1952: 117) that the ceremonies of the Mexican Indians, other than the Catholic rituals, were less elaborate and well-defined than the Tribe's. Tortugas Mexican Indians may dance at La Mesa or other places, but their dances are not "Indian" in the same sense as those of the Tribe.

LA PALMA: March 22-24

Picacho was an important ceremonial site for this Tribe before the break with Tortugas, and has continued to be, whereas A Mountain is the only site for the Tortugas practices; indeed, Oppenheimer observed that prior to the split, "a string of lights was set on Mount Picacho, which rises about one thousand feet from the valley floor four miles west of Las Cruces" (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957, p. 104).

The ritual or ceremonial importance of Picacho increased when Piro/Manso/Tiwa activities at Tortugas were first restricted, then prevented. In an interview (F. Almarez with Juan Benavidez, Piro/Manso/Tiwa 4th War Captain): PMT Field Notes, Las Cruces, April 4th, 1991), Juan Benavidez described a "tribal meeting" which took place on March 22, 23, and 24 (the week before Palm Sunday) in the hills behind Las Cruces International Airport. This area is situated approximately 9 miles west of Las Cruces, New Mexico, near the Sleeping Lady Hills on the west mesa, near the Mesilla Valley.

The "meetings", also called "la Palma", are actually group forays into the desert mesa to gather plant materials for the making of the "Tree of Eternal Life", also known as a "Palma" or a "Rama". This is a ceremonial object constructed of Juniper boughs and sotol leaves. A Bureau of Land Management "Free Use Application and Permit, Vegetation and Mineral" must be obtained and is generally done so a week before the outing. The permit for this particular outing (dated 3/18/91) was obtained by Mr. Juan Benavidez and was granted by Mr. Timothy Salt, Mimbres Resource Area Manager, Las Cruces District (copy of permit on file at Batcho & Kauffman Associates).

The group leaves Las Cruces in the morning and assembles in the area west of the Las Cruces Airport. Boughs from the Juniper trees and leaves from Sotol (also known as "Spanish Bayonet") are removed from areas of the plant representing the "four cardinal directions of the universe", i.e., north, south, east, and west. Gatherers cut 12 to 18 inch juniper boughs. They cut 6 inch long portions of the broad, fleshy end of the sotol leaf (the end which connects to the crown of the plant) to make the "palmas", or flower- like component of the object. Sotol leaves are also cut into long 1/4 to /1/8 inch thick strips to be used as binding

material. Sometimes a drummer accompanies the gathering activities, which may include singing and prayers. Also, the group will sometimes take a break from the collection activities to perform The Round Dance, which requires accompaniment of a drummer.

After gathering, the materials are taken to Victor Roybal Jr.'s house where the actual assembling is done. A prayer is always said during the construction to "give it blessing". A couple of the Juniper branches are bound together with the sotol strips, making a bough approximately 18 inches long.

Two bouquet-like foliage arrangements, spaced approximately 6-8 inches apart, are constructed next. For each one, 4 of the broad ends of the sotol leaves are arranged in the four cardinal directions around the bough, with the narrow end bound to the bough with sotol strips. These, according to Mr. Benavidez, represent a relation to Christ: " like Christ.... like the palms on Palm Sunday."

The Palma is taken to church for the priest to bless with holy water. Sometimes, however, the priest will refuse to bless the object. In such a case, they will go ahead and bless it themselves with holy water.

The function of the Palmas is for special ceremonies and burials. The Palma will be laid in the casket with the body before the closing prayers are said "in the four [cardinal] directions...the Indian way." During special ceremonies [wasn't specific as to which ones] they will burn it in the bonfire " so our prayers will go up to the heavens [with the smoke]." When asked as to which ceremonies they will do this he replied " sometimes we'll use it, sometimes we won't." Some people will also hang them on the wall of particular room in their home (like the palm cross in Catholicism) or sometimes burn them in their fireplaces.

This particular ritual object and the related gathering ceremonies appears to be a syncretism of Catholic and Native American religious symbolism. Elements of both cultures are combined onto a ritual object which appears to be Indian in origin. To Catholics, the Palm crosses associated with Palm Sunday are commonplace. However, this particular Palma is something apparently uniquely Native American which, though mentioned in the literature in passing, has never been fully documented.

SAN JUAN FIESTA -- June 24

The San Juan Bautista/St. John the Baptist feast is on June 24, and was celebrated in 1951 after a lapse of 3 years. It is important to note that the Tortugans persisted in their reproduction of at least part of the old Piro/Manso/Tiwa culture in the dances as a cultural veneer justifying their claims to predominance of the village. It is important as well to note as Oppenheimer did that the gradual disassociation of the Tribe from participation in the ceremonies at Tortugas meant that the ceremonies inevitably came to reflect the Tribe's loss of control. Rather than assure adherence to custom as actual active participants in the dancing and singing as leaders, Vicente and other Tribal members generally sat back and derided the proceedings as observers.

In 1951, the San Juan festival took place in the Casa del Pueblo. The fiestas of San Juan start mid-afternoon and last until the following sunrise. Captains and male majordomos prepare in the small meeting room attached to the main hall of the Casa Del Pueblo, then return to paint the "members of the pueblo," putting a red patch on each cheek and the chin of the women, and a purple stripe down each cheek from the corner of the eye near the cheek [Oppenheimer (1957:91)]. Each War Captain is ritually whipped with one stroke on each leg to a drum-beat with the vara (a long branch, broken and not cut from a tree, on which the intact twigs and

leaves are bound upwards on the main shaft, symbolizing the War Captain's office), to remind him of the duty of his office. Announcements are followed with drum-beats. The dancers (mostly youthful) sit opposite each other, women on the south side, males on the north, Captains on the northwest side.

In 1951, only five women wore the traditional black satin-ribboned dress, over a white blouse, with a white veil, suggesting to Oppenheimer the handwoven woolen manta of the pueblos. The pictures recording the dances dating from 1907 suggested little change, and little difference between the Tortugas dances and those in Isleta del Sur shown in El Paso Times of June 14, 1951. The ribbon headband or tiara supports satin streamers to mid-calf [Oppenheimer (1957:93)]. The men wear ordinary suits, and "dance with a bow and two arrows in the left hand and a gourd rattle [painted red] in the right," with feathers at the top of the gourd and the bottom of the handle, which is attached to the wrist with a thong.

The dances of the afternoon were "Indian Dances:" Tiwa chants by six or men at any one time accompanied by a drum held by three men. The Tiwa chants of the Tanoan stock were sung during Oppenheimer's visit. An unidentified Isletan informant told Oppenheimer the chants were composed of parts of existing songs, compressed together [Oppenheimer (1957:94)]. Dances sets include three dances (described in Oppenheimer 1957:94). Refreshments were available at the small room adjoining the Casa del Pueblo, complete with Tokay wine, cookies, candies and soft drinks, as in the kivas at Indian Pueblos. [Note: Alcohol consumption was supposed to be restricted to this room, as a sort of men's club, and some became drunk. In general, drinking comportment was a matter of some concern in Tortugas. There were no bars in Tortugas, and Oppenheimer attributed this to the location adjacent to the State College. Drinking, nonetheless, was "an important recreation for Tortugas men," and had been the cause of death for some. Bootlegging had been prevalent both in Las Cruces and Tortugas in the Prohibition years. Another feature in this matter was that until after Oppenheimer was finished with his early-1950s Mesilla Valley field work, the legal federal prohibitions against Indian drinking, and drinking in Indian Country, still prevailed (Oppenheimer, 1957 Thesis p. 69).]

Shortly after 5 p. m., there was a procession to the church including all the dancers and singers, with the drum at the front, accompanied by a chorus and rattle-shakers, entered the church for a short period, then danced in front of the chapel (Capilla built in 1949 on a vow, replacing the former structure east of the Casa del Pueblo housing the statute of the Virgin). The dancers arrive, the doors of the chapel open, candles light the image and its flowers, and a rosary followed [in Spanish], led by a woman (1951). After the brief service, some went into the chapel, then all returned to the Casa del Pueblo for a counter-clockwise round dance.

After dinner, for which there was a cover charge, there was another hour of dancing, and then the Baile de Olla (named for the secular pottery water drum), the social dance of Tortugas, which one Isleta informant familiar with Tortugas said was the same as the Isletan Ranch, or Comanche Dance, performed each Saturday night according to Parsons [Oppenheimer (1957:97, fn. 3); Parsons, Isleta, p. 205]; while the use of the olla drum indoors in the Isleta del Sur House Dance parallels the indoor use of the olla drum in the Tortugas Baile de Olla [Fewkes, Pueblo Settlements, p. 67 in Oppenheimer (1957:93)]. This required a change of costumes for the women. The Tortugans used a hollow wooden drum for the latter dances instead of the usual olla because the clay one had been broken. The dances have been described and characterized in schematic figures [Oppenheimer (1957:98, 99)].

The sequel to the fiesta, formerly, involved co-ed ritual bathing in the Rio Grande at the end of the dances, in which the Varas used in the day's ceremonies were thrown into the river. The Indians cut their hair with axes, formerly, only at that occasion during the year--just before the hottest weather [Oppenheimer (1957:99)]. Ritual bathing is associated in the Southwest with this saint in particular, but also prevails at Isleta [Parsons, Tewa, p. 260, in Oppenheimer (1957:99), fn. 8], and among Tewas [Parsons, Tewa, Oppenheimer (1957:93), fn. 8]. Dr. Florence Hawley Ellis stated to Oppenheimer [Oppenheimer (1957:99), fn. 8] that "The Pojoaque Indians used to braid their hair and cut off the braids with an axe. I don't know whether this is a Pueblo or Mexican custom."

NEW YEAR'S EVE/ WINTER SOLSTICE

Formerly, on New Year's Eve, the Tribe had an annual meeting, selection of new officers, and initiation rites. In 1991, the Assistant Cacique, Edward Roybal, Jr., declared that the annual meeting and ceremonies should be held henceforth on December 21, in order to observe the Winter Solstice, while the Summer Solstice should be celebrated June 21, near the traditional feast day of San Juan (also close to June 13, the traditional feast day of San Antonio; Slagle, PMT Field Notes, September, 1991). Hurt reported (1952: p. 116):

> On New Year's Eve the tribal initiations and drum ceremonies are held in Vicente Roybal's house in Las Cruces. Indian songs are sung for a large portion of the evening. New Year's day is an occasion for the social dances of the Tiwas. a pottery drum and another set of songs and dance steps are used. During the remaining portions of the year, meetings are held at infrequent intervals in the Casa del Pueblo and in Vicente Roybal's house. Fewkes mentions that the pottery drum is also used by the Ysleta del Sur Tiwas in their secular dances (Fewkes 1907, p. 12). Vicente Roybal state that their war ceremonies have disappeared, but that a few of the Tiwas still know the songs.

LAS FLORES DE MAYO

This ceremonial for the Month of the Flowers consisted of daily afternoon devotions at the flower-festooned altar, with Rosaries and litanies, with a special Mass at some time during the month (Michael Taylor, in Granjon 1982: 130, n. 30).

Piro/Manso/Tiwa GUADALUPE DAY PILGRIMAGE TO A MOUNTAIN

Participation in the December 12 ritual pilgrimage to A Mountain, conducted in connection with Piro/Manso/Tiwa Guadalupe Day observances in Las Cruces and Tortugas, originally was restricted to the Abuelos, or "grandfather clowns," who were the Capitanes of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe. This form of the pilgrimage appears likely to have been instituted by the early Caciques in Las Cruces, and to have been brought with them from El Paso del Norte Piro. By the late 1930s, tribal members and others joined in the mountain-summit pilgrimages, which started out from Tortugas for the purposes of the large-scale public purposes. For the Tribe's purposes, the most important part of the pilgrimage was the religious observance conducted by the Cacique and Capitanes, but these started out from the site of the core community in Las Cruces, and served the purposes of the Tribe itself.

In the days that the Fierros took over in Tortugas after the War, these A Mountain pilgrimages became open to public participation as a part of the general festivities connected with the commercialized Guadalupe Day in Tortugas. Since the

late 1940s, though some tribal members participate in the Tortugas-sponsored pilgrimages, the Tribe's Caciques and War Captains have restricted their observances to an approximation of the old form, or have avoided the observances at A Mountain altogether during the time that the Tortugas-sponsored observances are underway.

The common explanation or rationalization for the pre-WWII expansion of participation in the Piro/Manso/Tiwa-sponsored pilgrimages to A Mountain in connection with Guadalupe Day Fiesta was that the expansion allowed the fulfillment of religious vows by a variety of persons, some of whom were not tribal members, and some of whom probably were friendly non-Indians living in the Mesilla Valley. After the Fierros took over the Corporation, the Tortugas Guadalupe Day pilgrimage itself became generalized into a wide-open exercise, religious still in a generalized way, but retaining only a tenuous connection with the actual tribal observance.

Formerly, when the Guadalupe Day Fiestas were under strictly tribal control, the only public events open to all associated with Guadalupe Day Fiestas were the watches, masses, rosaries, dancing, feasting, and merry-making in Las Cruces and later in Tortugas. The Piro/Manso/Tiwa observance of and participation in the A Mountain pilgrimage was very restricted and highly spiritual, and was associated with winter Pueblo ceremonies. For Piro/Manso/Tiwas, this winter observance forming a counterpart to summer solstice-related Pueblo observances connected loosely with the Feast of San Juan on June 24, or San Antonio de Padua Feast Day on June 13 (Slagle, PMT Field Notes, 1991. Note that both of San Juan and San Antonio feast days may be associated with Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe, dating to veneration of San Antonio by Senecu Piros near El Paso del Norte centuries ago, and to veneration of San Juan by Piros in Las Cruces and Tortugas. There are, on the other hand, no nineteenth century accounts of San Antonio's feasts at Ysleta, though he was the Ysleta del Sur patron, and it appears doubtful that any Ysleta-sponsored San Antonio fiesta was an El Paso regional event, or one which drew non-Piro participation.)

The Cacique formerly instructed the Abuelos at his house, the pilgrimage started there, and the Cacique and Mayordomo for the year fed the Abuelos at the top of the mountain, where fires were set and prayers were said to the four directions. Returning, the Abuelos built a fire at the foot of the mountain, then gathered at an old brick house on Kansas Street in Las Cruces, where they met the War Captain, his staff, and the Cacique. That site was one block south of the street on which the Cacique's house sat. They proceeded to the Cacique's house where the true ceremonial kiva was, and there a ceremonial sing welcomed them home. Thence, they proceeded to St. Genevieve's Church in Las Cruces to thank the Virgin for a safe journey (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957, p. 106). Formerly, fires were set in the four directions, including one out of view from the village. In Oppenheimer's time, the Fierro faction already had moved the fires to full view and into a configuration of three strings, one for each ascending group.

TORTUGAS GUADALUPE DAY FIESTA -- December 12

Sources for this account of the Tortugas ceremonies come primarily from Hurt (114 ff.) and Oppenheimer (1957: 99 ff.). The primary ceremonies for the Guadalupe Day fiestas started early in the morning [Hurt, Tortugas, p. 114, "five A. M." on December 10, and Oppenheimer (Thesis, 1957, p. 99), "six P. M." on December 10 (1957:99)] with a special "wake" or vigil (Velorio or Balar) which lasted until dawn, a Velorio de Santo, as a thanksgiving offering for favors during the year at the Casa del Pueblo. While men attended a bonfire outside, women primarily said

the rosaries inside. Candelas (Luminarias) burned on the roof of the Casa del Pueblo and Capilla, in accord with Mexican custom the Tribe introduced to the Southwest. A shotgun was discharged after every set of prayers consisting of a decade of Ave Marias and single Pater Noster (also in accord with Mexican custom). Matechine dancers performed in the Pueblo House. December 11 is devoted to the A Mountain pilgrimage. The El Alva ceremony starts the day, and the Matechines perform the primary work, carrying the picture of the Virgin from the Pueblo House to the church, accompanied by people carrying lit candles and singing hymns. According to the informants in the present tribe, the Matechines' role was a modern addition by the Mexican immigrants (PMT Field Notes, 1991). Whether the Piros traditionally danced Matachines prior to the Fierro faction's use of these dances in connection with Guadalupe Day is unclear, but pre-WWII Tiwa use of these dances is improbable.

The custom at Oppenheimer's date of observation was to register for climbing the mountain at the Casa del Pueblo, and it appears that this custom has persisted. Some tribal members' occasional participation in these pilgrimages has continued, but largely as a separate undertaking, and without the sanction of the leaders of the Fierro group and its successor regime. Prior to 1946, these rosters would have been good yearly indications of active participation in the local religious solemnities, except that they were always open to participation by anyone in the Mesilla Valley, not only Spanish-Americans or Catholics at that, though many former residents return for the pilgrimage. Hurt found 380 listed for the ascent in 1940, according to the Albuquerque Journal, December 13, 1940 (p. 115, in Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957, p. 101), while Oppenheimer found 386. Service men and their families appear to have shown particular devotion in the post-War years, and 600-700 made the ascent in those years.

The ascent of A Mountain, while the Tribe had control over the Corporation and the Guadalupe Day Fiesta, was generally performed in keeping with a religious vow. However, under Fierro's regime, the old customs began to deteriorate, for some older people told him they felt "that it is wrong for women to dress for the pilgrimage in 'socks and slacks' and claim that this has occurred only since the administration of Fierro. Formerly men and women were not allowed any social intercourse while ascending the mountain; 'a woman could only hand a man his lunch'" (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957, p. 102). Keeping order was still the responsibility of the Captains (that is, the Piro/ Manso/ Tiwa tribal War Captains who were citizens and residents of Las Cruces and who had been formally deputized by the city for the purposes of law and order services during the pilgrimage from Tortugas to A Mountain.) As long as the Tribal War Captains continued to participate, they carried this full responsibility of peacekeeping and order in the ceremonies. Only after the Fierro faction drove all tribal loyalists from participating in the festivals did it become necessary for the corporation to hire municipal police on a contract basis or off-duty to supervise.

The pilgrims used to gather wood (when it was more plentiful) on the way up the mountain to light the luminarias typical of the parts of Spain, Southwest and Mexico in connection with Guadalupe Day and Christmas (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957, p. 103). One objection of the Tribe toward the present observances in Tortugas is the use of old tires in the ritual fires, which suggests to them neither an invitation to worshippers or a welcome to the Virgin but a stinking infernal conflagration for its own sake (Field Notes, 1990). A shrine to the Virgin remains on the summit. A "general fire" lighted that site while luminarias lit the way to the top. A "major fire" burned at the valley floor 1/4 mile from the Pueblo, marking the meeting point for the parties, the officers leading the parties, and

the ceremonial beginning of the ascent (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957, p. 104).

On completing the descent, singers lead pilgrims from the lumbre major to Tortugas, women on the left (south) and men on the right (north), approaching the Casa del Pueblo, where the singers knock, lead a group around the building (formerly all groups did this)(Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957, p. 105). On the afternoon of December 11, Azteca dancers carry(ied) the Virgin's image through the streets of the village, and dances followed on December 12 at the Casa del Pueblo, the main day. Three groups prevailed then and now: Matechines (partly indigenous, partly imported and based on Moorish origins dating from introduction by Onate's people in 1598; Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957, p. 107-111), Aztecas (entirely imported; in Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957, p. 111, ff.) and Indian.

Pilgrims typically wear or carry certain paraphernalia, including staffs (quiotes) and crowns (coronas), which they leave at the door of the building as a sacrifice to the Virgin. Supper is ready at the refreshment house afterwords (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957, p. 105).

The Tribe's own distinct Guadalupe Day practices deserve separate consideration, to distinguish them from the blurred version of their original practice which the Tortugas practices dimly reflect.

LOS PASTORES

This Spanish-imported yuletide auto or ceremonial play formerly instructed novice natives in the Roman Catholic religion, and was the only one known to Tortugas. It has been lost there for a long time, and Oppenheimer could not determine the last date it was performed there (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957, p. 118).

RABBIT HUNTS

As for the rabbit hunts, or Cercos, the last formal one as of Oppenheimer's time (Thesis, 1957, p. 115) was in 1948 (Hurt says 1946; 1952: p. 117). The Tortugas group has had Cercos of their own as recently as 1991 (Field Notes, Federico Almarez, with Antonio Mojarro, May 17, 1991). The fencing-off of range and setting of poison traps, overhunting, famine and disease had eroded the rabbit population in the effort to eliminate coyotes and vermin in the former rabbit hunting areas both to the north and south of Las Cruces (Hurt 1952: 116, 117 and Field Notes, 1989-1991); yet the Tortugas group held a rabbit hunt early in 1991, in an attempt to resurrect the practice for their own purposes, however without the proper ceremonies or participation of the tribal leaders in any capacity, as is necessary in an authentic tribal rabbit hunt. The present Tortugas non-Indian hunts bear a relationship to the original form that lacrosse bears to Native American stickball games (see Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957, p. 115; and see his description of the 1948 hunt, 115-117, and citations at fn. 23, p. 115, comparing Isletan and Tewan ceremonies using false-boomerangs or throwing sticks). The Cacique had a leading role in these hunts traditionally, as did a ceremonial smoke doctor, called Humero. In the former deer hunts, the Cacique led the activities, including ritual preparations, as well. Formerly, hunters gathered at the Cacique's house and sang to the four directions without drums or rattles, would train for a week for hunting in the hills, and otherwise make elaborate preparations. Their ceremonies differed little from those of the Ysleta del Sur and Piros of Senecu (Hurt 1952: 116).

Ritual rabbit hunts (discussed below) routinely followed the Guadalupe Day Fiesta, falling at the appropriate season for hunting healthy, parasite and pest-free rabbits. Sometimes, they went on every weekend for months on end, due to the

need for the meat as a protein source (Field Notes, 1990).

Loomis and Leonard (1938: 1) had commented obliquely on the practical importance of certain of the Tribe's traditional practices and cultural events in 1935:

> The commercialized agriculture upon which the individual is dependent today seems to offer little enough for either body or soul. On the other hand, the comparatively well-to-do commercial farmer on the Pacific coast can readily buy the material elements that compose his level of living. But whether he will ever be able to purchase the happiness and abandon which the Indian-Mexican derives from his tribal dance or rabbit hunt is a matter of speculation.

The concluding sentence contains an isolated mention of the important role the traditional rabbit hunts formerly played. Up until the years immediately following the end of the Great Depression, there is little doubt that weekly hunts helped keep the Indian families fed (Field interviews, 1990). The rabbit hunt was another aspect of Piro/ Manso/ Tiwa Indian culture which the mixed community at Tortugas Pueblo eventually co-opted after the takeover of the Corporation by non-tribal people, though the practical aspects of the hunt largely had dissipated by the year 1946, the year of the Tribe's break with the Corporation. Indeed, that year, following the schism, the Piro/ Manso/ Tiwas, and others in their former Pueblo, had suspended the practice (Patrick H. Beckett, "A Tiwa Rabbit Hunt as Held by the Tortugas Indians," AWANYO, 1974: 40). In a drive through former hunting grounds northwest of Las Cruces, Lamberto Trujillo (Field interviews, 1990) cited reasons for the decline of the hunt after the Great Depression: the ranchers' and governments' practice of applying pesticides to a wide range of BLM lands and other range lands; fears of incidents of plague infestation in New Mexico; common infestation of the rabbits' bodies (except in January and February) with boil-like lesions indicating the presence of parasites; widening human occupation driving out the ranging rabbits; and increasing reluctance or hostility among non-Indian landowners to visitations by rabbit hunters. It appears that the ceremonial activity resurfaced, perhaps as an exercise in nostalgia, at some point after 1952, at which time Hurt stated the hunts had been suspended since 1946 (Wesley R. Hurt, Jr., "Tortugas, an Indian Village in Southern New Mexico," El Palacio Vol. 59 (4) 1952, p. 116), some time after the hunt had ceased to fulfill its actual function. The hunts were never for such purposes as a form of diversion, pest control or sport until after the separation of the majority of tribal members from association with the Corporation. Indeed, as Beckett observed regarding the 1974 (p. 41):

> The actual rabbit hunt takes place on Sunday, the following day of the "Tying of the Rabbits" ceremony. It must be noted that for the last two years, the capitanes have been careful not to schedule the rabbit hunt during the "Super Bowl" weekend,

suggesting rather plainly that had the practice continued after 1946 to be viewed at Tortugas as ceremonially necessary or somehow practical or socially important, tribal members would have felt obliged to cancel all other recreations to attend. The dominance of the event by non-members of the Tribe has made tribal members reluctant to resurrect the practice themselves (Field interviews, 1990). As it was, the ceremonial courtesies of the hunt, even in offerings to the humero and captains at the end of a hunt, had eroded in the hands of non-Tribal participants, "as few of the participants know of this custom" (Beckett 1974: 46).

As to the ceremonial practices associated with the hunt, those were considered necessary to conduct a proper hunt and to assure its success, not to

be held for sport or show; hence, the considerable reluctance of tribal members to participate in the latter-day "play" hunts. Apparently, the idea of swatting rabbits in the head with a hand or blunt instrument and wasting the carcasses does not strike the vast majority of tribal members as an appropriate weekend leisure activity ["Upon arriving at the gathering place, it is customary to make a rabbit stick which is obtained by the use of a steel axe or hatchet on nearby mesquite bushes. The rabbit stick should be cut from a living bush (most are cut from mesquite). The rabbit stick has a definite shape somewhat like a very short hockey stick", Beckett 1974: p. 45].

In 1974, Pedro Pedraza, third captain of the Corporation, was cited as a leader of the hunt at the time of Beckett's field observations (pp. 41, 42), though there traditionally had been a cycling of leadership of hunts among the five war captains of the Tribe. At the time of the Beckett study of the Corporation's hunt, the other captains were: Ignacio Pena, 1st captain; Pablo Fierro (son of Margarito Fierro), 4th captain; and Jose Ferrales, 5th captain. Margarito Fierro -- president of the Corporation, as well as 2nd captain -- participated in the hunts, and the humero, or smoke doctor, who ceremonially prepared the hunt, was L. Crespi (Beckett 1974: 42). The rabbit hunt in Beckett's study, the Corporation started a hunt "at a little sanddune near old Fort Fillmore south of Las Cruces, New Mexico" (Beckett 1974: p. 43), moved west for about 1/4 mile toward Rio Grande Valley, then turned south.

Beckett's 1980 work on the contemporary ceremonial activities of the Tortugas community describe the results of progressive co-optation of tribal activities, including the hunts. Even in 1990-1991, a hunt was held in December by the Tortugas group in a recreation of the traditional tribal hunts (Slagle, PMT Field Notes, 1991).

Oppenheimer attempted to find the continuing ceremonial life of the Tribe in the Pueblo of the 1950s, but merely summarized the major ceremonies and some of the religious beliefs in modern Tortugas. While he described the aspects of older ceremonial culture at Tortugas, he concluded that the cultural trend generally was "one of dropping Indian practices and of conforming increasingly to Roman Catholic observance," even among the older informants upon whom he relied in his research (Oppenheimer Thesis, 1957, p. 89.) What he utterly neglected to do was to account for the continual ceremonial life of the Tribe in Las Cruces, because his entire focus was on the ceremonial activities at Tortugas. No one showed him the Las Cruces side, if he asked; or else, if he was shown or told anything, he was silent on it. What he said was:

> No attempt will be made to present the total religious complex of Tortugas, for its religion at the present time is prevailingly Catholic in orientation. In this respect Tortugas resembles the neighboring Spanish-American villages and even the acculturated Indian communities of Mexico. The religious organization, which is an integral part of Tortugas governmental structure, has been described in the preceding chapter (Oppenheimer Thesis, 1957, p. 89.)

Oppenheimer observed that the double-village of Tortugas celebrated, in order of importance, the fiestas of Guadalupe (December 12) and San Juan Bautista (June 24). The schism and separation of Indian and Mexican populations interrupted the regular observance of these festivals in 1948, and they did not resume until 1951 (Oppenheimer Thesis, 1957, pp. 89, 90.)

The controversy leading to the final separation of the Tribe from the Tortugas Pueblo underscored the distinction between the Mexican and Indian communities:

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> It is significant that each faction claims that members of the other are outsiders or "fake Indians". Such statements indicate the lack of an in-group feeling and the high prestige value attached to being considered a genuine Indians.

The hobbyist, though sincere and devout, is still a hobbyist.

The 1950s: Shifting Alliances, and the Final Break with the Corporation

The impact of these destructive incidents in the separation of the Tribe from the Pueblo on individual members is hard to generalize, because coping strategies differed. (b)(6) [redacted] cited the birth of her father and grandfather at Tortugas, as family ties to Tortugas. (b)(6) [redacted] said the Governor deed the land over to her grandfather so he could divide it among the tribal members. She said, ". . . . our hearts and our memories are still there. . . ." The Indians needed a land base and a ceremonial center. Apparently the priest at St. Genevieve's felt the Indians were getting rather loud and out of hand. She recalls how Eugene Van Patten interceded on behalf of the Tribe to obtain the land. She avoided the ceremonies at Tortugas from a sense of hurt and betrayal, the sense that her tribal ceremonies and traditions had been usurped.

In any case, the Fierro faction became quite belligerent in its dealings with individual members, particularly those close to the Cacique, though the Cacique continued to try to make peace. The corporation attempted to have Candelaria Avalos arrested and expelled during the December Fiesta one year, but "Netto" Domingues interceded for her. During the period of the split, the Tribe continued to have their dances and ceremonies in the "old neighborhood;" yet Candelaria Avalos danced at Tortugas until 1957.

Shifting alliances and confusion over what exactly was happening with the Tribe and the Tortugas Pueblo led some tribal member families to ally themselves with the new leadership of Corporation at first (Durans, Pedrazas). When the control of the Corporation did not return to the traditional tribal leaders in the course of time, these families began to realign themselves with the body of the Tribe in Las Cruces, and some of Tiwa descent affiliated themselves with the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo. Louis Roybal reports (Conn: PMT Field Notes, 1989):

> After the Fierro faction came in, we had no records of where or when the faction had their meetings, or who the members were. We had some suspicion that they brought some outsiders who were never members of the tribe or the corporation. They elected their own organization. The makeup of their organization was never really challenged in the court. They had a smart Atty. and we never had one. Sutherland made all the legal claims acting on behalf of the Corporation. Our attorneys, Weir and Whatley, never understood or knew how the Corporation or what the difference was between the Corporation and the tribe, or what the makeup of each was. Most of the actions and activity of the Corporation was against the Indian people. The court records show they were against the Roybal, Avalos, Jemente, Madrid and all the Indian families who made up the tribe. Most of the people that belonged to the other Tiwa group went with the Fierro faction. The Indian Tiwa families were Pedraza, Gonzales and Dominques, and the Duran family. . . . Antonia Pedraza (Tortugas) was in our group, up into the 70s, early 80s. Ray Apodaca was in our group, his family, his mother, his dad [non-Indian],

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his cousins and aunts are in our group, on the tribal roll. They held office in our group.

These former Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribal members sought affiliation elsewhere:

When Apodaca went up to Ysleta del Sur, when they were first recognized during President Johnson's [term of] office, when a bill was passed by Congress with partial federal benefits.

These former members no longer are on the Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribal roll. First they shifted alliances to the Tortugas faction, then to the Ysleta del Sur, and as Roybal concludes: "I think Apodaca got into arguments with Vic and Charlie, while he was in Ysleta del Sur. He wrote a letter to the All Pueblo Indian Council."

For over a generation, political and personal differences, greed, confusion, demographic changes, and other causes which led to the split, and differences of opinion as to what had happened and what to do about it continued to complicate and obscure the issues of Corporation business as opposed to tribal activity and existence. The survival of the Tribe apart from its business affiliation with the Corporation and Guadalupe in Tortugas was the real issue, and resentment and yearning to regain their controlling interest in Corporation affairs caused meandering in the Tribe's efforts to pursue a new course. The effort of the Tortugas-based Corporation to control the Tribe's heritage and identity as well as its assets were the planned contribution of the Fierro faction to that confusion.

In 1950, the Corporation, Commissioners of the Town of Guadalupe, Miguel Fierro, Mariana Alvarez, Pedro Pedraza, Felipe Carbajal, and Saturnino Gonzales sued Father Leo Reis, parish priest of the Guadalupe Church at Tortugas, Dona Ana Board of County Commissioners, and the Catholic Bishop of Tucson Diocese. The individual plaintiffs were Tortugas residents except for Fierro, at least two of them, Mariana Almarez and Pedro Pedraza, were of known Piro-Tigua ancestry. The plaintiffs claimed the Defendants had usurped rights reserved to them in the deed of land to the Church. The Defendants had allowed a carnival to operate on church property during Guadalupe Day festivities, and the priest had taken up collections in the church and refused to turn the almas (contributions) over to the Corporation (Civil Records 11751). The Roybal group interpreted the suit as part of Fierro's effort to take over complete control of Guadalupe Day festivities and to weaken the Cacique's position as religious leader (Weir, Letter, 1950; a compromise settlement resulted between the priest and the Corporation in which the priest would keep the collections and there would be no carnival.)

In 1957, Fierro went still further in the effort to consolidate total control over the Corporation's assets and the associated lands in Guadalupe by filing an additional lawsuit. The result was that he managed to alienate the Piro/Manso/Tiwas still further, and even some Indian Corporation members. Miguel Fierro died in 1957, but the suit continued, and a similar one was filed in 1961. The suits asserted the Corporation's right to land in Guadalupe which Van Patten and the Piro/Manso/Tiwa corporation officers deeded to members of the Roybal family, as well as to others, by the Corporation when it was under the control of the Tribe, and the plaintiffs prevailed (Civil Records 14917, 17070).

Absentee members lost assigned properties in the lawsuit entitled Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe, a Corporation, et al., vs. Victor E. Roybal, Victor A. Roybal, Jr., the unknown heirs of Jennie E. Roybal, deceased, (b) (6) [redacted], et al., N. M. D. C., 3rd Dist.,December 9, 1957, Docket 14917, H. Vearle Payne. In this case, the Corporation sought to quiet title to lots two (2) and three (3), Block 24, in the Indian Town of Tortugas, according to Plat No. 200 filed in the Office of the

County Clerk, Dona Ana County, New Mexico, #15982, Book 5, p. 11 on August 22, 1916. [See Document 19]. The suit challenged conveyances approved by Victor Roybal, Sr. while he was President:
(a) Deed to Victor E. Roybal, dated 9 December 1943, Book 124, Page 367; (himself)
(b) Deed to Jennie E. Roybal, dated 9 December 1943, Book 129, page 542; (his wife)
c) Deed to (b) (6) [redacted], dated 18 September 1957; Book 143, page 112: (their daughter)
(d) Deed to (b) (6) [redacted], dated 18 September 1957; Book 143, page 261 (their daughter).

The properties were undeveloped lands the Corporation claimed were used in annual festivals, and in the week prior to the filing of the suit, (b)(6) [redacted] had fixed a pasteboard sign on the lot she had been deeded, offering the property for rent. Following a restraining order of December 9, 1957 restraining the defendants' use of the property. Following recusal of Judge Scoggin and replacement by H. Vearle Payne, the Court found that Victor Roybal, Sr. had violated the Corporation Bylaws in making these conveyances without consideration, and had not consulted the Board of Directors in the conveyance of these properties, and had committed constructive fraud, hence rendering void conveyances; further, that the properties descriptions the conveyances were too vague. Much of this land actually was confiscated from the Roybal heirs through the lawsuit, including that parcel across the street from Guadalupe Church on the block that contains the Casa de Comida. That land remains a parking lot for the Guadalupe Day visitors. The loss of Tortugas land through lack of formal deeds, and individuals' inability to pay property taxes, and successive suits for aspects of corporate control, certainly had a negative and disheartening impact on the Tribe.

Oppenheimer looked at historical factors responsible for the "wide divergence of Tortugas culture from pueblo culture as a whole," following the Fierro's takeover of the Corporation. He found:

> With much of the rest of Tortugas culture rather thoroughly Hispanicized, the question may be asked: Why have some of the Indian forms survived when they obviously no longer function in the same way as they did in the past or as they do today in the other pueblos? In the case of the Cacique, for instance, the basis of his sanction poses a problem. If the religious props have been knocked from his office, what explains the persistence of the form? This question cannot be answered on the basis of the realities of political authority, for the present Cacique is personally unpopular and has lost real power. The retention of these externals in the governmental and ceremonial realm is due, rather, to an inversion of the prestige structure usually found in this area. The people of Tortugas believe that there are more status rewards in being Indian than in being Mexican or Spanish-American. Prestige in the village goes to those with the knowledge of Indian practices. Those who are considered Indians "by blood" are jealous of their position. The Anglos of the [Mesilla] Valley feel that Indians have more romantic appeal than Mexicans (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957, p. 126-127).

What Oppenheimer's analysis lacks is the oversight regarding the identity of the actual tribal group with the original Pueblo core group and core area in the present city of Las Cruces. The prestige of the Cacique persisted in Las Cruces unabated and uncontested, for that was the actual site of the core community. The Cacique continued to be the Tribal religious and ceremonial Chief throughout the

schism with Tortugas. Even in the late 1950s, Oppenheimer reported:

> When a Tortugeno lies upon his death-bed, he receives not only extreme unction from the priest, but a blessing from the Cacique. The Cacique is the only person who knows this blessing, which is given in Spanish and is accompanied by the sign of the cross. The same blessing is given to all men, women and children (Oppenheimer, 1957 Thesis p. 65).

Oppenheimer apparently did not learn, as our sources have informed us, that the Caciques were often doctors, and provided massage therapy, bonesetting, herbal medicine and the like to members (Slagle, PMT Field Notes, 1991).

The predominantly Mexican population in Tortugas came to this country mostly after the turn of the century, longing for the benefits of American citizenship and control of tribal property, requiring the appurtenances and appearances of identity with the actual Indian community and the caricature of the actual Pueblo. The Cacique had low prestige in the Pueblo in Oppenheimer's opinion and according to his information, but he neglected here to consider this was because the Cacique's party was out of favor and constituted a continuing threat to Chicano control of the Corporation Board and property. To secure the appearance of control, the Fierro faction invited or demanded the Cacique's attendance at public events lent authenticity, and an aura of authority to the Fierro faction's activities and claims, including to their claim of being Indian. Indeed, Oppenheimer continued:

> This situation is to be explained by the very low status of Mexicans in the area. In the rest of rural New Mexico many, if not most of the Spanish-Americans own their own land. In the Mesilla Valley they are, like the Tortugenos, landless. In the period 1881-1916 the Mexicans who were the original settlers of the Valley lost their land by the process of subdivision among heirs. They became day laborers on the holdings of their fathers. In the period from 1916 to the present the influx of immigrant and "wetback" labor, poverty-stricken and crude, with whom the Spanish-Americans have been identified, has tended to further lower their status [fn. 2, p. 127, cites Dr. W. W. Hill's claim that the same prestige inversion had been in process at Santa Clara Pueblo for 50 years.]

Oppenheimer's attention to the question of the Tortugas community's Indian population, and its Indian character in general, was relatively brief, and located in his discussion of status in the community. Oppenheimer observed:

> There are extremely few individuals, however, whose status as Indians is beyond dispute in the community. Lists of the 'real Indians' are highly variable. It would appear that those individuals whose status as Indians is least in doubt produce the smallest lists, while those who are mentioned on the fewest lists tend to be freer in ascribing Indian status to others (Oppenheimer, 1957 Thesis p. 70).

His frankly hearsay sources concluded that the following had the reliable reputation in the community as Indians:

> (1) Vicente and Victor Roybal. Vicente born in 1899. Father, Felipe Roybal. Mother, Francisca Avalos.
>
> (2) Jose Santiago (Jim) Duran. Born at Isleta del Sur in 1886. Related at Isleta, New Mexico. Pedro Pedrasa [Pedraza] is his stepbrother. Duran's daughter is married to an Indian from Santo Domingo Pueblo.
>
> (3) Mrs. Rafaela Dominguez. Born October 27, 1883. Father, Jose Montoya. Mother, Isabel Roybal. [Her foster mother was Cacigua Francisca Roybal.]

Others frequently mentioned were Julian Cordero, Jacinto Jemente, the Olguin

family, Mariana Alvarez, Angelita Carabajal, Frank Ramirez (Santa Clara father, Hano great-grandfather), Andreso Ochova, Frank Brito (half Yaqui), Gabriel Hernandez, Ezekial Avalos, and Jose, Santionino, and Rosario Gonzales.

One of the most frequent terms of vituperation was "fake Indian". One of the men with the most claim to Indian ancestry admitted, however, that "There isn't a Mexican that hasn't got rich Indian blood. All Mexicans are Indians" (Oppenheimer, 1957 Thesis p. 70-71).

Aside from providence of birth, attaining of high office, skills and acumen, status was through acquisition of the appearance of wealth: dress, cars, food, house (Oppenheimer, 1957 Thesis p. 70). Indian background and acumen were also respected, even held at a premium. Knowledge of skills such as ceremonial singing, symbolism, drum-making and drumming itself, making of kachina dolls, bows and arrows, as in Pasqua in the case of the Yaquis, were sources of personal prestige (Oppenheimer, 1957 Thesis p. 59). Tortugas people, Oppenheimer said, "are very much aware of other Indian groups and, in many cases, have strong sentiments concerning them. They have close feelings of affinity with Isleta del Sur and participate in some of their ceremonies. Many people in Tortugas have relatives there, and at least two were born there." He added in general that many in the Pueblo had relatives in Isleta, New Mexico Pueblo and knew they had roots there, but he learned little about their connections with Mexican groups, and noted their hostility toward Athapaskan groups, to the point of violence (Oppenheimer, 1957 Thesis p. 77-78).

Hurt (Tortugas, p. 104) and Oppenheimer (1957 Thesis p. 72) agreed that Torugas "presents the rare phenomenon of non-Indians endeavoring to become identified as Indians, rather than the reverse condition usually found in highly acculturated communities. In Las Cruces, within about five miles of his primary interest, the actual tribal meetings and activities continued at the homes of tribal members, in local East Side Community Center, to the present (Field Notes 1990-1991).

Political office also was always a source of prestige, as were leadership qualities. Oddly, Oppenheimer declared elsewhere that the Cacique's reputation was sliding, suggesting he was weak and incompetent. Wisdom acquired through age, through travel, military service, work and life experience, a good sense of humor, contributions of labor or expertise in the community's interest, and job skills also were respected (Oppenheimer, 1957 Thesis pp. 72-73).

The Tortugas community was an overflow community for the core community located in Las Cruces. Indeed, we know many individuals and families were original claimants to extra plots in Tortugas on which many never built or resided. Oppenheimer contrasted the Tortugas community and its members with Pueblo tribes elsewhere in the Southwest, failing to compare it with its mother, the Las Cruces Pueblo. Oppenheimer observed appropriately, "At Tortugas the lack of working together in the pueblo sense probably is a powerful factor, if not the governing or causal factor, for opening the village to inroads of outside culture. It throws the people of Tortugas on the wage market, where contact with others loosens the social fiber" (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957, p. 128). Oppenheimer's postmortem lament for the erosion of ceremonialism present in other pueblos (rain and hunting ceremonies) and associated ritual and paraphernalia neglected the Las Cruces core community, and that neglect would be a failure in the study if its focus were on the Tribe itself, rather than on Tortugas, and the few Piros, Tiguas, and Mexican Indians who lived there among Mexican immigrants; and regarding the latter, Oppenheimer concluded:

> Generally speaking, all that remains of the original pueblo pattern consists of a number of religious forms with little substance, some religious and political offices, factionalism, and games. Among the religious externals which still are to be found are some dances and dance paraphernalia, remnants of Tiwa chants, a generalized sort of kiva-moiety house, the rabbit hunt, and certain ceremonial patterns (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957, p. 128).

In Las Cruces, at the site of the core community, card games and the like were played commonly in local bars and homes (Slagle, PMT Field Notes, 1989), as well as in Las Cruces, as well as checkers, bow and arrow games, and a ritual knife-throwing game, which the authors have observed and filmed (Field Notes, 1989). There was also a guessing game or stick game still being played in the Pueblo in the 1950s, involving betting, resembling the stick games of other tribes, accompanied by singing (Oppenheimer, 1957 Thesis p. 68). The same was true in Las Cruces. The chants and songs, the dancing, the drumming, the rabbit hunts, the creation and use of ritual paraphernalia, the teaching of these traditions to the young still continued in Las Cruces.

It is important to observe that during this period, the original form of religious observance of the ritual ascent of "A" Mountain, ceremonies associated with Picacho and dances there and in Las Cruces, the Cacique's use of traditional curing methods among tribal members there, and the like persisted, yet these receive no attention from Oppenheimer because his focus was not on the core community, but on its tributary's dim reflection of it. [In 1968, the old St. Genevieve's Church was razed and the lot remained a parking lot until 1982, when a bank was built there, at the former spiritual and social center (Rosemary Buchanan, The First Hundred Years/St. Genevieve's Parish/ 1859-1959 (Las Cruces, N. M.: Bronson Printing Co., 1961; Michael Taylor, in Granjon 1982: p. 127, n. 25).]

Modern Piro/Manso/Tiwa Social, Economic, Religious, and Political Organization and Activity: Coping, Adapting, and Regrouping within the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Community

Lists of tribal council members and core families active in post-WWII tribal affairs have appeared in the proper context of discussions elsewhere in the narrative. Specific records of tribal activities and get-togethers appear in published (see news accounts, as well as Hurt, Oppenheimer, Reynolds), written and verbal accounts (see family albums with photographs, announcements, and memorials of various community events, and Field Notes, 1989 to present), and in audio and video records of various formats. Vicente Roybal, and other key figures in this history, never lived in Tortugas throughout historical the period. Practicas occurred at the Cacique's house in the core community at the confluence of San Pedro, Amador and Lohman Streets. Meetings were held at the Cacique's house in Las Cruces throughout the history of the Las Cruces Pueblo in this century until the death of Vicente Roybal, and then were held at the home of Narcisco Eres or Victor Roybal, Jr. These included:

a. annual New Years' Eve meeting
b. quarterly meeting
c. feeding of the old drum, which the Fierro faction had failed to acquire through lawsuit or confiscation.

Further discussion on these matters appears below, including a narrative describing one such contemporary gatherings. Some photographs, recording media and the like survive documenting such gatherings and meetings.

As indicated above, certain members of the Piro/ Manso/ Tiwa Tribe retain

Exemption 6

lands, e. g., Louis Roybal, in the Tortugas Pueblo, including on the perimeter of the Pueblo church. (b)(6) obtained title to a parcel of land in Tortugas in October, 1958 from her cousin, (b)(6) of Hillsboro, New Mexico. Francis passed the title on to (b)(6) when she moved to Hillsboro. This land was sold to the state for the Highway 10 right-of-way. She wasn't notified of this transaction, even though she had Title to it. Consequently, the money went over to the Corporation. The Corporation never held meetings to discuss the sale of the transfer of tribal property. She adds that the "Indian property" [Tortugas] is non-taxable, but some Indians were paying taxes to be "on the safe side." Her brother Louis still has property in Tortugas and continues to pay the property tax. However, as Louis Roybal points out (Conn: PMT Field Notes, 1989):

> A lot of the old people died. Some had deeds, others did not. And when they died, in some cases the heirs, they never lived there and in some cases, the deeds were turned back to the tribe, in other cases they were not. The Corporation has them now. In some cases the taxes were not paid on the lot or property and then the state started selling a lot of the properties for non-payment of taxes. When this started to happen, a lot of people inside and outside started buying up some of the property and the tribe always being poor, no money, had no means of paying the taxes. So problems about ownership and litigation arose. Questions as to who was the legal owner. My dad tried to recover some of these properties, to save them for tribal use, and I think the interpretation of the court was that he didn't own them. Duran [a Tiwa related to the Apodacas in Ysleta del Sur] bought some of the tax deeds and the tribe had a problem getting the property back.

By 1958, the Corporation was under the leadership of Margarito and Pablo Fierro, his sons, and the children of (b) (6) . (b) (6) was a foster child of (b)(6) , and the Cacique's (b)(6) . Victor Roybal, Sr., in his final encounter with (b) (6) , his (b)(6) (b)(6) , refused to accept her renunciation of Fierro and her attempt at reconciliation, publicly condemned her, renounced their relationship, and forbad her to approach him ever again. The other consistent supporters of the Corporation were primarily descendants and in-laws of (b) (6) , though many of his grandchildren today have renounced their affiliation with the Corporation, and returned to the Tribe, and his granddaughter held office in the San Juan de Guadalupe Tiwa Tribe by the 1970s (Slagle, PMT Field Notes, 1990-1991).

As indicated above, during the later 1950s and the 1960s, the Cacique Vicente Roybal and the rest of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe were barred from Corporation activities, or avoided them, for the most part. It is difficult to determine when the Piro/Manso/Tiwas were eliminated from Corporation participation, even in the case of those who did not live at Tortugas, or who did not have property in Guadalupe. The Tribe had lost control of the Corporation, which had disclaimed the authority of its former Piro/Manso/Tiwa leaders. In the takeover, in order to preserve the appearance of authenticity and to avoid the appearance of a takeover, the Fierro faction never formally renounced the person and the role of the Cacique Vicente Roybal, but his authority and role were reduced to ceremonial or figurehead status in the Corporation. The Corporation still needed him around occasionally in order to preserve the appearance of an unbroken chain of religious authority with which he was associated, which was subject to the approval of the Cacique and the Tribe, not the Corporation. The Fierro faction used his foster-sister, Rafaela Dominguez, in Corporation positions in order to maintain connections with Piro identity, though neither she nor her children were treated

as members of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe after they joined the Fierros. The Corporation continued to carry on ceremonies regardless of the Cacique for a number of years after the disputes of the post-WWII era, though he appeared from time to time. The Cacique's duties became solely tribal duties once more, and he and other older men in the Tribe taught some of the younger men to take over after him, and after his health began to fail, his level of activity greatly declined. His wife, Isidra Trujillo Roybal, conducted little business after his death in her short tenure as Caciqua Trustee between 1978-1982. (Conn, Slagle, Alvarez, PMT Field Notes, 1990-1991). [Their son, Felipe Roybal, never fully assumed the burdens of the role, though the Tribe, as a matter of tradition, have never challenged his reticence or removed him, but his ritual duties were assumed by his nephew, Edward Roybal, Sr., who since has been installed as Assistant Cacique. In 1991 he moved back from California to New Mexico in order to carry on those responsibilities, has acted consistently in that role, and will continue in that role while Felipe Roybal lives.]

The Cacique and a small group of elders continued their participation in Guadalupe Day activities at Tortugas, and presumably in the San Juan Day. There were various reasons for these actions, even following the transmogrification and exploitation of the ceremonies. The Indian leaders did not press the rest of the Tribe to participate in the various holiday social activities or other activities. Vicente Roybal and his wife continued their participation in the ceremonial activities at Tortugas until their deaths.

There has been some speculation that perhaps the ceremonial leaders and tribal elders were present at the Tortugas holiday activities because they felt their ritual roles transcended politics, and perhaps there was some amount of truth in this. Vicente, as other Caciques and Caciquas acted as curers for the Las Cruces Pueblo. However, contemporary accounts suggest a different scenario and motivation which perhaps was not separate from the other issues involved in the divorce of the Tribe from the Pueblo in other respects. The Cacique did not abandon his ceremonial and other activities because of the break. His and the others' participation in Tortugas continued because they saw Tortugas as a place and context of some tribal activities and associations outside Las Cruces, and continued in the hope of eventually prevailing. However, Oppenheimer said, "At the time of my visit the pueblo meetings and the New Year's elections were held by Fierro without the Cacique" [Oppenheimer (1957:86).] The Cacique never participated in these activities again.

Oppenheimer wrote that the Cacique continued participation in the Guadalupe Day Festival in Tortugas, but only on his own terms, and certainly not, as has been suggested, to assure the commercial success of the event, in the proceeds of which neither he nor the Tribe any longer had any hope of participation:

> The Cacique attends the annual Guadalupe fiesta but does not sing. It is claimed that he sings alone in his own home. Indeed many men in the Cacique's faction refused to join the chorus of Tiwa chanters, being satisfied to observe the performance and to criticize it. As one man put it, "We just stand around and laugh like coyotes." After one such performance I heard a War Captain announce, "Some of the members are not being regular" [Oppenheimer (1957:86).]

The Cacique and the Tribe's War Captains continued to participate in festivals for peace-keeping purposes and with the hope of eventual recovery, a hope which never left them until the Fierro faction drove the anti-Fierro people and the Tribe itself from all participation in the Pueblo.

Eventually, even the Cacique's presence was unnecessary in order to preserve

appearances, and members of the Corporation, including non-Indians, carried on aspects of the Piro culture they had coopted as their own. The exact date of the Tribe's acceptance that it no longer controlled the Corporation is unclear. It is apparent that the Cacique, Victor Roybal, Sr., and the members of the Tribe who had stayed with the Cacique throughout the schism, thought their claims to control of the Corporation were still legitimate. The Tribe had to accustom itself to no longer treating the Corporation as their means of expressing their governmental and cultural aspirations. The Tribe's members continued throughout the 1950s to believe that their prospects of regaining control were good, even during the 1957-1961 lawsuits to confiscate the Roybal family's lands in Guadalupe. Some members involved in the struggle against the takeover never have reconciled themselves to the loss. The Tribe never felt that they needed to formally reorganize during the 1950s, because their actions were not subject to Corporation approval or intervention; hence, the desire of the Tribe to retain the reference to "Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe," in their name, even today.

The distinctions between the Corporation based at Tortugas and the Tribe are clearly realized in comparing the development of the Corporation's governing form with the Tribe's political evolution through these years. Oppenheimer characterized the bases of government of Tortugas he witnessed in 1951 as bifurcate, and noted the division of operations fell along lines of tribal vs. "white" origins:

> One branch is the civil and secular Corporation, manifestly of White American origin. The other section of government, probably religious in sanction in its origins, parallels that of Isleta Pueblo in broad outline (Oppenheimer Thesis, 1957: 50; Parsons, Isleta, pp. 250 ff.)

The accuracy of this analysis can be tested against, among other records, specifically the charter and organizational structure of the Corporation, containing the statement of its purposes; and such an inquiry shows the analysis to have the fundamental flaw of failing to recognize as separate these two autonomous entities: an extant, fully functioning Tribe, and a corporation whose creation was for the benefit of the Tribe, but was no longer in any sense a tribal organization or instrumentality. That the Corporation existed under State law was a fatal flaw in using the corporate form to seek "protection" and legitimacy in the eyes of non-Indian neighbors and governments. However, the corporate existence of the original Indigenes entity ended in 1963, without participation of the Tribe in any way in its renewal. The new corporation using the property and appurtenances of the old is a non-Indian entity with an Indian veneer, as the original was an Indian organization with a legalistic American corporate veneer, not unlike an IRA (1934) corporation. The similarity of the Indigenes corporation with a tribal government ended with the Tribe did not act to reincorporate the entity, while those currently in control of it did so. No IRA (1934) tribal charter, on the other hand, ends due to operation of time. Though modern corporate law allows corporations to exist with indefinite terms of life, the post-1948 Indigenes corporation cannot be said to be a tribal government, because it had to be renewed by its non-Indian controlling body when its span ended.

Recall that the April 12, 1914, Minutes of the meeting leading to incorporation of the Indigenes de Nuestra Senora De Guadalupe indicate the election of Eugene Van Patten as President and Francisca Royval (Regenta Casiqua) as Treasurer, and M. V. Jackson the Secretary. A resolution was adopted setting out the purposes and nature of the non-profit corporation, its membership, duration of corporate life (fifty years from the date April 12, 1914, showing the intent was to create a corporate entity, but not one of indefinite or infinite

duration). It also set out the identities, purposes and duties of the newly elected officers, and their terms of office. This business council was a creation of the Tribe, but not identical with the Tribe or its government, by its terms; thus, the division Oppenheimer noted in what he took to be the government in Tortugas reflected the residual connection of a daughter organization produced by the Tribe. The corporate documents state:

> [The] object of this association is to secure the moral, physical and intellectual development of the members of the Pueblo of Guadalupe and their familias and to improve and secure improvements in the vicinity of the said Pueblo of Guadalupe and to assist and encourage the members of the said Pueblo to build and construct homes and improve lots in the said Pueblo of Guadalupe.
>
> And to cooperate in construction in buildings and improvements [and in] improving the buildings streets and plazas in the said Pueblo of Guadalupe where said buildings and improvements are of community use and benefit.

The building association would attract members of the Tribe to the Pueblo under the auspices of Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe, which undertook to promote the subsistence and survival of members of the Pueblo by building houses for them there within a few years. The original members of the Pueblo consisted primarily of Piro/ Manso/ Tiwa members living in Guadalupe. The Corporation started out a creation of the Tribe, religious and economic in purpose. It was never intended to become the vehicle for tribal government for the Piro/ Manso/ Tiwa, despite the subsequent usurpation of the symbols of power from the Tribe, and the coaptation of the Cacique and the Tribe's ceremonies. The center for the Tribe, however, remained in Las Cruces.

For the pre-war period for which there are many records of meeting minutes, particularly from the late 1920s until the late 1930s, one can see that contrary to what one would assume about the importance of Tortugas as a seat of Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribal records, many meetings occurred in Las Cruces at the home of the Casiqua or the Casique. The annual meetings of the Tribe always occurred there, as did elections of tribal officers. Other meetings, dealing with Corporation business, took place at the Casa del Pueblo, Guadalupe, Tortugas.

A brief history and discussion of the Casa del Pueblo seems appropriate. The house was the site of the June 24 San Juan Bautista and December 12 Guadalupe Day Fiestas and other ceremonies, built some time after the Tortugas church was completed in 1911. Photos dating from at least the 1920s suggest it was finished no later than 1924, serving as a community hall multi-use hall (dance hall) and site of monthly business meetings for the pueblo (Oppenheimer Thesis, 1957, p. 90):

> The Pueblo House is a long, rectangular adobe structure, with a small room at the rear shaped much like the apse of a church. It is oriented from east to west, with the entrance to the east. Inside are two wooden benches running the full length of the side walls. An American flag is in the center of the wall opposite the entrance. On its right is a picture of Miguel Hidalgo Y Castillo, the Mexican revolutionary hero, and on its left is a picture of Colonel Eugene van Patten in military uniform. A wooden table in the rear of the room is removed from dancing. The door to the rear room is on the right-hand or north side of the wall. There is a fireplace inside the room. While the main room is open to all, this smaller back room is considered a "secret room", used for conferences of the Captains. I did not find that it had any special name, but two informants stated that it had some "Indian name" which they had forgotten (Oppenheimer Thesis, 1957, p.

90; emphasis added.)
Such structures existed in other villages among the Rio Grande pueblos, allowing for activities which were in appropriate in kivas. Like the Ysleta big kiva or round house of Isleta, which served as halls for village dances, as well as a substitute for pueblo moiety houses as a storage place for fiesta materials. On the other hand, a small private room in the rear appeared to Oppenheimer to have served as a kiva room (Hawley Big Kivas, p. 297, in Oppenheimer Thesis, 1957, p. 90.) Indeed, this small room was unpaved, and did serve as a kiva room adjunct to the Tribe's kiva in Las Cruces, and had temporary cardboard flooring from old boxes. Eventually, the Fierro faction paved it (Louis and Eddie Roybal, 1990).

It has been alleged in various sources that prior to the schism, all the Corporation meetings and the Tribal meetings and the officers were identical. This was untrue, upon comparison of minutes available from various tribal meetings and their locations (listed immediately below) as opposed to Corporation meetings and their locations (second list):
31 December 1929/ 1 January 1930, Las Cruces meeting of the Tribe, at the home of Francisca Roybal, Casiqua's house.
31 December 1930/ 1 January 1932, Las Cruces, ".
4 October 1931, Las Cruces, ".
1 January, 1932, Las Cruces, ".
First Sunday in June, 1932, Las Cruces, ".
2 October 1932, Las Cruces, ".
31 December 1932/ 1 January 1933, Las Cruces, ".
1 October 1933, Las Cruces, ".
31 December 1933/ 1 January 1934, Las Cruces, ".
31 December 1934/ 1 January 1935, Las Cruces, at the Casique's house (Vicente Roybal, who succeeded to the position held by the interim, Senobio Avalos, and the Regent Caciqua.
13 October, 1935, Las Cruces, home of the Casique.
3 November, 1935, Las Cruces, ".
3 April 1936, Las Cruces, ".
5 April 1936, Las Cruces, ".
3 May 1936, Las Cruces, ".
14 July 1936, Las Cruces, ".
4 October 1936, Las Cruces, in the home of the President.
31 December 1937, Las Cruces, home of the Casique.
1 January, 1938, Las Cruces, ".
12 December 1938, Las Cruces, ".
1 January, 1939, Las Cruces, ".
The Tribe has records of 22 formal meetings, including all of the Tribal Annual Meetings, showing they took place at the home of the Cacique, Cacique, or Presidente -- all members of the Tribe, not only of the Tortugas Pueblo corporation board -- at Las Cruces.

During the same span, the appointments of corporate and ceremonial officers (on the nomination of the Cacique or Caciqua), and other business meetings, happened in Guadalupe at the Casa del Pueblo, for a total of 28 meetings of which the Tribe has record.
7 July 1929, at the Casa del Pueblo;
3 November, 1929, at the Casa del Pueblo, Guadalupe, N. M.
6 March 1932, at the Casa del Pueblo.
11 September, 1932, at the Casa del Pueblo.
6 November 1932, Casa del Pueblo.

2 April 1933, Casa Del Pueblo.
14 May 1933, Casa Del Pueblo.
4 June 1933, Casa Del Pueblo.
6 August 1933, Casa del Pueblo.
6 August, 1933, Casa Del Pueblo.
10 September, 1933, Casa del Pueblo
5 November 1933, Casa del Pueblo.
5 May 1934, Casa del Pueblo.
3 June 1934, Casa Del Pueblo.
1 July 1934, Casa Del Pueblo.
19 August 1934, Casa Del Pueblo.
7 October 1934, Casa del Pueblo.
2 September 1934, Casa del Pueblo.
4 November 1934, Casa del Pueblo.
10 February 1935, Casa Del Pueblo.
7 April 1935, Casa del Pueblo.
14 July 1935, Casa Del Pueblo.
1 September 1935, Casa Del Pueblo.
12 September 1935, Casa del Pueblo.
1 March 1936, Casa del Pueblo.
12 September 1937, Casa del Pueblo.
31 September 1938, Casa del Pueblo.
6 November 1938, Casa del Pueblo.

After this date, the Tribe's archive of intact records is scant, because, as indicated above, the Corporation sued the Cacique for their proprietorship, and when they won a default judgment because he failed to appear in Court in March of 1948, they were able to coerce him into surrendering them as well as the ceremonial badges of office for the Tribe, and the Tribe has been denied access to all these things since. However, the existing records show substantially continuous tribal activity throughout this period, and a few of these are available because of their relation to the Corporation's activities while the Tribe and its leaders still dominated the Corporation. Yet, simultaneous activity occurred separate from Corporation activities, and clearly was of overriding importance to the Tribe itself. The latter meetings happened invariably at the site of the core community -- not in Guadalupe at the Casa del Pueblo -- in Las Cruces, at the Chief's house.

Louis Roybal reported (Conn: Field Notes, 1989):

> So from that point [the final schism] on, whatever records we turned over to them, they have. And in the meantime we started keeping our own records. That's why there's a break. . . . I was Tribal Secretary for awhile, also my sister, Estella Jacinto Jemente was Tribal Secretary. After that, Victor, Jr. Records passed to the next Tribal Secretary. My sister might have some. Some may be in Vicente the Cacique's house. . . . We have always functioned, one way or another. But during all the court battles, keeping the records of all the lots and who lived there has been very non-professional [in Tortugas].

Below, derived from surviving tribal archival records and testimony, is a listing of offices and known office holders from the succeeding years, citing sources of information attesting to these facts:

TRIBAL OFFICES 1950:

A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:

1. CASIQUE -- Vicente Roybal

2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Sabino Parra
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- J. J. Jemente
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Luciano Avalos
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Louis Roybal
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Felipe T. Roybal

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Victor A. Roybal
2. SECRETARY -- Jacinto Jemente

(Source: Minutes of Tribal Meeting held in Las Cruces, N. M., at the home of the Cacique, April 14, 1950).

TRIBAL OFFICES 1951:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUE -- Vicente Roybal
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Sabino Parra
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- J. J. Jemente
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Luciano Avalos
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Louis Roybal
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Felipe T. Roybal

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Victor A. Roybal
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- J. J. Jemente
3. SECRETARY -- Jacinto Jemente

TRIBAL OFFICES 1958:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUE -- Vicente Roybal

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Victor A. Roybal

(Source: Affidavit of Nemecia Ascarate Dean.)

In the early 1960s, and after the Redevelopment Project in Las Cruces resulted in the destruction of all but one wall of the Cacique's house and the ceremonial kiva, meetings were held in the home of Narciso Eres, a member of the Council, in the home of Victor Roybal, Jr., or at East Side Community Center (Field Notes, 1990).

Even after the schism, Oppenheimer still had to conclude:

> The two branches meet and merge in the person of the Cacique, or Chief (Jefe), who stands at the top of both. In theory at least, "he owns everything and has the power of everything." in practice, however, his power, though great, is sharply delimited, and he and his office are falling into disrepute (Oppenheimer Thesis, 1957: 50.)

Only later did Oppenheimer discuss the role of the schism in the appearances he described here, in discussing factionalism in the community. How he may have perceived the process by which the Cacique and his office began "to fall into disrepute" may have altered had he witnessed it in the 1940s, or even had he studied more than the local court records chronicling the schism.

Oppenheimer's misreading of the Tribe's recent history continues:

> In line with his role as spiritual leader, the Cacique is the person to whom is entrusted the care of ritual objects. . . . he has been deprived of many of these, and their custodianship has passed to the secular branch of the government (Oppenheimer Thesis, 1957: 50);

namely, to the corporation, as the result of a lawsuit. Not content with usurpation of corporate property, eventually including land itself, the Fierro forces insisted on acquiring even the emblems of ceremonial life and took over the ceremonies themselves, in order to complete the appearance of taking on all aspects of control and dominion of the Tribe and its members. Therefore, the accuracy in Oppenheimer's observations is confined to points regarding of the Cacique's role in the Corporation at Tortugas prior to the schism.

Comparing the role of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Cacique with that of his Isleta counterpart, which carried over from the great 1940s schism in the community, Oppenheimer said:

> The Tortugas Cacique appears to have duties similar to the Isleta Town Chief, or Cacique. In addition, he also takes over the duties which, in Isleta, are performed by the Hunt Chief. The method of selection of the Cacique in the two villages is different. At Tortugas it is a strictly hereditary position in the paternal line. At Isleta the Cacique is selected by all of the clan chiefs. Ellis believes that there is a tendency at Isleta for the Cacique to be chosen from the White Corn group, one of the matrilineal, non-exogamous clans having ceremonial duties. If so, then it can be said that there is a hereditary tendency at Isleta.
>
> Principales is another term which Tortugas shares with Isleta. Here, however, there is a functional difference. At Isleta this is a group of men with no fixed number who act as an advisory town council to the governor. At Tortugas, Principales is merely an alternative term for "War Captains", the group of five peace officers (Oppenheimer Thesis, 1957: 57.)

The Corporation offices, on the other hand, "are of White American origin and are probably recent" (Oppenheimer Thesis, 1957: 57); further, "They represent an attempt on the part of the Indians to have a legal, business-like status in the American world. The conflicts within this branch are an indication of Pueblo factionalism."

Even in the early 1950s, there is no question that the ceremonial functions were the only ones the Cacique was allowed still to perform at Tortugas, and those, because, despite the Catholic veneer of the traditional ceremonies at the Pueblo, only in his presence could there be any pretense that they were "real." Vicente Roybal's attempts to accommodate and keep peace in the community, hoping for some eventual realignment, never had that result.

Oppenheimer (Thesis, p. 55) opined that the Tortugas governmental structure "has retained the old Isleta pattern," as he indicated elsewhere. However, he failed to show directly that the Piro/Manso/Tiwa government in force in 1951 derived from Ysleta del Sur's, or from a common source, or whether it was the same as the form the early Piro/Manso/Tiwa Caciques and their followers brought to the Mesilla Valley. Further, the governmental structure at Tortugas actually derived from the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe only to a point, and could claim only bare legal title to the appurtenances of Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribal government following the break between the Tribe and its daughter business council. Oppenheimer, speaking of problems with succession to the office of Cacique, referred to the death of Felipe Roybal, "who was killed in Las Cruces in 1908 under mysterious circumstances. The crime remains unsolved to this day" (Thesis, p. 51). Our sources explain he was killed in a fight in front of a bar in Las Cruces (Slagle: PMT Field Notes, 1989). His version of the Cacique Felipe Roybal's murder does not take into account the brawl outside a local bar. A contemporary newspaper account told the cirumstances and the parties involved (Rio Grande Republican, November 9, 1906). On the succession after Roybal's death, Oppenheimer wrote:

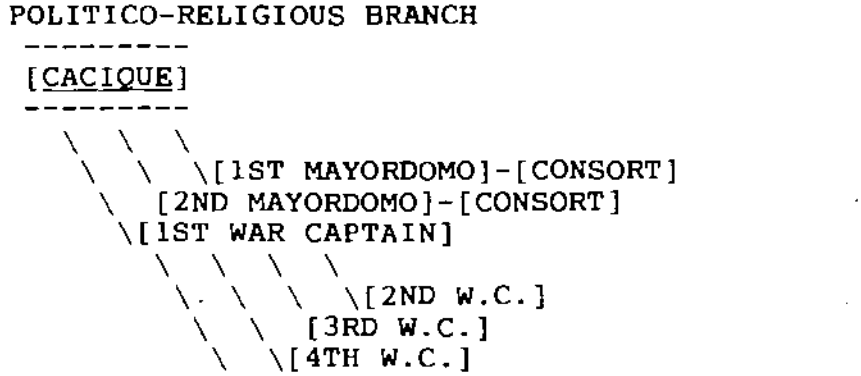
> Upon the death of Felipe Roybal, a problem was faced by Tortugas. The office of Cacique is hereditary in the male line. Felipe, who had no brothers, had sons who were very small children. Accordingly, Francisca Avalos Roybal, the Cacique's wife, was made Cacigua, the only instance of this office being held by a woman in the entire pueblo Southwest, to this writer's knowledge (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 51).

However, as the Cacique's niece suggested, the office "goes just like kings and queens," and such Queen Regencies, though controversial, are hardly unprecedented. This tribe reacted to a highly unusual circumstance -- the sudden, violent death of the Cacique -- and upheld the traditional pattern of succession, particularly in their particular theocracy. Thus, after Francisca Avalos Roybal's death in 1933, Vicente Roybal did not immediately succeed to the office, but the brother of the Regent Cacigua, Senobio Avalos, was appointed as Interim Cacique while Vicente Roybal matured and grew into the position, became established in leadership training and experience, and in professional and personal life. Oppenheimer simply concluded, without explanation, that Vicente Roybal was not considered mature or strong enough (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 52): he offered only surmise as the basis for his conclusion. Since his informants are unknown, and in all probability continually associated with Tortugas faction in the years immediately following the schism, there is no notice here of the core community in Las Cruces. He said of the Zenovio Avalos/Senobio Avalos:

> he acted not in the name of the young Vicente but was invested with the full power of Cacique himself. It is perhaps significant that Vicente did not claim his hereditary office until the death of his uncle. He has been a weak Cacique, and the office has undergone a definite diminution of prestige during his incumbency. The next Cacique will be his eldest son, Felipe Roybal, now in his thirties, or that failing, the office will descend to young son or to a son of Victor Roybal [Sr.], his brother (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 52).

The office actually descended to Felipe Roybal, now in his sixties and in uncertain health, who has taken little direct role in recent years either in Tortugas or in the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe. In January, 1991, the Tribe vested Edward Roybal, Sr. with the authority of Assistant Cacique, in order to continue the office, as Zenovio Avalos did for the Cacigua.

Recalling Oppenheimer's model of the traditional Piro/Manso/Tiwa governmental structure (see discussion above), which he dubbed the "Politico-Religious Branch" (Fig. 3 following p. 50), note the schematic below. There has been no appointment of Mayordomo in an official sense as part of the Tribe's government since the schism at Tortugas resulted in the Tribe's loss of control over its own daughter-Corporation:



(Oppenheimer, Thesis, from Fig. 3). In order to have the full backing of civil authority, by the time of Oppenheimer's visit, War Captains "[held] civil commissions from the city of Las Cruces, and [had] full legal right to fine and incarcerate" (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 54). The date at which this deputization under Las Cruces authority began to occur is unclear; however, it appears:

> They [did] not carry firearms [that is, under their authority from Las Cruces]. Their insignia of office consist[ed] of a bow and arrow or a vara, a stick about six feet long used by Spaniards of the early period for measuring land. They [were] nominated by the Cacique and elected yearly on New Year's Eve. As with other offices, however, "nomination" by the Cacique [was] tantamount to election. They [could] be re-elected, and many men [held] the office for a long period (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 54).

Interestingly, the War Captains in the Tribe began to acquire these commissions, really a form of cross-deputization, from the City of Las Cruces, as residents of Las Cruces, not of Tortugas. To this date, the Corporation and its lands operate outside both the city limits and the jurisdiction of Las Cruces. Their source of authority as cross-deputized under local non-Indian law, was not Tortugas, but originated in the core community in Las Cruces, site of the actual seat of Piro/Manso/Tiwa government, where the Tribe actually overlapped with the non-Indian civil government from the time of non-Indian settlement. Victor Roybal was President of the Corporation, but also a career policeman in Las Cruces, as a citizen of Las Cruces. The War Captains' insignias of office are no longer used, since the taking of the insignia by the takeover faction in Tortugas through court action. The Cacique has not nominated officers on New Year's Eve since the death of Vicente Roybal, at the latest. Mayordomo do continue, through the dances at Picacho, but not by official tribal appointment.

In addition, formerly there were Sacred Clowns called Abuelos, "Grandfathers," selected yearly, numbering not less than six [Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 55). In the modern Tribe, these offices no longer are in effect, though to what extent, if any, they persist at Tortugas is unknown.

The former business-council branch of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa governmental structure, which Oppenheimer called the "Secular Branch" (Fig. 3 following p. 50), was as follows (except that there has been no appointment these officers involving any official sanction of the Tribe or Cacique following the compete break with Tortugas). The Tribe, having lost control of its own daughter business council (the Corporation) prior to its originally scheduled date of termination in 1964, having taken no part in the reorganization or business of the reformed Corporation, remains a separate entity:

SECULAR BRANCH

[CACIQUE]

/

[PRESIDENT]

/

[VICE-PRESIDENT]

/

[SEC-TREASURER] (Oppenheimer, Thesis, from Fig. 3).

The business council, "Los Indigenes," now no longer a part of Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribal government, consisted of "a Corporation, complete with seal depicting a bow and arrow" (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 53). At the time of Oppenheimer's field work,

there were continuing belated and fruitless efforts on the part of the Tribe to retain control of the Corporation:

> It is in this branch that factionalism is centered, especially in connection with the office of President. In 1951 two men claimed to be President, but since then one of them has died, and the situation as of this writing is unknown. the claimant who survives was residing in San Diego, California, at the time of my visit. This man was Victor Roybal, the Cacique's brother, who, the Cacique's faction claimed, was entitled to the office for life. There was some sentiment for changing the title of President to that of Governor and clearly indicating it as a lifetime position (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 52-53).

The degree of disharmony occasioned by the move to sever the Corporation from the Tribe is suggested in the continuing presence of members of the Tribe in the Corporate structure for some years following the initial takeover:

> Other Corporation officers include a Vice-President and a Secretary-Treasurer. Apparently a Board of Directors of unknown composition functions in an advisory capacity. At the time of the field work three of the four secular offices were held by the Roybal family. Besides Vicente [Roybal] as Cacique and Victor as President, the office of Secretary-Treasurer was held by Luis Roybal, Victor's son. The Vice-President was Jacinto Jemente [Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 53, adding (at fn. 3), "Of eight officers mentioned for Isleta del Sur, seven had the surname Granillo. Parish, El Paso Times, June 14, 1951, p. 15."]

Louis Roybal and others (Conn: PMT Field Notes, 1989) indicated that the Piro/Manso/Tiwa officers operated completely separate from the Corporation, and kept their own minutes from the point of the schism, agreeing to sign legal documents or act on their authority only in defence of the Pueblo, just as they came more and more to carry on their ceremonial activities segregated from Tortugas. Oppenheimer attempted to address the effects of change and division at Tortugas, thus:

> The fact that many of the offices at Isleta have been dropped at Tortugas may be explained in some cases by a lack of need for these offices. For instance, the Isleta Mayordomo is a ditch boss, whereas Tortugas owns no ditches. At Tortugas, the Mayordomo, while having the same name, have different functions. In this case, the Mayordomo appears to be of Spanish-American and Mexican Indian type. The description of the office in a Oaxaca, Mexico Indian village could as well be applied to Tortugas: "Local rituals are somewhat independent of the church. Church festivals are financed by individual mayordomo, whose position forms part of the scale of offices." [Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 56; at fn. 10, citing Carrasco, Las Culturas, p. 99. Compare White, Los Hispanos,pp. 25-26, for duties of this office in Spanish-American villages.]

Dr. Florence Hawley Ellis informed Oppenheimer (Thesis, p. 56, fn. 12) that at both Isleta and Tortugas, the War Captains protected the village and policed the public ceremonies. At Tortugas, they kept order at the fiestas. At Isleta, they excluded unauthorized individuals from ceremonies, exorcised witches, and kept custody of the cane fetish (vara) used for curing. Both Pueblos had five War Captains, or Principales. Isleta had two sheriffs in 1951. Oppenheimer concluded, "These function as an attempt on the part of the Indians to have a legal, business-like status in the American world. The conflicts within this branch are an indication of Pueblo factionalism" (Oppenheimer Thesis, 1957, p. 58.) Apparently, Oppenheimer's conclusion applied to Isleta and Tortugas, blurring not

only the differences between those two entities, but the emerging distinction between the Corporation at Tortugas and the Tribe, now in retreat to the core community in Las Cruces.

The functions of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa War Captains only had application (by the mid-1950s) within the city limits of Las Cruces, and bereft of their ties and obligations in Tortugas, the law-enforcement functions of the Piro/Manso/Tiwas had to be more administrative and ceremonial than anything else. As to the remaining role, if any, of War Captains in Tortugas as law enforcement officers, after the retreat of the deputized Las Cruces-based tribal War Captains, it appears that there were no longer War Captains/ deputies under the Corporation. The Ysleta del Sur Pueblo had developed a corporate business council under the auspices of that tribal government in the same era, and this idea informed Oppenheimer's conclusion that "At Isleta, as at Tortugas, the government is divided into religious and secular branches" Oppenheimer (Thesis, p. 55.) He operated under the premise that the split between the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe and its daughter corporation was not complete and was not to be permanent, but was merely some temporary factional phenomenon.

The effective split in the organization of the Pueblo forced the Tribe, largely, to resort to their own separate resources, now more limited than ever. The willingness of the Cacique, Vicente Roybal, to continue to participate for the rest of his life in the ceremonies at the Pueblo, and of certain tribal members to remain their, contrasts with the profound ill-will others felt and expressed toward those who retained control of the property of the Pueblo, and the non-tribal governmental functions. Members of the Tribe who have allowed interviews have provided their own experiences with their tribal government in modern times.

From the late 1940s through the early 1960s, then, the Tribe and its members were involved in litigation involving the loss of the Tribe's control over Corporation control and Guadalupe property, as well as the usurpation of their right to practice their own religion, due to the Corporation's institutional control over their ceremonies. In 1965, Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe, under the name of "San Juan de Guadalupe Tiwa," began their effort to gain Federal acknowledgment. In 1971, the Tribe drafted a tribal constitution and adult members of the Tribe ratified it with their signatures in a special Constitutional election. The duties of Tribal officers, including Cacique, President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, and War Captains, were limned out in the documents expressing the framers' intent. Records of elections and meetings under this Constitution are part of the Tribe's records. The signatures attached to that list composed the 1971 Tribal Roll. Seventy-nine of these persons (58%) were found to be descendants and their spouses of known Piro-Manso-Tigua emigrants or immigrants, and/or of 1914 Corporation members, through the geneaological studies of Reynolds and Taylor (1981). Subsequent geneaological study has yielded the discovery of substantially greater percentage of persons on this enrollment who were of Piro/Manso/Tiwa descent under the Tribe's specific criteria, adopted 3/17/1990 (Batcho and Kauffman Associates, Geneaological Studies, 1989-1991).

In efforts to regain Federal acknowledgment of their Indian status (which had not continued after the 1920s in any express Act of Congress or administrative undertaking to provide services), the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe's throughout the 1970s failed. Invariably, the Corporation's opposition was a factor. In addition, the attempted to intervene in a land claims case. All of these actions failed (Louis Roybal, Letter, 1974: 6; NARF files). The Tribe tried to prevent the City of Las Cruces from extending its water system to the town of Tortugas in 1974. They also failed in this action (Las Cruces Sun-News, July 18, 1974; July 21, 1974; July 22,

1974; July 23, 1974; NARF Files).

Other tribal activities that continued in the 1970s included rabbit hunts, drum-feeding ceremonies at the Cacique's house, dinners to support their legal defense (NARF files), and the like (Conn, Slagle, Almarez, PMT Field Notes, 1990-1991), and attendance at these affairs was good during the 1970s, as the Tribe kept up its contacts with a number of Native American organizations and tribes, and was on the mailing lists of the National Congress of American Indians and Native American Treaties and Rights Organization.

There was a second Tribal Roll prepared in 1973, for the purposes of a lawsuit, containing 231 adult members' names (Tribal Roll 1973). The growth in tribal membership in two years reflected the Tribe's efforts to included all the descendants of particular persons, as well as growing involvement and interest in the Tribe's efforts to gain Federal acknowledgement. Initially, thirty-five percent of these new members appeared to be descendants and their spouses of known Piro/Manso/Tigua immigrants or emigrants and/or of 1914 Corporation members. Nearly 75% had mailing address within a sixty mile radius of Las Cruces (Tribal Roll 1973). Again, subsequent geneaological study has yielded discovery of substantially greater percentage of persons on this additional enrollment who were of Piro/Manso/Tiwa descent under the Tribe's specific criteria, adopted 3/17/1990 (Batcho and Kauffman Associates, Geneaological Studies, 1989-1991).

In 1973, disputes arose over the activities of certain tribal officers, particularly over failure of the Tribe to prevail in its legal actions. In 1974, a woman was elected to a Captain's position for the first time, due to low attendance and unwillingness to hold office. By the 1970s, many members of the Tribe had become profoundly discouraged, and felt their role had been reduced to that of spectators of a parody of what they had intended to build at Tortugas. To see others claim Piro/Tigua traditions as their own, with the authority to assume the mantel of heirship, was a profane insult of Piro/Manso/Tiwa tradition.

Low attendance at meetings became a problem due to internal discord during the later seventies, while the Tribe continued to have meetings and conduct business. Vicente Roybal, Cacique since 1935 and Cacique-apparent since 1906, died in 1978. Before his death, he appointed his wife, Isidra Trujillo Roybal, to be trustee of the Cacique position. Isidra Trujillo Roybal served as Caciqua until her death in 1981, when her son, Cacique Felipe Roybal, Interim Cacique, succeeded his father.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, members of some Tiwa families attempted to enroll at Ysleta del Sur; but according to the Tribe's records, very few actually joined, even if eligible, or have withdrawn their applications for enrollment and renewed their Piro/Manso/Tiwa active membership status. Through the last twenty years, there have been periods when infighting was so serious and divisive that tribal members and families in the Mesilla Valley led to fallings out, non-communication with the Tribe or its leaders, and feuds among divided families. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, these problems were particularly serious, but a recovery began in the early 1980s, and attendance at tribal meetings and participation in tribal affairs rose to levels unseen since at least the mid-1970s, and included a wide variety of events. Tribal members from extended families have communicated among themselves and have associated more. Younger men and women are being trained in leadership responsibilities to succeed their predecessors.

THE Piro/Manso/Tiwa TRIBAL COUNCIL: ITS OWN HISTORY IN ITS OWN WORDS

In a formal official memorandum authorized by the Tribal Council dated

January 11, 1981, the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe memorialized its history in brief, and set down its tribal offices, thus:

I. TRIBAL OFFICES:

A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:

1. CASIQUE
2. WAR CAPTAIN
3. 2ND CAPTAIN
4. 3RD CAPTAIN
5. 4TH CAPTAIN
6. 5TH CAPTAIN
7. HUNT CAPTAIN ("Humero")
   (In rabbit hunts-keeper of Hunt/Signal fire)

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:

1. PRESIDENT
2. VICE-PRESIDENT
3. SECRETARY
4. TREASURER

C. TRIBAL COUNCIL:

The Tribal Council is the governing body of the Tribe. The Tribal Council is composed of the native ceremonial Officers and the Administrative Officers. (10 in total.)

The President is the Chairman of the Tribal Council and is the Chief Administrative Officer. The Tribal Council establishes Administrative policy for the Tribe, sets Tribal regulations and rules. Tribal documents are signed in behalf of the Tribe by the President, or Casique & attested by the Secretary. With the exception of the Casique, all Tribal officers are elected annually. The Vice-President is the Assistant President and acts in absence of the President. The Secretary is the recording secretary, maintains minutes of Tribal meetings. The Treasurer maintains records of Tribal funds and disbursements.

D. TRIBAL GOVERNMENT:

2. LIST OF CASIQUES [Native Leader of the Tribe.]

NAME	DATES	WIFE
1. Cayetano Roybal	1794	Anastacia Benavides
2. Jose Francisco Roybal	1836	Leogarda Anaya
3. Agapito Roybal	1862	A. Jemente, M. Enriques, J. Manrique
4. Jose Roybal [Arrived in Las Cruces		I. Lopes, I. Salado
4. Felipe Roybal (Roival)	1865 to 1906	Francisca Avalos
5. Francisca Avalos Roybal*	1906 to 1920	
6. Senobio Avalos**	1920 to 1935	
7. Vicente Roybal++	1935 to 1978	Isidra Trujillo
8. Isidra Trujillo Roybal***	1978 to 1981	
9. Felipe Roybal ****	1981 to present	
10. Edward Roybal, Sr., son of Victor Roybal, Sr., Assistant Casique 1991 to present.		Kathy Buse

++Son of Felipe & Francisca Roybal * widow of Felipe Roybal
** brother of Francisca Roybal *** widow of Vicente Roybal
**** son of Vicente & Isidra Roybal

E. HISTORY OF CASIQUE:

1. The office of Casique is of native American Indian origin.

2. The Casique is the titular leader of the Tribe (life time tenure).
3. He is the chief spiritual "ceremonial shaman."
4. He leads and is in charge of all native Tribal ceremonies.
5. The Casique is the spiritual leader of the Tribe, and as such maintains the native cohesiveness of the Tribe. This cohesiveness has been the result of native Indian custom and tradition of the Tribe.
6. At Tribal meetings, the Casique makes the opening and closing statements.
7. He ceremonially installs the Tribal Officers at the annual meetings, instructs them as to their duties and obligations to the Tribe and its people. He also awards to them their ceremonial badges of office.

F. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:

1. The Casique was discussed above.
2. War Captain. The War Captain is the chief ceremonial assistant to the Casique. He assists the Casique in performing all native ceremonies. At Tribal feasts, he and the other four Captains maintain the peace and oversee the native tribal functions.
3. Captains. The other four captains assist in tribal feasts and rituals. Traditionally, the office of the fifth Captain is a training entity and is used to instruct the younger members unto the native ceremonial customs. The Hunt Captain ("Humero") is a ceremonial office which is part of the Rabbit Hunts. His duties are to maintain the "smoke or signal fire" from whence the rabbit hunt is to take place. He, the Casique, the Captains, perform the secret ceremonial rituals required prior to the rabbit hunts.

Lists of Tribal Presidents:

Eugene Van Patten	1914 to 1926
Victor A. Roybal	1926 to 1960
Luciano Avalos	1961 to 1973
Charles Madrid, Jr.	1974 to 1991
Louis Roybal	1992 to present.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the Tribe struggled with difficulty to find ways to carry on the Tribe's ceremonial traditions, and members organized dance practicas and performances at Picacho, usually including with other dancers from the area (Slagle, Piro/Manso/Tiwa Field Notes, 1989-1991), and a few danced at Tortugas. In 1991, Clara Pirtillo Flores was instructing ninbe males and nine female dancers in traditional Piro dances for ceremonial purposes. Assistant Cacique Edward Roybal, Captain Andrew Roybal, Jr. Arturo Montoya and Antonio Mojaro have participated in the instruction and dancing, particularly of the male dancers. Tony Avalos, Elizeo Avalos, and Arturo Flores are drummers. Additional instruction and help is provided by Juan Benevides, Lamberto Trujillo, Memo Portillo, and Estella Sanchez. Practicas occur Sundays at 2:00 P. M. Usually about twenty to thirty tribal members of various ages participate in the dance practices and dances.

In addition to the lists of Tribal officials above, several additional lists are available:

TRIBAL OFFICES 1971:

A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:

1. CASIQUE -- Vicente Roybal
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Adolfo Avalos
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Ernesto Jemente

4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Ricardo Portillo
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Arturo Avalos
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Roberto Avalos

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:

1. PRESIDENT -- Luciano Avalos
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Ernest Portillo
3. SECRETARY -- Victor E. Roybal, Jr.
4. TREASURER -- Concha Ramirez

TRIBAL OFFICES 1972:

A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:

1. CASIQUE -- Vicente Roybal
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Adolfo Avalos
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Guillermo A. Portillo
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Ricardo Portillo
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Arturo Avalos
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Roberto Avalos

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:

1. PRESIDENT -- Luciano Avalos
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Francisco M. Ramirez
3. SECRETARY -- Victor E. Roybal, Jr.
4. TREASURER -- Concepcion D. Ramirez

TRIBAL OFFICES 1973:

A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:

1. CASIQUE -- Vicente Roybal
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Adolfo Avalos
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Guillermo A. Portillo
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Ricardo Portillo
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Arturo Avalos
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Roberto Avalos

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:

1. PRESIDENT -- Luciano Avalos
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Francisco M. Ramirez
3. SECRETARY -- Victor E. Roybal, Jr.
4. TREASURER -- Concepcion D. Ramirez

TRIBAL OFFICES 1974:

A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:

1. CASIQUE -- Vicente Roybal
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Adolfo Avalos
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Paul T. Roybal
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Charles R. Sanchez III
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Juanita A. Perea
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Louis Roybal

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:

1. PRESIDENT -- Charles Madrid, Jr.
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Antonio O. Perea
3. SECRETARY -- Victor E. Roybal, Jr.
4. TREASURER -- R. Melendrez

TRIBAL OFFICES 1975:

A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:

1. CASIQUE -- Vicente Roybal
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Adolfo Avalos

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:

1. PRESIDENT -- Charles Madrid, Jr.
2. SECRETARY -- Victor E. Roybal, Jr.

TRIBAL OFFICES 1978:

A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:

1. CASIQUE -- Vicente Roybal
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Louis Roybal
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Pablo T. Roybal
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Carlos Sanchez III
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Narciso Eres
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Edward R. Roybal

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:

1. PRESIDENT -- Charles Madrid, Jr.
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Antonio O. Perea
3. SECRETARY -- Victor E. Roybal, Jr.
4. TREASURER -- Rosalia E. Melendrez

TRIBAL OFFICES 1981:

A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:

1. CASIQUE -- Isidra T./Felipe Roybal
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Louis Roybal
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Julio Beltran
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Carlos R. Sanchez III
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Narciso Eres
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Edward R. Roybal

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:

1. PRESIDENT -- Charles Madrid, Jr.
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Antonio O. Perea
3. SECRETARY -- Phillip Madrid
4. TREASURER -- Juanita Perea

[Note these additions to update the text, 1991:]

TRIBAL OFFICES 1982:

A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:

1. CASIQUE -- Felipe T. Roybal
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Louis Roybal
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Julio Beltran
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Carlos R. Sanchez III
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Narciso Eres
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Edward R. Roybal

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:

1. PRESIDENT -- Charles Madrid, Jr.
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Antonio O. Perea
3. SECRETARY -- Phillip Madrid
4. TREASURER -- Juanita Perea

TRIBAL OFFICES 1983:

A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:

1. CASIQUE -- Felipe T. Roybal

2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Louis Roybal
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Julio Beltran
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Carlos R. Sanchez III
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Narcisco Eres
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Edward R. Roybal

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Charles Madrid, Jr.
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Antonio O. Perea
3. SECRETARY -- Phillip Madrid
4. TREASURER -- Juanita Perea

TRIBAL OFFICES 1985:

A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUE -- Felipe T. Roybal
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Adolfo Avalos
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Edward R. Roybal
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Michael Madrid
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Alfredo T. Gomez
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Phillip Madrid

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Charles Madrid, Jr.
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Louis Roybal
3. SECRETARY -- Lamberto Trujillo
4. TREASURER -- Eva Gomez

TRIBAL OFFICES 1986:

A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUE -- Felipe T. Roybal
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Adolfo Avalos
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Felix Gomez Jr.
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Edward R. Roybal
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Ramon Gomez
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Jose Gomez

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Charles Madrid, Jr.
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Louis Roybal
3. SECRETARY -- Eva Gomez
4. TREASURER -- Evelyn Gomez

TRIBAL OFFICES 1987:

A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUE -- Felipe T. Roybal
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Edward Roybal
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Paul T. Roybal
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Erneste Jemente
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Phillip Madrid
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Phillip K. Roybal

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Charles Madrid, Jr.
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Louis Roybal
3. SECRETARY -- Lamberto Trujillo, Jr.
4. TREASURER -- Anna G. Canny

TRIBAL OFFICES 1989:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUE -- Felipe T. Roybal
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Edward Roybal
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Paul T. Roybal
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Erneste Jemente
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Paul Madrid
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Phillip K. Roybal

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Charles Madrid, Jr.
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Louis Roybal
3. SECRETARY -- Lamberto Trujillo, Jr.
4. TREASURER -- Anna Gaydos Canny

TRIBAL OFFICES 1990:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUE -- Felipe T. Roybal
2. WAR CAPTAIN -- Edward Roybal
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Paul T. Roybal
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Erneste Jemente
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Paul Madrid
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Phillip K. Roybal

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Charles Madrid, Jr.
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Louis Roybal
3. SECRETARY -- Lamberto Trujillo, Jr.
4. TREASURER -- Anna Gaydos Canny

TRIBAL OFFICES 1991:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUE -- Felipe T. Roybal
2. WAR CAPTAIN/Assistant Cacique -- Edward Roybal, Sr.
3. 2ND CAPTAIN -- Felix Gomez, Jr.
4. 3RD CAPTAIN -- Guillermo A. Portillo
5. 4TH CAPTAIN -- Juan S. Benavides
6. 5TH CAPTAIN -- Andrew John Roybal

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Charles Madrid, Jr.
2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Louis Roybal
3. SECRETARY -- Lamberto Trujillo, Jr.
4. TREASURER -- Carmen B. Gaydos

TRIBAL OFFICES 1991:
A. NATIVE CEREMONIAL OFFICES:
1. CASIQUE -- Felipe T. Roybal
2. WAR CAPTAIN/Assistant Cacique -- Edward Roybal, Sr.
3. 2ND CAPTAIN --
4. 3RD CAPTAIN --
5. 4TH CAPTAIN --
6. 5TH CAPTAIN --

B. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES:
1. PRESIDENT -- Louis Roybal

2. VICE-PRESIDENT -- Carlos Sanchez III
3. SECRETARY -- Vivian Nietto
4. TREASURER --

While the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe has coped with numerous lawsuits and travails, Los Indigenes de Nuestra Sra. de Guadalupe produced its Guadalupe festivities each December 10-12. Rabbit hunts have been held (Beckett 1974, 1979, 1980, and Slagle and Almarez, PMT Field Notes, 1991). Very few Piro or Tiwa descendants have been active participants in these affairs. A grandson of Candelario Roybal, Antonio Mojaro, spent some time participating in dances and other activities in Tortugas in 1990-1991, and eventually withdrew, participating now only in the dances and other activities of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe. Piro dances have continued, but not under Piro direction or religious authorization, at Tortugas. The performances of Tortugas dancers without the sanction of a Piro Cacique are known to be facsimiles which would not fool the "old timers" who retain personal, authentic knowledge of their own ceremonies and traditions, down to the location of deposits of ores used for face-paints and other places for gathering materials needed in ceremonies and dances. Piros who recall the old dances tend to view these performances as exactly that: often slick, fine for the tourists, but basically the efforts of hobbyists. Ever since the Cacique Vicente Roybal of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe withdrew from all semblance of an active relationship with Tortugas in the late 50s, there is no remaining claim on the part of the Corporation to an authentic current connection between the Tribe and the Corporation leadership or activities under its sponsorship. Oddly, the Corporation tended to continue to claim the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Cacique and Cacigua as their own, until the present Cacique, Felipe Roybal, succeeded to the post and declined to take an active role. Felipe Roybal has resided in the El Paso area for many years and has not been active in tribal affairs. In his absence, his nephew, Edward Roybal, has been elected Assistant Cacique. The present Assistant Cacique has been barred from Tortugas for years, and has no interest in taking an active role in any of the affairs of the Corporation.

The Corporation is in no political, legal or philosophical sense an extension or successor to the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe, also known as the San Juan de Guadalupe Tiwa, or the Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe, which is not in Tortugas, but in Las Cruces. A list of the Corporation's membership in the late 1970s showed only thirty-six members, corresponding roughly to the number of blocks in the Guadalupe community, reflecting that under 1/2 of the members made any claim to Piro/Tigua ancestry (Corporation, Amended Bylaws). Further, in 1979, the Corporation itself declared that it does not represent Piro/Tigua descendants (Corporation Protest, 1979). While the Corporation maintains some ceremonial dances and activities like rabbit hunts adapted from the practices of the original Piro and Tigua ancestors of the present tribal population, the Corporation neither encourages nor invites the majority of the Tribe's members to participate in Guadalupe Day or other ceremonial activities, though some have come to the Guadalupe Day activities through the years, and a few tribal members even have danced along with Corporation members. Piros present at these events tended to make critical comments about the conduct of the dancers and the changes or deviations from custom, and this eventually became intolerable to the Fierros. The Corporation, under predominantly Mexican control, has regulated the participation of dancers as the Corporation had done under Piro control, in this case in order to limit strictly the level of Piro Indian participation. Antonio Mojaro formerly was welcomed to participate, because they hoped that he, though a Roybal descendant,

might support their claim by lending credibility through his participation as a real Piro, a Roybal, and potential heir to the post of Cacique; and Carmen Baca Gaydos, a tribal elder, participated in the "A" Mountain pilgrimage one year.

For the past twenty years at least, scholars and many New Mexico and Mesilla Valley residents have been led to overlook the difference between the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe and the Corporation, and have assumed the Corporation's leaders, and the performers of ceremonies in Tortugas, are all Tigua or related Pueblo Indians. Tortugas has been viewed in many media accounts as a center of tribal activity rather than Las Cruces, as a place where Indians live apart, because it is separated physically from Las Cruces. Local people, until recent years, did not learn to distinguish between Piros and Tiguas on the one hand and recent Mexican immigrants associated with Tortugas. Tortugas was an easy site on which to focus as an area with Puebloan cultural traditions in evidence (Oppenheimer 1957; Hurt 1952).

Some scholars have assumed the Indians they report as Piro and Tigua are associated with Tortugas today or conduct their own activities there, and that they control the ceremonies (Smith 1969; Dutton 1975; Dobyns and Euler 1980; Sklar 1991). The Corporation has fostered this view through an active public relations effort aimed at scholars and media, using activities such as a guided tour of Tortugas and Indian dancing for scholars conducting field work or attending conferences in the area. Meanwhile, members of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe continue their own tribal existence, and have recorded their recollections of tribal activity in their lifetimes for these purposes. Below are some of the personal views and recollections of these tribal members concerning their contemporary tribal history.

YS has a general knowledge of the tribal government and its functions (selection of tribal officers, official roles, meeting schedules, business activities, etc.). YS says the Tribe actually governs itself through the participation of the members in tribal decisions and activities. She believes that at present the purpose or function of the Tribal Council is to get the Tribe recognized and that the tribal members have an obligation to be more active in tribal affairs. The tribal government guides her activities to some degree, though she could not give any specific examples. She states that her family was and still is very active in tribal affairs and that her uncle, Victor Roybal Jr., informs her of when and where the tribal meetings are to be held. Many other tribal members make a similar report, going back before the time that Victor Roybal, Jr. became Tribal Secretary, following Louis Roybal and Estella Sanchez. If she cannot attend, he fills her in on what was discussed and keeps her informed on tribal business. She has tried to be active in tribal affairs, but notes that she was more active when she was younger.

YS can name both past and present tribal leaders, however, she names "Mr. Trujillo" and "Mr. Roybal" as the tribe's present Cacique [Note: The only real change she identifies in the tribe in the last forty years is a growing participation in exclusively tribal affairs by tribal members. Women's roles in the Tribe were described as ceremonial and domestic; however, she feels that the women's role now has more to do with passing their culture on and encouraging their children to take a more active role in tribal affairs.] [Almarez: PMT Field Notes, 1991; YS (1)].

EJ's father was Jacinto Juan Jemente, who was very active in tribal affairs. None of his children are currently listed on the tribal roll. {?}

EJ has a thorough understanding of the Tribal government (functions and roles of the Cacique and tribal officers, meeting schedules etc.) and feels that the

process hasn't changed, only the people involved. The Tribal Council doesn't control their members' actions to the extent the State or Federal government does, but does advise them and informs them on tribal matters. Tribal members are obligated to carry on the tribal traditions and to pass the culture on to their children. Information concerning tribal matters is generally relayed to him, by phone, letter, or personally, by Victor Roybal, Jr. However, such information is also passed on by some of the present tribal officers. He can name many of the past tribal leaders, but is a little vague on some of the present Tribal officers. He names Victor Roybal Sr. as the first Cacique he knew personally, and feels that the caciqueship stays in the Roybal family because "that's where it started," and is passed down from one generation to the next.

Women are considered equals in terms of tribal membership status. They are encouraged to attend meetings and participate in the tribe's political activities. Female members also helped in the preparation of foods and materials for the various religious ceremonies and social functions [Slagle/ Conn: PMT Field Notes, 1991; EJ (2)].

LA has an intimate knowledge of tribal government, since his father was interim Cacique and he himself served in various leadership roles, including Tribal Council President. He has continuously attended election meetings, both at the East Side Community Center and at Victor Roybal Jr.'s House, and can name past and present tribal leaders.

He recalls vividly the power struggle that went on during and after the war between Miquel Fierro and the Roybals over control of the tribe during the period during and after WWII. The incident when Miguel Fierro took legal steps and seized Tribal ceremonial objects and records from the Cacique's house (" Fierro's insult "). He also states: "that they [his group] gets in trouble in Tortugas...they're not supposed to be there."

Women were important in helping with the preparations for the December fiesta for the Virgin de Guadalupe. Recalls the regalia the women who danced in ceremonies wore and notes that Francisca Avalos was a curandera [Slagle/ Conn: PMT Field Notes, 1991; LA (3)].

AA notes that [in the 1960's], the Fierro's and the Roybals were feuding ("...the Fierros were greedy for land..") and that at that time, the Indians didn't have [control of] the Corporation. The Corporation knew nothing of the protocol involved when they wanted to install Ernesto Dominguez as Cacique.

While some Indians went to school in Albuquerque, others did not attend school at all. Consequently, they would sign "the book" [tribal register?] with a "cross" [an "x"]. So, Fierro would present papers for such people to sign without them knowing what they were signing.

One major incident in his life which has been the source of much personal grief was an incident that happened 10 or 15 years ago (not sure as to the exact year) in Tortugas. He was in Tortugas for breakfast at the Casa de Comida. Some of the dancers were rehearsing, dancing in a circle, beating the drum, and drinking Tequila. He didn't like what was going on (drinking comportment) and made it known to the people there. A drunken Fierro (doesn't specify which one) approached him, wanting to start a fight, and told him to leave because he did not have any business there. This hurt Adolfo very much, so consequently, he has never returned. Nor will he join them again because he dislikes the way they do things. The rabbit hunts are no longer held, and AA recalls the last one he went on was just before WWII. He also notes that the "old Indians way back" used to go up to "A" Mountain to dance and chant ("hit drum") for a week when "they were happy or sad."

He has been active in various capacities in tribal affairs. He was First War Captain for the years 1971-75, '85, and '86, and was the tribal drummer/singer. However, his bout with Parkinson's disease has precluded him from being active in recent tribal affairs. He learned to play the Tombe and to sing the traditional songs at the age of 13 while under the direction of Vicente Roybal, who also taught him to make Tombes. Vicente later bequeathed his personal drum to Adolfo when he died ("I was his favorite"). He has made Tombes and sold or has given them to various members of the tribe, including Tony Avalos, the current leader of the tribal dance group. He instructed Tony in many of the various songs and dances. Adolfo is one of the few people in the tribe who still know what the songs mean. However, Parkinson's disease has made it very difficult to be active. He feels split from his identity, because he cannot move as freely among his community as before [Slagle/ Conn: PMT Field Notes, 1991; AA (4)].

JGR has a broad understanding of his tribal government, its officers and their functions, based on his life experience. He doesn't believe the way the tribe is governed has changed much in the last forty years, but that its run "..the same way it's always been." Tribal membership is determined by census. Tribal census information is turned over by tribal members to either Lamberto Trujillo or Victor Roybal JR. He's not quite sure how many members are currently in the tribe. He can name some of the past tribal leaders, but knows very few of the present leaders. He attends most of the tribal meetings, and finds out where and when they will be held either by phone or mail. If he is unable to attend a meeting or other tribal activity, Victor fills him in on what went on. Even though his parents and grandparents were very active in tribal activities, he wasn't nor hasn't been as active in tribal affairs as he would have like to have been due to his work schedule.

Leadership roles, such as the Caciqueship, War Captain, etc., are available to the "original members of the tribe... the old folks. . . . [those individuals] having been brought up to know about the tribe." JGR sees Tribal Council mainly in the communication capacity, letting tribal members know " what's going on." Tribal members are obligated to take an active part in tribal politics, to attend " all the meetings...the elections at New Year..." as well as participate in ceremonial activities.

Women's roles in the tribe were described not only as domestic: " most of the cooking and arrangements, stuff like that...[at meetings] we all get together and have refreshments [prepared by the women]", but also as active participants: " ..they're pretty active...they help the...War Chiefs [War Captains] ..help notify the tribal members...of meetings or whatever...they help out in a lot of different ways." A Caciqua's role is considered the same as that of a male: " Pretty much the same as a that of a male...they're at the head of all the business." I n terms of present tribal social activity, JGR says: " Once in awhile...barbecues, cookouts...sometimes they go out to Aguirre Springs or Dripping Springs...sometimes out in the mountains for cookouts.." Although he does try to participate in or attend tribal functions, his health ("rheumatism") precludes him from participating in any tribal activities other than meetings.

JGR names specifically the Roybals, Trujillos, Gonzales, Avalos, and Montoyas as tribal families with whom he maintains regular contact. He encounters these people in public places such as department stores or supermarkets, sometimes two or three individuals, and they will generally stop to talk and catch up on different matters. He also mentioned get togethers at Victor Roybal Jr.'s House, but he doesn't elaborate as to what goes on at these gatherings. These same families are mentioned as people his family was friends with when he was growing

up. Activities included casual socializing, communal rabbit hunts, and the December festivities in Tortugas.

In terms of other types of activities: " [regarding weddings, JGR says] . . . we get invited .. a bunch of them...Montoyas, Gonzales (2 or 3), Avalos, Trujillo. I went to the Pedraza's; one of the boys[' weddings]. Whenever a tribal member gets married, we always get invited." He also sees other tribal members at these weddings. All his relatives attended his own wedding.

Of interest is the communication of tribal affairs between members living outside of New Mexico. Even though economic opportunities have made it necessary for members to move away from the area, he notes: " ...Lot of the tribal members, especially, after the Second World War, they spread out, they moved to different [places]...Arizona, California, Texas...to work...to find better jobs. But if something important [happens]....some marriages...funerals..then sure as hell...they will be here" [Almarez: PMT Field Notes, 1991; JGR.]

GP recalls ceremonies at the Roybal house, as well as tribal meetings, which were generally held every two weeks. He also recalls Sunday afternoons when his grandfather would have him bring out the drum and would start playing and singing. This would generally attract neighbors to join him, such as "Don Jose and Francisco Gonzales and Señor Domingues." On Sundays, tribal "fiestas" were held at his cousin Rafaela Dominguez's house.

GP's recollections of his grandfather's reign as Cacique after the death of Felipe Roybal is discussed elsewhere. GP bemoans the fact the Tribe essentially does not have a Cacique, depending rather on an Acting or Assistant Cacique, but notes the tribal government has been operating without one. An example he gives is a series of "enchilada suppers" the Tribe organized to raise funds to hire a lawyer. The first Cacique was Felipe Roybal, and when asked why the Caciqueship stays in the Roybal family, he attributes it to " tradition." A good Cacique is one who "...knows all the facts...how it was done." He is one who knows the names of the old Cantos, etc., "..what's passed down from the old Indians." He knows the duties of the tribal officers and officials and says they are chosen for election by the Tribe on January 1st. One of the most important duties of the War Captains is communicating tribal news such as meeting schedules to the tribal members. He can name several of the past tribal leaders, particularly those involved with the ceremonies at Tortugas: "Don Jose Gonzales, Francisco Gonzales (brothers), Francisco Domingues and Pedro Pedraza's father." He can also identify the present tribal leaders, such as the President, Charlie Madrid. He is currently the 3rd War Captain.

GP was adamant on the issue of tribal affiliation determinations. Tribal membership is determined by the proper identification: "..they got to have their papers to prove they are [Indian] (birth certificates, etc." As was noted, he estimates tribal membership at around 300: " There's about 300 around here that I know...that I could tell you they are." Aside from the annual election meeting, tribal meetings appear to be held whenever the need arises: " New Year's...whenever." When a meeting is called, the communication network is tapped in via the War Captains and relatives: " I got a big family, and I call them...and they know mostly all the members and they're all Indians...were a big family; the Portillos, Avalos...we're all kin. I call my daughter, my daughter calls her cousin [and so on]..By the time we start the meeting, everyone's there."

As was noted, he now serves as a War Captain on the tribal Council, and was also War Captain in 1972 and 1973. During the mid 70's and the early 80's, he was the director of the tribal dance group " Los Indios " at Picacho. Adolfo Avalos taught him to sing and play the Tombe. He took these responsibilities over from

his sister Clara Portillo Telles Flores. His Father was also involved with the tribe to some degree. He made Tombes, bows and arrows, and other such items. His daughters and sons are also active in tribal activities, and he receives a great deal of support from them in his activities: " Yea...every time I call them, they're there...they back me up in everything...that's important." His daughter, Beatrice, married Antonio Jojola, another tribal member. Both have been and still are very active in tribal activities. Tony play the drum and knows many of the traditional dances and songs. Many of his children who live out of state are not able to get time off to attend tribal functions or the December Fiesta for the Virgin. He does, however, keep them informed on tribal matters.

GP says his Tribe does continue to interact politically, ceremonially, and socially. He was the first consultant Almarez interviewed who supplied additional current information on the tribal activities at Picacho: "...Over here at Picacho, they play too...like they used to...they do that every year." Apparently they have their fiesta during December and the Procession on January the 1st, the same as Tortugas. His children and his grandchildren used to dance there. He and his cousin AA used to get together semi-regularly to play the drums an sing: " We used to get together a lot. Every time we get together, I'd get 3 or 4 [cassette] tapes." These "practicas" will be copied for the petition and as a part of the tribal archive. Due to AA (4)'s recent illness, they haven't played together in almost 2 years. However, AA has been feeling better lately, so he and GP will begin recording more of the traditional songs on quality tape and are making plans to pass these traditions on to the younger members.

Tribal meetings previously were held on a regular basis, every two weeks at Vicente Roybal's house. GP confirms the Tribe no longer practices the rabbit hunts and notes the last one he went on was before WWII. No longer do they do the Baile de Olla. As he recalls: "Everyone knew how to sing and everybody knew how to play that drum."

One night, while having dinner at his house, GP told Almarez what had happened after the Tribe had won a court case (Avalos vs. Morton) in 1980. GP and some of the other members realized that this first victory was just a start of a long process to gain federal recognition; that it wasn't over. Some of the tribal members misunderstood and, jumping the gun, "went to Tortugas to see who was going to get what." A tribal meeting was called to discuss the case and make plans accordingly. Many of the members thought it was over and the money would start rolling in, but as GP pointed out in the interview: "We're trying to explain to them...you tell them we're fighting for this, and we're trying to get our rights for this...they think if you win a case...you're going to get money right away...in about a month or so. We get back in a meeting and [they ask], 'when are we going to get our money?'. That's where it goes wrong, you know...we tell them,' we've got to do this; we got to keep on for four or maybe five years, probably more.' We can't get this like welfare, you go apply for it, you get it next week. No, it's not like that...we've got to fight for it...we've got to prove to them we're Indians." According to GP, many tribal members gave up after that.

While growing up, CA lived on the block in the Historic section of Las Cruces, near the Caciques' house in the CN. The Cacique's family lived in the front house, where tribal ceremonies took place. Francisca Roybal (Grandma Pancha) took in and raised orphans at the house, regardless whether they were Indian or hispanic. Known as a Curandera, she refused help to no one. The Tribe prepared food for ceremonial fiestas in June,. December and New Year's outdoors in the compound under Cacigua Francisca's supervision. CA was a runner in the hunts for "Grandma Francisca Roybal": "About three or four wagons. Go at five o'clock and

made a fire, and where the smoke went, there was the rabbits."

CA identified tribal dancers in a photo taken December 12, 1927. Among the individuals she can identify was Amelia Ascarate, who owned the Moynihan Range (where Cirildo Avalos worked), and some farmland near Tortugas. The Apodacas of Tortugas, one individual named Calderon, Vicente Roybal, Cornelio Duran (who owned a cattle ranch near what now is an Alpha Beta store near Main St., Las Cruces), and Francis Garner also were in the photograph. CA recalls Cirildo Avalos was War Captain until he died. She employed members of the Tribe, and made donations to the Tribe. Miguel Fierro came from Mexico was not an Indian, but got met and married a tribal member.

She was able to identify from personal knowledge and relationship during their lifetime the following persons from the 1916 list of members of the Corporation, including certain sometime leaders: Alejandro Benavides, Senovio Avalos (her uncle), Juan Avalos (her uncle), Stanislado Avalos (her uncle), Victor A. Roybal (first cousin), Ascarate (Van Patten's mother in law, non-Indian), Jose Angel Enrique, Sr. (War Captain who lived on San Pedro street and who owned a house in Tortugas next to the school), Elias Jojola (dancer), Santiago Duran, and Luis Apodaca (from Tortugas). She is able to recall the appointment of Senovio Avalos as interim Cacique in 1920, naming Francisco Dominquez and Rafaela Dominquez (whom she knew, and who were raise by Candelaria's grandmother, Francisca Avalos Roybal). CA states that Raphaela Domingues was one of the orphans raised by Francisca Roybal, in her capacity as Caciqua. Lupe Domingues, her daughter, claims to be Indian because of her status as an adopted child of the Caciqua Francisca Avalos Roybal.

A Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribal Gathering

As indicated above, many tribal members stopped attending regular tribal gatherings for a time in the mid-1970s and early 1980s [Almarez: PMT Field Notes, 1991; GP (6)]. However, tribal meetings have continued, and attendance has increased with a strengthening of the leadership initiatives of the governing body. These tribal gatherings include not only formal Tribal Council meetings, but other more as well as less formal occasions, such as one reported below by Fred Almarez:

Tribal Meeting
Place: President Charlie Madrid's residence
Date: May 9, 1991
Time: 6;00 p.m.
Tribal Officers Attnd.: Charlie Madrid - President
Luis Roybal - Vice President
Lamberto Trujillo - Secretary
Ed Roybal - 1st War Capt., Assist. Cacique
Guillermo Portillo - 3rd War Captain
Juan Benavidez - 4th War Captain
Andy Roybal - 5th War Captain

Tribal Members Attnd.: 17 (those listed on 1990 tribal role)

Others Attnd.: Dennis Banks - Chippewa
Lujann Huuee - Zuni
Annette Moldonado - Tiwa
Tieraona - Lakota

* Attendance roster on file

This meeting was called by Charles Madrid primarily to discuss matters concerning the upcoming "Spiritual Run" for 5/10/91 at 6:00 a.m. The tribe is hosting the event in conjunction with "Trees New Mexico". Dennis Banks had also scheduled runs for the same day in other parts of New Mexico. The runners were to meet in Albuquerque on Saturday at the Pueblo Cultural Center. A tree was to be ceremonially blessed and planted at the facility.

Thirty-eight people attended according to the meeting roster. Also attending was Dennis Banks, a friend of Ed Roybal, who organizes the runs throughout the U.S. The spiritual runs were organized in conjunction with "Trees New Mexico" to not only to strengthen tribal spiritual unity and raise Awareness of the deforestation of the planet, but to also gain support for a tribal tree planting program to rejuvenate local forest communities.

The run was slated to begin at the top of "A" Mountain. Juan Benavidez and Victor Roybal Jr. were to light the ceremonial fire. The opening ceremonies were to be done at sunrise, after which the runners were to run to Vicente Roybal's house at Amador and San Pedro streets. A tree, supplied by Trees New Mexico, was to be blessed and planted in the courtyard. The runners were then to proceed to Albuquerque via N. M. Highway 85. The run was to be done in two parts: the first leg from Las Cruces to Soccoro, the second from Soccorro to Albuquerque.

Charlie Madrid opened the meeting with an announcement of the run, then turned it over to Dennis Banks, who gave the details and reasons for the run.

Charlie Madrid then called for everyone's attention to make an announcement regarding the safety of tribal prayer places. The commander of the White Sands Missile Range (WSMR) sent a letter to the Tribal Council informing them of plans by the military to install a service cable from WSMR to the Burro Mountains north of Las Cruces. He requested to be informed of any places considered sacred to the tribe which might be in the project right-of-way. The cable would be re-routed around any such locations. Charlie recalled that when he was growing up, he and his father would go to pray on Robledo Mountain, which is south of the project area. He requested that if any tribal members knew of any sacred places which might be impacted, he should be informed so they could be properly documented. The information would then be relayed to Allogan Slagle, one of the attorney's presently working with the tribe, who would handle the matter.

Ed then addressed the gathering, asking for full tribal support for the run. He announced a sweat arranged for the runners, but invited anyone else who wanted to participate. He also talked of the need for solidarity between Indian groups and the called for the participation of the tribe in the healing of the earth.

The Tombe was brought out and Dennis led Andy, Ed, and l Louis in singing the American Indian Movement song. After the song was finished, some of the group wanted to begin the sweat at Tieraona's house. However, Lamberto Trujillo noted that the agenda scheduled the meeting for 6:00 to 8:00 P.M. There was more tribal business to discuss, so there would be no deviation form the agenda. Bindy discussed in short the status of the petition and reminded everyone that the matter would be discussed in greater detail at the tribal meeting scheduled for the next friday the 10th at 6;00 P.M. at the East Side Community Center. He asked members to refer to the schedule of tribal events, which was mailed out to tribal members. He also talked of the intention of the tribe to get on a government program to build affordable housing for the tribe. He noted the need to get the process going now, while the tribe looked for land to purchase as a tribal land base.

I talked at length with Andy and Louis Roybal, two people who up to now, had

only been names to me. Andy struck me as bright and articulate, with a deep conviction of his tribal identity. He currently resides in Albuquerque, but will be returning to U. C. Berkeley. Louis was very intense while I discussed my research. We talked of sharing taped footage of tribal events to develop a video archive for the tribe. His niece, Holly Roybal, was using his 8 mm video camera earlier to record some of the meeting.

I did get a chance to speak with some of the younger tribal members. Many of them expressed interest in what I was doing and why I was doing it." Some told me that they really want to "get their culture back." Many expressed interest in getting more involved with tribal affairs. Some of the children of the older consultants who I interviewed said that they wanted to get involved with the tribe to the degree they were when they were younger - that they want their children to learn more about who they are and to be proud of it.

Feelings were running high and members in attendance talked of having a Cerco...of planting trees along the bosque .... of teaching more of the young who want to learn the traditional songs and dances. the meeting adjourned at 9:30."

The Tribe's recovery from the loss of its control over Guadalupe and the Corporation, its ceremonies and customs, has taken years of tireless efforts at ironing out internal frictions and finding ways to continue their traditions within the Mesilla Valley; hence, the adoption of a new dance area, at Picacho, in the early 1980s (Conn, Slagle and Alvarez, PMT Field Notes, 1990). The Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribal dance group has gathered the remaining elders and other members who have participated in the dances since the schism with Tortugas. They have danced at tribal gatherings and in regular practicas, and whereas during the seventies and eighties, the Tribe continued with only the separate Captains' pilgrimage on "A" Mountain in order to avoid interference with (or by) the Tortugas observance, it has revised its ceremonial calendar on a much older basis, with a December pilgrimage and vigil on "A" Mountain around December 21, and conducts its "A" Mountain pilgrimages literally in conjunction with the Winter Solstice consistent with their aboriginal tradition alone (Slagle, PMT Field Notes, 1991).

Certain other institutions, the social ones, have changed with time and acculturative influences. In 1957, Oppenheimer reported that the old Pueblo cultural institutions such as clan divisions were no longer apparent in the Piro/Manso/Tiwa community in Las Cruces or in Tortugas:

> Currently there are no formal social structures other than the family. Formerly, however, the village was divided into moieties. These had ceased to function even before the childhood of the present day elders of Tortugas. One old woman said, "They used to have Red Eyes and Black Eyes at Tortugas. There were never any smaller 'clans', just these two." A man of sixty-five, told me, "My daddy tells me there were two 'clans,' Ojo Negro (Black Eyes) and Ojo Colorado (Red Eyes). I think we belong to the Ojo Colorado." This individual added that they were connected with the seasons, although he did not remember which moiety was winter and which was summer. He said the "clans" were mentioned in songs, and that they had Indian names which he did not remember. Upon being prompted from Parson's Isleta, New Mexico as to whether the names were not shefuni'de and shure', he said "Yes, shi was Black Eyes and shure' was Red Eyes." His statement parallels Parsons' data(Oppenheimer, 1957 Thesis p. 63-64).

Other aspects of social and family life strongly reflected the Mexican Catholic influence, including attitudes on separation and divorce, respect for the elderly, even though the former custom of caring for them within the family was ebbing by

the early 1950s.

The persistence of Indian identity in the modern Piro/Manso/Tiwa community takes a wide variety of forms on an irregular continuum from those who live in or near the old core community in Las Cruces to those who retain contacts but live at great distances away except when tribal gatherings such as christenings, weddings, funerals and the like take place. These sorts of ceremonies tend to reflect current tastes and Catholic generalized traditions for most members, but funerals -- such as that of the Cacique Vicente Roybal -- incorporated elements of old Pueblo traditions. Mortuary customs formerly reflected aspects of northern Pueblo custom, such as burial by friends, wrapping the corpse in a blanket, and the like. A delay according to travel time often is allowed for persons attending from other areas. (Slagle, PMT Field Notes, 1990-1991). Women used to make funerary flower crowns (Oppenheimer, 1957 Thesis p. 66).

Weddings frequently had the nature of family reunions and still are major affairs in the Tribe. By the 1950s, Oppenheimer found no custom of arranged marriages, but found that people were expected to marry. Most were married by the time they were 21, and once engaged, a male was expected to support his future wife -- which generally meant engagements were brief. Men were expected to be good providers and women were expected to stay home and care for the children (Oppenheimer, 1957 Thesis pp. 61-63).

Hearkening to a time when compadrazgo was an important feature of the Cacique's role, to the extent of his actually acting as a foster parent to many orphaned children, Oppenheimer found:

> Baptism is the occasion for a feast to which everyone is invited. This feast is given by the godparents of the child. The godparents, chosen from among the friends of the parents, may or may not be residents of Tortugas. Some babies are baptized at one week, others at two weeks, and some at one month of age. Illegitimate children are likewise baptized. One woman said, "Nothing is held against them. It's never referred to" (Oppenheimer, 1957 Thesis p. 59).

The old Indian names had fallen into disuse by the 1950s:

> Formerly the Indians received native names which referred to animals, such as the deer, antelope, or beaver, or to such natural phenomena as the rainbow. In contrast to the present Spanish practice, two individuals never had the same name. To my knowledge, there is no living person at Tortugas who has an Indian name (Oppenheimer, Thesis, p. 59).

Many have forgotten the old ceremonies, if they knew them, while others hold to them zealously, jealously, and secretively; and while older members may remember elements of the Tiwa language if only through the chants and songs, many have lost all recollection of it. Oppenheimer wrote:

> The language spoken at home often is Spanish, though at the present time, most members, if they do speak Spanish, have been bilingual all their lives. In the early 1950s, there were members who had never spoken English, and most of the older people spoke Spanish, or Tiwa, though the latter survives today only in the chants at Indian Dances, [presumably] understood neither by the chanters or audience (Oppenheimer, 1957 Thesis p. 61).

Some recall the boarding-school experience of their ancestors, for several score members of earlier generations went to Indian schools. Many are strongly identified as Indian some (primarily Roybals) as Indian leaders among other tribes, and by various government agencies. Many are ardent Catholics or former Catholics, and still attend or refer to the old Guadalupe and other fiestas fondly, even if Tortugeno hostility prevents their attendance at modern

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ceremonies, except at Picacho or in Las Cruces. Most have modern jobs, and retain jobs ranging from skilled or semi-skilled to professions requiring advanced degrees. Some hold or aspire to political office in local or State government. There are Mesilla Valley area community leaders, church leaders, and ceremonial leaders among them. Their principal points of agreement is a strong to fierce attachment to tradition and the community, and a desire to have a permanent village home at a site at or near their core community.

Interviews conducted with a cross-section of Las Cruces and Mesilla Valley residents, as well as tribal members living there and outside the area, confirms the conclusions of Oppenheimer, Reynolds and others about the primacy of the Roybals and related families in the survival of the current tribe following the separation from the Corporation. Victor Roybal, Jr., former Tribal Secretary and once a controversial figure within the Tribe during the 1970s, has remained a central figure. In retirement, he still travels tirelessly throughout the Mesilla Valley, carrying the news of the Tribe among members. He remains an important communication link among tribal members, bearing announcements of meetings, extending condolences, gathering herbs and plants, carrying food, making ceremonial items, teaching cultural traditions. Many elders as well as youth among the Tribe look to Victor Roybal, Jr. as an authority, a living repository of Piro/Manso/Tiwa tradition. Living near the core neighborhood in Las Cruces, he continuously links key individuals and families throughout the Mesilla Valley. Though passed over for the role of Cacique, every member of the tribal government relies upon his leadership and instruction to some degree.

The core community in Las Cruces remains clearly the site of the historical and modern Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe, though a sentimental and often heartfelt longing is associated with Guadalupe in Tortugas. The present Cacique, Felipe Roybal, has been inactive at the post, and an Assistant Cacique, Edward Roybal, Sr., acts in his stead in all official capacities. The role of Cacique has seen many changes, but certain of his functions have remained similar over time, or he has taken on new aspects of the role of Chief. Oppenheimer noted particular aspects of that role which had changed by the 1950s, perhaps even before the arrival of the Tribe in Las Cruces:

> The informant . . . mentioned that "each 'clan' had a chief with a staff." It is not known whether these are moiety chiefs as represented at Isleta or dual seasonal Caciques as in the Tewa villages. At present there is but one Cacique. Whether membership in the moiety was matrilineal or patrilineal is not known, but if it paralleled the situation at Isleta, New Mexico, it would have tended to patrilineality (Oppenheimer, 1957 Thesis p. 63-64),

as always has been the case in Las Cruces.

One tribal member, born in Las Cruces in 1947, recalls that while growing up, she lived at (b) [redacted]. in the Historic section of Las Cruces, approximately 5 blocks from the Cacique's house in the core neighborhood on San Pedro and Amador. Her father (non-Indian), was raised on East Hadley St. Her mother, who lived for the early portion of her life in California, was raised during the remaining years "close to San Pedro St.," but she is unsure of the address)." The adobe construction of her home, her mother's cooking, and her mother's knowledge of herbal medicines are things she recognizes that distinguished her home as "being Indian". Some practice of traditional Indian or Mexican herbal medicine has continued at Las Cruces and Tortugas. Oppenheimer said Tortugenos bought herbs from a Mesilla Park nursery, while the then-"current herb doctor . . . a Mexican, living in Las Cruces, . . . uses an Argentine herb book." Sycamore, rosemary, and bee balm (from Cloudcraft, New Mexico) were in use, and

"all of the older women in Tortugas" had their own household remedies (Oppenheimer, 1957 Thesis p. 67). Similar use of herbs for purification, blessing, and household remedies reflecting southwest/Pueblo usage continues today in Las Cruces and among some tribal members (Slagle, Almarez, PMT Field Notes, 1990-1991).

In terms of a core neighborhood in the old days, she cited Las Cruces and the area near San Pedro and Amador streets, and Tortugas in the days before the schism. She feels that Tortugas was and still is important to the tribe. She used to dance in Tortugas as a tribal dancer when she was 10 or 11 years old, but no longer participates in that capacity. Other places she considers important to the tribe are "A" Mountain and the town of Picacho. She currently attends the December ceremonies at both Tortugas and Picacho. Tribal meetings she attended were held at the East Side Community Center in the core neighborhood or "...sometimes at Tortugas...across the street from the church..." The only tribal family she recalls in her immediate neighborhood were the Apodacas, who resided in the lot behind her home. Currently, no other tribal families live in her immediate vicinity [Almarez: PMT Field Notes, 1991; YS (1)].

EJ considers the "Core Area", or his neighborhood, the center of the Indian community (he notes the "center" as being the area around the Roybal house). He left the neighborhood for a short time in 1944, when he joined the Navy, and returned in 1946. He didn't notice much of a change in the Indian community upon returning, but did note that people who were involved in the war effort one way or another took steps to get the tribe back together. He can name many tribal families who lived in his neighborhood when growing up, but now notes only one family in his immediate area. Tortugas was considered important to the Indians, mainly for ceremonial reasons. He notes that he had property in his name there, but didn't find out about until some years later.

An interesting bit of information come up during the interview which up to this time was not known. (b) (6) s father was raised by a Mr. (b) (6), who was raised by a Mrs. (b) (first name unknown). Apparently, Mrs. (b) would take in orphans and raise them as her own. The Indians built her a "long room" or "long house" which was located between Church ST. and San Pedro St., a half block from the Roybal house. The Indian Tribe would have ceremonies, etc. there. This was apparently before the Roybal compound was established at the tribal ceremonial center [Slagle, Conn: PMT Field Notes, 1991; EJ (2)].

LA says that the Indian community started in the Core Area, and feels that the "old neighborhood" is still important because Tortugas was "taken away." He recalls many tribal families living near his house as well as the Roybal house and attended (along with his family) tribal meetings, ceremonies, and social gatherings at the Cacique's compound. His father, Senovio Avalos, served as interim Cacique after the death of Felipe Roybal.

Tortugas was very important to his tribe, not only for ceremonial purposes, but adds: "...that was the first place they owned, for the Indian people...Tortugas was a place for the Indians." Though the "old neighborhood" was the first place the Indians "started", building a church in Tortugas brought the Indians together there. While he did have some land in his name there, he decided to stay in Las Cruces for logistical reasons [Almarez: PMT Field Notes, 1991; LA (3)].

AA never lived near the Cacique's house in the core neighborhood, but spent of his childhood and adolesence in Tortugas. When he was four (?) years old he was sent to St. Mary's Catholic school in Albuquerque and returned to Tortugas at the age of 10 to live with his cousin (b)(6) (whom he called "uncle"). He left the

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area in 1944 when he joined the Navy. Was honorably discharged in 1946 and returned to work at the farm in Picacho where he had previously been working. He returned to California to live and work with relatives in Fresno. He settled permanently in Las Cruces when he married.

His home was essentially in the center of the Indian community. His mother had a knowledge herbal healing ("used weeds"). His father (doesn't mention which one, since his mother remarried) made Tombes, leather and wooden drums ("He was the best"), and also taught him how to make bows and arrows.

Tortugas was considered important to the Indians, he says. They had moved their ceremonial activities there because: "[they] made lots of noise at San Pedro [Roybal's compound]," and that the priest at St.Genevieve's complained. He also notes that after WWII, there was an increase of tribal members' being buried at Tortugas. Most of the ceremonies he participated in were at Tortugas. Other important places he notes are "A" Mountain the town of Picacho: "[The] young ones, many go to Picacho to make their festivals. They are Indians." Mentions his cousin GP (3) as being involved there [Slagle, Conn: PMT Field Notes, 1991; AA (4)]

JDR's father, (b) (6) (Tiwa), was born at Ysleta, Texas, but JDR thinks of Las Cruces as the only home he knows. His mother, (b) (6), was from Chihuahua, Mexico. He was raised in his family's home on the corner of (b) (6) and (b) (6) streets ((b) (6)), about a block from the Roybal's house: "Always lived there...we were born there, and we grew up there...in that neighborhood" [Almarez: PMT Field Notes, 1991; JDR (5)]. He continued to live there until shortly after he was married in 1951, when he and his wife got a place of their own. When his siblings started marrying, they moved out, but he stayed in the core neighborhood.

He cites the adobe construction of his home as being particularly Indian. He recalls the names of other tribal families and considers the old part of the city, i.e., his neighborhood, and being the center of the Indian community and notes: "..they started here in [at] St. Genevieve's before they moved them here to Tortugas...They started here in Las Cruces...all the ceremonies, dances, everything...on the Roybal Property."

Tortugas was and still is important to the tribe, mainly for ceremonial reasons, he believes. He also has relatives still residing there. The tribe felt that they could have more ceremonial freedom in Tortugas, which is why they moved their activities there. He still attends the ceremonies there and feels that the continuation of these ceremonies maintains the importance on Tortugas.

GP says "everybody used to live around there" [Almarez: PMT Field Notes, 1991; GP (6)], referring not only to familial but also member proximity to the Roybal House. Tribal activities in the core area indicate that the neighborhood was the center of the Indian community. Among the tribal families he remembers are the Garcias and the Durans. Adobe construction of the houses was an Indian characteristic of his household. He recalls ceremonies at the Roybal house, as well as tribal meetings, which were generally held every two weeks. He also recalls Sunday afternoons when his grandfather would have him bring out the drum and would start playing and singing. This would generally attract neighbors to join him, such as "(b) ." On Sundays, tribal "fiestas" were held at his cousin (b) (6)' house.

His grandfather, (b) (6), took over the responsibilities as Cacique when Felipe Roybal died, as Cacique Regent. It was here that the Abuelos and other ceremonial leaders met at the end of their Guadalupe Day pilgrimage to A Mountain prior to retiring to the Caciqua's house before Vicente succeeded as actual

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Cacique. Felipe's wife, Caciqua Francisca, was (b) (6) sister and Vicente's mother. He recalls that his grandfather took on the responsibilities because Felipe's eldest son, Vicente, was too young and Francisca "was a woman." GP was always around his grandfather. (b) (6) died when GP was 12.

GP has been living at his current residence for the past 33 years. He had lived at the residence at (b) (6) Streets (four blocks from where he was born) for 17 years, but moved to his present address because "it was getting too crowded." All of his schooling was in Las Cruces. His grandfather, (b) (6) registered him and his siblings to attend the Indian school in Albuquerque. However, two weeks before they were to attend, (b)(6) died (1935), so they never did go. Although He never joined the military, his two brothers left Las Cruces for a short period of time to fulfill Military obligations. Most of his relatives lived in the core neighborhood.

He considers Tortugas as being important at one time to the tribe, due mainly to the December ceremonies and the fiesta for the Virgin de Guadalupe. His grandfather was a registered member of the church there and recalls walking with him to church every Sunday morning from his home on San Pedro Street to Tortugas. He was allowed to miss school to attend these ceremonies, and that "they knew it....that the fiesta we had every year...they excused me for 3 days." He recalls helping his grandfather and the other tribal leaders during the fiesta, the rabbit hunts, and other tribal ceremonial activities when he was young. He states that the people at Tortugas are not Indians and adds "...this over here at Tortugas, it's a corporation, it's not a tribe anymore." "A" Mountain was and still is important to the tribe. The Organ Mountain/ eastern valley border ridges and the area near the Dona Ana Mountains were also important for the tribal rabbit hunts, he says.

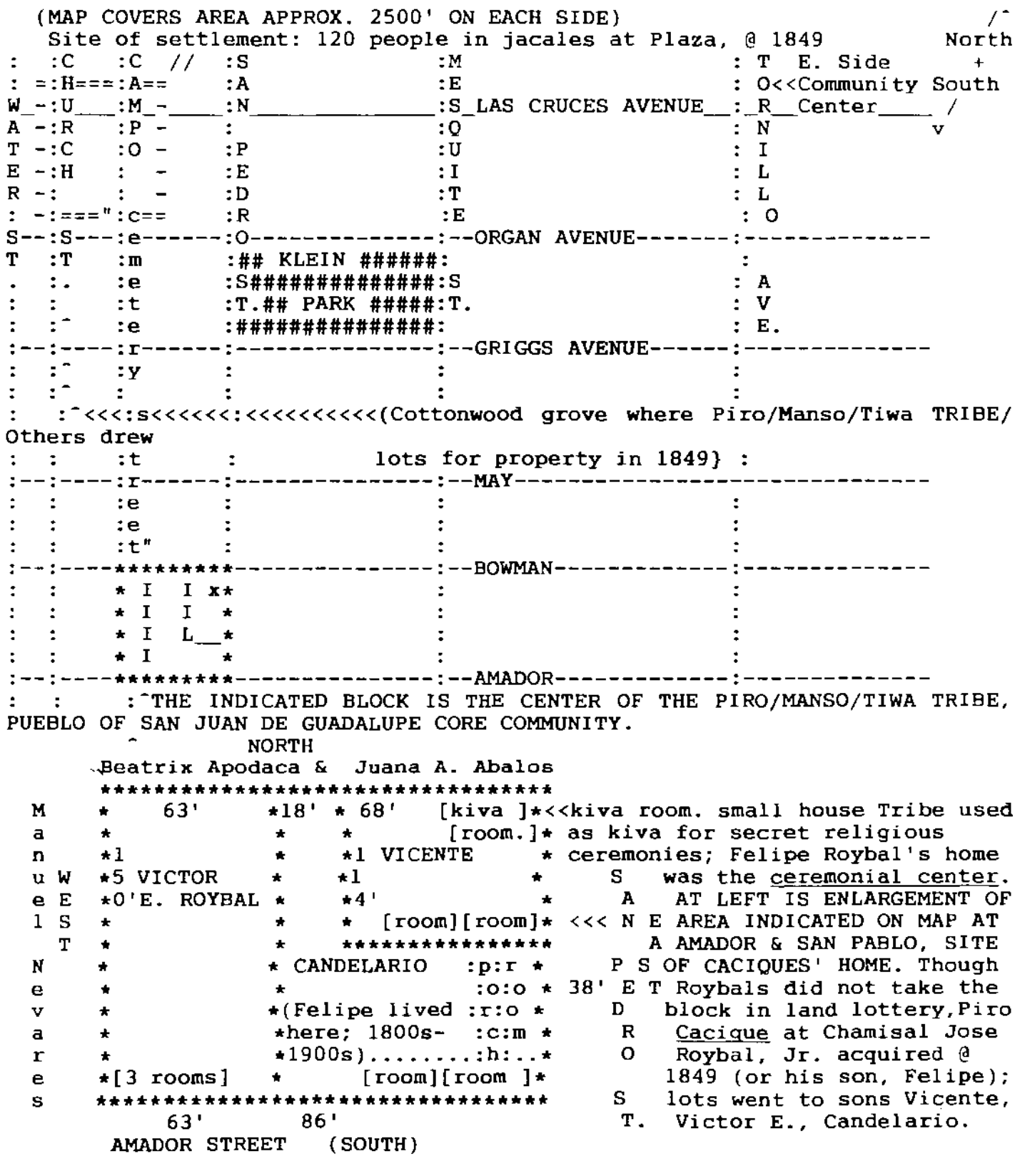
Tribal Vice-President Louis Roybal provided information and map of the Cacique's house in the core community, and tribal governmental history in his own account, reflecting his review of tribal archives (Memorandum, 25 November 1990). The 1960s Las Cruces Redevelopment Project widened Amador to 1-way st., razed some structures. One kiva wall remains.

Victor Roybal, Jr. described the home of the Cacique (Slagle, Conn, Field Notes, January 23, 1991): In the Cacique's house the three rooms were terraced off; each room was a step lower than the preceding room. The third and lowest was the ceremonial chamber, or Kiva, where the Cacique performed ceremonies. Candelaria Avalos confirmed these recollections during the same interview. The night before the rabbit hunts, Victor described a ceremony, in which the men wore traditional clothing consisting of a white cotton shirt and pants, and a belt, in which the men danced in the Kiva. Victor said, "Ladies didn't dance in those ceremonial dances, only the males. A lot of these dances that are in the Kiva, only the males: females weren't allowed. In fact, they couldn't even see, they couldn't even witness."

Activism of the Post-WWII Generation of the Tribe

The Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indian Tribe have appeared before Federal and State Courts both as an Indian tribe, and members have appeared as members of that tribe in their individual capacity as Indians in efforts to preserve their Indian community and culture. Some of these efforts involved BLM exchanges around Las Cruces.

In 1963, Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe Corporation was


(MAP COVERS AREA APPROX. 2500' ON EACH SIDE)
Site of settlement: 120 people in jacales at Plaza, @ 1849
North
E. Side
Community
South
Center
LAS CRUCES AVENUE
ORGAN AVENUE
KLEIN
PARK #####
GRIGGS AVENUE
(Cottonwood grove where Piro/Manso/Tiwa TRIBE/ Others drew
lots for property in 1849)
MAY
BOWMAN
AMADOR
THE INDICATED BLOCK IS THE CENTER OF THE PIRO/MANSO/TIWA TRIBE, PUEBLO OF SAN JUAN DE GUADALUPE CORE COMMUNITY.
NORTH
Beatrix Apodaca & Juana A. Abalos
63'
18'
68'
[kiva]
[room.]
VICENTE
VICTOR
E. ROYBAL
[room][room]
CANDELARIO
(Felipe lived here; 1800s-1900s)
[room][room]
[3 rooms]
63'
86'
AMADOR STREET (SOUTH)
kiva room. small house Tribe used as kiva for secret religious ceremonies; Felipe Roybal's home was the ceremonial center.
AT LEFT IS ENLARGEMENT OF AREA INDICATED ON MAP AT A AMADOR & SAN PABLO, SITE OF CACIQUES' HOME. Though Roybals did not take the block in land lottery,Piro Cacique at Chamisal Jose Roybal, Jr. acquired @ 1849 (or his son, Felipe); lots went to sons Victore, E., Candelario.

still in its original corporate duration but no longer was governing secular affairs of the Tribe, though some purported that it did. The Corporation as a part of that tribal government at that time initiated a quiet title action in the State of New Mexico District Court, Dona Ana County, though the primary matter in controversy apparent in the stipulation and settlement was the preservation of the way of life, practices, customs and ceremonies of the Indians in the Pueblo de San Juan de Guadalupe. In the action a segment of the tribal government appeared before the state court because a part and a number of tribal members were named defendants. This portion of the stipulation and agreement was incorporated into the Judgment and Final Decree:

> Provided, however, that the seventeen defendants named in their pleadings together with their heirs, successors and assigns are perpetually hereby and hereafter restrained and enjoined from placing, erecting or constructing on the described parcels of land, any building or structure, or from engaging thereon in any activity or commercial enterprise, that shall be detrimental or incompatible with the characteristics, way of life, practices, customs and ceremonies of the Indians in said village; such village being shown on Map No. 200, Reception No. 13982, filed with C.O. Bennett, County Clerk, on August 22, 1916.

For various reasons written evidence is scarce that this Tribe has dealt with County and local governments in a relationship based on the Indian identity of the group. Like many other disenfranchised groups, the Petitioner has not taken advantage of various state and local poverty programs and services either due to unawareness of the availability and their eligibility for such assistance, or because of the red tape involved. Therefore, it follows that there is an absence of records of such a relationship. In recent times, the availability of funding for Indian education at the k-12 level under J. O. M. and Title IV has led to the development of education programs for the Indian population.

Property and tax records indicating relationships with the state, county and local governments are similarly in absence, or scant, due to the loss of the tribal land base in the usurpation of corporate control of the secular governmental entity by a faction dominated by non-Indians in 1946. The unacknowledged status of the Tribe likewise has inhibited the development of intergovernmental relationships with surrounding sovereign entities. The entity most familiar to New Mexico and local governments is the Indigenes de Nuestra Sra. de Guadalupe, with which the Petitioner has had no operative relationship since 1946.

Indian Claims Commission efforts of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe in the 1970s were fruitless. The Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indian Tribe have appeared before Federal and State Courts both as an Indian tribe, and members have appeared as members of that tribe in their individual capacity as Indians in efforts to preserve their Indian community and culture. Equally significant is that the Petitioner has been identified as an independent, aboriginal and identifiable Indian tribe before the ICC, including by Ysleta del Sur, although the Petitioner's separate motion to intervene in that case was denied with prejudice on the ground of mootness when the Native American Legal Defense and Education Fund, representing the Petitioner, failed to answer a complaint in intervention. The Ysleta del Sur motion to intervene was denied on other grounds. The Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe initially was a

partial claimant to a claim initiated in intervention by the Ysleta del Sur of El Paso. Intervenor Ysleta del Sur stated in their claim that Petitioner had a claim identical to their own, thus recognizing Petitioner as an Indian Tribe. The Commission determined that the Tribe had to be Federally acknowledged in order to state a claim, and dismissed the claim. This decision was not used in the government's briefs in later cases, because it was superceded in the Passamoquoddy v. Morton litigation of the late 1970s. Margarito Fierro, on behalf of the Corporation Los Indigenes, attempted to intervene with no success.

Petitioner also appeared before the United States District Court in Avalos v. Morton, which was filed on the Petitioner's behalf by the Cacique, nine members of the tribal council and two members of the tribe. There, U. S. District Ct. Judge Verle Payne gave the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indians status to maintain a class action in pursuit of federal recognition and assistance.

Though the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo has opposed legislation intended to result in the acknowledgement of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe, it appears from internal correspondence that their Council's primary concern was that the Piro/Manso/Tiwa petitioner was identified with the post-1948 Los Indigenes Corporation in Tortugas, which has turned out to be unfounded. Many Tribes today view the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe as an historical, inherently sovereign entity possessed of character and attributes peculiar to themselves. On the strength of that judgment, the War Captains of the Tribe represented them at the signing of an intertribal (22-tribes) Treaty of mutual aid and support at Salt Lake City on March 22-23, 1990. Nor is either Tribe a colony or instrumentality of the other.

Recent intertribal activities have become more important to the younger generations due to wider networks of communications among tribes and the desire for advancing common purpose. An example of an event documenting the phenomenon of Piro/Manso/Tiwa interactions with other tribal people follows, as reported by Federico Almarez.

Senator Domenici of New Mexico's 1976 San Juan de Guadalupe Tiwa recognition bill was designed to address the issue of Piro/Manso/Tiwa Federal acknowledgement. That legislation failed, and documents will be provided as attached exhibits regarding that proposed legislation. Below appears an itemized list of the pertinent documents, organized by date, indicating sender and recipient, purpose or point of correspondence, and what it indicates regarding the Tribe's existence.

Attachment No. & Da; Fr; To; Re; Shows:

1]May 29, 1976; U.S. Sen. Domenici; Piro/Manso/Tiwas, general public; S. B. 3352 for Piro/Manso/Tiwas' Federal recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe with U.S. Senate.

2]June 17, 1976; National Endowment for the Humanities; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; Assistance for Piro/Manso/Tiwas' Federal recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe with N. E. H.

3]June 18, 1976; Albuquerque Tribune; general public; S. B. 3352 for Piro/Manso/Tiwas' Federal recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe with U.S. Senate.

5]June 27, 1976; U. S. Sen. Birch Bayh; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; S. B. 3352 concerning Piro/Manso/Tiwa recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and

correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Senate.
6]Sep. 14, 1976; U. S. Rep. Lujan; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; proposed legislation for recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/House of Representatives.
7]Nov. 15, 1976; U. S. Dept. of Int. BIA; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; Piro/Manso/Tiwas contact with the BIA as an Indian tribe.
8]March 11, 1976; U. S. Dept. of Int. BIA; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; Piro/Manso/Tiwas contact with the BIA as an Indian tribe.
9]March 16, 1977; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; National Indian Health Board; Assistance for Piro/Manso/Tiwas' Federal recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe with N. I.H.B.
10]March 28, 1977; U. S. Sen. Domenici; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' att'y.; S. B. 3352 concerning Piro/Manso/Tiwa recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Senate.
11]May 3, 1977; U. S. Sen. Domenici; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' att'y.; S. B. 3352 concerning Piro/Manso/Tiwa recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Senate.
12]May 4, 1977; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' att'y.; U. S. Rep. Lujan; Piro/Manso/Tiwas tribal officials meeting with Lujan; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/House of Representatives.
13]Aug. 28, 1977; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' att'y.; U. S. Rep. Schmitt; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/House of Representatives.
14]Dec. 30, 1976; U. S. Dept. of Int. BIA; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; Piro/Manso/Tiwas contact with the BIA as an Indian tribe, and interest in proposed regs. governing federal acknowledgment.
15]Jan. 17, 1977; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' att'y.; U. S. Rep. Schmitt; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/House of Representatives.
16]Feb. 28, 1978; National Congress of American Indians; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; Assistance for Piro/Manso/Tiwas' Federal recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe with N.C.A.I.
17]June 6, 1978; U. S. Sen. Domenici; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' att'y.; concerning Piro/Manso/Tiwa recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Senate.
18]June 21, 1978; U. S. Sen. A. Ribicoff; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; concerning Ind. Ed., Piro/Manso/Tiwa recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Senate.
19]July, 1978; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; U. S. Sen. A. Ribicoff; concerning Ind. Ed., Piro/Manso/Tiwa recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Senate.
Attachment No. & Da; Fr; To; Re; Shows:
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20]July 19, 1978; U. S. Sen. Ford; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; concerning Ind. Ed., Piro/Manso/Tiwa recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Senate.
21]Aug. 3, 1978; U. S. Sen. Mathias; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; concerning Ind. Ed., Piro/Manso/Tiwa recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Senate.
22]Aug. 7, 1978; U. S. Sen. Humphrey; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; concerning Ind. Ed., Piro/Manso/Tiwa recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Senate.

23]Sept. 26, 1978; U. S. Sen. Roncalis; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; concerning Ind. Child Welfare Act; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Senate.
24]Oct. 17, 1978; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' attorney; Legal Services Corp.; Assistance for Piro/Manso/Tiwas' Federal recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe with L.S.C.
25]Jan. 17, 1978; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' att'y.; U. S. Sen. Schmitt; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' recognition, S. 2375; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Sen.
26]Dec. 28, 1978; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' att'y.; U. S. Sen. Schmitt; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' Organ Mtn. landholdings; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Sen.
27]Aug. 17, 1975; Library of Cong. Analysis of Docs.; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' Federal recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe with L.C. re: history, evidence and documents in support of Fed. Rec. of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribe.
28](n.d.); Las Cruces Citizen; re: Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe; tribal existence.

State, Institutional and Federal Dealings with the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe Regarding Protection of Their Tribal Cultural Resources

Former President Charles Madrid reports that at one time, the Tribe's members could walk in the mountains and the area of West Mesa near Las Cruces for spiritual strenght. Ranchers and government officials have for some time. Now, they go to the Dona Ana Mountains, East Mesa, or Tortugas Peak. The Tribe has an agreement with New Mexico State University allowing the Tribe to use their facilities on Tortugas Peak and free access to the mountain. The Tribe's relations with the University remain very cordial.

In 1991, in the wake of P.L. 101-601/ 25 U. S. C. 2502, both the U. S. Army and Bureau of Land Management have had dealings with the Tribe in relation to the Tribe's traditional rights to access and use of gathering places and places of worship, and protection of funerary remains (see Attachments; Slagle, PMT Field Notes, 1991). Both agencies have good relations with the Tribe on an intergovernmental basis as a result.

Below are discussions of forms of recognition by other tribes, such as interactions and correspondence on Indian issues; and the opinions of non-Indians about Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribal character today.

Spiritual Run

Date: 5-10-91
Time: 6:00 A.M.

The day began with (b) (6) and I arriving at the top of "A" Mountain at 5;30 A.M. We were the first ones there. I had brought the mini-cam (VHS-C) to record the days events. A subtle, light purple ban framed the tops of the Organ Mountains, announcing the arrival of the sunrise. Towards the west, the liquid jewel lights of an early morning Las Cruces glistened under a soft, early morning light. The view was breathtaking.

(b) (6) gave me a tour of the mountain, showing me the various places he prays and sings, were he has slept over night, and also some of the various geologic formations. He showed me the shrine the Tortugas

group uses, where the Humero's light the ceremonial fires, etc. He told me he used to visit the mountain on his own at least twice a week. Now he only gets out there maybe once a week or as often as he can. He brought some gifts to give Victor Roybal Jr. and Dennis Banks: gifts of respect to honor them. For Victor, he had small tobacco pouches arranged like a necklace on black string. For both Dennis and Victor, he had medicinal herbs, bundled up in red flannel and tied at both ends. Each had a bundles of sage tied at one end. Although he had not met his relative Victor, he felt he knew him from the things his relatives in Albuquerque had told him. He has a deep respect for him. Dennis was someone he always admired. Tony was prepared and was ready the run.

At a quarter to six, Juan Benavidez, Louis Roybal, and Victor Roybal Jr. arrived. I began video taping as soon as the they arrived. They had brought cedar logs, dried corn on the cob (to burn as an offering), and juniper boughs. The fire was lit in the small enclosure at the foot of the old shrine. The fire was prepared by Victor and Juan. The gradually began picking up with the sunrise, making it difficult to light. Someone suggested they use lighter fluid to star the fire, but Victor protested. The fire would be lit in the traditional way. he went around gathering different grasses, which he used to light the fire. Once the fire got going, some creosote branches were placed on the fire to make it create more smoke. Victor pointed out that there were certain things I couldn't tape. Louis assured him, reminding him I was working with the tribe. " I know,"he replied. Still, he was letting me know there are some things they do that are considered too sacred to tape. While the first flames of the fire climbed, Juan, Louis, and Victor said a prayer. Victor then brought out a bible and read a passage from the book of "Acts."

The runners and others wishing to join the opening ceremonies arrived a little after 6:00. Two of Juan's Nephews were there, ready to run. We gathered in a half circle, open toward the east, around the fire. As Dennis Banks spoke, thus beginning the opening ceremony and blessing, Andy Roybal turned to me and motioned me to cut the taping. I had no problem with that. Some things deserve that kind of respect. I capped the lens and joined the circle. I didn't resume taping until after the ceremony was over.

Dennis opened the ceremony by talking of the reason for the run; of the need to strengthen the individual and collective spirituality and to raise public awareness of the need to rejuvenate and care for the earth. He proposed future runs in the area, perhaps from Picacho Peak to "A" Mountain or maybe from "A" Mountain to the high country in the Organ Mountains. He then brought out a zip-lock bag containing sage. He took a small handful of sage and, dropping some in the fire in the four directions of the universe, said a prayer and asked for a blessing for the runners. Ed brought out some tobacco and, starting at the north end of the circle, offered some to each person. Everyone took a small handful. This would be offered to the fire when each person stepped up to the fire to offer a prayer.

A stiff breeze was blowing as the sun rose over the top of the Organ Mountains. Dennis began playing the drum and singing. The radiance of the sun was overwhelming. The rays shot out like open arms. After the song, it was time to offer the tobacco and a prayer to the fire. Dennis

stepped up first, then Ed. Once again, starting at the north end of the circle, each person stepped up to the fire. Standing at the opening of the small enclosure, each person said a prayer to the creator, thanking him for life or whatever was in his/her heart, asking for blessing and strength for the runners, or whatever. The tobacco was then offered to the fire, placing it in the four directions of the universe. The individual would then enter the enclosure and walk around the fire, clockwise, then leave the enclosure. After all had offered tobacco and prayer, a moment of silence was honored. The ceremony was now over; it was time to run.

The original plan was for the runners to run from "A" Mountain to the Roybal house on (b) (6) streets. After the tree planting ceremonies, the runners were to proceed to Charlie Madrid's house where the run would begin. This was subject to change. It was decided to drive to the Roybal compound and plant the tree along with the various blessing ceremonies, then drive to Charlie's house.

Other tribal members had already gathered at the Roybal house when we arrived. Juan and Louis immediately got a fire going. (b) (6) was there and proceeded to tell me some of the history of the Cacique compound. He pointed out the remains of Francisca Roybal's house and the area where they would dance and hold meetings. As we waited for the tree to arrive, I strolled about the compound taping the morning's events. Andy Roybal took me aside and offered advise on how to approach an Indian home when I visited to do an interview. He said it is appropriate and respectful to bring a gift to present to the home: "...maybe a half dozen Tamales... or maybe some fruit...it's our way."

After waiting a half hour to forty-five minutes, neither the tree nor the newspaper reporters had arrived, so it was decided to go ahead and begin the run. Nine people and five vehicles were involved. Andy Roybal had to leave to take a final exam at U.N.M., so he and his sister Holly had to leave. Andy planned to run in the second leg. Seven runners in all participated, with Lujann, Nellie Lujan, and I shuttling runners. I also taped portions of the run until the battery on the camera finally went dead.

After some slight confusion as to the actual starting place, (b)(6) and I caught up with them about five miles north of San Ysidro, on Hwy 85. The runners were in high spirits. Each runner did a one mile stretch, after which he was picked up, re-juiced with Gatorade, and dropped off at his next stretch. After the first ten miles or so, the runners seemed to get stronger. Spirits were running very high. Juan ran in his street cloths. He just put on his red bandanna and was off. A true warrior. The run began at a quarter to 10. The weather was perfect; not too cold, not too windy, not too hot. By the time 11 o'clock rolled around, we were already in Hatch, a distance of some 40 miles. Some of the runners and drivers, including I and (b)(6) had to leave to go to work. The other runners decided to break for lunch and resume the run to Socorro. (b) (6) and a couple of the others planned to leave Las Cruces early the next morning and join the others to complete the run to Albuquerque.

Even though the planning of the event seemed loose, it did allow for flexibility and adapting, and it succeeded in its purposes despite setbacks as an exercise in carrying out a common purpose.

"DUAL ENROLLMENT" and Relations with other Tribes

Criterion 25 CFR 83.7 (f) requires that a petitioner be principally composed of persons who are not members of a recognized Tribe at the present time. Reviewing the situation: The Ysleta del Sur (1985) and Isleta Pueblos (1913) already are included on the Federal Register listing of acknowledged tribal entities. Special legislation of the 1950s acknowledging the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo without extending services makes no reference to, for or against, the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe as a tribal entity or its members as Ysleta del Sur members or potential members, which is one reason that legislation need not be revisited as it might otherwise forbid the Piro/Manso/Tiwa's acknowledgement as a distinct Tribe. The Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribe and its members received federal services as Indians for the purposes of education earlier in this century, though few if any other regular federal services, and though some former members abandoned the Tribe, the core community of the Tribe never abandoned tribal relations despite loss of control over community property and other challenges. There was no voluntary or involuntary termination of the tribe at any time.

Under Section III, "Qualifications and Conditions for Tribal Membership," of the Records, Enrollment and Membership Ordinance of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe, Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe, March 17, 1990, membership is open to persons who:

(a). prove to the Records, Enrollment and Membership Committee that he/she descends from a person of Piro, Manso and/or Tiwa descent who resided in Dona Ana County, New Mexico at any date prior to January 1, 1934, and who has maintain contacts and affiliations with the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indian Tribe, Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe; provided that,

(b). In determining whether to approve membership or enrollment, the Records, Enrollment and Membership Committee shall rely on the authority of the historical lists and rolls of the San Juan de Guadalupe Tribe, and the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indian Tribe, Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe; or upon records of the Federal or Territorial governments of Spain, Mexico or the United States of America; or upon the records of the State or Territory of New Mexico; or upon the records of churches, schools or other public institutions predating 1940; or upon the recollections, testimonies or written affidavits of the elder members of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indian Tribe, Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe.

Under Section IV., "Disenrollment, Voluntary or Involuntary," the Ordinance further provides:

The name of any member shall be removed from the current roll of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indain Tribe, Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe, upon death, or voluntary abandonment of affiliation through enrollment in another American Indian Tribe, or simply by notice in writing to the Records, Enrollment and Membership Committee of the member's decision to withdraw from membership in the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe, Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe. By special resolution, for good cause, a member may be disenrolled by the Records, Enrollment and Membership Committee, subject tot he result of a written appeal to the Tribal Council, and a

Exemption 6

notices hearing in reasons to such written appeal before the Tribal Council.

The Tribal Council of the Piro/Manso/Tribe also advises candidates for membership that an applicant must be one who "has maintained affiliation and contacts with he Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indian Tribe, Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe."

The question arises whether the current membership, or eligibility for enrollment of some Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribal members in other tribe(s) constitutes substantial dual enrollment in its total population, exceeding 10% of total members.

This issue could arise primarily because of others' resistance to the continued existence of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe in Las Cruces and their claim that the Tribe is a colony of the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, or that it is a splinter of the Corporation, Los Indigenes de Nuestra Sra. de Guadalupe. The fact is that certain former members of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe of Tiwa extraction may have joined the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo though they may have been listed as Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribal members as late as the 1970s, even holding offices with this Tribe. As Louis Roybal described the history (D. Batcho, Conn: Field Notes, 1989):

> (b) (6) (Tortugas) was in our group, up into the 70s, early 80s. (b) (6) was in our group, his family, his mother, his dad (non-Indian), his cousins and aunts are in our group, on the tribal roll. They held office in our group.

The shift of alliances came in the early eighties:

> When (b)(6) went up to Ysleta del Sur, when they were first recognized during President Johnson's [term of] office, when a bill was passed by Congress with partial federal benefits.

This is why they were dropped from Piro/Manso/Tiwa rolls: because of their impermissible dual enrollment. First, some individuals on the Piro/Manso/Tiwa roll shifted alliances and joined or rejoined the Corporation, which in itself had no effect, because the Corporation is not a governmental entity in the sense of a Tribe. Then some went to the Ysleta del Sur, in at least one case because they "got into arguments with [Victor Roybal, Jr. and Charlie Madrid], while he was in Ysleta del Sur. He wrote a letter to the All Pueblo Indian Council" (Conn: Field Notes, 1989). The BIA's interpretation of the 25 C. F. R. 111.4 and 111.5 rules on dual enrollment is that if an individual is found to be an enrolled member of two tribes neither of which whose enrollments are determined by the Secretary or Congress, where both forbid dual enrollment even on a no-fault basis, that individual must first disenroll from them both, then pursue re-enrollment with one or the other (or another). If either or any tribe will accept the application, enrollment dates from the new enrollment (Secretary of Interior's Final Decision in the San Juan Southern Paiute case in 1989; Department interpretations of 25 C. F. R. 111.4 and 111.5).

One helpful comparison is the Secretary's 1989 San Juan Southern Paiute acknowledgment decision (Federal Register, Vol. 54, No. 240, Friday, December 15, 1989, pp. 51502, ff.) that the Navajo Tribe has only a census, not a roll; in the sense of that decision, it is very important to determine whether other tribes in which Piro/Manso/Tiwas are or could be eligible for membership actually are citizens of such tribes. Further, such rolls may be similar to Navajo Reservation's Census (as updated since 1940), in many respects.

The Ysleta del Sur and Isleta Pueblos already are included on the Federal Register listing of acknowledged tribal entities. Special legislation of the 1950s acknowledging the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo without extending services makes no reference to, for, or against, the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe as a tribal entity, subdivision of a tribal entity, or colony of Ysleta. There is no provision for making its members eligible as a class for Ysleta del Sur membership. Legislation need not be revised as it might otherwise forbid the Piro/Manso/Tiwa's acknowledgement as a distinct Tribe.

The Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribe and its members received federal services as a group of Pueblo Indians in Las Cruces prior to the existence of Los Indigenes de Nuestra Sra. de Guadalupe for the purposes of education earlier in this century. They received few if any other regular federal services. Though some former members subsequently abandoned tribal relations, the core community of the Tribe never did despite loss of control over tribal property and other challenges. There was no voluntary or involuntary termination of the tribe at any time.

In the 1970s and 1980s, if other tribes deliberately registered Piro/Manso/Tiwa members in substantial numbers with the intent of treating them as enrolled, it would have been in violation of the present criterion 83.7(f). Of course, these criteria were not in the C. F. R. at that date, and unlike the Piro/Manso/Tiwa, Ysleta del Sur never at any time was required to petition under the present process to show governmental continuity after 1913. The status clarification of Ysleta del Sur, and inclusion on the official listing of recognized Tribes, does not mean it should be immune from oversight in these matters, or that its claims to a relationship to members of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe short of claiming them as actual members has any bearing on whether this Tribe fulfills the criteria.

Neither the BIA nor Ysleta del Sur took any official notice of the implications of the continued existence of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa, or any need to address the geneaology of Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribal members, at the time of the Ysleta bill; nor did they actively pursue the absorption of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe into Ysleta del Sur or any other entity. No legislative history reflects that idea, though it would have been easily in the powers of Congress to do so.

The Secretary found in the San Juan Southern Paiute Case that, while the names of most members of the San Juan Southern Paiute Tribe appear on the Navajo Census of 1940 and its amendments, the San Juan Southern Paiute roll does not duplicate the Navajo tribal "membership list" because the Navajo Tribe does not have, as such, a roll, but only an amended census. The first question, then, is whether a tribe (such as Ysleta del Sur) actually ever included members of another tribe on its official roll regardless whether they or their ancestors lived in the vicinity and lived as tribal members. A Tribe may register whomever it likes, choosing not to enlist Piro/Manso/Tiwa descendants alone. Moreover, if the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo or Isleta Pueblo claims connections with Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribal ancestors, the usual interpretation of the present regulations requires that those connections of the individuals with such tribe existed after such tribe was acknowledged by the U. S. No member of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe has been shown to have had connections with Isleta after 1913, or with Ysleta del Sur after 1985. Any earlier connections are supposed to be of no consequence, unless the distinction of "recognition" and "acknowledgement" are to apply here; in that case, still, names of any Piro/Manso/Tiwa members who have been enrolled in

either Piro/Tiwa Pueblo since 1913 and who have been discovered to have dual enrollment have voluntarily relinquished their membership, or been stricken from the Piro/Manso/Tiwa roll for dual enrollment, or have voluntarily withdrawn their membership applications, or have disenrolled from Ysleta del Sur to join with the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe.

Criterion 25 CFR 83.2 (k) has two parts, with two subparts defining "membership" as "meeting membership requirements of the tribe or being recognized by the governing body, and continuously maintaining tribal relations with the tribe or being listed on a tribal roll," if such are kept. "Tribal Roll" is not defined; but to meet the definition of "Member of an Indian Tribe," the individual must meet at least one subpart of (k), while "Inherent in and fundamental to the definition of membership in a recognized tribe is the principle that membership is a bilateral political relationship."

Membership in Piro/Manso/Tiwa does make a difference. Enrollment in Piro/Manso/Tiwa has legal implications at Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribal law if one enrolls in Ysleta del Sur, or accepts membership in any other recognized Tribe. The proposed finding in the San Juan Southern Paiute decision was that the 119 San Juan Paiutes who have "Navajo census numbers" were not legitimately members of the Navajo Tribe because they did not meet any of the subparts of the definition of "Member of an Indian Tribe," nor had they maintained such a relationship except with the Tribe.

In any recognition controversy as between two Tribes claiming the same population of Indians, such a "List" or census must meet the controlling 25 CFR 83.2 (k) criteria. The Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe, Isleta and Yslete del Sur have adopted Official Rolls with proper authorization of the respective tribal governments. Each must show that it is abiding by its own Constitution, Bylaws and Resolutions in the matter, including to the extent of forbidding dual enrollment with other Federally-recognized Tribes.

The Navajo registration office does not require any particular blood quantum of persons "on the official roll" or which version of the BIA's 1940 census of the Navajo Reservation is to be used as the Tribe's "official roll." [Query: what blood quantum to the respective Pueblos require? Census data at hand does not reveal this.] Navajo Tribe had no administrative tribal record of tribal membership determinations showing how issues concerning membership would be decided; whereas Piro/Manso/Tiwa does.

Navajo Tribe had no administrative record showing that the Tribe's legally adopted membership requirements and enrollment procedures had been used by the Tribal Council itself to determine eligibility for membership of Navajos or Paiutes; whereas Piro/Manso/Tiwa does. Navajo Tribal Council itself did not act on applications, and did not enroll applicants as members through existing tribal code procedures or otherwise establish membership of the Paiutes who had census numbers. No other Pueblo has invited Piro/Manso/Tiwa members to enroll as full members, or has adopted any resolution declaring the enrolled Piro/Manso/Tiwa membership a class of its own "members" in general.

While some Navajo tribal government actions implied acceptance of some of the Paiutes as members, there were significant questions in the Navajo Tribe about the legitimacy of the Paiutes holding Navajo Census numbers and getting services. Of course, no other Pueblo or other tribes extends benefits or services to anyone with Piro/Manso/Tiwa descent or membership who refuses to enroll with the other tribe.

Ysleta del Sur has acted on membership problems in some ways upon realizing the problems existed, after the fact, but should be held to the same standard as the Navajo Tribe with regard to the Paiutes:

> Recent resolutions by tribal governing bodies do not constitute conclusive evidence of collective recognition of the [Piro/Manso/Tiwa] as members by the [Ysleta del Sur Pueblo or the Isleta Pueblo] tribal governing body, given the circumstances surrounding their passage, the history of past questions about [Piro/Manso/Tiwa] membership and the lack of clear membership [as opposed to mere "registration"] standards.

Further, the Secretary has ruled:

> We conclude that the Paiutes have not maintained tribal relations with the Navajo Tribe on a substantially continuous basis, and therefore, do not meet that part of the definition of membership in a recognized tribe. Finally, they are not listed on a "tribal roll" of exclusively Navajo tribal members within the meaning of the Acknowledgment regulations and therefore we conclude that they do not meet that part of the definition.

Members of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa living in the Mesilla Valley did not maintain tribal relations with the Isleta Pueblo or Ysleta del Sur Pueblo after permanently relocating. Nor did they establish tribal relations with Ysleta del Sur after the U. S. recognized the pueblos (with the exception of Ysleta del Sur) generally in the 1913 U. S. vs. Sandoval case; nor was Piro/Manso/Tiwa included within the Ysleta del Sur Act of the 1950s, nor has that ever been alleged. This case does not appear to parallel the situation created by the Lumbee Act, though many North Carolina petitioning groups are treated as falling under the 1956 Lumbee Act, even though they protest they are distinct tribal entities.

The Ysleta del Sur and Isleta pueblos today officially claim no such relationship to the Piro/Manso/Tiwa, and did not claim it even in 1985 on Ysleta del Sur acknowledgement, nor did they assert any claim related to acknowledgment upon acknowledgment of Ysleta de Sur. No other Pueblo is the successor of Piro/Manso/Tiwa. Nor does the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe have any interest in the affairs of the vast majority of other Tiwa enrolled anywhere else, who are not of the same lineages, for many of these other tribes lack any other contacts with the Mesilla Valley. Nor has the Piro/Manso/Tiwa or its membership generally had (or desired) tribal relations with the newly acknowledged Ysleta del Sur Pueblo.

Because they are neither individually nor collectively recognized by the other Pueblos as members or as a class of potential members, Piro/Manso/Tiwa members do not meet the definition of membership in a recognized tribe set forth in any of the existing regulations. NO MEMBERS of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa may be enrollees with any OTHER Federally-recognized Tribe and retain their Piro/Manso/Tiwa membership, though many may now, or formerly did, belong to traditional organizations, ceremonial societies and the like in other Pueblos or tribal or intertribal organizations. Future Piro/Manso/Tiwa enrollment applicants must prove they do not hold current dual enrollment.

In the 1970s and 1980s, if other tribes deliberately registered Piro/Manso/Tiwa members in substantial numbers with the intent of treating them as enrolled, it would have been in violation the present criterion 83.7(f). Of course, these criteria were not in the CFR at that date, and unlike the Piro/Manso/Tiwa, Ysleta del Sur never at any time was required to petition under the present process to show any form of continuity after 1913.

Simply because Ysleta del Sur was able to be legislatively placed on the official listing of recognized Tribes does not mean it should be immune from oversight in these matters, or that its claims to a relationship to members of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe short of claiming them as actual members has any bearing on whether this Tribe fulfills the criteria. Enrollment of new members of the Tribe occurred at the Tribe's annual New Year's Day meetings, not at any Corporation meetings (Hurt 1952: p. 111, ff.) Tribal membership was possible only through the Tribe, rather than through the Corporation, and that remains true today. Hurt concluded (1952: 121, ff.):

> Tortugas Village, south of Las Cruces, New Mexico, is inhabited by a group of Indians who have a Pueblo type of culture and another group consisting of Indians who have migrated from central Mexico. The Indians who classify themselves as "Tiwas" may be the mixed descendants of the now forgotten Mansos who took over the Tiwa culture from contact with the Tiwas who moved south in the vicinity of El Paso, Texas, with Otermin in 1681. The prestige value of belonging to the Tiwa band is great enough that the Mexican Indians, when possible, become initiated into that group. A Mexican Indian [Miguel Fierro] has assumed control of the leadership of the Tiwa band temporarily. Although the ceremonies of the two groups are kept separate to a certain extent, there is a gradual blending, with members from one group aiding the other on certain days.

The key point here is that Fierro had "assumed" leadership of the Tribe. Hurt himself did not believe Fierro's claims were legitimate. Indeed, he wrote further (1952: pp. 120-121):

> the Mexican Indians have no formal, organized hierarchy of officers in the fashion of the Tiwa Indians. The office of the dance capitan [of the Mexicans of the Fierro faction living in Tortugas after the usurpation of 1946-1950] was passed [father to son, along with the Mexican dances]. Their appraisal of their social and racial status is vague. Their first impulse is to classify themselves as Indios or Indians. However, when questioned they admit that they are of mixed blood and thus are not "pure" Indians, but consider themselves to be appropriately called "Indians." They do recognize that the Tiwa are more "Indian" than they are. The Tiwas classify the Mexican Indians as "Mexicans." People who live outside of the Tortugas village indiscriminately consider all the natives to be Indians, because most of the Indians in New Mexico do not perform aboriginal costume dancing in front of the churches. This criterion, however, is not a fast one. For example, the natives of San Jose, a suburb of Albuquerque, and those of Bernalillo, who also dance versions of Aztec dances, are considered to be "Mexicans."
>
> An example of the Mexican Indians' appraisal of their position is brought out in this conversation with the nephew of Miguel Fierro in reference to the topic of the Tiwa Indians. "The Indians (referring to the Tiwas] don't like us because on Guadalupe Day we have a fiesta and invite visitors." Within a few minutes, however, he stated, "Us Indians practice our dances [referring to "Los Azteca"] in Lalo Pacheco's yard. Vicente Roybal, a Tiwa Indian, stated, "Miguel Fierro is not an Indian; he is a Mexican."

Since the Fierros and their followers assumed control over the Corporation, the commercialization of Guadalupe Day activities has flourished, only in a different way than in the day of the Cacique Vicente Roybal.

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

YS is not the member of any other acknowledged tribe and at present has no knowledge of any other tribes that interact on any level with hers. Her group does continue to interact with one another in political, ceremonial, social, and financial (fundraising) activities and name can families with which hers has contact on a regular basis. Her two sons, Benjamin and Jason (both are listed on the current tribal roll) have taken an active interest in tribal affairs have attended tribal meetings and other activities [Almarez: PMT Field Notes, 1991; YS (1)].

EJ other tribes that he knows of interact with his group today. He is not a member of any other acknowledged tribe and insists that the group in Tortugas is not Indian. His interaction with other tribal members extends to some degree to weddings and funerals, but is restricted mainly to tribal meetings. He states that the only traditions his tribe no longer practices are the ceremonies on the 12th of December, but adds that some tribal members do participate to some degree in Tortugas [Slagle/ Conn: PMT Field Notes, 1991; EJ (2)].

LA recalls that Indians from other northern pueblos, namely Taos and Isleta del Norte, would visit Tortugas to observe their ceremonies. He recalls the family names of Indians from Ysleta del Sur who would visit Tortugas to participate in the ceremonies and sometimes lend a hand. Some of these visitors would stay in town with either people they knew or were related to.

He attends tribal meetings or gatherings regularly at the East Side Community Center or other places, and notes that he sees many tribal members there on a social basis. His tribe gets together during the week before Sunday to go out onto the mesas to cut "Palmas." He can name many of the families and individuals he not only grew up with but also those he currently socializes with (church, funerals, weddings, etc.). He notes, from a photo, that he owned the first car (Chevrolet) in Las Cruces (the old neighborhood) that had glass windows.

The rabbit hunts stopped being practiced by the group for a long period after WWII due to the systematic poisoning of the local coyotes and rabbits by the ranchers and the government. He's not sure if the "Baile de Olla" is still done by anyone. The last one he attended was in Tortugas in 1925 [Slagle/ Conn: PMT Field Notes, 1991; LA (3)].

AA would travel to the northern pueblos such as Taos, Santo Domingo, and Albuquerque, as a representative of the tribe to attend some of their festivities. He is currently working on cassette tapes of traditional songs with (b)(6) [redacted]; both wish to pass this on to the younger tribal members. Singing and playing means a lot to him. He is very proud to be a Tiwa [Slagle/ Conn: PMT Field Notes, 1991; AA (4)].

JGR said some other tribes did visit Tortugas for their December fiesta, but he can't recall the names or how many different tribes there were. He is not a member of any other tribe. Regarding ceremonies or traditions no longer practiced by his tribe, he notes that while things have been changing [he reiterates throughout the interview the changing population of Las Cruces due mainly to the influx of people after WWII], the "Baile de Olla" is probably still being done in Tortugas [Almarez: PMT Field Notes, 1991; JDR (5)].

GP recalls an Indian from Isleta del Norte would come to Tortugas to sing for the Baile de Olla: "...and boy, he sure sang pretty." His relatives from Mescalero would visit his home when he was living on (b)(6) [redacted] St. His family

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used to also visit them, but haven't done so in the recent past.

d. participation in pan-Indian movements and activities
e. efforts to get funding for tribal low-rent housing, educational grants for college, oppose water system at Tortugas,oppose extension of freeway and exploitation of A Mtn.
f. Interactions with local non-Indians and their governments, and the Tribe's efforts to strengthen tribal and Native American identity of the group and its individual members

Tribal members who have submitted to interviews offer a range of information, some historical, some on current political dynamics, involving other local governmental entities and their relations with Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe.

YS believes that the community of Las Cruces, as a whole, recognizes her group as a tribal entity due to the publicity in the newspaper (The Las Cruces Sun/News) of the tribes ceremonial activities and the fact that she was allowed to miss school to attend tribal functions [Almarez: PMT Field Notes, 1991; YS (1)].

EJ feels that the people of Las Cruces do recognize an Indian population or tribe in town. People know he's Indian and also know of other Indian families in the city. As far as the city government or County recognizes a Tribe, he's not sure, but feels they must know due to newspaper publicity, etc. He and other tribal members were allowed to miss school for tribal ceremonies and notes that most of his classmates throughout school were Indian. He doesn't recognize any distinction between the tribe's veneration of the Virgin de Guadalupe and that of the Hispanic community [Slagle/ Conn: PMT Field Notes, 1991; EJ (2)].

LA employers (the federal government) recognize that he is Indian. Many people did recognize an Indian group in Las Cruces and recalls that ranchers would donate a cow for ceremonial feasts held at Tortugas [Slagle/ Conn: PMT Field Notes, 1991; LA (3)].

AA himself was never treated bad for being an Indian, but notes that his Luciano Avalos told him people from Texas came and took by force the land that the Indians were farming in the Valley. He was allowed to miss school for religious ceremonies ("especially in Junior High) and notes that the student body count at school would drop around December 12th. After his uncle (b) (6)) died, he didn't attend the ceremonies that much. Other Indian groups from some of the northern pueblos would visit them to take part in their festivals, but can't recall which ones. His mother also told him of this. He also traveled with Victor Roybal Jr. to some of the northern pueblos to attend various functions in the 60's and 70's [Slagle/ Conn: PMT Field Notes, 1991; AA (4)].

JGR feels that some people of Las Cruces recognize him as an Indian and part of a tribe, but also notes that not very many of his tribe are known. Recognition is limited mainly to the older members of the tribe and by people who have lived in Las Cruces many years: " A lot of them don't, especially people who have moved here [non-natives]...some of the anglos who have been here long enough know.." During grade school, he missed school to attend the December fiesta at Tortugas, but would get permission from the principal to be excused for " whatever days we needed" [Almarez: PMT Field Notes, 1991; JDR (5)].

GP feels that the Tribe is recovering now in concerted action, to "do it

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now, that they're [the children] growing, so they can know what it is..the culture...they want to know the culture..the little ones." In response to the last question of the questionnaire: "We figure on having meetings more often and try to get all them kid's culture back...try to get them [together] to dance and whatever...whatever we can do for them" [Almarez: PMT Field Notes, 1991; GP (6)].

At present, GP's not sure if the city officials know or recognize his group as Tribe: " I don't know...I haven't talked to anyone of them...I don't know if they do or not." He estimates that there are at least 300 members of his tribe in Las Cruces alone; "I could guarantee you that" [Almarez: PMT Field Notes, 1991; GP (6)].

Fred Almarez reported an instance of a tribal gathering not intended as a Tribal Council meeting, transcribed below:

Tribal Gathering
Place: Charlie Madrid's residence
Time: 6:30 P.M.
Date: April 4, 1991
Tribal Officers Attnd.: Charles Madrid - President
Juan Benavidez - 4th War Captain
Edward Roybal - 1st War Captain

Tribal Members: (b) (6) [redacted]

Others Attnd.: (b) (6) [redacted] - Chippewa
(b) (6) [redacted] - Zuni
(b) (6) [redacted] Lakota
(b) (6) [redacted] - Cree

* Attendance roster on file

The meeting was initially scheduled to be held at the East Side Community Center in the Historic Neighborhood, but was held instead at Charlie Madrid's residence. This gave rise to some communication problems, so consequently some tribal members didn't show up. Noticeably absent was Victor Roybal Jr., the person who appears to have been and still is the "communicative glue" of the tribe. The meeting was held outside, next to (b) (6) (b)(6) [redacted], at a special place set aside for bonfires. This small clearing was carefully prepared, being circled around by log benches and small log stumps for sitting. Tribal gatherings which are held at Charlie's "farm" are generally held in this area.

Menudo, prepared earlier by Mr. Madrid, was heated on a grill over the open fire. Chile Colorado and beans, brought by (b) (6) [redacted], was also heated over the fire. While the food was heating, people began trickling in. Some gathered around the fire and talked of things from tribal business to baseball scores. Others strolled the grounds, admiring Charlie's fruit trees and pheasants. People continued trickling in as dusk became night. Some people attending had been invited by Ed Roybal to the gathering after Dennis Banks' lecture at the University.

The gathering was called in conjunction with the inter-tribal spiritual

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run, initially scheduled for April 5, 1991, from "A" Mountain east of Las Cruces to Sandia Peak near Albuquerque, a distance of some 270 miles. Tribal runners from throughout the state were to participate, with 20 Piro/Manso/Tiwa/SJGT members comprising the largest group involved (Juan Benavidez). Ed Roybal approached Dennis Banks, who apparently organizes these yearly events, and suggested that the Piro/Manso/Tiwa/SJGT host a Tribal run this year. Juan Benavidez, 4th War Captain, and Victor Roybal Jr. were in charge of logistical details in Las Cruces (contacting the State Police, city officials, NMSU, etc.) while Ed Roybal (1st War Captain) was to handle the larger details (finance, insurance, inter-tribal communication, etc.). Dennis Banks was to arrive the day before to participate in the run and festivities, and also lecture at the University.

The runners were to stay at the East Side Community Center. They were to rise before sunrise, have breakfast, receive a blessing at sunrise, then proceed to run to the top of "A" Mountain. Victor was to be the Humero, whose job it was to light the bonfire at sunrise, thus signaling the start of the run and the destination.

Unfortunately, the State Police required a 1 million dollar insurance bond to allow the run to take place. The tribe, finding itself short of funds on such a short notice, had to postpone the event. The run was therefore re-scheduled for May 10.

After everyone had pretty much eaten their fill, two tombes were brought out. Dennis and Ed played the larger red drum(made by (b) (6)), while (b) (6) (b)(6) played a smaller one. (b)(6) handed me a gourd rattle, inviting me to play, saying "It's time...sing along with Mitch, brother." Dennis and Ed sang and played for about an hour to an hour and a half. Dennis did most of the singing while Ed provided a steady beat. Dennis sang songs of love, songs of mourning, songs of longing; even songs concerning the problems of alcohol abuse. Sometimes he would inter-space traditional lyrics with humorous, tongue-in- cheek lyrics in english. Juan Benavidez passed around a meeting roster for everyone to sign during the singing. Charlie Madrid also joined in the singing from time to time, lightly swaying in time to music and looking every bit the tribal elder by the mellow glow of the fire. A large cedar log was placed on the fire toward the end of the singing; the last log on the fire. " That's cedar...very sacred wood for special ceremonial occasions," Charlie whispered to me as my foot tapped to the music.

After and hour or so, Dennis stool up and spoke to the group. He spoke of respect for the fire, how it was given to us by the "Creator" and therefore should not be wasted....that stories should be told around the fire so as to pass on the oral history of the tribe that it may live on in the hearts of the young . He told a story of respect for your elders. It concerned a young man who learned of life and the world around him from his father. When the young man began to raise his own family, he passed on the same knowledge to his son. At the end of the story, he went on to speak of the necessity to pass on such things and to respect the source of this knowledge. He spoke of the importance of continuity...of traditions as the basis for a strong foundation. He talked of a world "out there, foreign to us" and that it's okay, even necessary to go out into it. To weave around through it, and to prosper, but to never forget who you are, where you have come from, and to "hold it in your heart." He thanked everyone for being there, for him being there.

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While Dennis continued on about the Universe, of life, and of being thankful, Ed brought out a abalone shell. In it were four ceremonial corn husks and some sage he's gathered form the coastal area of Southern California. The cigarettes were offered to the fire and placed in the fire in the four directions. The sage was lit, then allowed to smolder in the shell. In silence, Ed blessed himself, then went from person to person clockwise, starting with Dennis, and allowed everyone to receive the blessing from the sage. Reverently everyone brushed the smoke onto themselves and inhaled the aromatic smoke. I have to say, it was a very spiritual moment. The solemnity and reverence was very moving. The night, the stars, the aroma of the sage and the twirling smoke under the night sky, the aroma of the cedar...all of it was incredible.

When all had partaken of the sage, the shell was placed at the north end of the fire. Ed then addressed the group, giving thanks for the gathering, for life, for everything. Everyone was then given a chance to say something for the closing. Juan Benavidez gave thanks that he had found a relative he didn't know he had, Lujann Huuee, a Zuni student at NMSU.

The gathering then ended as people said their good-bye. A sweat was planned at (b) (6) 's house, but the late night and the early morning of the work week had everyone taking a rain check.

The last people to hang out after the meeting and talk were Charlie, Ed, (b) (6), Dennis and his children, (b) (6), and myself. People talked of family, tribal concerns, and life in general. Plans were made by Ed and the Madrids to go to the upcoming Pow Wow at Big Mountain. All in all, I wouldn't have missed this night for anything.

Impressions: While the meeting was not formally started with an opening prayer, the gathering had a feeling of unity in a shared culture and experience. Much of the conversation was on the upcoming run in May. People who apparently hadn't seen each other for a while caught up on news of friends from other tribes. Dennis, being new to the Las Cruces area, expressed the ease he felt at this gathering and of his plans to stay in touch with the Indian community in southern New Mexico, particularly the SJGT. He appeared to accept the tribe as a tribal entity, not as just a loose gathering of different Indians groups. Many of the topics of conversation were not only of present tribal affairs, but also of past connections and tribal history. The initiating of the closing blessings by Ed and the response gave the impression that the members of the SJGT do in fact maintain a connection with many of their traditional beliefs and practices.

CONCLUSIONS

In 1957, Oppenheimer evaluated the utility of the Tortugas case as a predictive model for change and assimilation in other pueblo groups, failing to distinguish Tortugas from the mother core community, the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe, from which Tortugas had divorced itself.

Oppenheimer looked to an existing model (Lange's) as his premise for suggesting a scenario of eventual erosion of cultural distinctiveness and complete assimilation in which: an increasing percentage of the population would leave the Tortugas Pueblo; clans would disappear, economic emphases would shift increasingly toward wage-earning, income producing crafts and commercial agriculture; decline of medicine societies and their influence and prestige in favor a purely constitutional governmental organization;

dominance of ceremonial life by Catholic ceremonies, activities and values; disappearance of esoteric aspects of katsinas and medicine societies toward esoteric ceremonies lacking in religious significance except as "tribal" folk pageantry; growing importance of the Catholic Church; relegation of witchcraft-related beliefs and/or practices to a few individuals; broadened interest in advanced education; continuing interest in a minority of individuals in old ways. Oppenheimer found concordance between the state of Tortugeno society and the general Lange model (based on Cochiti), except that he found the complete loss of handicrafts and disappearance of moieties at Tortugas. Oppenheimer posited that on the basis of the Cochiti and Tortugas studies that the pattern of culture change might be one which the pueblo groups generally could be expected to follow with individual differences and rates of change. He added that one of his informants attributed similar developments to Ysleta del Sur Pueblo in Texas (Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957, p. 129-130).

For the present purposes, the important comparisons and distinctions must be drawn between Indian Pueblo groups and the core community in Las Cruces; using Tortugas as a point of comparison is virtually useless. Using Lange's model and applying it to the core community of the Tribe between the creation of the Corporation and the separation of the colony of Piro/Manso/Tiwas living in Guadalupe, Tortugas from the core community, Oppenheimer's model suggest several things:

(1) An increasing percentage of the younger members of the core Las Cruces Pueblo population left the Las Cruces Pueblo to live in other parts of New Mexico and the western and southwestern states generally after 1940. Some moved to Tortugas when they moved, or split residency, while others attended Indian boarding school, joined the armed services in one or more conflicts between 1914 and 1950, and in some cases sought work or followed spouses and families to settle elsewhere; and these experiences and life-choices sometimes resulted in permanent relocation;
(2) Clan institutions largely disappeared, with attendant vestigial associations, by the 1900s, leaving little possibility of tracing these or their functions or former influence on tribal society in the Pueblo;
(3) Economic emphases shifted increasingly toward wage-earning, income producing crafts, skilled trades, commercial agriculture, and professions;
(4) Medicine societies and their influence and prestige dwindled in favor of a secular and religious governing council which influenced the composition of Los Indigenes de Nuestra Sra. de Guadalupe Corporation initially, when the Corporation was functioning primarily as a tribal instrumentality; then upon division from the Tortugas group, the Tribe evolved a constitutional governmental organization retaining some of the ceremonial offices and orders, including the hereditary offices of Cacique and War Captains with their religious and secular duties and prerogatives, while the Corporation, now in non-tribal control, adopted a Board of Directors replacing the earlier governing board form; and upon reorganization of the Corporation at the term of corporate existence in 1964, the new Corporation does not reflect or involve current Piro/Manso/Tiwa influences;
(5) Dominance of ceremonial life by Catholic ceremonies, activities and values grew at Tortugas and apparently has persisted to the present, while the core community has retained what it could of the original

tradition, as adapted to accommodate with unavoidable contemporary exigencies;
(6) Esoteric aspects of katsinas and medicine societies, to the extent they remained in the core community, became more restricted in participation and conservative and revivalistic in tone and associations as the competing Tortugeno Mexicans overwhelmed their control of the daughter community, so that the "tribal" folk pageantry and public exhibition of folkloristic trappings associated with the Tribe's past dominance of the Pueblo eventually displaced the authentic practice of tribal religion at Tortugas;
(7) Nominal Catholic influence was of growing importance in the Tortugas Pueblo, at least the role of the Catholic Church as a social institution, until matters of secular and economic control surmounted religious considerations altogether in the lawsuits against the local priest and diocese and their sequelae;
(8) There was an apparent ebb of any witchcraft-related beliefs and/or practices to a few individuals, and the survival of any such beliefs has virtually no visible importance if any today in a metaphysical sense; however, in a social sense, the passionate distrust and heightened contempt for political rivals and resulting feuds and accusations suggest the atmosphere of accusations of witchcraft among certain members;
(9) The Tribe's interest in advanced education began in the boarding-school period and increased to the post-war era, while similar progress developed on its own track in Tortugas after the war, because so few Chicano Tortugenos served in the armed services and took advantage of military-financed educations and veterans' education benefits;
(10) There was a continuing interest in a minority of individuals in old tribal ways, along with dancing and ceremonies and other tribal activities at Picacho and in Las Cruces, in the core community and its fringes, exclusive of Tortugas proper (see Oppenheimer, Thesis, 1957, p. 129-130).

Oppenheimer found concordance between the state of Tortugeno society and the general Lange model (based on Cochiti), except that he found the complete loss of handicrafts and total disappearance of moieties at Tortugas. Many of these elements persisted at Las Cruces, including arrow-making, drum-making, construction of ceremonial costumes and ritual paraphernalia, cultural studies, language lessons in Tiwa for tribal members, practicas on weekends at Picacho, excursions of groups of tribal members composed of families and unrelated tribal members as well, study of native healing practices and beliefs from a general and Pueblo-specific perspective, participation in inter-tribal activities and revivalistic movements, participation of the Tribe in inter-tribal formal political relations on an intergovernmental basis (including formal treaties ratified by the Tribe and 23 other participating tribal governments presenting tribes acknowledged by the BIA), formal negotiations with the U. S. Forest Service and Army. Since the schism with the Tortugas people, the Tribe has continued tribal organization and activity exclusive of the Tortugas community and even of individuals who associated with the Tortugas community or who formally aligned themselves with the Fierro community. Urban renewal and social and economic changes scattered denizens of the old neighborhoods. Title was quieted to remaining claimed lands (in the 1960s), ending in dispossession of land from members of

the core community, and discouragement of tribal public ceremonies distinct from or competing with those of Tortugas.

The earlier petitioning efforts involved considerable discussion and were the occasion for disputes within the Tribe and between the Tribe and community elements in the Mesilla Valley, with the result that communication breakdowns occurred and research was hampered even before the funding ran out. Tribal leaders disagree with the suggestions that tribal politics have split the tribe, or that Piro won't socialize with Tiwa and no one will get involved without a major change in direction and leadership control (Conn: PMT Field Notes, 1989]. Continued participation by the Cacique has had to occur through an elected Assistant Cacique, Ed Roybal (Slagle: PMT Field Notes, 1991]. The Roybal family participates and talks to Felipe Roybal, the present Cacique, and carry on ceremonies and observations themselves in accord with the old forms known to them [Conn: PMT Field Notes, 1989].

Their ancient belief in the power of the sun, and the powers in each of the cardinal directions; their need to observe, mark, and honor the changes of the seasons; these have always been at the heart of the religious ways of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe, Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe, and remain so today, in practice and in instruction of tribal members. Ceremonial regalia and bags of medicines and corn still pass through inheritance in the tribe, and the young rely on the counsel of tribal elders (Slagle, PMT Field Notes, 1991).

On March 14, 1991 Juan Benavides, 4th War Captain, offered the Cuento of the Medicine Wheel and its meaning for the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe at the close of a meeting of the Tribal Council at East Side Community Center, Las Cruces. His grandfather related this account to him as a child. Lamberto Trujillo confirmed that their ancestors passed this information on to the children for instruction, and to entertain them. Black is West, White is North, Red is East and Yellow is South. Below is Green. The accompanying prayer is:

I as directed by my grandfather
To the East, so I might have the power of the Bear
To the South, so I might have the courage of the Eagle
To the West, so I might have the wisdom of the Owl
To the North, so I might hafve the craftiness of the Fox
To the Earth, so I might receive her fruit
To the Sky, so I might lead a life of innocence.

(Almarez, PMT Field Notes 1991).

VI. EVALUATION OF THE PIRO/MANSO/TIWA, PUEBLO OF SAN JUAN DE GUADALUPE IN TERMS OF THE FEDERAL ACKNOWLEDGMENT CRITERIA

1. Introduction/summary statements

The history and organization of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe is very unusual, and a review of these matters is necessary prior to a review of their situation.

The Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe, Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe constitute the only organized Piro Indian group remaining either in the United States or Mexico. Their immediate predecessors came to Las Cruces, New Mexico primarily from Juarez and Senecu, Chihuahua, though their original homeland was in central New Mexico, where they had occupied various villages and had enjoyed a well-differentiated culture by the time of Spanish conquest. Some Piros survived epidemics, famine, raids, rebellion, geographical displacement and the like, and some intermarried with the conquerors or other tribes. Before 1681, most of them had migrated into the El Paso Valley, and within a few years, most of the remaining Piro population in Mexico was gone, while all their central New Mexico villages had been abandoned.

The Tribe has been under the spiritual and secular leadership of hereditary Chiefs called Caciques since time immemorial. From the time of earliest records, this has proved to be true. Cacique Caetano Roybal, in El Paso del Norte by 1794, was listed on the 1803 and 1806 census lists with his family in Chamisal, and his wife was Anastacia Benavides. Their son, Jose Francisco Roybal, married a widow, Leogarda Anaya (AACJ 1847: Reel 8), who was listed on the 1803 and 1806 list of Indians at Our Lady of Guadalupe Mission (AAD 1803, 1806) [By the 1810s, recording of tribal affiliations in parish records and census reports had waned, and ended when Mexico's 1820 Constitution abolished Indio racial status (Spicer 1962:334). "Indigene" replaced "Yndio" in Paso del Norte records. Pueblo Indians were not listed tribally, while Apaches were referred to as indio Apache or yndio barbaro ("wild Indians")]. Jose Francisco's son, Agapito, married Albina Jemente (then later, Maria Jostea Enriques, and then Josefa Manrique). He was Cacique in Chamisal in 1836, according to the El Paso, Juarez Archives lists, and on the 1844 list of Indigenes/ Native family heads from Chamisal and Barreal districts (JA 1884: Reel 13). Agapito's and Albina's son, Jose Roybal, born in Chamisal in 1832 (married to Isadore Lopez, then Isabel Salado), became Cacique in 1862 (ACCJ 1862: Reel 8), and was listed as one of the Indigenes de la Cabezera, Natives of the Regional Capital, Paso del Norte, as eligible for the Mexican Army's military draft in 1862 (JA 1862a: Reel 24), with other descendants of Indians on the 1844 census. Jose's son by Isadore, Felipe, was Cacique of the Piro/ Manso/ Tiwa Tribe about 1865, and remained Cacique until 1906. Felipe Roybal's widow, Francisca Avalos, acted as Caciqua Regenta after his murder, with her Assistant, her brother Senovio Avalos, as Cacique Regent. Felipe's son, Vicente, succeed as Cacique in 1935. His wife, Isidra, was Caciqua Regenta after his death in 1978 until her own death in 1982. His son, Felipe, has been Cacique since, and his Assistant Cacique since 1991 has been Edward Richard Roybal.

Following the original enforced Spanish resettlement of Piros at Pas del Norte in the late 1650s, they lived within European-dominated El Paso Valley communities for over two centuries. Residing beside Indians from other tribes, they lived as an ethnic group within El Paso, Senecu or Socorro. Each of these Indian villages had Indian military and civil officials who acted as part of the governing structure of the community, under a Cacique, who carried the core Pueblo beliefs and customs. The Piros never lost their identity or customs as Pueblo Indians, despite acculturative Spanish and Mexican, and later, Anglo influences.

In the Mesilla Valley, the primarily El Paso Piro immigrants and Senecu emigrants, along with a very few Ysleta del Sur Indians, lived in the presence of Hispanics and Americans as they had in El Paso, and took part in the settlement of the new Mesilla Valley towns along with non-Indian emigrants from the El Paso area.

The St. Genevieve's Church at the core community site in Las Cruces, and the mission church of Nuestra Sra. de Guadalupe (at Tortugas), were the focal points for ethnic identity and customs. Indian dancing in the plazas of their churches and at Picacho, the lighting of bonfires on their sacred mountains on feast days, characterized the group's Indian life. Governmental restrictions on the public display of religious devotion in conjunction with considerations of economic survival fueled the migration to the Las Cruces area in the mid-1800s.

It appears probable that some Piro emigrants were present in the Mesilla Valley on the Dona Ana Bend Colony by 1843, prior to the establishment of any other permanent settlement. Lt. Sackett of the U. S. Army garrison, coming to the Las Cruces area from Dona Ana in 1849 to lay out the tracts for the future city, reported that he found about 120 people already living there in brush-reinforced clay-shelled shelters (jacales) on what came to be the plaza near Church Street and Las Cruces Avenue (Staff, "Mesilla Valley's history: Rich, vibrant, and not that long ago," Las Cruces Bulletin, 13 Sept. 1989, C-2). These individuals apparently moved into assigned lots in the new 84-block area of Las Cruces when it was laid out by Sackett's survey team. There is only a vague description of this group housed in a small pueblo or village community at the site of what became the Las Cruces civic center at the time of Sackett's arrival. The group, however, was situated at what eventually became the civic center plaza area.

These former El Paso Piros, now in Las Cruces, appear to have been organized under the leadership of a local Cacique by 1849. Some elder Piros claim the Tribe used the private home of a tribal elder as a meeting house, a trading center and social hall, dating from about that time (late 1840s). They danced in their Las Cruces Plaza and used a kiva and a makeshift meeting hall only a few blocks from the site of the present core community. After 1859, the Tribe used the plaza of the local church of St. Genevieve's for their fiestas and dances until the priest barred their doing so in the early 1900s. That building stood at the edge of the present civic center plaza area, occupying what is now the parking lot of a furniture store. The location of the Cacique's compound in the near vicinity, only a block away, suggests the probability that at least some of the Piros were already making homes in this early pueblo at what came to be Las Cruces, and further, that the Pueblo Sackett encountered indeed was the early Piro pueblo. What is not clear is whether some or all of these people at the little pueblo already were permanent residents, though it appears that at least some participated in the drawing of lots for parcels of land in the 84-block Las Cruces area, or later acquired such lots.

The Piro/Manso/Tiwas built fires on the nearby mountains and otherwise venerated their patron saint, Nuestra Sra. de Guadalupe, in an amalgamation of Indian and western Christian rites, by the 1880s. They conducted ceremonies within the kiva at the family compound of the Caciques in the Las Cruces core community, periodically throughout each year, until that block of buildings was partially razed during urban renewal during the early 1960s. The Tribe's spiritual leaders conducted private rituals each December 10-11 to support the public ceremonies which eventually became an annual devotional event in the Las Cruces area each December 12.

The Tribe's ceramics and other crafts, Piro ceremonies, Indian olla and other

dances and rabbit hunts were activities which they conducted differently than their non-Indian neighbors, and their Piro language, songs, drumming and smoke ceremonies were peculiar to themselves in the area.

The Piro/Manso/Tiwas were treated as American citizens and voted in elections, but continued to be identified as Pueblo Indian in the local community after 1900. Prior to 1900, public school education was not available for all Las Cruces area Indians. Having never abandoned tribal relations, they were persuaded or coerced into sending their children to boarding school from the 1890s through the first two decades of this century. Though scores of the Tribe's youth attended boarding school, this opportunity appears to have contributed surprisingly little to their educational status or general well-being. After 1900, as local public education became more widely available, fewer of these children were sent to Federal boarding schools.

On the eve of WWI, the Tribe preempted a tract of land through the normal processes available in the area, and built their church to Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe, as well as a community center and dining hall in Tortugas, just west of University Park near Las Cruces. In 1914, working with Eugene van Patten and other friendly non-Indians, the Tribe founded a daughter corporation under state law as a religious-besot service and business organization, to further certain limited development purposes of the Tribe and its leaders, without allowing the Corporation to the traditional tribal organization itself. Ysleta del Sur formed a similar corporation for the same purposes at about the same time.

Throughout its association with the daughter Corporation, the Tribe always held its own annual elections on New Year's Eve to elect its own officers separate from Corporation Board election, at the home of the Caciques, in Las Cruces. Los Indigenes de Nuestra Sra. de Guadalupe, became a vehicle for maintaining customs the Tribes' ancestors had brought to Las Cruces, including the celebration of their Holy Days, and through which they dealt with the Catholic Church regarding their activities. The Corporation also carried on building and maintenance programs for the Pueblo. The Tribe's Cacique and other spiritual leaders still conducted private rituals each December 10-11, and at other times, to support the public Guadalupe Day ceremonies each December 12, and the like.

Perhaps in part due to the rigors of boarding school experiences, and the sharp recollection of the loss of their lands and rights to publicly carry on their religious activities in Mexico, the Tribe did not pursue their rights or entitlements as Indians aggressively. The Tribe was not, however, otherwise treated as a group needing special services from any particular external government agency, though the condition of poverty in Tortugas (with which they were still then identified) was found to be extreme during the 1930s in federally-funded sociological studies.

During the mid-1940s, while many adult male tribal leaders were in the armed forces or working to support the war effort, the Tribe began to lose control over the daughter business Corporation, Los Indigenes de Nuestra Sra. de Guadalupe. In the late 40s and early 50s, there was a hostile take-over by non-Indian members of the Corporation, the Miguel Fierro faction, and their families and a few tribal members. This take-over resulted in the permanent separation of the Las Cruces-based tribal core community from the enterprise at Tortugas. The Tortugas takeover group continued to conduct activities including the Guadalupe Day dances and A Mountain pilgrimage, which always had been associated with the Tribe. The Cacique Vicente Roybal's attempts to accommodate the takeover group while preserving the rights and well being of the Tribe were mostly unproductive. Though his presence was demanded at Corporation-sponsored public ceremonies, he retreated from direct

participation as the hope waned that there could be a reconciliation which would result in the resumption of leadership roles in the organization on the part of Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribal leaders, such as Vicente Roybal's sons. By the mid-1950s, most Piros, as well as their Cacique, no longer were active in Corporation affairs, and no longer participated in religious activities directly associated with Tortugas.

Most Piro descendants became alienated from public representations of their Indian identity: their devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe, the church their ancestors built dedicated to their patron saint, their community center (Casa del Pueblo) at Tortugas containing their second remaining kiva, their dining hall where feasts were held, their rabbit hunts, San Juan's Day, Easter and similar observances. Piro/Manso/Tiwa religious ceremonies continued on the restrictive, non-public, Tribal members-only basis of former years, at the site of the core community in Las Cruces, at A Mountain and Picacho or other places, and only when free of public scrutiny. Members of other tribes, such as Yseleta del Sur, continued to visit tribal leaders and members at Ysleta and in Las Cruces at the Cacique's home, to sing and drum, pray, and visit into the 1970s.

Tribal meetings and annual New Year's Eve elections continued in Las Cruces, at the home of the Cacique and Caciqua, or at the home of other tribal officers and members, such as the homes of Narcisso Eres and Victor Roybal, Jr., from the 1950s through the 1980s. Only a small number of the Tribe's members belonged to the Corporation at Tortugas by the 1970s, and none do today. Most Corporation members are of non-Piro descent, yet they carry on customs based on Piro models, and bar the majority of Piro descendants from participation in the activities and property which were part of their heritage and which helped to identify them as Indians.

The Tribe continued to pursue its common welfare under the leadership of a hereditary succession of Caciques, with occasional help from sympathetic non-Indian Hispanics and Anglos. In the 1960s, with Termination policy on the wane, the Tribe attempted to obtain Federal acknowledgment by means then available. They attempted to obtain legislative acknowledgment without success, and only now are able to make a submission of a Federal acknowledgment petition.

The Tribe has conducted its ceremonies, on its own terms, at Picacho and A Mountain and other meeting places in the 1980s and 1990s. This Tribe is distinct in that they represent the sole functional, organized remnant of the old Piro population and culture. This Tribe is unusual in that they have had to tolerate the reinterpretation of widely-known aspects of their culture at Tortugas by non-Indians, who carried on versions of Piro ceremonies as if the Piros themselves no longer existed. Still, the Tribe has found ways to preserve and continue with aspects of their ceremonial life until the present largely out of the public eye, and are conducting their own political activities entirely apart from their former colony of Tortugas. The peculiar aspects of their situation and condition require the evaluation of their character as an Indian Tribe in light of the historical events that make them different from any non-Indian group, and from most Indian groups.

2. Criterion 83.7(a) - Indian identity through time
[Summary from sections I, II, III, IV, V].

At the time of Spanish exploration and settlement in New Mexico, explorers and conquerors and priests documented the existence, some of history and ways of the numerous Piro Indian Pueblos in central New Mexico. Consolidation of the surviving Piro population into four Indian villages followed, and these villages were in the

vicinity of Socorro, N.M. Spanish authorities likewise documented the exodus of these Indians to El Paso Valley in and after the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680.

Civil and ecclesiastical records reported the presence and activities of Piro Indians among the El Paso del Norte mission population for 150 years after the establishment of the mission for the Manso Indians of Mesilla and El Paso Valleys. By 1790, the Mansos were fully assimilated into the Piro population, and the entire El Paso was referred to as "Piro." Descendants of the Piro of the 1700s were identified as indigenes in government and ecclesiastical records of the 1800s.

Part of the El Paso Piro community migrated to Las Cruces, N. M. by the middle of the 1800s. Parish records, censuses, National Guard records, court records, news stories, land records and reports of early ethnographers identify their presence in Las Cruces as Yndios, Indigenes, Piros, or Pueblo Indians. The community that began at Tortugas in the 1880s was viewed as an Indian town until contemporary times. The colony of Tortugas and the Corporation which the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe established as a business arm of tribal government and overflow community in 1914 became identified with, and to be viewed as a part of, their tribal community and its religious activities. Though this corporation does not represent the descendants of the El Paso Piro emigrants today, Las Cruces area residents view it as Indian in origin in much the same way they identify Taos, New Mexico with the Taos Pueblo. However, Tortugas is to the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe today approximately what Taos, N. M. is to Taos Pueblo.

The tribal Indian status of the El Paso Piro/Manso/Tiwa emigrants in Las Cruces, N.M. was recognized by the U. S. Indian School Service when the Piro/Manso/Tiwa children were accepted into Indian boarding schools as ward Indians after 1890 as Pueblo Indians who had not abandoned tribal relations. In this century, periodicals (news articles, magazines and journals) documented the continued existence of the Las Cruces area Piro tribal group. Ethnographers identified this group as distinct from the rest of the Las Cruces population, as Pueblo Indian with a distinct group identity. The Federal agencies, including the Army and BLM, have acknowledged the Tribe is recognized.

Today, the Tribe continues to pursue Federal acknowledgement as they have since the 1960s, leaving their former colony to go on its own under the domination and control of the Mexican immigrant families and their families who took over its functions in the post WWII period to form a new group. Prior to the Corporation, during its entire corporate existence until its renewal of corporate duration in 1964, and to the present day, the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe, Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe has continued as a distinct tribal entity. They maintained contacts with tribal governments and intertribal organizations.

Since substantial contact with the United States at the founding of Las Cruces in 1849, the Piro Indians have been identified on a substantially continuous basis as a group of American Indians, and the present Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe remains the only extant organized body of them.

3. Criterion 83.7(b) - geographical contiguity of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe

a. Maps of the Mesilla Valley/ Las Cruces/ Tortugas area in various periods

The documentary evidence and maps of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa area from archival sources and in the text establish that a substantial portion of the petitioning group inhabits a specific area or lives in a community viewed as American Indian and distinct from other populations in the area, and that its members are descendants of an Indian tribe or tribes which historically inhabited a specific area.

The members of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa are primarily descendants of Piro emigrants to the Las Cruces area from Paso del Norte and Senecu, of what then was Mexico. Piros lived in the El Paso Valley since the mid-1600s after they had abandoned their central New Mexico settlements. Eventually, they assimilated the Manso Indians who were the aboriginal occupants of the Mesilla and El Paso Valleys. Tiwas from Isleta, New Mexico arrived in the El Paso Valley after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680s. Some Piro descendants migrated into the Mesilla Valley to a site very near the present Civic Center, where they established a small Pueblo. Most enrolled members of the Tribe descend from these people.

In 1973, about 3/4 of the persons on the Tribal Roll had mailing addresses in a sixty-mile radius of Las Cruces. Few lived in the town of Tortugas, whose claims to Indian identification derive from former association with the present Tribe and which includes among its Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe Corporation membership list no one whose names also appears on the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribal Roll. This Corporation performs some traditional Piro activities today. Though most Piros cannot participate in Guadalupe Day dancing at Tortugas, many attend festivals or participate in the mass pilgrimage to A Mountain which reflects in a commercialized way the traditional ceremony which the tribal Captains continue to perform in the original way, without attending entourage.

Interaction continues among Piro/Manso/Tiwa descendants to the present. There are regular meetings, to discuss ceremonies and community affairs or problems, as well as special meetings and annual elections. Quarterly meetings and church functions and sports and other activities continue at St. Genevieve's or at other local churches and at East Side Community Center, at the heart of the Core Community. The Tribe's members mostly live in reasonable proximity to continue community interactions.

4. Criterion 83.7(c) - tribal political influence and authority. The petitioner has maintained tribal political influence or other authority over its members as an autonomous entity throughout history until the present.

The Piro Indians and those other Indians who affiliated with them formed a political entity autonomous from other Tribes. They had their own leaders and Cacique who appointed civil authorities annually and who presided over the ceremonial life of the Tribe. When the group which forms the present body migrated to Las Cruces between 1840 and the 1880s, they continued to have civil leaders and ceremonial ones under the leadership of the Pueblo Chief, or Cacique, under whose leadership they conducted Piro ceremonies and activities, founding a church and Pueblo between the late 1840s and 1880s.

In 1914, the group formed a daughter corporation, Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe, still under the leadership of a Cacique, but also having a western-style governing Board, with a President, Vice President, Secretary and Treasurer to conduct affairs of a business council or committee, while the Tribe itself carried on exclusively tribal business at home in Las Cruces. Until the late 1940s, they conducted business activities of the kind set out in the Corporate Articles and Bylaws through this daughter Corporation. Only those tribal members with Las Cruces residency and domiciliary status, who qualified to be auxiliary police officers in Las Cruces, could acquire and exert jurisdiction to keep the peace during organized tribal gatherings such as the Guadalupe Day festivities. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, a faction of non-Indian members of the Corporation managed to wrest away from the Tribe and its leaders control over the Corporation and its holdings.

Most Piro families disassociated themselves from the Corporation when the

Fierro (Mexican-American, Black and Chicano) faction managed to wrest away control. Rather than pretend to the authority to appoint a new Cacique of their own after taking over the Tortugas corporation, the Fierro faction pressured the Cacique and Cacigua to continue in their capacity as supervisors of certain ceremonial activities which persisted in the Pueblo. Today, the Tortugas corporation have come to the point of appointing their own "Cacique," as well as their own "War Captains". Attesting to their disassociation with the Las Cruces-based Tribe and the traditional leadership, the Corporation must now hire police from the City of Las Cruces to supervise their events, since they still remain outside city limits, and their membership is restricted to Tortugas. Tribal leaders maintain the respect of their members.

The Tribe retains copies of its tribal minutes distinct from Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe Corporation minutes showing tribal activity contemporary and separate from Piro/Manso/Tiwa official involvement with the Corporation. The Tribe today operates through a Tribal Council form of government under a Constitution they adopted, retaining certain aspects of the business council government form they had learned to use during the days of colonial rule and their control of the Tortugas colony. The Cacique and War Captains have continued to maintain secular control and religious influence, and in each Cacique's case, even until his death.

[Summary from sections II, III, V].

5. Criterion 83.7(d) - governing document/membership criteria

The group is presenting a governing document and a statement describing fully their membership criteria and the procedures by which it governs its members.

For Constitution and Bylaws, see appropriate exhibits and associated narrative. The present governing documents are not the same as those of the Corporation.

See Batcho and Kaufmann Geneaological Report, tribal enrollment ordinances and related materials.

6. Criterion 83.7(e) - current membership list

The Tribe is providing in attachments a list of all known and approved current members, based on the Tribe's own defined criteria and a copy of each available former membership list, consisting of individuals who have established ancestry from a tribe which existed historically or from historical tribes which combined and functioned as a single autonomous entity.

a. See computer database compiled by Tribal Council, members and researchers with ultimate Council approval.

b. descendency from base population and Indian identity are discussed in Geneaological Study and noted in database.

7. Criterion 83.7(f) - tribal members not principally members of other North American tribe

The membership of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe is composed entirely of persons who are not members of any other recognized or unacknowledged North American Indian Tribe. It is neither a splinter group nor a colony of Ysleta del Sur or Isleta (del Norte), contrary to surmise reported in certain media and scholarly reports. The Tribe's origin is in the Piro population of El Paso del Norte (Juarez, Chihuahua) primarily, including a number of Piros from Senecu, while no

Piro Indian groups are known today to survive in Juarez or Senecu. The handful of Ysleta Tiwas who joined the Piros in Las Cruces around the turn of the century became totally integrated with this Tribe, while some remained and some broke away following the split with Tortugas to join Ysleta del Sur. Today, Ysleta Tribal Council maintains that the descendants of the emigrant Tiwas are eligible to become Ysleta tribal members, but the Pueblo Council refuses to provide an Ysleta Tribal Roll, or to enroll any more of the Tiwa descendants from Las Cruces or Tortugas.

Because they are neither individually nor collectively recognized by the other Pueblos as members or as a class of potential members, Piro/Manso/Tiwa members do not meet the definition of membership in a recognized tribe set forth in any of the existing regulations. NO MEMBERS of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa may be enrollees with any OTHER Federally-recognized Tribe and retain their Piro/Manso/Tiwa membership, though many may now, or formerly did, belong to traditional organizations, ceremonial societies and the like in other Pueblos or tribal or intertribal organizations.

Future Piro/Manso/Tiwa enrollment applicants must prove they do not hold concurrent or dual enrollment.

8. Criterion 83.7(g) - tribe not forbidden a federal relationship

The petitioner is not, nor are its members, the subject of congressional legislation which has expressly terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship. No legislation affecting Ysleta del Sur ever had within its contemplation any effect on the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe or its members. Further, P.L. 100-297 (f), 25 U. S. C. 2502 (f), April 28, 1988, forbids the "unilateral termination" of the acknowledgment of any Indian Tribe.

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customs and values in the religious, ideological, and other intangible spheres of life. The goal of the Missionaries was to use community reorganization as a means toward their goal of "civilizing" and Christianizing the natives in order to make them effective participants in the Spanish Colonial society. Other institutions, such as the hacienda and work in the mines, were responsible for uprooting individuals and families and placing them into new social contexts, cut off from their tribes and native sociocultural network. In these contexts, the natives were forced to associate with individuals from other cultural and language groups, and this contact gave rise to the exchange of cultural behavior, to intermarriage, and to the development of common social patterns to cope with the conditions in the Mission towns. The arguments developed here are equally applicable to the amalgamation of the Tiwa, Manso, and Piro tribes in the Paso del Norte area. This gave rise to a common, shared Colonial Indian subculture that was a blending of various aspects from many individual groups.

Griffin's summary was that "the indian communities proximate to the Spaniards, from which they obtained workers, came increasingly to be composed of half- acculturated, semi-detribalized Indians. This process continued through the colonial period, creating a low-class, hispanicized worker group, until the Indian ways had essentially disappeared" (1979:110).

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Field notes not accessible to the Petitioner, but the Antonio Mojaro, a volunteer researcher and tribal member, discovered in a routine check in special collections at NMSU Library (1991) that a copy of Dr. Reynolds's manuscript and field notes were archived under privacy bar at New Mexico State University, Las Cruces by Dr. Reynolds. Attempts on the part of the Tribe to retrieve copies of these materials through office of present investigators from Dr. Reynolds prior to 1981-1991 field work were fruitless. According to documents relating to communications between NARF staff and Dr. Reynolds at the end of the earlier Petition project (documents retained in NARF files, in Tribe's possession), Dr. Reynolds communicated with BAR bout the case, after filing her report with NARF and the Tribe; any such communications were strictly unauthorized by the Tribe.

The present investigators for this Petition have reviewed and to some extent relied upon Dr. Reynolds's report and available research materials, and where documented sources agree with her conclusions, have quoted freely from Dr. Reynold's report, since her work was produced under contract with NARF while NARF had fiduciary relationship with the Tribe. However, unable to rely on her field work for lack of access, the present Petition project has conducted entirely research and has reinvestigated Dr. Reynolds's statements, even retracing her field work if possible (where informants survived), or superseded it with new field interviews and research. Most field interviews on the present Petition project were recorded (1989-1991); indeed, most were videotaped and transcribed as a part of the process of documentation, in addition to generating notes and reports.

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Abbreviations

AAD	Archives of the Archdiocese of Durango
ACCJ	Archives of the Cathedral of Ciudad Juarez
CGP	Commissioners of Guadalupe Pueblo
CT	Commissioners of Tortugas
FN	Field Notes
FN(*)	Field Notes (Interviewee Number)
JA	Juarez Archives
LCARI	Las Cruces Area Resident Interviews
LINSG	Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe
NA	U. S. National Archives
PRN	Parish Record Notes
SJGTI	San Juan de Guadalupe Tiwa Interview
USC	U.S. Census

Document No./Date; Fr; To; Re; Shows:
1729, 1776; Archives of the Cathedral of Ciudad Juarez; Microfilm copy at University of Texas at El Paso; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/BIA. (Availability?).
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4 October 1931, Las Cruces, ".

1 January, 1932, Las Cruces, ".
First Sunday in June, 1932, Las Cruces, ".
2 October 1932, Las Cruces, ".
31 December 1932/ 1 January 1933, Las Cruces, ".
1 October 1933, Las Cruces, ".
31 December 1933/ 1 January 1934, Las Cruces, ".
31 December 1934/ 1 January 1935, Las Cruces, at the Casique's house (Vicente Roybal, who succeeded to the position held by the interim, Senobio Avalos, and the Regent Caciqua.
13 October, 1935, Las Cruces, home of the Casique.
3 November, 1935, Las Cruces, ".
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5 April 1936, Las Cruces, ".
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5 November 1933, Casa del Pueblo.
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3 June 1934, Casa Del Pueblo.
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2 September 1934, Casa del Pueblo.
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1887; Petitions by Vonancia Padilla, Franco Sanchez, Jesus Padilla, Guadalupe Apodaca, Francisco Ascarate, Guadalupe Ascarate, Pablo Bruzuelas, Lucio Esquibel and Santiago Ascarate. Dona Ana County Clerk's Office.
1887; Magdaleno Baca, et al.; Dona Ana County Deed Book Vol. 8, p. 316; Petition for Lot of Tortugas for a Catholic Church; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/Dona Ana County.
1888; Commissioners of Guadalupe Pueblo; Town of Tortugas Petition. Dona Ana County Deed Book 11, pp. 52-53.
1890; Commissioners of Guadalupe Pueblo; List of Guadalupe Residents (Ms.); Tribe.
1891; Commissioners of Guadalupe Pueblo; List of Guadalupe Residents (Ms.); Tribe.
48]1891; Transfer Deed; Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe; Territory of N. M. conveyance of property to Petitioner.
1894-1899; Santa Fe Indian School; Record Book; in record Group 75, Record of the Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Entry 44, Archives Branch, Federal Records Center, GSA, Denver Colorado.
1896; Felipe Roybal; Application for Land in Dona Ana County Deed Book, Vol. 18, pp. 384-385.
1902; Commissioners of Guadalupe Pueblo; List of Guadalupe Residents (Ms.); Tribe.
49]1902; Transfer Deed; Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe; Territory of N. M. conveyance of property to Petitioner.
1908; Record Group 49; True Survey of the Western Boundary of the Hugh Stephenson Grant on Bracito Tract (P.L.C. # 6).
50]1908; Deed of Confirmation; Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe; Dona Ana Grant to Petitioner.
51]1913; Transfer Deed 19 Feb. 1913, Francisca de la Roybal and Sirildo Abalos; Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe; State of N. M. conveyance of property to Petitioner. corp.
1913; Francisca Roybal, Transfer Deed of House Lot, Pueblo of Guadalupe, in possession of Louis Roybal.
1913; Indian School Service Rules; Rules for the Indian School

Service. United States Indian Service, Dept. of Interior.
1914; Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe to State of New Mexico; Certificate of Incorporation and Filing Notice. File copy, original in possession of Tribe.
1914; Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe Parish Church; Warranty Deed in files of Dona Ana County Clerk; Warranty Deed, No. 21447. Deed Book 58, p. 59, in files of Dona Ana County Clerk. File copy in possession of Tribe.
1914; Articles of Incorporation; Minutes of the Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe. Record of Incorporation, Book 1: 406-407. Dona Ana County Clerk's Office.
1914; Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe, a Corporation vs. Lucian Avalos, et al. Third Judicial District Court, Dona Ana County, Civil Records 17070. File copy, original in possession of Tribe.
40]1914; Warranty Deed; Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe; Tribal conveyance of property to Catholic Church Tucson Diocese.
1915: Indian Town Plat; Plat of Indian Town of Guadalupe near Tortugas. Plat Record Book 5, p. 11. Dona Ana County Clerk's Office.
1919. Cato Sells. Letter from Commissioner of Indian Affairs to All Superintendents of Indian Schools, July 29, 1919. Record Group 75, Records of the Department of Interior Bureau of Indian Affairs, General Correspondence. File 1917-1936. Box 37, File 801. Archives Branch, Federal Records Center, GSA, Denver, Colorado.
November 2, 1936; Los Indigenes, Pueblo de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe, Pueblo Natives, in possession of Louis Roybal.
1936; Victor E. Roybal regarding Juan Saalado, in possession of Louis Roybal.
July 29, 1940; Margaret Page Hood to Las Cruces Chamber of Commerce to Victor Roybal on behalf of Las Cruces Chamber of Commerce; in possession of Tribe.
41]1940; Las Cruces Chamber of Commerce: Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe; Tribal participation in local festivities.
corp.
1920; Dispacho del senor Senobio Avalos. Copy in possession of Tribe.
57]1940; W.P.A., Guide to New Mexico. Wash.: Federal Writer's Project, p. 47; Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe; Identification of Petitioner as Indian Tribe: corp.
53]Dec. 13, 1940; Albuquerque Journal ; Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe; Identification of Petitioner as Indian Tribe: "Tortugas Indians pay ritualistic honor to Patron Virgin of Guadalupe." U. N. M. Microfilm. corp.
Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe, a Corporation, et al., vs. Victor E. Roybal, Victor A. Roybal, Jr., the unknown heirs of Jennie E. Roybal, deceased, Genevieve R.Moreno and Estella R. Sanchez, et al., N. M. D. C., 3rd Dist., December 9, 1957, Docket 14917, H. Vearle Payne. In this case, the Corporation sought to quiet title to lots two (2) and three (3), Block 24, in the Indian Town of Tortugas, according to Plat No. 200 filed in the Office of the County Clerk, Dona Ana County, New Mexico, #15982, Book 5, p.

11 on August 22, 1916. [See Document 19]. The suit challenged conveyances approved by Victor Roybal, Sr. while he was President:
(a) Deed to Victor E. Roybal, dated 9 December 1943, Book 124, Page 367; (himself)
(b) Deed to Jennie E. Roybal, dated 9 December 1943, Book 129, page 542; (his wife)
c) Deed to Genevieve R. Moreno, dated 18 September 1957; Book 143, page 112: (their daughter)
(d) Deed to Estella R. Sanchez, dated 18 September 1957; Book 143, page 261 (their daughter).

1948; Los Indigenes de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe, a Corporation and Miguel B. Fierro vs. Victor Roybal, Vicente Roybal and Luis Roybal. Third Judicial District Court, Dona Ana County, Civil Records 10810. File copy, original in possession of Tribe; shows takeover.
56]Dec. 11, 1949;Las Cruces Sun News; Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe; Identification of Petitioner as Indian Tribe: "Tortugas Indians Ascend Mountain."
54]Dec. 15, 1949;Las Cruces Sun News; Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe; Identification of Petitioner as Indian Tribe: "Scenes from Guadalupe Festival."
corp?
55]Feb. 15, 1950;Las Cruces Sun News; Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe; Identification of Petitioner as Indian Tribe: "Guadalupe Indians Hold Annual Meeting."
corp?
April 14, 1950; Minutes of Meeting of Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe; in possession of Louis Roybal.
November 29, 1950; Jess D. Weir, Letter to Victor Roybal; in possession of Tribe.
January 1, 1951; Minutes of Meeting of Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe; in possession of Louis Roybal.
42]1951; Diocese of El Paso; Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe; contact of church with Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe as tribal entity.
corp
1951; Miguel B. Fierro, et al. vs. Leo Reis, et al. Third Judicial District Court, Dona Ana County, Civil Records 11751.
1966; Piro/Manso/Tiwa; Albuquerque Indian School Enrollment; List of Students Enrolled at Albuquerque Indian School from Ysleta and El Paso, Texas and from Las Cruces and La Mesilla, New Mexico. Certified copy on file; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/BIA.
43]1968;New Mexico Magazine; Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe; Identification of Petitioner as Indian Tribe.
corp.
1]Nov. 18, 1969; BIA; Piro/Manso/Tiwa; Indian Affairs Juris. area; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/BIA.
44]1970;Albuquerque Journal ; Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe; Identification of Petitioner as Indian Tribe.
corp

2]Jan. 18, 1971; U.S. Rep. Manuel Lujan;Piro/Manso/Tiwas; Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribal Constitution; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. House of Representatives. and, Petition, January 18, 1971, San Juan de Guadalupe (Tortugas) Tewa Indian Pueblo, New Mexico, the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe to U. S. Department of the Interior/ Bureau of Indian Affairs, Albuquerque Area Office, with Chronology of the Tewa (Tigua) Indian Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe (Tortugas), New Mexico.
4]Feb. 18, 1971; U. S. Sen. Anderson; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribal materials concerning recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Senate.
5]Letter, March 11, 1971, Commissioner Louis R. Bruce to U. S. Representative Manuel Lujan), adding however that if the Tribe could not qualify for assistance under the Economic Opportunity Act, the BIA would have no objection to legislation similar to the Ysleta del Sur Act (82 Stat. 93), April 12, 1968, which had given limited recognition to Yselta del Sur Pueblo in order to make them eligible for programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (78 Stat. 508), and for state programs. See:
5a]March 18, 1971; U. S. Rep. Lujan; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; proposed legislation for recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/House of Representatives. The legislation was withdrawn.
6]May 5, 1971; National Council on Indian Opportunity; Assistance for Piro/Manso/Tiwas' Federal recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe with N. C. I. O. by U. S. to the Piro/Manso/Tiwas May 13, 1959.
45]1972;Las Cruces Sun News ; Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe; Identification of Petitioner as Indian Tribe.
corp
46]1973; Las Cruces Sun News ; Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe; Identification of Petitioner as Indian Tribe.
corp
1973; San Juan de Guadalupe Tiwa. Copy in NARF Files.
March 16, 1973; Vicente Roybal, Luciano Avalos, Frank Ramirez to Robert J. Nordhaus. Copy in NARF files; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/Norhaus.
7]Sept. 5, 1973; B.L.M. Dept. of the Int.; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; and leased by U. S. to the Piro/Manso/Tiwas May 13, 1959; to show land lease between Piro/Manso/Tiwa corporation and the U. S.
47]1974;New Mexico Magazine; Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe; Identification of Petitioner as Indian Tribe.
1974; [Piro/Manso] Tiwa Indian Tribe, Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe, Tortugas, New Mexico; Identification of Petitioner as Indian Tribe. 11 pp., in possession of Louis Roybal.
8]May 13, 1974; U. S. Con. Comm. on Interior and Insular Affairs; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; Subcommittee on Indian Affairs; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. House of Representatives.
9]Nov. 7, 1974; U. S. Dept. of the Int. BIA; Sen. Bartlett/ Proposed conveyance of Piro/Manso/Tiwa land; Govt. reference to

Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe and lands.
10]Nov. 10, 1974; U. S. Dept. of Int. BIA; Sen. Bartlett; Piro/Manso/Tiwas and their Tribal Corporation land; BIA position on Piro/Manso/Tiwas and their land.
38]Aug. 17, 1975; Library of Cong. Analysis of Docs.; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' Federal recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe with L.C. re: history, evidence and documents in support of Fed. Rec. of the Piro/Manso/Tiwa tribe.
39](n.d.); Las Cruces Citizen; re: Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe; tribal existence.
@ 1976/n.d.; PMT/Tiwa Indian Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe, Tortugas, New Mexico; Statement to the American Indian Policy Review Commission [mention of the Tribe's existence or submission the document as testimony was omitted from the AIPRC Task Force Ten: "Terminated and Nonfederally Recognized Tribes," Report, Oct. 1976, and from U. S. Congress, American Indian Policy Review Commission Final Report, Vol. I, II, Ch. 11, pp. 457, ff., May 17, 1977, which contained a listing of unacknowledged groups which the Commission's staff had identified, perhaps because of the late submission of the Tribe's materials.]
52]1976;Las Cruces Sun News ; Piro/Manso/Tiwa Tribe; Identification of Petitioner as Indian Tribe.
11]Feb. 25, 1976; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; National Endowment for the Humanities; Assistance for Piro/Manso/Tiwas' Federal recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe with N. E.H.
19]March 11, 1976; U. S. Dept. of Int. BIA; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; Piro/Manso/Tiwas contact with the BIA as an Indian tribe.
12]March 25, 1976; National Endowment for the Humanities; Assistance for Piro/Manso/Tiwas' Federal recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe with N. E.H.
13]May 29, 1976; U.S. Sen. Domenici; Piro/Manso/Tiwas, general public; S. B. 3352 for Piro/Manso/Tiwas' Federal recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe with U.S. Senate.
14]June 17, 1976; National Endowment for the Humanities; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; Assistance for Piro/Manso/Tiwas' Federal recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe with N. E.H.
15]June 18, 1976; Albuquerque Tribune; general public; S. B. 3352 for Piro/Manso/Tiwas' Federal recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe with U.S. Senate.
16]June 27, 1976; U. S. Sen. Birch Bayh; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; S. B. 3352 concerning Piro/Manso/Tiwa recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Senate.
17]Sep. 14, 1976; U. S. Rep. Lujan; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; proposed legislation for recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/House of Representatives.
18]Nov. 15, 1976; U. S. Dept. of Int. BIA; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; Piro/Manso/Tiwas contact with the BIA as an Indian tribe.

25]Dec. 30, 1976; U. S. Dept. of Int. BIA; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; Piro/Manso/Tiwas contact with the BIA as an Indian tribe, and interest in proposed regs. governing federal acknowledgment.
26]Jan. 17, 1977; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' att'y.; U. S. Rep. Schmitt; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/House of Representatives.
20]March 16, 1977; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; National Indian Health Board; Assistance for Piro/Manso/Tiwas' Federal recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe with N. I.H.B.
21]March 28, 1977; U. S. Sen. Domenici; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' att'y.; S. B. 3352 concerning Piro/Manso/Tiwa recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Senate.
22]May 3, 1977; U. S. Sen. Domenici; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' att'y.; S. B. 3352 concerning Piro/Manso/Tiwa recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Senate.
23]May 4, 1977; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' att'y.; U. S. Rep. Lujan; Piro/Manso/Tiwas tribal officials meeting with Lujan; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/House of Representatives.
24]Aug. 28, 1977; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' att'y.; U. S. Rep. Schmitt; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/House of Representatives.
27]Feb. 28, 1978; National Congress of American Indians; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; Assistance for Piro/Manso/Tiwas' Federal recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe with N.C.A.I.
April 3, 1978; Cacique Vicente Roybal to Whom it Concerned: Copy in NARF files; proves tribal continuity.
28]June 6, 1978; U. S. Sen. Domenici; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' att'y.; concerning Piro/Manso/Tiwa recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Senate.
29]June 21, 1978; U. S. Sen. A. Ribicoff; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; concerning Ind. Ed., Piro/Manso/Tiwa recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Senate.
30]July, 1978; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; U. S. Sen. A. Ribicoff; concerning Ind. Ed., Piro/Manso/Tiwa recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Senate.
31]July 19, 1978; U. S. Sen. Ford; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; concerning Ind. Ed., Piro/Manso/Tiwa recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Senate.
32]Aug. 3, 1978; U. S. Sen. Mathias; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; concerning Ind. Ed., Piro/Manso/Tiwa recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Senate.
33]Aug. 7, 1978; U. S. Sen. Humphrey; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; concerning Ind. Ed., Piro/Manso/Tiwa recognition; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Senate.
34]Sept. 26, 1978; U. S. Sen. Roncalis; Piro/Manso/Tiwas; concerning Ind. Child Welfare Act; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Senate.
35]Oct. 17, 1978; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' attorney; Legal Services Corp.; Assistance for Piro/Manso/Tiwas' Federal recognition;

Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe with L.S.C.
36]Jan. 17, 1978; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' att'y.; U. S. Sen. Schmitt; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' recognition, S. 2375; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Sen.
37]Dec. 28, 1978; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' att'y.; U. S. Sen. Schmitt; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' Organ Mtn. landholdings; Piro/Manso/Tiwa contact and correspondence as an Indian tribe w/U. S. Sen.
1980-1981; Parish Records Notes, Notes made by Mary Taylor from St. Albino's Parish, Mesilla, New Mexico and St. Genevieve's Parish, Las Cruces, New Mexico.
October 9, 1980; John P. Wilson to Terry Reynolds regarding Las Cruces area Indians; copy formerly in NARF files.
1981; Margaret Page Hood interview with Eugene Van Patten, formerly in NARF files.
Dec. 8, 1980; Piro/Manso/Tiwas' Attorney, Indian Law Support Center, Native American Rights Fund; "Dear Member of the Tiwa Indian Tribe of the Pueblo of San Juan de Guadlupe, Tortugas, New Mexico." Interview permissions, information release.
1981.
1981; [Piro/Manso] Tiwa Indian Tribe, Pueblo of San Juan de Guadalupe, Tortugas, New Mexico; History of Tiwa Indian Tribe, an Outline; Identification of Petitioner as Indian Tribe. 3 pp., in possession of Louis Roybal.
1991; February 2; Letter, February 2, 1991, Antonio Rey Mojaro to LCD Anniversary Edition.
1991; May 17; Interview, February 2, 1991, Antonio Rey Mojaro to LCD Anniversary Edition.

Legislative Acknowledgment by State of New Mexico

State of New Mexico Senate. Senate Memorial 4. "Supporting the Request for Federal Recognition as an Indian Tribe by the Piro-Manso-Tiwa Indians." 40th Legislature, State of New Mexico, 2nd Sess., 1992. Sponsored by Sen. Mary Jane Garcia. Signed February 6, 1992. Summarizing documented petition, Memorial 4 describes history and sources of the Tribe, present composition, finding that the Tribe "have participated in and carry a significant part of the history of the state of New Mexico," and that they are "worthy of full federal recognition for their tribal status."