

Blue Water is between the terraced (maasana) fire screen which is made of adobe brick plastered over, and a hole covered with buffalo hide (fig. 4). In this hole the runner deposits his corn meal.<sup>151</sup>

The races are run in the morning, about 7.30. The two runners start at the east end of the track where there are two stones,<sup>152</sup> and run to the west end. Here they touch on the arm two other runners who run back, i.e., the racing is in familiar relay race style.

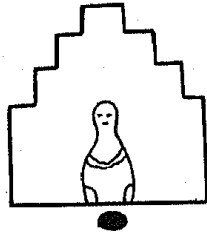


Fig. 4. P'a'chale, Blue Water.

The racers are nude but for breech cloth, their hair in braids. Feather down is stuck on their head and wherever the body and limbs are painted white. They wear a girdle of bells (pl. 9C).

Before starting, the runners blow prayer pollen into the air, an offering to the Sun. They are brushed with eagle feathers "to strengthen them" by two men<sup>153</sup> chosen respectively by the chief of the Black Eyes and by the War chief or Bear Society chief, i.e., the north side runner is brushed by the Black Eye man and the south side runner by a Bear Society man.

There are no kick-stick or kick-ball races, and there are no ritual races for rainfall.

Formerly, about thirty years ago, during the Man moon (January), young men, three or four, would run long distance races which are called koixölim kwiawina, world around race, at night, praying to the Moon and to Morning Star, to all the Stars, for strength and courage. This I was told in 1922; now (1932) I am told that these round the world runs are still made, in the spring, starting from the west end of the race track and going to the north for ten or fifteen miles.

Two swift runners have a head start by about a hundred yards. The kiva chief determines the race or run. The runners have prayed to the Sun and Moon at the shrine of the Stone Men, they also "ask those men," for a long life. By their racing they help the Sun and Moon in their courses.

The long distance or circuit race figures in folk tales, with betting. The runners encircle a mountain, five times.

Until recently there was a girls' race, and "they might do it again, if they think of it." What was the occasion I could not learn.

Referred to also were childrens' races held after their Catholic instruction Saturday or Sunday. The fiscal tells the boys and girls to run. They run from the church to the race track and down it to the two starting stones where they cross the river and return to the southeast gap; thence to the middle bridge through the alley between the houses; along the north side of the houses back to the west end of the race track. In the spring, after Mass, for two or three Sundays, everybody is told to race.<sup>154</sup>

#### Kon'ï,<sup>155</sup> the Saint's Day Dance<sup>156</sup>

There are two rows of dancers, men and women, about thirty men, about twenty-two women — "as many as want to dance." In the middle of the lines stand the men dancers.

About three in the afternoon they start out from the kivas, the men from Big-earring People kiva, the women from the Knife People kiva,<sup>157</sup> to walk in separate groups in front of the church<sup>158</sup> where they form to dance. There is a choir with a drum. From the church they go to dance in front of the houses of the chiefs and of every house where lives a godchild of the Saint whose day they are celebrating. About four o'clock they withdraw to the kivas to eat the supper brought them by the Saint's godchildren. "They hardly eat; they say they don't care to eat." The food they do not eat is given to the choir. After this very formal meal the dancers come out to dance again before the houses, dancing finally before the house farthest east, the house of the chief of the Water-dripping People. Thence they go to the kivas, outside where their shawls are, pick them up, and go home.

The women wear a silk dress, belted and hung over right shoulder, under left arm,

151. Contributed by Dr. White. Compare the small pit near the fireplace in the Llano kiva (Jeançon, 16, pl. 5).

152. See Grant, plate. The southerly stone has a smear of red. Moon is associated with red in Jicarilla Apache race ritual (Opler).

153. See Grant, plate.

154. Cp. Isletan practice (Parsons 8:324ff.).

155. Or Ky'itaana. The word was not etymologized; it might be buffalo grass. See p. 99.

156. This account was given me before I saw Kon'ï danced on Christmas day. See p. 88.

157. If there are many dancers they may also use Day kiva.

158. There is on no occasion dancing within the church.

leaving the left shoulder bare. They do not wear any kerchief across the back (Zonenema) Their hair is flowing, wet on top with the white pigment (tqi); but with nothing in the hair. The men are painted white all over with this same pigment. They wear a kilt with foxskin and ribbons falling behind from the belt. Their hair is loose, with one eagle tail feather at the back, tied with buckskin thong.

In the dance the day following different persons dance.

Dance practice, if any, is in Big-earring kiva.

Of this dance the Big-earring man is "boss." To the War captain he gives permission to hold the dance. He walks with the choir. The night before the dance he sprinkles meal (no feathers), at the place north of the race track called Nuñapalene, night meal. It is described as the cemetery for the dead from starvation.

The names of those who are to sing and to dance are called out from the housetop, i.e., this dance is not associated as far as dancers and choir (?) are concerned with any one kiva. All are supposed to take their turn. The Governor chooses the dancers for the north side; the war captains, for the south side.

#### Parade of Saints (Parada los Santos)

In time of drought the Saints may be taken out of a Sunday and carried in anti-sunwise circuit through the fields — the start being from the church to the west, thence southward, eastward, northward. The image of Geronimo is heavy, so it is carried by the men; the images of the other saints are carried by the girls, who change off. Formerly the young men in the procession fired off guns.<sup>159</sup> The padre does not take part in this procession, which is determined on by the Governor.

Summer Rain Ceremonials  
June 21 - August 23

According to one statement the Old-axe

People always start the series, their chief determines the subsequent order; according to another, each group in turn chooses the group to succeed it. The series begins after the summer solstice and closes before the pilgrimage to the lake — "that is the last of the summer business." In 1922, on July 13, the series began, and the Old-axe People had their preliminary meeting or smoke day, ifiwiho', which "brought them rain," and my informant added; "they must be very glad." The day following this smoke talk, all the members, not one may be absent, begin to count their days.<sup>160</sup> Summer days, piltöona, is the reference to the ceremonials. Between the ceremonies they leave a few days, two, three, or four days, to see what will result from "the work." During the ceremony the members at large have to pray, but they may live at home, without restrictions; but certain members, called by the kiva chief at the beginning of the ceremony and at the close for one or two nights have to stay continent and fast from "what does not belong to us," eating, for example, rabbit meat or venison, not beef. During these days and nights of iñuwaho (rain, call) they leave town, conducting the ritual outside.<sup>161</sup> There may be four or five men, even ten, men who are deemed particularly "honorable" or who desire to participate. In other words, within the membership at large a few men are appointed to conduct the ceremony proper, a feature characteristic of Pueblo society functioning. But the appointment of such rain ritualists as against permanent group functioning is peculiar and open to question.

Now, subsequent questioning brings only the statement that the summer rain ceremonies are conducted by all the kiva members including the members of the "branches," and nothing is said about special ritualists.

Ipa'w'imeho (They Lake Go)  
August 24-27

The lake (paw'ia, lake), Blue Lake it is named to the Whites, the source of Taos River, is about twenty-seven miles by road or trail to the east or northeast. On the annual summer pilgrimage to it, everybody may go excepting girls who have not yet mat-

159. Compare Miller, 40. Miller knew little of folk religion among European Catholics else he could not have written of this procession that "practices like this indicate no adoption by the people of anything fundamental in the faith."

Nor did he appreciate the significance of his interesting experience in trying to buy a copper plate with a design of "our Lady of Zapopan" (a sanctuary in Jalisco, near Guadalajara). The plate was hidden away from him, its possessor fearing that were she to part with it some harm might come to her two little children, a thoroughly characteristic Pueblo attitude. The woman had known of an accident to a man who had sold the image of a Saint. "After selling it, he had gone into town, bought some whiskey, and then rode his horse home at a breakneck pace. The horse stumbled at a small bridge and broke his leg. This was, of course, because he had sold the little figure" (Miller, 40).

160. How long each rain ceremony lasts I do not know. My informant who was extremely reluctant to communicate anything about these rain ceremonies gave various estimates, from seven to fifteen days. Four days seems to be a more probable period. That is the term, we recall, for the winter ceremonies.

161. Whereabouts, I could not learn, and of the fact that they leave town I am more than doubtful. Another informant said that "they go in" (paichöto; öto, go in) in kiva, not in "inside room of house."

ured and boys who have not yet been initiated, i.e., all adults.<sup>162</sup> Of the whole ceremony of pilgrimage one year the Big-earring man is in charge; the next year the Water man.<sup>163</sup> Certain "boys" (paw'ia tunenemo, lake chiefs) assist and act as choir for the dancing. They are different "boys" different years, unless the same "boys" want to repeat. On foot go one of the kiva groups, I think the group which is completing its initiation of the young boys; and I am guessing that one year it is a north side society and the next year a south side society. In fact it was said definitely that one of the south side kivas was to go in 1932, and that one of the north side kivas (Knife kiva) went in 1931. On the other hand I have recently been told that the Big-earring man and the Water man are not in charge at all. It is this way: "The chief who has finished his ceremony (the summer rain ceremony) tells the next one to start his ceremony and then goes with the people to Blue Lake and comes back and finishes the final two days of his ceremony." This is so involved that it sounds true. It is certain at least that the pilgrimage ties up with the summer ceremonies<sup>164</sup> and with the initiation of the boys.

With the society members also walk a few girls, their hair dressed old style in side queues, and wearing the characteristic Pueblo dress of dark cloth of which garments there are only a few left in town, "their owners think a lot of them." Quite similarly, on First Mesa, on the day after a ceremonial, the day for taking a walk, when the girls walk out with the boys, the girls wear "their old Hopi clothes."

On the Taos pilgrimage, the ceremonial pedestrians "are not allowed" to be with

the bulk of the townspeople who travel horseback and in wagons. They leave town in the afternoon, about 3, on August 24, and camp, at a place called Kon'ia'apana, buffalo grass plain. They build camp fires, and all night they dance the round dance (k'olk'olta).<sup>165</sup> "That is the time the girls get with their fellows." At this time parents are not cross with girls. Possibly these references refer to complete sexual intimacy, I am uncertain. There is a tradition among the Whites of Fernandez de Taos who are ignorant of the religious character of the pilgrimage that general promiscuity occurs on the August camp. This is extremely doubtful;<sup>166</sup> although some license among the unmarried is not improbable. After the all night dancing, early in the morning, "they send out a committee [!] to see if any one is around." Then they pack their horses and move on to Papit'ona,<sup>167</sup> where they stay all morning "till the little paidia (the initiates) come and give them lots of flowers" On their way they gather these flowers<sup>168</sup> and the men, "if they are lucky," get game. The initiates have a song.

At Papit'ona, tents and tipis are pitched as they were the day before, at Kon'ia'apana; then, in the afternoon, the people move on to the lake. Within a mile of the lake<sup>169</sup> all must approach on foot. People put down prayer-feathers when they reach the lake, all but the boys, i.e., initiates, who put them down after dark. The feathers are cast into the water to float, or put down on the shore, with meal. The man of the family supplies the feathers.

At the place on the lake where the initiates (paiyun) bathe, after throwing pollen into the water, a silver cross may be seen

162. This I was told in 1922; but recently I have heard of several persons who would not be allowed on the pilgrimage — Emilia who is married to a Mexican, and boys dissatisfied with the customs. Probably the rule has been tightened. Formerly indeed the "Indians" of Ranchos joined the pilgrimage.

163. But see below.

164. For one thing it is said the people know when to go to Blue Lake, not by the American calendar, and not by any call from the housetop. Which means, I take it, that they know by counting the days of the next to last of the summer ceremonies.

165. Later, by the same informant, I was told that at this time they dance "all kinds of dances."

166. Among others Father Girard referred to this opinion which he himself does not hold. He says it is due to the fact that guards against Whites are set at this time. Even the Forest Ranger is notified and asked to leave. Father Girard tells me that he has questioned some of the most reliable and responsible men about the view that at this time any man could go with any woman, and the men feel outraged by it. Calmly remarking on the subject Maria said, "People say the girls get babies when they go to the lake; they don't, they dance just to have a good time." In 1925 it was proposed that some trustworthy White man be invited to go on the pilgrimage as a witness of its innocuousness. Governor Hegerman and Mr. Collier were asked to go by the Council. Mr. Collier rode out of town with or rather behind Juan Mirabal. That same evening opposition to the White man continuing with the pilgrims developed in the group generally referred to as the "peyote boys." The pilgrimage was for all, they asserted; the Council could not permit anything in connection with it that all did not want. There was talk of violence. Mr. Collier returned the following morning to town. Another gossip version of this affair was that Mr. Collier was allowed to start on the pilgrimage because a certain White lady, a friend of his, had paid the fine of \$400 imposed on the Lieutenant-governor, Anton Mirabal (nephew of Juan Mirabal), after Anton had whipped two men who were of the Peyote party. (See p. 67.)

167. Or Paput'ona (? flowers all colors). "Nine miles east of Taos." "Something like a bull frog lives here." This refers to P'ak'ok'anna, see pp. 110-11.

168. Yellow flowers used by the Black Eyes and blue flowers (k'upane) which are dried and pulverized and used as altar pigment or in medicine. "Above the lake" is also gathered the yellow sand kuitena used as altar pigment. See pp. 104, 106, figs. 5, 6.

169. This place is Pahweanatuleas, translated "lake port."

shining on the water. Also a ladder projecting from the subaqueous kiva<sup>170</sup> may be seen. Any one may bathe in the lake. Formerly at the "first spring near the lake" called Paxōlapaw'ia, star lake, people used to hear the sound of grinding below the water. The sound is heard no longer, because people travel on horseback, not caring enough about their pilgrimage to go painfully afoot as they once did.

After a big supper, at Papitōna, there is dancing all night, August 25-26. On the following morning, August 26, they return to town, arriving about four in the afternoon, all but the ceremonial pedestrians who have started before the others and have reached town early in the morning, bringing the flowers and sand they have gathered.

On August 27 everybody rests. August 28 there is dancing up river, towards Glorietta, first a little at a clearing by the river — a very pretty spot encircled by large trees two or three miles from town — and then for the chief dances further up stream.

The people go to the lake "for a good time," and "to worship gods called Kachina (Katsina), the ones that send all what they get."

#### Dances on Various Occasions Round Dance

Round dance (kōlxōltaana, kōlkōlt'aane, kōl, round) may be danced day or night, by men and women, alternating in a circle, all stepping sidewise, in clockwise circuit, the woman's step more shuffling than the man's. There is a choir and drum. For choir or dancers there is no organization. Anybody may sing or dance. A girl may pick a boy out from the group of boys or a boy may pick a girl from the girls. They stand side by side in the circle, sometimes holding each other by the arm; sometimes the boy covers the girl with his blanket. The chooser, if a girl, will give the boy a ring or earrings or a handkerchief or money; the boy will give the girl a shawl or blanket or even a fully equipped horse. On making the present they stop dancing. If the boy gives anything as valuable as a horse, "they make the dance stronger," i.e., they dance more excitedly to incite others to give equally costly gifts. Any "boys" may ask the Governor to call the dance out. People wear their best clothes. It is all merely for pleasure.

The round dance or woman's dance, as it is referred to, may be danced at any season; it is usually danced in December or when they go to the lake, at night. I heard of

its being danced one night at the Jemez fiesta, by visitors from Taos and Isleta and their Jemez hosts. Two Taos men sang. A Jemez man gave María of Taos first ten cents, then five cents, for dancing with him.

This dance is said to have been got from the Cheyenne and Arapaho who said they got it from the Sioux. The Katiowa have a dance like it, but in a line. This round dance was the old scalp dance of Taos. The Isleta and Zuñi scalp dances were similar.<sup>171</sup>

#### Kwiaw'itana (Race Dance)

This is danced at sunset or at visperas the eve of San Geronimo day, and again on San Geronimo day. All the men dance, in two lines. They wear a kilt; the body is painted "any color;" the hair is in queue or in braids, with eagle-down on the head; in the hand, twigs of yellow leaves. Bread is thrown.

#### Tanapotaana or Tanapoana<sup>172</sup>

This dance has been described as an Apache medicine dance which is danced at Taos non-ceremonially, or again as an "old Taos dance." It is danced during February-March. The war captains appoint the women dancers, notifying them at their houses, and if they do not come, the captains go to their houses to hasten them. There are several couples, man and woman, who represent the north and south sides of town, and alternate by moiety, one couple dancing at a time. There are two choirs. The north side use Big-earring kiva; the south side, Day kiva. At the first night practice the appointed women choose their men partners. There may be ten or fifteen couples to start with, and it may take three weeks until all have had their turn. They dance outside in the day time, at dance place C, but not every day, and there is night practice in the kivas.

The man and woman face each other, each moving along his or her line. They cross over, exchanging sides, and repeat. The man wears shirt and leggings of buckskin; his hair is in braids, with a single feather; he carries a bow and two arrows. The woman wears a buckskin dress and Taos boots; in her hair, eagle feathers.

The lookers-on call out "jokes" to the man dancer — "another man has taken your wife!" The families of the dancers throw buckskin, calico, bread, and fruit. The man dancer or his family may give the woman dancer a shawl. There are food gifts for the singers. A man tells me of how when his old grandfather was chosen by a woman as her partner, the whole family, daughters and son

170. This kiva is referred to in the tales as tōka or big, grand, great house. Here live the Fathers and the Mothers.

171. See Parsons 8:329; Parsons 3:7, 17. The Jicarilla Apache circuit is clockwise (Mooney, 198, 199).

172. Obsolete term which can not be etymologized.

and grandchildren, were preparing the food expected from him. The old man danced only in breech clout and his ornaments, beads, etc. — This expensive throwing dance was discouraged by the Agent. In 1922 I was told that people were throwing less; and in 1932 it was said that the dance had not been held for "ten or fifteen years."

#### Fiañitana (Old Feather Dance)

Danced in day time, a day in March, at dance place C. Any north side kiva may be used or the dancers may dress at home. The dance is not associated with any kiva. There is a choir, and men dance in two long lines. Their body is naked and painted as they choose. Feathers of any kind in the hair. They carry wooden or iron spears, with feathers attached; a quiver on the back.

This dance would be followed by Eagle dance or Horse dance.

#### Chiwutana (Eagle Dance)<sup>173</sup>

Two men dance like eagles, crouching down and jumping as if flying. Behind each is a girl, holding the men by a belt (two belts are tied together to give distance). In her left hand the girl carries eagle feathers, her "feather-flowers."

The whole skin of the eagle is over the dancer's back, as is the deer pelt over the Deer dancer, and the wings are drawn along the arms. The body is painted white, with downy feathers stuck on; the legs, yellow; the throat, red, like the eagle's.

There is said to be no ritual in connection with this dance. But as a Taos artist who is popular in the pueblo was not allowed to make a sketch, no doubt the dance is thought of as quasi ceremonial.

#### Kau'tana (Horse Dance)

The head and shoulders of a colt is in front of the dancer, the tail behind. Real head and hide are used and a saddle and silver bridle are mentioned. The rider wears buckskin shirt and leggings and an eagle feather war bonnet. There are a man covered with a dog skin and dragging poles travois style, and a little girl to sit on the poles. "Dog" and girl stand quiet alongside. A house is borrowed for the dance. "Dog," girl, and choir proceed from the Water kiva to the house where the "colt" is.

This dance belongs to the Water people. They furnish the choir and appoint the "dog" and the "colt" man. The "colt" man may be one of their own people or from another group.

The dance is a war dance; it belonged to the Sioux. "While Taos people were roaming the Plains before they came here, they met a small group of Sioux, and beat them in a fight. While some of the Sioux did this dance as a peace dance, the rest of the Sioux left. The Sioux gave the dance to the Taos people. It has not been danced for thirty years."

#### Tsalitsi<sup>174</sup>

This dance, which is called Peace dance by the Whites, is usually danced on the afternoon of the Fourth of July in the plaza of Fernández de Taos. There are two couples, a man and a girl about nine. The man acts mad. He is driven like a horse by the little girl holding like reins the woman's belt he wears. He careers about, the girl restraining him. He wears a war bonnet (xenmulo, hat hollow) and carries a beriboned stick.

Tsalitsi is considered to be the same Sioux dance as the Horse dance.

#### Tulta'ana (Sun Dance)

One man holds another by a lariat tied around his waist. Two couples dance. Any ornamental clothes. This dance was copied from the White River Utes. Aside from the name it refers in no way to the sun.

#### Zó'ametaana, Giving Away Dance

This dance that is referred to in English as Pony Dance was learned in Oklahoma, and derives from the Sioux. It is a high capering step. The distinctive feature is the bestowing of a bow and arrow by the dancer upon the looker-on or visitor, to represent the horse or other gift the visitor is to receive.

#### Zauwataana, Chief Dance

This was learned from the Arapaho. Among them it is performed by the chiefs, at the conclusion of a dance. At Taos it is danced merely by the young men when they want it. The dancers stand in line, and then alternately they face in opposite directions, linking their arms, still in line. It is a dance that is danced to please outsiders and once I saw some Taos travellers dance it for the ranch household at Alcalde.

#### T'awataana, Hoop Dance

This was introduced about 1928 by Albert Lujan and Juan Lujan, as a vaudeville dance.

173. Cp. Parsons 7: 205-207, frontispiece.

174. Or Tsalichi, Salichine, which is not a Taos word. Sarich is dog in Ute, and the Tewa who have the dance refer to it as Dog dance (Parsons 7: 223).

## RITUAL

## Prayer Feathers

As noted, turkey feathers (pia'ana), loose, are put out, k'iakilme (k'i, feather, akil, set or put out) for the dead, on the north (? east)<sup>175</sup> side of town. These feathers are put down by men, under a stone, with a little corn meal, i.e., first the corn meal, then the feathers, then the stone. Turkey feathers are also put out at the lake. Downy eagle feathers (pa'una), loose, are offered there, too, on shrubs.

Turkey feathers tied with commercial twine are offered to the Zatsina, in springs, in the river, in the lake, on the mountains. Both men and women offer these feathers. Eagle feathers and woodpecker<sup>176</sup> (Zaw'iatena) feathers, as noted, are put down "anywhere in the mountains" to Red Bear. These are tied feathers; feather and string rubbed with red ochre,<sup>177</sup> and all are bundled. Turkey feathers are thrown into the dam for the Water spirits (? Zatsina, Pako'anna); and a single turkey feather is offered to Wind old woman. A single turkey feather is offered with meal to the anthropomorphous stone images of the Day and the Old-axe Peoples (White). Turkey and eagle feathers are offered in the shrine of the Stone Men<sup>178</sup> to Sun, Moon, and Stars. To the spirits of the Stone Men are offered bluebird tail feathers and turkey feathers tied together.

For both Sun and Moon long downy eagle feathers (chiupa) with yellow (brown) tip are put down, loose. Such feathers were observed (on January 6, 1926) in a rough shrine of a few small boulders on the side of the road which is a continuation of the race course to the east. An eagle feather may be put down for Earth Mother, by a prospective mother.

Magpie feathers are offered to a dead deer.<sup>179</sup> Buffalo dancers wear eagle tail feathers and in a folk tale Buffalo is said to like eagle tail feathers.

Some people keep an eagle wing feather stuck into the ceiling near the door (I saw one placed in this way in John Concha's house) to protect the house — "the eagle is powerful."<sup>180</sup>

Meal or Pollen Sprinkling or Blowing:  
Food Offering

Meal and pollen (iaxune) are fed to the fetishes, and offered to the Water spirit Pako'anna, to Wind old woman, to Earth Mother, to Sun, Moon, Night People, or Stars. Meal and pollen together with red pigment were offered by warriors in the Scalp ceremony to the scalp. I surmise the offering is still made by the War chief.

Pollen is sprinkled on the Corn Mother fetishes.<sup>181</sup>

Corn meal is sprinkled on the ground for those dead from starvation, on the eve of the Saint's day dance. The place is called Nu'apalene, night meal.

Meal and pollen are sprinkled on dead deer and rabbits. Possibly the offering is rubbed on,<sup>182</sup> as it is on the animal heads after the Deer or Buffalo dance.

In cutting roof beams or corral posts, not firewood, meal is sprinkled nearby. It is sprinkled on the tree to be cut for pole climbing on the Saint's day. Meal is sprinkled in gathering kaolin. Maria told about two trips to Questa to get kaolin. On one, the young man asked for the kaolin with meal and they got it easily; on the other, they did not get much kaolin "because they did not ask for it." And Maria also opined in this connection that their pottery clay was poor because they never asked for it.

When the river is cleaned, as it is twice annually, from the up-river bridge to the Town, the men and women throw in meal with turkey feathers for the Water.

Racers, before starting, blow up (fot-siwa) some pollen,<sup>183</sup> to Sun,<sup>184</sup> and at sunrise,

175. Many loose turkey feathers, the banded feathers, were observed to be lying in a field north of the race track, just east of town.

176. This feather is peculiarly associated with the war gods at Zufi. A woodpecker or flicker feather is supposed to be worn through the septum of the nose of the war gods.

177. War god prayer-sticks and feathers are so reddened at Zufi and so are the feather strings at Jemez for Lightning. The midribs of prayer-feathers are painted red or black at Isleta.

178. See p. 104.

179. Magpie-tail boy (Kwaiyakwəōwiyo) is a conspicuous tale personage, usually as the husband or father of the Corn girls. He is a good hunter. To be sure, almost all tale heroes are good hunters.

180. We are reminded of Hopi usage, see Stephen, 94.

181. See p. 103.

182. A Taos visitor to San Felipe told that he and his wife were given prayer meal to go out with to meet the deer dancers as they came in. The Taos woman started to rub it on, "as we do," not throwing it as they do at San Felipe, and she stuck her finger into the Deer's eye. "I almost blinded that Deer!" she said. Afterwards in the dance when "that Deer" passed by them he would smile. — This anecdote suggests that women as well as men may "feed" the deer at Taos.

183. Presumably corn pollen. Cattail pollen which is gathered from near Chipapun, the sacred spring in the pasture, is also used ritualistically.

184. When the Sun's boys are to fly aloft seated on Red-tail Hawk they tell their uncles to blow corn pollen to give them strength to reach their Sun father.

in kiva ceremonials, pollen is sprinkled to Sun.<sup>185</sup> Racers also make an offering of meal and pollen (and feathers) to the stone fetish called Blue Water.

Food is buried with the dead and meal is put down for the dead, together with feathers, on the north or northeast outskirts of the town, and this meal offering is referred to as "feeding." Meal is taken out for the dead (ipalumeho) on All Souls. A person abroad at night and hearing a ghost would throw meal behind (or food). The ghost is one who died away from home and has not been fed.

To the altar is made a road of meal (piens, road; kōapüelepina, meal, coarse, road). This coarse meal would be ground for a chief by his wife.

The corn used to grind for prayer meal is the perfectly kernelled ear (iaana k'ōata-taxehōi, corn with-grains-on-top-end). When a man's Mother (corn ear fetish) is worn out, he will have meal made out of it. The corn ear which branches just at the top is called sōōnia, man corn. That which flattens out and branches further down the ear is called k'āeumawha'yiga, mother, her baby, in her arms.<sup>186</sup>

At meals, people drop food for Earth Mother, who likes boys, added María, because having no dress they drop crumbs. But bits of all the food eaten are dropped systematically in the refuse pit within the house door. Here lives Hiāey, Dirt boy, who is prayed to by hunters. A bit of the best part of the deer is dropped into this pit. "They feed him, pay him."

When eating out in the fields you would take bits of food and, dropping them, say, "I feed you here, my dear [?] fathers (anum tumenema). Send us a lot of rain and of corn!"

In the Scalp ceremony, before eating, the dancers took a pinch from each food dish and dropped it behind on the floor, an offering to Earth Mother and deceased warriors.

#### Fetishes: Shrines

"The things the old men keep wrapped up, we just call them walō," medicine. "The old men have some nice things, but you will never see them," was the comment of one man,

unaware of how much he was telling of the standards of value and of secrecy familiar elsewhere. More specifically there are the bundles, as noted, of the Town chief and of the Cacique — the itōmayakie, the things lived by.<sup>187</sup> Also the war bundle or bundles of the War chief and the anthropomorphous stone images of the Day and Old-axe Peoples — White Mountain and Summer Eagle-tail, also an image of Red Person,<sup>188</sup> who led the people up from the lake. All these fetishes are kept probably in the chief's house. In praying to the images one strews over them a turkey feather and corn meal.

There are Corn Mothers (iak'ana). To me they were described as perfectly kernelled ears of corn, of any color. Dr. White was told that the Corn Mother was an ear round at the butt and flattish at the tip; that it was wrapped in cotton and tied with cotton string; and that all the societies whose members are "trained" have these Mothers. It was not plain to me whether every "trained" man had a "Mother" or merely the society. The Water people appear to have a corn ear fetish called Lightning Mother. Liquid medicine and pollen are sprinkled on the Mothers.

A woman informant referred to the corn ear flattened at the top as Corn woman (iaziwena). It is placed in the store of corn. To this woman informant any use of the perfectly kernelled ear seemed quite unfamiliar.

Individuals own small stone images of mountain lion, bear and deer, found in the mountains or by one who is "lucky" in the paunch of a medicine deer or elk.<sup>189</sup> As María put it, there are "some deer who have stones in their stomach which bring luck." A stone mountain lion (xempaʔuhanema, lion eagle-down ? bundled) will be carried on the hunt, to help.<sup>190</sup> Downy eagle feathers are given to it, and pollen, and deer's blood is rubbed on it. Neither feather nor arrow point is fastened on.

Arrow points (papōchia, sky knife) are supposed to be shot down by lightning, where the lightning strikes. A woman may wear an arrow-point in her belt,<sup>191</sup> as at Laguna; and a pregnant woman will thus wear one during a lunar eclipse. An arrow point is placed on the altar of the Big-earring People.

185. Cp. Isleta (Parsons 8: 275-76).

186. This kind of ear is not fed to cattle, as at Laguna, as a fertility charm.

187. In the tale of magic flight the medicine bundle is called pōahanuna, tied up in bundle, in Spanish *virtud*, in English paraphrase "a little fortune." Little Buffalo has given the bundle to the fleeing girl "to tell the future by." The bundle served both to draw and to keep away the buffalo.

188. My informant said he did not know who was in charge of this image. Possibly this is the image of P'a'chale, Blue Water, prayed to by the racers, in the "disused" kiva.

189. For the ritual use of the calculus among the Havasupai, see Spier, 109.

190. Grant refers to a small image of a bear in black stone, to give strength in a fight (p. 96).

191. Or a man in a bag around his neck, with other charms, an elk's tooth, wood struck by lightning, etc. (Grant, 97). One informant asserted that wood struck by lightning would not be used for anything, "they are afraid of it."

There is one mountain shrine formerly visited by warriors and still visited by all the societies which is always referred to as "where the stone men are." The stone men (hayunu'<sup>192</sup>) were once human, "same as saints or Xachina." Here pollen, meal, turkey, and eagle feathers are offered — in connection with the races and the Buffalo and Deer dances, and prayers are said to Sun, Moon, and Night People.

## Altar (howitsöne)

There are ground paintings. The pigments mentioned are red (red hematite), yellow (pollen), blue (the pulverized blue flower k'upane), grey and grey-blue sands, and the yellow sand kuitena. The only designs we have secured are that of a corn plant emerging from the lake, made by the Corn Mother society (fig. 5) and that of

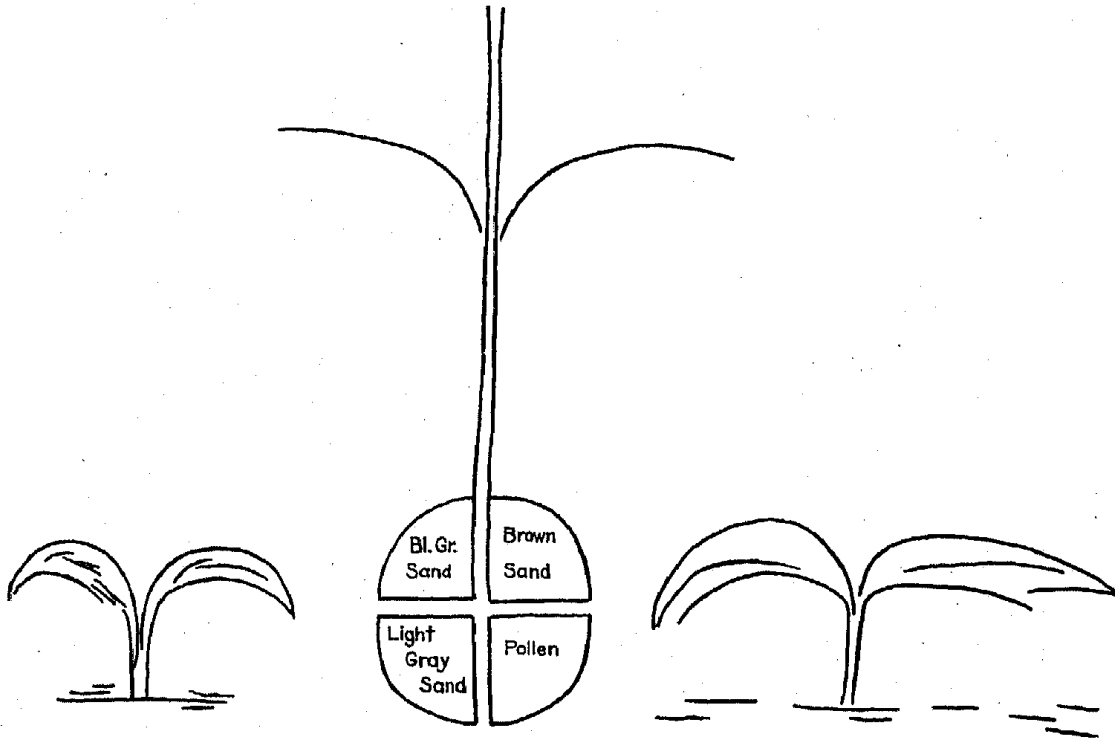


Fig. 5. Design on ground altar of Kuyukana Society. All lines are made with pollen. The "lake" is about two and a half feet in diameter; the corn plant growing from the "lake" is about four feet. Powdered green weed is pigment for the leaves of the two smaller plants.

References in the tales to footprints in stone and to the turning of a buffalo into stone suggest that there exist at Taos the same ideas as in the other towns on what we may call fetishistic boulders, rocks with indwelling spirits. Mentioned also is a rock on the road from San Juan to Taos, called sun stone (Xulhiwa) which is a "shining" rock for warriors.

All tales about Yellow corn girl and Blue corn girl and Magpie-tail boy say they live at the cottonwood tree or trees east of town, and basket makers are told to go there to pray to the Corn girls. These may be tale flourishes or they may indicate an up-river shrine. In the tales several places are mentioned as proper for prayer by hunters. Almost any tale personage may be addressed by a hunter, even Turquoise boy.

lightnings (upelena) (fig. 6) made by the Big-earring People.

In front of the Big-earring design, or altar lies a stone knife, "a real knife," eight inches long.

The usual corn meal road leads to the altar, which suggests the presence there of fetishes. Doubtless the anthropomorphic stone fetishes of the White Mountain People and of the Old-axe People are altar-set. I have been told that corn ear fetishes and animal fetishes are set on the altar; I have also been told that none is set there. Nor any medicine bowl (moluna). There are no painted altar slabs. But all information about altars was given so reluctantly that it is not at all reliable. It was even said that only the kiva chiefs have altars, the

192. The etymology is uncertain, possibly from hakwinu, waiting; "they are waiting for prayer." Sing., hayuuna, and from another informant the term was sounded 'kaiuuna. Cp. the Tewa term, kaiyé, which refers to shrine and to indwelling spirits.



"branches" have none, which seems hardly credible. However, I get the impression that altars are crude compared with altars in other pueblos. The crude character of the secular art indicates that there is little ritual art.

#### Circuit: Number: Orientation

The Round dance and the Scalp dance circuit is sunwise, as is the Peyote circuit. The circuit formed in a figure in the Saint's day dance and the Navaho dance circuit are anti-sunwise. A more significant expression of the customary circuit than the dance circle is the order of calling or announcing. This is east, north, west, south and "again" east.<sup>193</sup> East, we see, is twice mentioned, and this fact is related, I incline to think, with the use of five as favored numeral.<sup>194</sup> Five, not four: a striking departure indeed from Pueblo custom elsewhere, except among the Tanoans of Isleta. In the folktales the usual six directions, including zenith and nadir, may be mentioned. The directions are named töybaba', east; töyuka', north; töynawa, west; töykwita, south; kita', above; na'ta, below.

There is no smoking circuit, the ritual smoke is puffed up, down, and onto the altar.<sup>195</sup> The life-road (wapina) is towards the east.

There appears to be no directional association with colors, except in connection with the Zatsina.<sup>196</sup> Blue corn girl and Yellow corn girl, who appear in the tales, are not associated with direction unless implicitly in the fact that Blue corn girl is accounted the elder sister and named first, as she would be if associated with the north, with Yellow corn girl associated with the west, as in the color circuit of the Zatsina. Animals are not associated with direction nor are the six kivas associated with direction.

The conventional kiva greeting is: "There fire right hand, fire left hand, sit!"

Burial is head to the south, and people are afraid to sleep thus orientated.<sup>197</sup>

Anything cast away in exorcism is always cast to the south; possibly because the peoples to the south are so much associated with witchcraft, or more probably because of burial orientation.

#### Smoking: Incensing

Native tobacco is not grown, but there is a wild plant (pienfa, mountain stick) which is gathered and smoked as ritual tobacco (kla'anö).<sup>198</sup> It is hard to get. Every chief keeps a supply. Having to smoke this tobacco, which is very strong and makes people sick, has been referred to as a discipline used by chiefs against refractory members.

The corn husk cigarette is used in giving a doctor a smoke. No doubt it is used at other times.

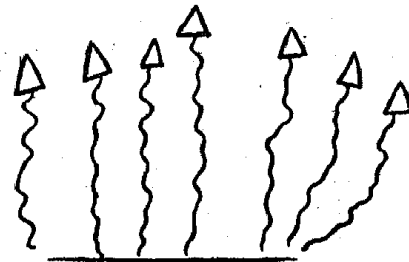


Fig. 6. Ground altar design of Big-earring People. Pigments: pollen, yellow sand, pulverized blue flower.

Smoke is puffed from a clay pipe<sup>199</sup> onto the altar. It is puffed up and down and then on the altar — "to give good luck for the ceremony."<sup>200</sup>

Buffalo skull is burned to make a smoke against drought or high winds or severe cold, and to cure for sickness from eclipse. Vulture droppings are also burned to smoke one who has lost consciousness. Patients undergoing peyote cure are incensed with cedar smoke, the Cedar man using a fan of eagle wing feathers. A man having to leave the tipi is also smoked on his return. On non-ritual occasions I have seen Peyote people direct with their hand the smoke from a twig of burning cedar over their head and chest.

#### Breath Rites

The rite of drawing in breath (ihanhotewa, hahotiwa,<sup>201</sup> breathe in) is practiced when one is "asking," i.e., praying. Its application in breathing in from the clasped hand of another, as at Zúñi, is unfamiliar.

193. The Isleta circuit begins in the east. At Isleta the fifth direction is compound, up, down, and in the middle.

194. See pp. 46, n. 60; 60, n. 106; 97, 112.

195. Which combination would be the "fifth direction" at Isleta.

196. See p. 110.

197. As they are at Isleta (Parsons 8:249).

198. Not to be confused with klana', dump, faeces.

199. Tubular clay pipes or "cloudblowers" very crudely decorated were found at the Llano or Kaiyunba ruin (Jeançon, 18, pl. 11).

200. George Law tells me he was once given a ritual pipe by Domingo Gonzalez, the War chief. Law gave the pipe to Matilda C. Stevenson and she sent it to the National Museum.

201. Hanemö, breath.

A person breathes out (ihataihoa) on anything he is about to offer.

The rite of forcible expiration (iha-xiameho) is familiar as a doctor's rite.

#### Medicine:

##### Drinking, Asperging, and Spitting

Medicine is drunk at ceremonials, from a gourd. At the conclusion of the Scalp ceremony a drink of medicine was given from a clay bowl to anyone wishing it.

There is at Chimayo, a Mexican town in the foothills of the Santa Fé Mountains, a pit whence clay is fetched by Pueblo Indians from great distances. The pit which is about three feet deep and six feet in circumference is in the floor of a room adjacent to the church. The clay is yellow and quite dry. According to the Mexican sacristan, Indians from all the New Mexican pueblos visit this medicine shrine; in the summer of 1924 there were two visitors even from distant Zuffi. There were visitors from Taos, I know, in the summer of 1924 and in the autumn of 1923. By one of them I was told that the medicine clay was rubbed on the person and also drunk in water. It is good for any sickness. "Once somebody came up from that hole and they built a house for him. Later they built a church further away and moved him there; but the next day he was back in his first house. They moved him again and again he came back. Now he has gone away," — plainly the generic Catholic legend of the walking saint.<sup>202</sup>

In the Scalp ceremony the War chief sprinkled medicine on the dancers, on captured war regalia, and on the scalp; and he had two men sprinkling medicine from the housetop in a final act of exorcism. During epidemics caused by Kliwana, Refuse Wind, such as measles, diptheria, or influenza, any chief may sprinkle outside the "life water" (waapahona) which consists of the red berry pow'ahöna, pollen, and the blue flower k'upana.

After death the house walls are sprinkled with medicine and the places in the house that had been occupied by the deceased.

There is a very common practice of spitting or blowing medicine in self-protection. People spit medicine to protect themselves against the yipana. A hunter spits medicine on an evergreen twig to brush over himself in exorcism, as well as on his wife's house-brush to brush over her.<sup>203</sup>

In one of the folk tales a warrior

spits out his war medicine in the direction of the approaching enemy to annihilate them. In another tale Gopher old woman gives the youth medicine to spit on the river to lower its waters. Similarly Spider old woman gives medicine to open the way into the lake. Another old woman spits medicine over her "grandson" to make him ugly, so the girls will not pursue him, and again, to make him handsome when he goes courting. Similarly with her medicine she restores eagle feathers and fox pelt that have been singed. In another tale medicine is spat out to make a pit trap; and in another to make a way underground. In a tale about a race between good boys and witch boys the good boys spit their medicine in the directions to bring rain.

Pollen (mawina) and squawberries<sup>204</sup> are used in medicine to spit.

#### Omen: Prediction

In curing, the doctor, Porfirio Mirabal, may let drop a large downy eagle feather. If it falls tip to the northeast (or to the east, according to another informant), the patient will recover; if the tip is to the southwest (or south), he will not recover.

For dream omens, see p. 68.

Coyote is a purveyor of omen. See p. 111.

Owl (kawena) likewise. During the influenza epidemic an owl "came talking" near María's house in which three persons were to die. At Questa there once lived a Mexican woman who would turn to an owl and tell the wives of men out hunting buffalo when their husbands were going to return home. The hunters did not like this. So one moonlit night they shot the owl in the leg. The next day they called on the Mexican woman and found her in bed with a wounded leg. There was also a Mexican man who could turn to an owl. Once he asked a hunter if he should bring him his wife's moccasins and the moccasins of the man who was sleeping with her. "No," said the husband. "You are not brave enough," said the Mexican. "Will you show us where there are elk?" asked the Taos man. So the Mexican flew away as an owl to look for elk; he found some and informed the hunters.... Owl feathers are not put to any use, people are afraid of them.

Inferably, weather and strangers, i.e., enemies, are the important subjects of prediction. In a tale of personal experience, a deformed girl is described as a clairvoyante and prophetess of rain and of the advent of strange people. We recall that Elk Heart, the blind man, predicted.<sup>205</sup>

202. See the Isletan tale of the saint of Chimayo (Parsons 8: 415-16). Clay cakes are sold at the mother shrine of San Esquipulas in Guatemala. Catholic medicine!

204. Called when used as medicine peaklöawana. The "sour, red berry bush" is called peakfemena. In tale the berries are ground into meal. The Squawberry Flower girls and the Corn girls, Yellow and Blue, have a grinding contest.

205. See p. 14.

203. See p. 39.

## Fasting: Emesis

During ceremonial or quasi-ceremonial periods there is a rule against eating foreign foods, "what does not belong to us." Wheaten bread is not eaten during a ceremony nor the day before. Nor is it eaten in a woman's confinement. Beef is not eaten during the ceremonials for rain or during the initiation of the boys. During the four day Scalp dance the dancers ate only Indian food.

There appears to be no taboo on salt as in the other towns, but there is a taboo on corn cooked with cottonwood ash.

An emetic of warm water is taken the morning of a ceremony. Vomiting is induced by a feather down the throat or by rubbing the stomach.

## Continnence

A man does not sleep with his wife during ceremonial nor the day before. On nights of dance practice continence is observed by men and women. On warriors before starting for war there was a taboo on intercourse or even touching a woman lest she were menstruating or pregnant. The warrior would get no strength from Earth Mother. The sexual behaviour of the old women towards the scalp was similarly to weaken the enemy. During the Scalp dance the warriors had also to remain continent.

In a tale about a fight with the bald-headed eagles Coyote old man is severely wounded and the Knife boys warn him not to come near his wife for five days, lest he get blood poison (!) and die. With his characteristic lack of self-restraint, at the end of three days Coyote slips under his wife's buffalo robe as she sleeps. The next day he swells up and dies. The Zuffi prescribe continence until a cut is healed and, inferably, a like rule holds at Taos.

## Vow

As noted, one who has been doctored by a society not his own, makes a promesa to become their servant for a stated period; also a person because of sickness may make a promesa to pay for the Mass (presumably other costs too, perhaps food contributions to the dancers) when Matachina is danced.

The society of the Penitentes, which is vigorous among the Mexican neighbors of Taos, is believed to be recruited by vow. The mother of a sick boy promises him to the society.<sup>206</sup>

## Exorcism

There is washing in the river after a burial, for snake bite, in curing by the Black Eyes, and in an act of general exorcism to "wash away" the time of "staying still" in winter. On this occasion the Big-earring man (Town chief) comes out, shouts, and plunges into the river. All the people follow, the men keep up the shouting until daybreak. During the period of "staying still" or of the winter ceremonial retreats, according to an Isletan observer, a sweat bath is taken every night by every one engaged in the ceremonial. The steam is from hot stones in water (Isletan, pakoamihio; water hot stone).<sup>207</sup>

One who has been touched in sleep by a ghost and has a bad dream might die of it unless he tell somebody who knows what to do and who would give him a small round bowl of water from the river, with pollen in it and squawberries to drink and dab over his body and sprinkle on his house walls.

Medicine may be spit on a branch of evergreen or on a house brush and the body brushed off. The evergreen is thrown to the south, the direction for casting away. The brush broom seems to be regarded as an implement for exorcising or protecting. See pp. 39, 84.

Exorcism against sickness is performed with eagle feathers by the Water kiva people in every house the evening of Holy Saturday. The exorciser passes one feather against the other with the characteristic Pueblo gesture of cutting or slicing four times, saying pa'an!

Ashes, it is said, are not used in exorcism. One of my informants was familiar with the use of ashes placed on feathers which are then passed one against the other in the gesture of discarding. He had seen this rite practiced at Santa Clara by the Kossa. They did it, he said, to spoil the snow and thereby prevent flood of which they are much afraid.

## Ritual Paraphernalia

The gourd rattle (chial) is used; for the most part unpainted. Turtle shell rattles were formerly worn in the Turtle dance, but in the performance I saw, bells had been substituted. Presumably the shell rattles have been sold out. The notch stick used in the Navaho dance is scraped with a deer horn. The performance is called sahuna stick scraping. Every kiva has its own drum, which is very large, with laced on drum heads of buffalo hide, and unpainted. This drum has a sacrosanct character, but I

206. "San Francisco was a bad man. He went up into the mountains to fast and abuse his body. He heard a voice saying, 'You are forgiven.' From that started the Penitentes." A neat bit of acculturation between the Third Order and, let us say, the Apache vision!

207. At Isleta the sweat bath is given only for paralysis, by the medicine society.

could get no information about ritual in drum making. Were a new drum to be made, "sure, there would be a ceremony." Individuals own small double headed drums, and for secular dancing a very small drum with one head has recently come into use. The drum stick is one ended, padded and covered with buckskin. I am told that the crook and netted drumstick is also in use. A flute is used in ceremonial and is said to have been used by young men in courting.

A doctor will be possessed of a crystal (pu na) for seeing witches, otherwise crystals are not used in ritual. Ancient stone implements are set on altars or tied on a patient's wrist. See pp. 59 n.92, 104.

There is a term for dance stick, tua-t'a, and a stick is used, I surmise, in the kiva night dancing, and has a sacrosanct character. There is no kiva standard, and no feather sticks are used as an offering. The characteristic offering are loose feathers, more rarely tied feathers.

Nor are pigments used commonly in offerings, as at Isleta. On altars pigments appear to be very limited, and in the outside dances both body and face pigmentation is notably meagre. Micaceous hematite (pöanemo) is streaked on the faces of Buffalo and Deer dancers, and on the Deer Mothers there is a band of another black mineral paint (hiu funena, black stone)<sup>208</sup> around the jaw, which has a particularly sacrosanct significance. Red pigment is got from the cave at Questa and is thought of as the Giant's blood. The cave is now owned by a White man. The "bunch," i.e., appointed kiva members, go for this pigment. One acquaintance told me he had visited the cave on his own to get some of the pigment to take to the Apache. I surmise that ritual paint is used on the face at kiva ceremonies. During one ceremonial period I recall a face which had not been washed very successfully and still showed marks of three short lines radiating from the corner of each eye. Water for ritual pigment is fetched from a spring, but no spring is associated, it was said, with any particular kiva.

Wrapped moccasins and the dark woolen manta are the array theoretically for the Ant's day dance; the Deer Women should wear the Hopi white blanket dress; the girls on the lake pilgrimage should also wear the dark manta. But mantas and wrapped moccasins are no longer to be had in town, and there is little or no effort to acquire them in trade.

On the other hand a good deal of Plains dance material is acquired in trade or reproduced — Kaiowa women's boots, which are high like the Taos boots but not as wide and without pleats, elk beard which is used in the headdress in the "Pony dance" or any other "show-off dance," and of course Plains war bonnets galore, eagle feather war bonnets, and shields with pendent eagle feathers. In vaudeville dancing, war bonnet, and kilt of cloth, silk or velvet, with ribbons everywhere, and under the knees bells with yarn form the chosen array — a garish and tasteless get-up. Recently a copy of a publication on Kaiowa dances has become available and from this book dance costumes are being copied, very cleverly. The feather discs are a great improvement on ribbons.

#### SUPERNATURALS

Sun (tul) and Moon (pana) are prayed to, and addressed, both, as father — our father Sun, kitâmena tulena, our father Moon, kitâmena pana. In Taos tale, as in Tewa tale, Sun as he travels places his sons on either side, the elder to his left, the younger to his right; and Sun gives a hunter's medicine bundle to his twin sons.<sup>209</sup> Hunters pray to Sun, sometimes to Moon. Moon is asked to bring the crops to maturity,<sup>210</sup> and to give buckskin clothing and buffalo hides. Earth (pö'ona) is referred to as "our mother for corn." A ritual term is kik'ana (our mother) nafetse'ukui'akwemu<sup>211</sup> (? "tender earth lying down").<sup>212</sup> Earth Mother is prayed to, at meal time by all, likewise by the deer hunter and by an expectant mother, in regard to the sex of the child. She is prayed to at the springtide ceremonies which I presume are held for the crops and at the autumn harvest ceremonies. She was prayed to in war.<sup>213</sup> She is not prayed to at the summer ceremonies — "then they pray for rain." She is given thanks.

The stars (pai'ana) are prayed to, as "our fathers." They were prayed to particularly by long distance runners and in war. The stars and inferably the moon are referred to collectively as pahewatsia taine, ever living people or, in English, the Night People. These were prayed to by the Piülenöma, the defunct organization associated with war. They are given meal, but no feathers. In war Morning Star (töba pai'ana or paxö'ana) was prayed to, prayed to make one alert and active and to be untouched by the weapons of the enemy. In a tale Morning Star kills the seven Red Heads so that the Corn girls can bring in the heads on a pole. Loose eagle feathers with corn meal and pollen were offered to Morning Star. Falling

208. The Hopi call their shale pigment "black stone."

209. See p. 75, n. 13.

210. See p. 85.

211. There may be still another term for Earth Mother. Maria called her by a term once in a whisper which I did not catch; I asked her to repeat. "It's very secret; I won't say it again," and she never would.

212. Kuika means lying down; kwemu means breech clout. Perhaps the word was kwamp, maiden. Kwemana is an obsolete term for woman.

213. See pp. 21, 22.

stars,<sup>214</sup> for their sweep and swiftness, were prayed to, in war<sup>215</sup> and today anyone seeing a falling star might ask for a strong life.

Big Red Bear (ikōāpaimu) is a war spirit, who is prayed to, for power and strength. Formerly they had "meetings" to pray to Red Bear, asking him to give them courage and bravery, and not to let them be overpowered by their enemies. They sang to him. The Big Bear People are referred to and presumably the defunct Piültōnena. Today any group (?) will offer anywhere (?) in the mountains a bundle of tied feathers, downy eagle feathers and wood-pecker feathers, to Red Bear, in spring and autumn. Red earth is rubbed on the feathers and strings. Rattlesnake was also associated with war, warriors asking the snakes for power. "Rattlesnakes are persons." With the War Twins of the other Pueblos I surmise that the Stone Men, the Hayunu,<sup>216</sup> are to be identified. They were "once human,"<sup>217</sup> and their shrine was associated with war. They give strength and life. These supernaturals "live" on top of Sulw'etunta, Bluebird-tail peak or height. Their shrine is probably below. Here, to the Stone Men, bluebird tail feathers and turkey feathers tied together are offered. But the Printed Red boy or Spotted Corn boy, who appears in one of the tales, is undoubtedly the familiar Pueblo War god figured as a kachina. Whether Printed Red Boy is merely a personage of Taos tale or figures in Taos ritual remains to be learned. A little boy who is described as an echo boy<sup>218</sup> also figures in a tale. Of Echo (Natunkwanaho) people ask clothing, at his shrine at the foot of Taos Mountain. Dirt boy, Higūy (Xiau), who may be referred to in English as Good fortune boy, is prayed to by "any one who wants to be a good hunter" or by a woman when her husband is away hunting. Dirt or Filth boy lives in the miniature refuse pit within the house door, and food offerings are made to him.

There are stone fetishes, lion and bear and human figures, paūhanenōma (? eagle-down bundles) that were "once human of some kind, turned to rock." Some of the animal figures, if not all, have been found in the paunch of a medicine deer (pāetoeyemu). My informant had such a mountain lion image, given him by his mother's brother, who had shot the medicine deer. — If a medicine deer sees you first, you are unable to shoot him; you must see him first to shoot him and get the contents of his paunch.

Mentioned have been the corn ear fetishes (kuyune), of which every initiate or trained boy has one, as his "mother." Inferably the Water people are possessed of a corn ear fetish which is called Lightning Mother.<sup>219</sup>

The Za'tsina,<sup>220</sup> equated by my informant with the Shiwanna of the Keres, are prayed to, and given prayer-feathers. They are Cloud boys; when it is cloudy people say, "The Za'tsina are coming." They are said not to be represented in dances, and they are not in charge of any particular group. No special group knows the Za'tsina songs. They are known to all the older men. The Za'tsina live under springs,<sup>221</sup> under lake, in the sky, on mountains. They are not the dead;<sup>222</sup> that is, not the ordinary dead. Once they were human. They came up "with all the others," i.e., with men when they came up from under the Lake of the Emergence, Pawe'kata. In connection with the pilgrimage to the lake we noted that the Za'tsina or Zachina are thought of as the supernaturals from whom all good things come.<sup>223</sup> In the tale of Spotted Corn boy, when the Zachina are tied up, it does not rain, and as soon as they are released it begins to rain. At Hail Creek "where the grandfathers live" a Zachina revives a dead girl who had turned into a rabbit. It rains and Lightning tears to pieces the dance kilt spread over the girl-rabbit. When they make pictures of the

214. Mahoawihoa paxōñana, sliding star.

215. One of the war supernaturals of Zufi is kyañawa, Water Star or Meteor which falls into the river. Cp. Wichita, Dorsey 1: 23.

216. Compare the Zufi term for the Twins, Ahayuta achi (both).

217. In the Emergence myth of the Jicarilla Apache the girl who was left behind conceives the elder boy by Sun and the younger boy by Moon. They destroy the early monsters (Mooney, 200-201).

218. One of the two war god boys of the Tewa of First Mesa is called Echo boy.

219. See p. 74.

220. Za'tsi means thunder. Of thunder one might say, Za'tsi tōōtōma, Thunder is scolding us. To Dr. Espinosa thunder and lightning were called Za'tsina (Zachina), good spirits, "like angels." To one going out to hunt people say, "May the Zachina give you luck!"

221. One of their springs is in the communal pasture (see p. 112). From the lake to this spring, which is called Shipapūn (Tsipapū), there is an underground passage. The Jemez Indians know about this "very secret thing" and visit the spring. "Once when we visited Santo Domingo," said María, "they thought we were Zachina because we came from Taos. They breathed from our hands and stroked themselves down."

222. "Maybe upright and good chiefs become Zatsina," and see p. 70, where it is cited that "those who always believe" (such as chiefs, t'unena) and men dying in the mountains become Zachina. "Maybe the women who grind corn for the offisi (ceremonies) become women Zachina." These women, according to one informant, are the wives of the chiefs.

223. In further illustration I recall that when María was telling about a man who had succeeded in shooting a deer with his single cartridge she commented, "Maybe Zachina or God were sorry for him and sent him the deer."

Za'tsina (when do they?)<sup>224</sup> the women Za'tsina or Zatsi liwana are represented with side hair whorls<sup>225</sup> and the men Za'tsina<sup>226</sup> with queue. The Za'tsina are orientated: blue in the north, yellow in the west, buff in south, white in east, blue and white in zenith, blue and black in nadir.<sup>227</sup> It was stated that there are no specially named Za'tsina, no individualized ones. There is no doubt that in the Za'tsina we are meeting the kachina-katsina-koko of the other pueblos. The so-called Turtle dance is the maskless kachina dance of the south, but there is no evidence that at Taos the dancers are considered to represent Za'tsina or kachina.

Among the masked figures of the other pueblos appears a bug-a-boo who disciplines the children.<sup>228</sup> When my middle-aged Taos informant was a child, Pien (mountain) Tsabaiyuna<sup>229</sup> also appeared at Taos, two of them at Christmas time. They came at night and visited from house to house. Sometimes they would dance around, with the little boy of the house, or the children would run crying behind their parents. The mother would say, "Don't scare my children! I will pay you." And the children would give a string of tsefaana bread made of sprouted wheat flour wrapped in corn husk.<sup>230</sup> "to Tsabaiyuna to pay him not to scare them."<sup>231</sup> Tsabaiyuna wore a buffalo hide turned inside out and drawn over head and face, with eye holes, also spruce around arms, legs, waist, and neck. The spruce collar was "his whiskers." He carried a whip of yucca blades. People might say to the children, "Pientsabaiyuna is under the snow, he won't come,"<sup>232</sup> or, "He is bringing deer for Christmas." Maria said that when an older girl wanted to find an opportunity to talk to a boy she might frighten away from her any children with her by saying that Pienchapaluna was after them. Maria, by the way, knew of the cave in Black Mesa north of San Ildefonso as belonging to Chapaiuna. She had heard about it from her maternal grandfather whose father was from Santa Clara. Chapaiuna was hairy all over, said Maria, and very big. He carried yucca

switches. When hunters saw his tracks they ran and hid. Maria's grandfather had once hid in a pine tree. But hunters asked Chapaiuna for deer. When Chapaiuna came to town he did not speak, but made the sign of the cross in the houses he visited, where the people would give him a string or necklace of bread loaves with a cross in bread. He made the people pray to him. Once Maria's uncle arrayed himself as Chapaiuna in a gunny sack and hairy mask. He came into the room where the children were and told them they must mind their parents. Their mother gave him bread.

Wind old woman (Wa'riu) lives at the middle of the world (papianta). She is mean and witchlike. A person with rheumatism will offer her meal and pollen and a single turkey feather. Wind old man (Wa'ru'zi) is also referred to; also Whirlwind (Zaipomooloona) of whom some people are afraid. One man told me Whirlwind was not a bad wind. Another said that Wind old man had died, otherwise the winds at Taos would be far worse. Kliwa (sweepings or refuse wind) is the terrible one, the "sickness man" who brings smallpox and other epidemics. He would lurk near the houses and of course people were very much afraid of him. Anciently he was visible, "an awful sight." He is or was exorcised by the chiefs with medicine water sprinkled outside.

Against disease and for health Paka'anna or Paka'anna, the River spirit, is prayed to. Paka'anna has other than curer traits. When he moves he may cause landslides, and he can broaden or deepen the river bed and send flood.<sup>233</sup> Once he changed the course of the river. In folktale Paka'anna is called to act as ferryman. He is described as having a big mouth, round yellow eyes, and a spiny body. Big water man, as he is referred to in English, was once seen near Glorieta by a townsman who died soon afterwards.<sup>234</sup> Other rivers as well as mountain springs<sup>235</sup> and lakes are the haunts of other paka'anna, I think, although just how generic a water spirit he is conceived

224. During the rain calling ceremonies, on the wall of an inner room of his house, a man might chalk a Zatsina; was the dubious answer.

225. A Zatsina head drawn for me by another informant had a hair whorl on the left side and the hair hanging on the right side of the head.

Kachina "babies" or dolls are unfamiliar, except to those who have seen them in the southern pueblos. Maria described one she saw at San Felipe in a miniature cradle board kept by its "mother" in her own bed and covered up and tended like a real baby.

226. Zachi soanenem. In tale they court the Corn girls.

227. I got the impression that the last two color directions were improvised. Another informant had no color associations with the Za'tsina, and he associated them all with the east.

228. Parsons and Beals, 498-99.

229. Also sounded Chabaiuna.

230. This is the "k'atsina bread" everywhere associated with the mask dancers.

231. Compare behavior towards the bogey masks of the Hopi.

232. Cp. Tewa, Parsons 7: 271.

233. See p. 113.

234. In the Emergence myth of the Jicarilla Apache this water being is a monster frog living in a spring immediately west of Taos. Frog sucked in everybody who came near. He was killed by the son of Sun (Mooney, 201-202).

235. See p. 99, n. 167.

to be is a little obscure. Although Pākōa-  
xanna is usually<sup>236</sup> described and thought of as  
a froglike creature, obviously he has sever-  
al characteristics of the horned water ser-  
pent of the other pueblos, particularly the  
flood causing Avaiyo of the Tewa, and in  
folktale, like Avaiyo, he punishes the Corn  
girls for rejecting his suit.

Spider grandmother takes her usual part  
of resourceful helper in the folk tales, hav-  
ing medicines for all emergencies. It is  
said that no offerings are made to her: "She  
is not paid; she is for everybody." Spider  
man (Paōyatsōanana) is referred to, as a  
good medicine man. Gopher old woman is an-  
other helper.

Coyote (tuw'ana) appears in the folk  
tales in his familiar rôle of arrant trick-  
ster and nuisance. He is also thought of as  
very wise and referred to as piato'lēna  
(pian, heart, to'lēna, wise, prophetic), pro-  
phetic heart. "Coyote knows lots." He  
knows in advance and he notifies of what  
will happen. To the south side of Taos, at  
a place called Pāḡadaka, deer jaw, Coyote  
will come and yell. Here if he yells once,  
it means that somebody is coming with a  
scalp; if thrice, it means the approach of  
enemies. With other news to impart Coyote  
may yell from other places. He foretells  
rain and snow. He is "the watcher in the  
mountains and the roamer of the plains."

The culture hero familiar in the other  
towns is not unknown at Taos. Miller recor-  
ded a tale<sup>237</sup> about one Piānkēttācholla which  
is undoubtedly a variant of the Poseyemu-  
Montezuma story of the Tewa and Keres. I  
could learn nothing of Piānkēttācholla or,  
as my informant translated, mountain point  
green, piānkōatacholwḡe or piāncholenā; but  
Poseyemu was a name familiar to him and he  
identified him with Red Person (Taipaena,  
person red) who led the people up at the Em-  
ergence. Red Person is mentioned in prayers.  
Possibly he is the stone figure called Blue  
Water the racers pray to.

Giant (taižana, person big) figures in  
the tales. The tracks of Giant are said to  
be on a rock<sup>238</sup> near Taos Peak, also on a rock  
up river, beyond Glorieta, where may be seen  
too the tracks of the Stone Men and of Coy-  
ote. Some of these "tracks" are, I infer,  
the pictographs (hiuw'ina, rock write) at  
Piaw'ialia'ya (road go up). It was the  
blood of Giant which made the clay red in  
the cave at Questa for red pigment.<sup>239</sup> Here  
Giant was killed by Lightning.

Warriors in the Scalp ceremony made of-  
ferings to deceased warriors. Taking out  
discarded dance paraphernalia, as in the  
Scalp ceremony, and bringing it "for those  
who have done this same work before" conveys  
a suggestion of an offering to deceased pre-  
decessors.

Ghosts (paxa'yaana<sup>240</sup> or paihaiana, dead  
making noise) or skeletons (p'osaa, pasaa,  
pl. pasaanōmo) are referred to. A traveller  
out late at night might have stones thrown  
at him, by paxa'yaana, but he would not see  
anything. If he have meal or food with him,  
he would throw it behind him. Persons dying  
away from home or in war become paxa'yaana,  
who make noises from want of food or drink.  
Once two men were out hunting, the story  
goes, and one of them returned to the  
night's camp for a forgotten knife, and did  
not see the knife but saw tracks, and where  
the ashes were scattered heard somebody say,  
"They were so mean they left little for me."  
Then he scattered crumbs for "this dead one,  
somebody killed fighting," to whom they had  
given nothing at his death, so he was going  
about hungry. There is in town a boy who  
when he is alone "sees things," and the p'o-  
saanōmo throw stones at him. He falls un-  
conscious (an epileptic?). One of the doc-  
tors is called in on this case.

A "true story" is told of a woman who  
came back from the dead (piuwaw'ealina, from  
dead come back). She died "but her heart  
was still beating, so they did not bury her.  
Her family sat there crying. After four  
days she sat up and said, 'Huwe'!' She said  
she had seen all her dead relatives. Her  
brother was sitting near by, making her a  
pair of moccasins for burial. She turned to  
him and said that she had seen him among the  
dead: he was burning in a flame and was as  
black as charcoal. 'If you were not a wo-  
man,' he said, 'I would club you to death.'  
Soon after that she died.... No, her brother  
did not die."

God or Jesus, Dios, is called wa'mōya;  
Our Blessed Mother, kikana milxina. San  
Geronimo, patron saint, is good to pray to  
for riches; he is muy rico. Also he is do-  
tor, doctor. I heard an amusing story about  
an unsuccessful appeal to San Antonio during  
a grasshopper visitation fifty years or so  
ago. "One May my father went out to his  
field and found grasshoppers on the edge.  
They were on the edge of his brother's field,  
too. So they went and got San Antonio and  
put him out there. When they went back to  
the fields in the afternoon they found San

236. In one case he is given a horn: a Kaiowa woman speaks of seeing a horned pākōaxanna on the bank  
of the Arkansas River.

237. Pp. 44-45.

238. In 1932 I was told that the rock with the Giant's footprints had disappeared, also a perforated  
stone said to have been shot through by the arrows of Montezuma, also formations like ears of corn. "Per-  
haps they have been taken by persons for their ceremonial business."

239. See p. 93, n. 131.

240. White was given this term for the noises made by the enemy dead or the scalps. Probably my in-  
formant had the scalps in mind when he talked of ghosts. He used the term tsaxō'apoa for talking and sounds  
made by the dead.

Antonio all naked. The grasshoppers had eaten all his clothes."<sup>241</sup> The pueblo was once possessed of an image of the Virgin of Guadalupe before the old church was destroyed. The image was taken to Fernandez de Taos. The Virgin de Guadalupe is its patron. The Council sent a "committee" to get back the image; but the padre refused.

#### COSMOGONY

As in other pueblos, the movements of Sun and Moon are considered of great interest. Races are held to give them strength to travel, and, as noted, the solstices are ritualistically observed. The Sun's house, to which he goes at the solstices, is frequently mentioned in the folk tales.

Solar or lunar eclipse (hialene?, or apapiwage, moon death) is viewed with apprehension; it means that "something is going to happen." At the last solar eclipse one of the school children on his return home told of looking at the sun in eclipse through smoked glasses, and he was sharply scolded. The year of the influenza there was a lunar eclipse, and between the two phenomena a connection was made at Taos, just as at Zufi. One year there was a lunar eclipse on the eve of the day the school children at Santa Fé were to return to Taos. The Governor telegraphed the school authorities to postpone the children's journey, and it was postponed for a week. The White Mountain society in Sun or Day kiva conducts an exorcising ceremony after an eclipse.

Morning Star (töba paiñana or tömpaxöñana) travels and is said to become the Evening Star (pieyexon paiñana, twilight star). The Pleiades are named makiuna. As at Isleta, Orion's belt is called Deer (pañemö),<sup>242</sup> and their position in the sky is referred to to tell time. "The deer are up." "In December they rise in the east, soon after dark. In October they rise late at night."

Creation or the Beginning throws back as usual in Pueblo Indian cosmogonies to an emergence from below, in Taos theory (as in Tewan) from beneath a lake,<sup>243</sup> paweñata, referred to by some as the lake of the summer pilgrimage, i.e., Blue Lake; but by others as Chipapunta (Chipafunta, eye dark) and placed at Monte Vista in Colorado. With this lake the spring in the pasture is connected and has the same name. See p.109 n.221. We recognize the Keresan term for the underground world, Shipapu, but in Taos opinion

the term is identified, I think, with the Black Eyes.

The Black Eyes came out first to see if Earth Mother was hard or soft. They found her soft and went back to report. Four times they came out and four times they returned with the same report. The fifth time they found her hard.<sup>244</sup> Miller writes, "Before the people came from the north, the earth was soft; even the rocks were not hard, so that animals left tracks in them which can be seen in the hard rocks today. All the ground was covered with water."<sup>245</sup>

The ancient people (yuanahent'ai)<sup>246</sup> were led by Red Person who is in stone today and is prayed to. I think he is to be identified with Red Boy of the Jicarilla Apache (Opler). The people came up with their kiva groups, "just as they are now." "With their names," as they are, they all came up. "They brought up with them different ways of speaking." This is identical with Jemez and with Tewan and Keresan belief, but the further Keresan-Tewan belief about life below, before the Emergence, with the Mother, is unfamiliar, I was told. It is unfamiliar, too, I may say, at Jemez and at Isleta.

As noted, there are, as elsewhere, esoteric migration myths; there are also popular references to early migrations. I got the impression that the emergence myth<sup>247</sup> was largely a record of place names. In connection with the Day people, White Mountain was specifically mentioned. These place names have to be memorized by the boys during their initiation. The movement was from the north, in many bands. They were always looking for Taos which they knew about "as in a dream," the English paraphrase for that looking for the middle place which is characteristic of other Pueblo migration tales. The travel is referred to as ibahöye'ahoa, on earth they were passing, i.e., not actually walking.

"When they came up, they split and went different ways" — again the usual explanation for other tribespeople or for ruined towns. To such splitting, attributed, as often, to feud, I have heard a more definite reference. After hearing the tale of Nasagi, I had said with some excitement that parts of the tale I had heard before, from a non-Pueblo people (Kaiowa). That remark impressed the narrator. Months later he dictated to a mutual friend this letter: "When the people were building the church they got

241. This story led to a current version of the recent Spanish revolution. "They say the grasshoppers came last summer in Spain and France. And they paid the santus with candles to take them away. The santus did not do it. So Spain wants to change their religion and to publish it. But France does not want to publish it."

242. But a better informed man applied this term to the Pleiades.

243. Cp. Miller, 42.

244. Cp. Tewa, Parsons 7: 146.

245. Miller, 43.

246. Potsherd is called yuanahent'ai d'iane, ancient people pottery.

247. Known to the Big-earring man and no doubt to many others. This was the "history" that Antonio Romero was writing and of which the posthumous manuscript was burned.



to quarreling and half a clan<sup>248</sup> went away to Arkansas and made a home.<sup>249</sup> I think you know where they are. The people here have always wanted to find them. If you tell me where they are, I will go and look for them." On inquiring whether it was the old Catholic church or the new that was abuilding at the time of this feud, it was stated that it was the old church; perhaps even the old church on the site of the present church at Ranchos, i. e., before Taos was built, when the people lived at the ruin near Ranchos. Here they began to quarrel, and "God changed all their languages so they couldn't understand each other." — Babel superimposed on Emergence-migration myth!

By another Taos man the lost people were also referred to and the Arkansas River was called pa'sapooná (poona,<sup>250</sup> river).

Several points of the Emergence story were paraphrased in English and told Dr. Espinosa as follows:

After the Indians came up from the Lake at Mount Blanca (White Mountain), where they had been created by our Father Sun, they scattered to the places Sun appointed. The Taos people came out by clans, each with the name it now bears. They were all to meet at the Canyon of the Red Willows. The Feather People (Fiadaina) came up first and travelled fast and built their first houses on the hills near Ranchos.<sup>251</sup> Then came up the Shell People (Holdaina)<sup>252</sup> and settled near the Colorado River.

One day a Holdaina came to a place where a Fiadaina was watching his deer. Holdaina said, "Why don't you kill the deer and eat their meat?" — "We don't kill the deer," answered Fiadaina. "Well, that is what they are for," said Holdaina. "It is for that purpose that our Father Sun placed them on earth. Our Mother Earth feeds them and if we don't eat them she will." So they killed a deer and both ate. After that the two peoples lived together.

Then the Water people came out. They were first fish. They came over the mountain streams to the Santa Fé River. Then they swam up the Rio Grande and up the Taos River and to the Ranchos de Taos Creek until they arrived near the place where Fiadaina

and Holdaina were living together. A Fiadaina girl went down to the river for water and saw the Water people in the water and ran to tell her people. When they came down they saw all the fish there standing up in the water. "Those are some of our people," said Fiadaina and Holdaina. Then they got some bean plants and gave them to two girls. They told them to strike the fish with them. They struck them and they all became people. They are called Water People (Badaina) because at first they were fish and lived in the water.

And then these three peoples or clans went to Mahwaluvianda (Taos Peak), where all the Taos Indians now live. And they knew that the other clans would arrive soon. The Fialusladaina (Big-earring People) arrived. They came straight to Taos. Then the Chidaina, Dagger (Knife) People, arrived. Then the Tholdeddaina (Tulte t'aine) or Pheholdeddaina (? Piültenóna), Sun People, arrived. Then the Fiadaikwaslauna, People of Feathers in Cold Weather (Old-axe People). Then the Talusa Fiadaina, Big Eagle's Feather People (Talufa, Big Parrot Feather). Then the Upele Godaina, Lightning People (Lightning-Corn-cob People.) Then the Theedaina (Tóó t'aine), Day people. The Theedaina were the last to arrive.<sup>253</sup>

In connection with Wind old woman the middle of the world (papianta) is referred to. As among the other pueblos, a mountain in the west is referred to as the Sun's house.<sup>254</sup>

The "last day" (u'tó'pala) is referred to, in English as "the end of the world." Inferably it will be through flood, for at that time the hot springs north and south of Taos are to boil over. And Big water man or Pákōāñanna of Taos River will play a part.<sup>255</sup> The last day will come as a result of neglecting the ceremonies, i. e., of irreligion. The Horned Water serpent, flood, and punishment are associated concepts among the Tewa and at Taos, with echoes from Zuñi and the Hopi. Are there echoes here too of the Hebraic Flood and Last Judgment?

The Catholic heaven is referred to as Wa'mōya tónata, God's house.

248. Note this misuse of clan for society, common at Taos; and the idea as expressed also in the Emergence tale, that people migrate by kiva group. As if they could!

249. In the middle of the seventeenth century some Taos families moved to the Jicarillas, at a place called El Cuartelejo, in the present Scott county, Kansas, but were subsequently brought back by Juan de Archuleta (Handbook, Taos).

250. Possibly the term for spirit, ghost, see p. 111. Poona is like the term for fish. Have we here references to the Zuñi-Tewa myth of the river crossed after the Emergence into which some of the children or people fell, becoming fish?

251. See p. 11.

252. My guess is that these are the PaZult'aine, Water-dripping or Foam People, or the Black Eyes.

253. In this list most of the kiva names are given, but the grouping is different from what I got, and Dr. White got still another grouping. See pp. 74-75.

254. See p. 78.

255. See pp. 46, 110.

## COMPARATIVE DISCUSSION

The ceremonial organization of Isleta is threefold: the Corn groups of matrilineal, pseudo clan type, the moieties, the medicine societies, plus the town chieftaincy, the war chieftaincy, the hunt chieftaincy. The Corn groups conduct the solstice or winter and summer series of ceremonies, likewise burial ritual; the moieties are associated with irrigation ceremonial, shinny play, and dancing; the medicine societies conduct solstice and weather, as well as exorcising or curing, ceremonial. An Isletan observer at Taos found there a replica of the organization he was familiar with, except that there were no medicine societies and the ceremonial weight of the Cacique<sup>256</sup> was less than at Isleta. He noted also that women did not go into the Taos winter ceremonials. This fact of itself indicated a high degree of differentiation between the Isletan Corn groups and the kiva groups of Taos. We note, too, that matrilineal descent does not figure in these groups. It is fairly plain that our Isletan observer was identifying the Isletan Corn groups and the Taos kiva groups because of their similar ceremonial functions, more particularly their December ceremonies. His observations on moiety are more baffling; for he insisted that there was just the same moiety classification at Taos as at Isleta — that there were the Black Eyes and a group not called by the Isletan term Shuré but corresponding to them; that the boy initiates of Taos were initiates into one or the other of these groups (one year they were Black Eyes, the next year the other group, the name of which he did not get); and that the relay races were conducted by these groups. Obviously the Isletan failed to make out the complex kiva organization and so misunderstood the character of the initiation: as for the races, they are by moiety, and the Black Eyes and the Bear People perform ritual. As red paint is associated with the Bear People they might readily have been identified by the Isletan with the Shuré or Red Eyes of Isleta.

Between the Scalps and ritual racing there is an intimate relationship at Isleta and Taos which does not hold elsewhere. In both towns the scalps have not the usual rain-making function but a function of vaticination. In both towns racing is of the relay type and its object is to support the movements of Sun and Moon. Racing and scalp ritual are the two most outstanding traits Taos and Isleta have in common compared with non-Tanoan towns. There are a few minor points too of this kind: the offering of ritual pigments; taboos against digging during a taboo period or of working out of town; the use of five as a favored numeral and in circuit; the male sex of the Moon; the com-

parative exclusion of women from ceremonial, for although they attend solstice ceremonies and some others at Isleta, there are several ceremonies which are too "dangerous" for them.

At Picuris there is a moiety system — the North side People and the South side People — which figures in the relay races and in kiva ownership. The moiety system is even more outstanding among the Tewa, emphasized perhaps by a twofold kiva system. With one kiva belonging to the Winter People and one to the Summer People, the dance groups are in particular dichotomized. The dichotomy of the Town chieftaincy is also marked. The moiety principle which shows in the Picuris-Taos system in kiva organization and in races does not appear to have seasonal expression, although if we knew more about the functions of the groups that have been referred to as Winter, Spring, Summer, and Fall Peoples the matter might take on a different character. However, we do know that the Winter People, who are the Big-hail People, are represented in both North and South side kivas, as are the Corn People who may constitute some of the other so-called seasonal groups. The appointment of nominees for secular office and of persons to dance positions<sup>257</sup> expresses a dichotomous tendency which should not be overlooked in comparing moiety at Taos with moiety among the Tewa or Keres.

Among the Tewa, the medicine society characteristic of the Keres and of Isleta occurs; also, meagrely, the true matrilineal clan, which is non-ceremonial. At Taos there is no evidence at all of clanship and strictly speaking no medicine society. But some of the kiva groups do have distinctive curing functions. There are in fact two curing systems at Taos: individual shamanism with personal fee to the doctor and no obligation on the part of either doctor or patient to any society, and group shamanism for injury by bear or snake (obsolete), where the patient is not taken into the curing group but serves them for a limited period, and for sickness in infancy where the infant is given to the group. Possibly the groups in which this happens (Black Eyes, Bear, ? Kuyukana) were borrowed, in part, from the southern pueblos.

What of the Kachina cult? The centre of the Kachina or Mask dance cult is at Zuffi whence it spread to the Hopi, to Acoma and Laguna. Among the eastern Keres and at Jemez, still more among the Tewa, it is readily recognized as a marginal cult. At Isleta, apart from the immigrants from Laguna, there is no masked dancing. There are kachina or *xiwane* dances, but they are maskless. It is therefore not surprising to

256. Incidentally I suggest that the ceremonialist at Isleta known as Kumpa may be historically related to the Water People man (Pat'aine) at Taos. Both have war functions and both are close to the Cacique.

257. See pp. 71, 90, 98.

find no kachina masks at Taos, and but a single kachina dance, as far as we know, the maskless Turtle dance, which is like that of San Juan or like the so-called Spruce dance of Isleta.

The Turtle dance belongs to the Water kiva People. I take it that less than a century ago and more than a half century representatives of this kiva saw the dance at San Juan and introduced it into Taos. There are three songs in this dance, but as noted there are other kachina songs, which are known generally to all the older men; that is, there is no kachina organization. There is none among the Tewa, the moiety chiefs being in charge of dance masks, etc. This may account for the fact that at Taos the Turtle dance belongs to the Water man who corresponds in a way to a Tewa moiety chief. It also accounts for the trusteeship of the Black Eye masks being vested in Water kiva. In the Taos Emergence tale the Water people are described as originally fish. This is undoubtedly a twisted fragment of the well known Pueblo myth of the children who became fish and then kachina. Historically, if not in current thought, the Water People are certainly associated with the kachina cult. I may add that the very name of one of their groups, Lightning-Cornear, is further evidence; for the *Zatsina* of Taos are the lightnings in name and concept.

The August pilgrimage to the lake is a kachina ceremonial, although in its aspect as a camp of all the adults of the town it is unlike other Pueblo pilgrimages to sacred places, to lakes, springs and mountain peaks, in which only males, and sacerdotalists at that, take part. However the ideology about the lake and the ritual as far as we know it are of the kachina cult. The association of the young boy initiates, the tribal initiates, with the pilgrimage is significant, for in other pueblos, the Hopi excepted, whatever tribal initiation there is is in terms of the kachina cult; i.e., initiation into the kachina organization is the most general, the most inclusive, of all initiations. The early age of the Taos initiates also points to the initiation as a kachina initiation. Tribal initiation for war would occur at a more advanced age.

What of the traditions that before they found Blue Lake, the Lake of the *Zatsina*, people went to Pañukena, the water-dripping or water-foaming cave to the north? Pueblo traditions rarely have historical validity, but they sometimes point to sequences, in ceremonial history, as in this case, I think; for I would suggest that the whole *Zatsina* complex at Taos has been borrowed, comparatively lately, from the south. Possibly the borrowing occurred when the Taos organization for war broke down. Then the initiation of younger boys was substituted for the war training of older boys. And the kiva or kivas primarily associated with war, Water, perhaps Feather, took up the new cult. A good many facts support this hypothesis. The association of Turtle dance with Water

kiva, the late discovery of Blue Lake or the Lake of the Kachina, the removal of the scalps or most of them from Water kiva.

The other hypothesis for the meagreness of the kachina cult at Taos is that it represents the original cult which came to be highly developed in the western pueblos but remained unchanged at Taos. In support of this there is evidence elsewhere that the ideology of the Chiefs of the Directions or of the Cloud boys underlies that of the kachina; and the Shiwanna or Storm spirits of the southern pueblos have some distinction, however confused, from the kachina.

In this connection, in the theory that Taos represents an early stratum of ceremonialism, we may glance at certain resemblances between Taos and Zuni. Each has six kivas into one of which all the boys are initiated; the initiation is tempered by the kachina cult, altogether at Zuni where there is a kachina society. At Zuni this society conducts the annual pilgrimage to the lake or springs of the kachina. At Zuni the kachina kiva groups, also one clown group, are associated with the rain priesthoods; at Taos the kiva groups are the rain making groups. At Zuni the rain priesthoods, at Taos, the kiva chiefs form the hierarchic council. In both towns the secular officers are appointed and controlled by the hierarchs, but at Zuni the secular officers work apart, formally. The rain priest of the North is the Zuni Town chief; the chief of the kivas of the North side is the Taos Town chief. The Zuni Pekwin corresponds in certain functions to the Taos Cacique. The war chief at Taos is the chief of the Bear society; the maker of the anthropomorphic images of the war gods at Zuni must be of the Bear clan; i.e., there is a conceptual relationship at Zuni between Bear and war. (Expressed also in the kachina cult.) But the foremost function of Bear at Zuni is that of doctor. Zuni has the Keresan curing societies. What was there at Zuni before the Keresan societies came in? Anything like the "branches" of the Taos kivas? If so, some of the minor rain priesthoods of Zuni, the two Corn priesthoods, the Horned Serpent, the Big Shell, might be survivals.

Zuni ceremonialism is an agglomeration of foreign factors which have been systematized and stylized by Zuni's remarkable genius for religion; but the sources are still recognizable — clanship with ceremonial traits from the Hopi, curing societies from the Keres, kachina efflorescence and considerable ritual from Catholicism. Take away all these introductions and we are left with a striking parallelism between Zuni and Taos in their ceremonial life.

Other general conditions have distinguished the two pueblos. Agriculture probably always counted for more at Zuni than at Taos, the climate is milder; and for a considerable time at least war and hunting have counted for less at Zuni than at Taos, the most bellicose and sporting of all the

pueblos. During the nineteenth century there was little or no direct Catholic influence at Zuñi; since the Great Rebellion the church has had an unbroken hold on Taos. And Taos has had Mexican and American neighbors; Zuñi, few if any. Zuñi was left unhampered in developing a system to control nature; its genius went into weather control by ceremonial, and into arts and handicrafts both religious and secular. An abundance of game animals made or kept the men of Taos hunters as well as farmers, and probably hunting ritual does not lend itself to as

elaborate a development as weather ritual. At any rate the ceremonial arts do not develop among hunters to any such extent as among farmers. Compared with Zuñi, Taos is backward in the arts; dancing, carving, painting, beadmaking, costuming, story telling (I omit song for lack of comparative analysis). In literary terms Taos is the Rome of the pueblos, Zuñi, the Athens. War with the roaming tribes and clashes with its Mexican neighbors directed the genius of Taos towards politics.

#### Comparative Social Organization in the Eastern Pueblos

<u>Taos</u>	<u>Picuris</u>	<u>Tewa</u>	<u>Isleta</u>	<u>Keres</u>
No clans (kiva societies) Moieties (kiva organization of North and South sides; Town chieftaincies; possibly in racing)	No clans (? kiva societies) Strong moieties (all inclusive patrilineal North and South side Peoples; kiva organization; Town chieftaincies; racing)	Feeble clans Dominant moieties (all inclusive, patrilineal Winter and Summer Peoples; kiva organization marked; Town chieftaincies marked; dances)	Pseudo clans Strong moieties (all inclusive; kiva organization; irrigation; shiny; dances; clowns)	Clans Moieties (kiva organization; dances; clown societies)
No medicine societies (curing functions attaching to kiva societies and to individuals)	No medicine societies ?	One medicine society in San Juan. Two medicine societies in southern towns	Two medicine societies	Several dominating medicine societies
Kachina cult without masks and with but one annual dance. Little kachina lore	?	Kachina cult with a few masks and dances. Some kachina lore	Kachina cult without masks, and with three annual dances. Little kachina lore	Kachina cult with many masks, many dances, much ritual, much lore

## VI. ATTITUDES AND TRENDS

In the foregoing discussion as well as in our preface we have noted the cultural distinctiveness of Taos together with its lack of many Pueblo traits. Now I would like to comment on some of its psychological attitudes and surmise about its future.

Standardization in all things, lack of individualization, is a pronounced Pueblo trait; individual experience is not sought; personal distinction is shunned; self-assertiveness is decried. This social attitude declares itself at Taos, declares itself very strongly, but is not accepted without protest. Individuals do assert themselves. "Let us go even together!" may be the voice of the Council, but the very fact that they have had to formulate their desire betokens the opposition they encounter. And they have had to jail, whip, fine, and confiscate to a degree unparalleled in other Pueblo circles where fear of gossip or ridicule is adequate compulsion to conformity.

I know of no more telling illustration of all this than what happened in 1931 in connection with the pole climbing fiasco on San Geronimo day. The pole is climbed, we recall, by the Black Eyes. Now one among them had excelled for several fiestas in this feat, Juanito Lujan. But this year he failed, with the others, and people were saying, not merely that the pole was too big or that Juanito had made light of the fiesta at another time by climbing a telegraph pole in a vaudeville performance for tourists, but that Juanito and his brother Albert had been bragging too much; that was why Juanito could not reach the top and was badly scraped, too. Claims to personal or family distinction met by ridicule; satisfaction over deserved discomfiture; and, implicit, the idea that boastfulness is dangerous — surely there is a clash here of Plains and Pueblo traits!

Taos people like to show off in a way other Pueblos do not. Not that Pueblos are possessed of modesty; far from it, they have quite as much conceit as other Americans, perhaps more; but it is a kind of social conceit, confidence in the ultimate or innate superiority of their own group, an English type of conceit, let us say, in contrast to the more personal vanity of the American. But at Taos there is personal vanity as well as group conceit. I once heard a kinsman of the Cacique remark mere-

ly to make an impression that someday he might be Cacique, and men tell you that they hold very responsible positions without of course telling you what they are. Powers, ritual or ceremonial, are hinted at, and personal prowess through supernatural control or contact. Only a very strong belief that these powers would fail if divulged keeps them secret; that and fear of severe punishment. I can almost believe what I have been told that "in the old days people were killed for telling." The elders know quite well that from their point of view it is dangerous to tell anything; but the younger men, ignorant that a lie can betray the truth, can not resist telling something, something which they think will mislead but nevertheless impress — Pueblo secretiveness and Plains braggadocio.

As might be expected, there is more White folklore current about Taos than about any other pueblo. Promiscuity on the pilgrimage to the lake; racing to elect the Governor — such we have noted. Then they tell you that red paint on the trouser leg indicates being engaged in ceremonial; that women used to wear Apache boots and their hair in Apache-like braids as penance; that smoke signals are used between town and mountains; that young people flash love signals by mirrors; that no houses may be built, no holes excavated, during the period of staying still so as not to hurt the earth, to let her rest; that the Deer women typify the feminine principle in nature; that a ritual fire is kept burning continuously on Taos mountain or in a kiva with a secret chimney. Some of this is from the White man's own imagination; but most of it is "what we tell White people," an indulgence in the humor of fooling them which is characteristic of all the Eastern pueblos, or it is deliberate camouflage like describing racing as electioneering or the pilgrimage to the lake as a three day rabbit hunt.

Camouflage may prove a boomerang; an idea which occurred to some of the more perspicacious elders who realized that the White man's talk about "wives" on the lake pilgrimage would militate against acquiring title to the lake and so, we recall, they planned to have accompany them a responsible White man to see for himself that all was as it should be. That he was escorted by the conservatives and turned back by the progressives is one of the humors of latter day

1. When I heard that this perpetual fire was kept up in Big-earring kiva by groups that took turns, I began to wonder if there was any basis of fact in the report, which is like one made at Pecos. There are a few hints of some continuous sun ritual at Taos. See p. 46, n. 59.

Taos history which can not be understood without knowing something of the history of the most outstanding family of the pueblo, the Mirabal family. What is more, the history of this family and the gossip they provoke express that mingling of Pueblo and Plains traits which we have been describing as fundamental in Taos psychology. The Mirabals are innovators and ambitious, and yet the pressure they exert happens to be conservative. In 1897 Merton L. Miller, a student from the University of Chicago, visited Taos and lived in the Mirabal household. He learned little or nothing about the ceremonial organization or the ritualistic life of the town. His household took care to arrange a hunting trip for him whenever anything was to happen of which he might observe too much. But Miller's visit and the book that he is known to have published (no copy ever reached the town, I think) have been held as a grievance against the family ever since, and a cause for hostile criticism. Miller's visit may have suggested to the family further relations with Whites. At any rate Juan Mirabal is said to have sold one of the masks of the Black Eyes to a White man. It was Juan's "turn" to look after the masks in their cave and he reported that one was missing. Gossip goes that Juan's wife told her "hidden friend" that Juan himself had taken this mask to town in a sack. "If the other mask was lost, we would not live," commented María. "Our children would die." Juan is not fearful for the life of his children, "because they go out of town," i.e., live independently of the pueblo. Juan's oldest son was the only Taos youth to enlist for the World War and now he works away. He wears his hair short and dresses as a "citizen." This is a reproach to his father. Juan Mirabal, we recall, now holds the chieftaincy of the Water kiva, a very important position; but because of the behaviour of his renegade son he is "breaking his power." He has promised the Council that when his son visits the pueblo he will make him dress Indian; when he is away he can not control him. This son, Antonio, was not "trained," and once when he went into a kiva night dance he was "chased out." His nephew, another Antonio, must be far more satisfactory than his son to Juan Mirabal. This nephew has served two or three times as Lieutenant-governor, which means that he was nominated for Governor and in the election was the runner-up. It was during his administration that the notorious raid was made on the peyote meeting, leading to confiscations and heavy fines. In their persecution of the peyote cult the Mirabals appear most strikingly as conservatives. Their motivation, however, is unquestionably family protection. The practice of Porfirio Mirabal, Juan's brother, the outstanding shaman of the town, is interfered with by peyote doctoring.

I surmise that it was not until Porfirio realized the danger of this competition that the active opposition to the cult developed. The doctor next to Porfirio in influence, Lorenzo Martinez, chief of the

Popta people in Feather kiva, may not have objected to the cult as his nephew, Lorenzo Martinez, was one of its leaders. One of the first victories of Porfirio and his following was turning the Big-earring man against the cult. Tomás Venturo, the son of the Big-earring man, was fire chief in the peyote cult. Lorenzo Martinez, the younger, was chief of the Big-earring kiva's Hail People. Nevertheless, they could not keep the support of the Big-earring man. He made his son withdraw from the cult, and Lorenzo Martinez was "put out" not only of his chieftaincy but of his ceremony. This was an unfortunate move, if not for Lorenzo, for the peace of the town, for Lorenzo is a fighter and clever. He was the first Taos boy to go to school at Carlisle. On his return he went into a printing office and set type in Spanish and in English. After some resistance he let his hair grow, however, and conformed to custom. A rebel at heart he must have remained. Once when he was to be whipped for not coming out to dance he stuffed his trousers with a sheepskin. After he rose from his knees without having felt the blows on his buttocks, he pulled out the sheepskin to flaunt his trick. Another time he broke jail through a window. These are a boy's tricks and Lorenzo laughs over them as might a college boy who has painted the statue red or made off with the clapper from the church bell. But since Lorenzo has been put out of his ceremony he has his back up against the wall, takes his rights as an American citizen, and may even advise others to do so. Withal Lorenzo has faith in his religion and its ceremonials; he would not change them or reveal them; peyote is merely an added good for those who like it, much as was or is Catholicism.

The peyote cult, I take it, satisfies the twofold character or disposition of the Taos people, of some, at least. It gives personal experience (the Plains urge), but the experience or expression is within a group (the Pueblo urge). Its introduction has been possible at Taos alone among the Pueblos because the vested interests it might compete with are not as strong as elsewhere. Porfirio Mirabal, the leading doctor, is influential but his power, his political power, is not to be compared with that of curing societies in other pueblos. The weakness of the Kachina cult at Taos is another influential factor in the acceptance of peyote. Elsewhere that efflorescent cult is an outlet for personal emotion, of course always within the group. At Taos the only strong expressions of this cult are the pilgrimage to the lake, and in part the training of the boys. It may be more than a coincidence that the Water kiva People, who perform the only kachina or quasi kachina dance and around whom kachina tradition gathers, is one of the groups outstandingly opposed to Peyote. Feather kiva, Porfirio Mirabal's kiva, is also a dance centre. If there were general kachina dancing at Taos as elsewhere, I doubt if Peyote would have been introduced.

To be sure, Protestantism has been introduced among the Hopi, where it has cut off even more drastically from their ceremonial life than Peyote at Taos. Hopi Protestantism is tied up with Americanization even more than is Peyote, and living off the mesa top is more disrupting in itself than living outside the town wall. When Hopi have become Protestants it is because they want to become Americanized; when Taos people become Americanized it is because they have been persecuted for Peyote.

It is curious, sometimes a little pathetic, how much the issue of Indian culture against Americanization is associated at Taos with dress and headdress. Recently a representative from the Institution for Enquiry into Political Relations came to Taos, and asked for a council meeting. Her main proposal, that the Governor should have more power, was of course very well received. She asked the Council if they wanted to have some control over the school. Yes, the children were not to have their hair cut and as they got older they were to dress Indian. More power also means to the Council more pressure against "Peyote boys," so another council meeting was called<sup>2</sup> and although the Peyote boys were all for compromise,<sup>3</sup> they were told that they could not get back that old bundle of confiscated blankets and shawls for less than \$25.00 apiece.

The Peyote boys are the most flagrant offenders in the matter of dress, also in not observing the rules of staying still in the forty day period (one of them drove his wagon into town at least once during this time, in 1931, nor did he move into town from his house outside the wall; and the daughters of two other Peyote men continued to work in the hotel); but there are others who break the rules. Joe Lujan, the Mexican halfbreed and veteran of the Spanish-American war, wears his hair short and does not convert his trousers into leggings or his boots into moccasins, and Joe, since he has married into the pueblo and resumed his kiva membership, has become interpreter for the Council and one of its representatives at the all-Pueblo council, of which he is president.<sup>4</sup> Antonio Lujan motors away to another state, taking his young nephew with him, during the ceremonial days. Antonio wears braids, but he does not emasculate his handsome English riding boots or well cut breeches, and although Antonio was put out of his ceremony, he is a member of the Council, an influential member, too. And during the ceremonial period did not Albert Martinez, chief of the Big-hail People, drive his own motor to Albuquerque with a "bunch of boys" to dance for the Mayor of New York,

when his Honor stopped off an hour to be made a "chieftain" of the "Thirty Tribes"?

Of course there is a distinction between motoring and dancing outside of town and within the wall; but how long can the distinction be maintained? It is against the rules to have a stove within the wall, a bedstead, a "white" dish, and yet in the houses of the "old men" themselves these things are used, as a "progressive" is quick to point out. A clock in the house of the head war captain! I noticed in my last visit that more houses are being built just outside the walls, and in their windows there are painted frames. Will that fashion spread, and then will larger openings be cut and window glass be used?

The more drastic the conservatism of the elders the more marked will be the escape of the juniors. More extra-mural houses, more absenteeism. "If the boys won't dance, whip them! Take away their citizen's clothes and cut out the seat of their pants!" That is the old men's program. And the young men stay away and marry away. The girls, too. The old men should remember that the mothers of these girls rode horseback and climbed mountains, as no other Pueblo women do, and that the great grandfathers of these boys were not so unlike the "roaming tribes" when they crossed the mountains to trade or fight or kill buffalo. Exclusion from the ceremonies or from the pilgrimage to the lake may be a hardship to middle-aged rebels, but it merely plays into the hands of the young who have learned to work for wages and to dance vaudeville, and do not want to imperil their jobs by attending ceremonials. Even the men who are employed by the Indian bureau at the pueblo, one as policeman (!), two as hospital workers, are afraid to attend their ceremonies lest they lose their jobs. And the young may show the same character as the old, the fighting Tanoan character. Indeed I think the break into Americanization will be more rapid at Taos than in the other pueblos. That Plains Indian quality of theirs lends itself to "citizen" mentality.

Shamanistic doctoring will readily disappear. Taos doctoring is primarily a personal or family affair; there is no general pressure upon any one to become a doctor. The young men will hold back from becoming assistants to their fathers or uncles. Take the case of Antonio Mirabal. Eloquent though he is about inspiring the young to observe the customs, he himself, gossip has it, is ashamed to sing as a medicine-man for his uncle. As for kiva or group doctoring, with the spread of American medicine, par-

2. Possibly this council would have been held irrespective of the commotion stirred by the visitor from Washington. The retiring Governor was a brother of a Peyote chief and it may have been considered a favorable time to get a hearing.

3. In this year they had held no peyote meeting during the season of "staying still."

4. A half Mexican is president and Pablo Abeita of Isleta, quarter Mexican, is secretary, of this all-Pueblo council!

ents will cease calling upon the Black Eyes to cure their sick infants, and the curing function of that society will lapse just as curing for snake bite by the Bear society lapsed with the first great step into Americanization, the cessation of intertribal war or raid. That was a very devastating circumstance for the ceremonial life of Taos, since it rendered at least one kiva group functionless, eliminated much ceremonial, and perhaps more than all eliminated opportunity for the expression of individualism. Here is another factor, by the way, to explain why the Peyote cult found a fertile soil at Taos, unutilized war energy.

From now on the Peyote cult may spread somewhat but even it, I venture to predict, will be found to be "too Indian." The buttons are not easily available; their use is not rife in the surrounding population, White or Mexican; and motor trips to Santa Fé or Albuquerque, to California or Kansas, are taking the place of those early prestigious visits to the peyote-eating tribes of Oklahoma. And then there is whiskey; that will win out over peyote, from present indications, for those who want both Americanization and stimulation. Besides, the cura opposes Peyote; the "Peyote boys" are not good Catholics; they do not attend Mass. (The hours clash, for one thing.) The cura, the chiefs, Americanization (once the cult has ceased to be identified with Americanization),<sup>5</sup> whiskey — small chance for Peyote!

The elders won their first fight on the "training" of the young boys; they will lose their next fight, which will be from within, possibly as a move to cut down on the period of initiation, possibly as a move to preserve greater secrecy. Some time ago I heard that a man was saying that he did not intend to have his young sons initiated, because through the boys "everything is told

to White people and those we ask (i.e., I to) won't listen to us if we tell to White people." At any rate more and more will not be initiated, and fewer boys will be given to the "branches" — that will mean the lapsing of various ceremonial groups. The selling of ceremonial paraphernalia to tourists or museums will go on at a quickened rate or revealing imitations will be made. Recently a kiva ladder was stolen and a kiva drum which was subsequently returned. The elders have had to suppress the making of fake fetishes which resemble the only stone images known to the exploiter, Blue Water or White Mountain. Ten years ago there was but one "curio shop" in the pueblo and the elders had made its owner remove his sign, but today the sign is back again and there are five or six other "shops." Solar observation will lapse; the American calendar will be substituted. The kiva groups will tend to become mere clubs, vaudeville dance groups perhaps.

Public ceremonialism will break down; but Catholicism will hold its own, will wax stronger, in fact, for with girls working out there are bound to be more intermarriages with Mexicans. Thus Taos will go the way of Rancho de Taos, the Mixed place, where Comanche is danced on its patron Saint's day and curanderos use Indian herbs as medicine and the old people believe in brujería — Rancho or any one of the countless "Indian" towns of Mexico.

How soon? Shall we say fifty years, mas o menos? Whatever the rate of change, the coming years should not pass unobserved by the ethnologist. May he be alert to take advantage of that psychological moment in the passing of the generations when the customs are still remembered, but little practiced, and a few old men are willing and even pleased to reminisce.

5. I am told (1934) that the Peyote faction voted in a block against the application of the Indian Reorganization act since the act would give more control to the Council.