

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XXVII

OCTOBER, 1952

No. 4

THE HISTORIC INDIAN PUEBLOS OF LA JUNTA DE LOS RIOS

By J. CHARLES KELLEY

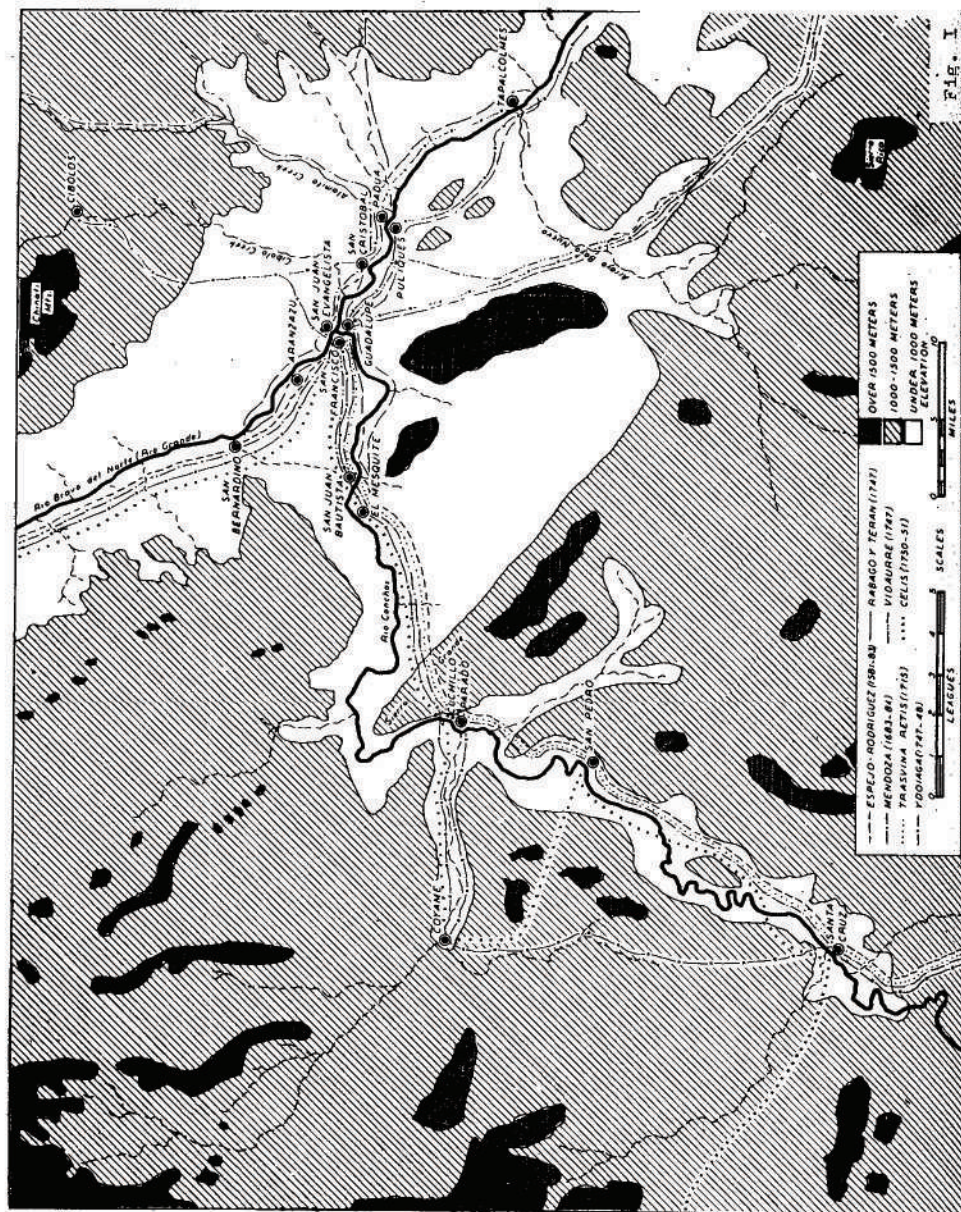
I. Introduction

THERE are many references in the Spanish documents of the early historic period to the Indian pueblos of the region of La Junta de los Ríos, the junction of the Río Grande and the Río Conchos of Chihuahua. The Spanish accounts provide an excellent picture of the Indian culture of the region and enable identification of the ruins of many of the actual villages described. These sites were located during the course of archaeological field work at La Junta in the period 1936-1939, and were rechecked in connection with archaeological reconnaissance along the Río Grande and the Río Conchos in the summers of 1948, 1949 and 1951.¹ Intensive excavations were made in two of the historic pueblo sites by Donald J. Lehmer and the writer in 1938-1939.²

1. The archaeological reconnaissance of the summer of 1948 covered the Río Grande Valley from the vicinity of Redford, below La Junta, to Fabens, near El Paso. The field work of the summer of 1949 included a reconnaissance of the valley of the Río Conchos from its mouth to the junction of the Río Florido, as well as the Mexican side of the Río Grande immediately above and below La Junta. Both of these research projects were made possible by research grants of the Institute of Latin American Studies of The University of Texas. In 1951 an archaeological reconnaissance was made of the difficult mountainous stretch of the Río Conchos between Julimes and Falomir, where the Orient Railway crosses the river. This latter work was financed by a grant-in-aid from the American Association for the Advancement of Science and was made possible by a research leave of absence granted by the Southern Illinois University. The investigations of 1949 and 1951 could not have been made without the excellent cooperation of Dr. Eduardo Noguera and the Government of Mexico.

[In order to make it easier for the reader to locate an *op. cit.*, I have inserted the footnote number where a reference is first cited by the author. Ed.]

2. Archaeological work in the sites includes a stratigraphic test made in the midden of Shafter 7:1 in 1936, together with other tests and a pit house excavation in the



In the present paper an attempt is made to summarize the documentary data relative to the location and characteristics of the various pueblos and apply this to the geographical and archaeological features of the La Junta region. This results in the identification of most of the La Junta pueblos, although the putative sites of some of those located on the Río Conchos have not been checked in the field.³

A summary of the archaeological and documentary history of the pueblos identified is likewise included.

II. Geography of the La Junta Region

The name of "La Junta" has long been used for the region surrounding the junction of the Río Grande and the Río

same site in 1937 by the writer and full scale excavations in 1938-1939 by Donald J. Lehmer and the writer at Shafter 7:1 and Shafter 7:3. The 1936 excavations were made under the sponsorship of Sul Ross State College of Alpine, Texas, and were financed in part by grants-in-aid from H. S. Gladwin and E. B. Sayles. The 1938-1939 excavations represented the work of the First La Junta Expedition, a cooperative project of the School of American Research, the Sul Ross State College and the Works Progress Administration. The final report on these excavations is now nearing completion, thanks to research funds generously provided by the School of American Research. During the reconnaissance of 1948 a pit house was excavated in one of the large La Junta sites near Redford, and tests were made in others. Farther up the Río Grande, another pit house was excavated. In the summer of 1949 the Archaeological Field School of The University of Texas excavated a pit house and several cache pits in the Redford site and made tests in several other near-by La Junta sites. During the Río Conchos reconnaissance of the latter part of the same summer, another pit house was excavated in a La Junta site on the Río Conchos a few miles above Ojinaga. Preliminary papers on archaeology and ethnohistory of La Junta already published include: "An Archaeological Survey of Texas," *Medallion Papers*, No. XVII, Globe, 1935 (pp. 79-84, Plate XXII, Map E, Tables 7, 9, 13), and "An Archaeological Survey of Chihuahua, Mexico," *Medallion Papers*, No. XXII, Globe, 1936 (p. 84, Table I, and p. 107, Map), by E. B. Sayles; "The Route of Antonio de Espejo . . . Its Relation to West Texas Archaeology," *West Texas Historical and Scientific Society Publications*, No. 7, Alpine, 1937; "Archaeological Notes On The Excavation of a Pit House Near Presidio, Texas," *El Palacio*, Vol. XLVI, 10, Santa Fe, 1939; "Recent Field Work in Texas: (1) Presidio," *Texas Archaeological News*, No. 2, pp. 1-4, Austin, 1940, and "Archaeological Notes On Two Excavated House Structures in Western Texas," *Bulletin of the Texas Archaeological and Paleontological Society*, Vol. 20, pp. 89-114, 1949, by J. Charles Kelley; "The Association of Archaeological Materials With Geological Deposits in the Big Bend Region of Texas," *West Texas Historical and Scientific Society Publications*, No. 10, pp. 73-81, Alpine, 1940, by J. Charles Kelley, T. N. Campbell, and Donald J. Lehmer. The earlier papers by Sayles were the inspiration for later work by the writer.

3. When this article was first written in 1948, the locations of Guadalupe and Cristóbal pueblos were not those given in the present paper. The error in the original interpretations resulted from misinterpretation of the records of one of the *entradas*. At that time, the author did not have access to the records of the Ydoiaga *entrada* of 1747. When these records were called to his attention, it was possible to correct the error in identification previously made. Thanks are expressed to Mr. John Manly Daniels for calling the Ydoiaga records to the author's attention. John Manly Daniels, *La Junta de los Rios and the Despoblado, 1630-1760*, Masters Thesis, The University of Texas, 1948.

Conchos near Presidio, Texas, and Ojinaga, Chihuahua. Roughly, the area in question is included in the triangle formed by Cuchillo Parado, some 30 miles up the Río Conchos on the west; Ruidosa, about 35 miles up the Río Grande; and Redford, some 18 miles down the Río Grande (Fig. II). The principal Indian pueblos of La Junta were all located within a radius of six leagues, or some 16 miles, of the actual junction of the stream.

Both rivers meander through alluvial flood plains averaging about a mile in width. Both streams change their courses from time to time in their winding through this sandy lowland. The Río Grande especially meanders in broad, twisting loops which are often abandoned to form sloughs and marshes (Fig. II). The low-lying flood plain was thus naturally irrigated and ideal for farming by primitive methods. Uncleared areas at present are covered with a thick growth of willows, cane, mesquite thickets and groves of cottonwood.

Adjoining the flood plain and rising some 20 feet above it is a low gravel terrace varying in width, where present, from a few yards to over a mile. The more or less level surface of this terrace is badly dissected locally by erosion. Head-cutting gullies in places have reduced its periphery to a jagged series of isolated promontories (Fig. III). The vegetation is typically mesquite, greasewood, and grasses with occasional stands of yucca and cacti. The modern town of Presidio, Texas (elevation: 2594 feet), occupies this terrace, and it was likewise the site of some of the historic Indian pueblos.

The main valley of the joined rivers is bounded for the most part by the steep gravel talus slopes of the high gravel terrace which rises abruptly some 60 feet from the level of the low terrace (Fig. I). The plane "desert pavement" surface of this high terrace rises in a long slant toward the distant mountains, here, with exceptions, some miles away from the valley itself. Actually, several terraces are represented, rising in steps toward the mountains and changing imperceptibly from true alluvial terraces to mountain pediments. A scattered growth of mesquite, greasewood, yucca, cacti and some grass is the typical vegetation of the high terraces. Near the river valleys tributary streams have cut

narrow valleys, floored with the low gravel terrace, for yards or miles into the high terrace, leaving between them long narrow mesa tongues, often isolated from the main terrace mass or attached to it only by narrow saddles. In places these mesa tongues extend directly to the edge of the flood plain or within yards of it. Such high flat-topped gravel mesas immediately adjoining the flood plain, or even the river, were the preferred location for the historic pueblos of the La Junta region.⁴

Two such long narrow mesas parallel the lower course of the Río Conchos almost to its junction with the Río Grande. On the southern mesa lies the modern Mexican town of Ojinaga, Chihuahua. Directly across the Río Grande from the junction a third such long mesa tongue extends almost to the edge of an old channel of the Río Grande (Fig. I).

About three miles south of the junction rises the northern crest of the jagged ridge of Sierra de la Cruz (elevation: approximately 4000 feet) which parallels the Río Grande for several miles below La Junta on the southwest. The rugged foothills of this range extend to the edge of the lowland, producing a badlands terrain unsuitable for village locations. Northeast of La Junta numerous small ranges or isolated hills reaching an elevation of 4600 feet parallel the Río Grande and encroach upon the river itself. Some 18 miles south of the river junction and paralleling the Río Grande for over 35 miles, the abrupt cliffs of the Cuchillo Parado ridges, the Sierra Grande (elevation: 5250 feet), formed a definitive topographic boundary to the La Junta area and its Indian villages. Twenty miles north of the river junction on

4. Ydoaga in 1747 asked the natives of San Cristóbal pueblo why they did not move their pueblo to the southern side of the river where it could be more effectively cared for by the priests. The Indians replied that this was impossible, since there was no suitable pueblo location on that bank in the vicinity. Their pueblos must be located on a hill close to the river, they said, so that they might have the materials for building their houses [timber, brush, adobe, water] and the necessities for their households close at hand and yet not exposed to destruction by the annual floods. They said that Cristóbal [which was located on the low terrace] was never flooded, even though it was situated directly on the river bank. ("Quaderno que comienza con la Carta Orden del Exmo. Señor Virrey, Gobernador y Capitán General de estos Reynos, de resulta de mi Consulta y Diligencias. . . en La Junta de los Ríos del Norte y Conchos, y sus Contornos" . . . por el Capⁿ Comandante y Comisario d^o Joseph de Ydoaga. *Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Mexico*, 89-2-3; Dunn Transcripts, 1746-1747, Archives Collection, The University of Texas, pp. 44/27-52/32. cf. p. 34/252-258).

the Texas side of the Río Grande, the Chinati Mountains rise to an elevation of 7800 feet.

The course of the Río Conchos from the modern town of Cuchillo Parado to La Junta has a direct bearing on the route followed by the various Spanish *entradas* and on the location of several of the historic towns. Southwest of the Sierra Grande the Río Conchos trends almost due northeast. Near the town of Cuchillo Parado it turns abruptly to the north for nine miles paralleling the ridge, then due east for four miles, then back again five miles south, completing a circuit of the northwest end of the Sierra Grande ridge. The Spaniards invariably cut across this loop of the Río Conchos over the ridge from Cuchillo Parado, a distance of some ten miles and involving several steep climbs of 1000 feet or more, reaching the river somewhere above modern Santa Teresa.⁵

At the end of the southward swing the Conchos again turns east by north for some 12 miles to the vicinity of Santa Teresa, and thence east by south roughly paralleling the Río Grande for nine miles, with a final swing through a low but rugged escarpment five miles northeast to the junction. Between San Juan on the Río Conchos and Porvenir on the Río Grande, the distance between the two rivers is only seven miles, and a climb of less than 500 feet intervenes (Fig. I). The Rodríguez and Espejo expeditions both crossed to the Río Grande at this point, and then followed down that river to La Junta.⁶

5. The Cuchillo Parado ridges, called the Sierra Grande, are parallel escarpments of incredible roughness. From the town of modern Cuchillo Parado the old short-cut foot and horse trail across the ridges is easily seen. This trail is still in use and is a much shorter route from Cuchillo Parado to the towns of the lower Conchos than the river trail. The people of Cuchillo Parado said that four hours of hard travel on horseback over this trail would bring one within sight of Mesquite pueblo on the lower Río Conchos.

In Fig. I. ((frontispiece), some of the routes followed are well known and the documentary evidence enables certain identification of landmarks, trails, etc. In other instances only enough information is available to suggest the general route. In such instances it is assumed that the expedition followed the well traveled route throughout. Return trips are shown separately only where a different route was followed, and no attempt is made to show on the map the direction of travel. The region has a much more broken physiography than is indicated by this map but it is impossible to show details of terrain and at the same time indicate the routes of the *entradas*. Accordingly a compromise depiction has been adopted.

6. Today a country road, easily traveled by automobile, follows this short-cut from Santa Teresa on the Río Conchos to the vicinity of Porvenir on the Río Grande. Only gentle slopes and ravines separate the two river valleys at this point. But be-

At La Junta the Río Conchos is by far the larger river. Above La Junta the Río Grande is often dry and the average annual run-off is very low. Thus, in the period of 1900-1913, prior to the establishment of Elephant Butte Reservoir above El Paso, the gauging station on the Río Grande just above the mouth of the Río Conchos showed an average annual run-off of 645,246 acre feet. In the same period the station just below the mouth of the Río Conchos showed an annual run-off for the period of 2,045,769 acre feet, over three times the run-off above the junction. Furthermore, no measurable run-off at all was recorded for 25 months distributed through eight years of the 13 year period at the station above the Río Conchos, while no months at all without run-off were recorded below the junction!⁷ Two other streams enter the Río Grande from the Texas side in the La Junta area; Cíbola Creek, an ephemeral stream directly below the junction, and Alamito Creek, a permanent but small stream whose mouth lies about eight miles below the mouth of the Conchos. Neither of these streams appreciably affect the run-off of the joined streams. Hence, the flow of the Río Conchos is vital to irrigated farming in the area. Significantly, all the major La Junta pueblos of the historic period were located either on the Río Conchos or on the Río Grande at and below the junction.

Thorntwaite classified the climate of the La Junta region as EB'd (Arid, Mesothermal, Precipitation Deficient)⁸ and Russell as BWhw (Hot Desert, Dry Winters) pointing out that the region although included in his Dry Climates has a frequency of 10 desert years out of every 20 years.⁹ The region therefore cannot support agriculture except through irrigation, and with the exception of a few *temporales* farmed in years of good local rainfall all the large

tween this point on the Conchos and La Junta the trail which followed the river valley crosses a series of precipitous ridges. Hence, the short-cut route to the Río Grande and down it to La Junta involved much easier traveling, although the distance was greater.

7. Based on yearly and monthly run-off figures given in *Water Resources of the Río Grande Basin, 1889-1913*, by Robert Follansbee and H. S. Dean, United States Geological Survey, Water Supply Paper 358, Washington, 1915.

8. C. Warren Thorntwaite, "The Climates of North America According to a New Classification," *The Geographical Review*, Vol. XXI, 639-655 (1931).

9. Richard Joel Russell, "Dry Climates of the United States," *University of California Publication in Geography*, Vol. 5, Nos. 1 and 5, Berkeley, 1932.

villages have been located near the river, and in all probability on the Río Conchos or the joined streams.

III. The Spanish Entradas

Although there exist many documentary references to the La Junta Pueblos and their culture, those which contribute most to our general picture of the number, location, size, people and culture of these pueblos include the sources for the *entradas* of Rodríguez-Chamuscado (1581-1582), Espejo (1582-1583), Mendoza-López (1683-1684), Trasvina Retis (1714-1715), Ydoiaga, Rábago y Terán, and Vidaurre (1747-1748), and Rubín de Celis (1750-1751). The *entrada* of Hugo O'Connor in 1773 and the reports of Nicolas de Lafora in 1765 and Tamerón y Romerál in 1771 also provide usable data. Cabeza de Vaca may have visited La Junta in 1535, but this is by no means certain,¹⁰ and in any case he mentions no specific pueblos.

The Rodríguez-Chamuscado Entrada (1581-1582):

Principal documentary sources for this *entrada* are the Gallegos Relation,¹¹ the Declaration of Bustamante and of Barrado, the Narrative of Escalante and Barrado,¹² and Obregón's Chronicle.¹³

For the La Junta region, the Gallegos Relation is by far the best account. The Obregón account of the expedition is a secondary source and appears quite faulty. The other accounts are short and contain few or no references to La Junta.

10. Authorities have generally accepted La Junta as one of the established points on the Núñez route. However, Núñez himself comments on the practice of stone-bolling and the lack of pottery at this location. *The Journal of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca*, edited by Fanny Bandeller, p. 154, New York, 1905. Archaeological excavations at La Junta apparently indicate the use of pottery there from about 1200 A. D. to the present. This either rules out the customary identification or else is a commentary on the relative inaccuracy of the Núñez account.

11. Relation of the Expedition and Events Accomplished by Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado . . . by Hernán Gallegos. . . . Translated by George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, "The Rodríguez Expedition to New Mexico, 1581-1582," *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. II, pp. 239-268, (1927); 334-362. Reprint in *Historical Society of New Mexico, Publications in History*, Vol. IV, 1927.

12. These three minor sources were translated by H. E. Bolton, "The Rodríguez Expedition, 1581" in *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1512-1708*, pp. 187-180, New York, 1916.

13. *Obregón's History of 16th Century Explorations in Western America*. Translated by G. P. Hammond and Agapito Rey. Los Angeles, 1928.

The Rodríguez party in 1581 marched from Santa Bárbara down the Río Florido to the Río Conchos and down the latter stream to the cut-off to the Río Grande near San Juan, en route crossing the Sierra Grande. They then followed the Río Grande to La Junta, after which they returned up the Río Grande and continued on into New Mexico, returning by the same route in 1582. The documents supply no information as to individual towns or their locations, although all of the principal La Junta pueblos apparently were visited. The Gallegos Relation, however, gives excellent descriptions of the people and their culture. One pueblo for example is described as

. . . a permanent settlement [whose inhabitants stood on the house tops to greet the Spaniards]. . . These houses resemble those of the Mexicans, except that they are made of paling. They build them square. They put up the bases and upon these they place timbers, the thickness of a man's thigh. Then they add the pales, and plaster them with mud. Close to them they have their granaries built of willow, after the fashion of the Mexicans. . . This pueblo had eight large square houses inhabited by many people, over three hundred persons in number.¹⁴

Rancherías of the Conchos Indians were found along the Río Conchos until the party reached the Cuchillo Parado region. Here they found the Cabris Indians, different from both the Conchos and the Patarabueyes. Leaving here they came to the Sierra Grande:

Marching down the same river we entered and crossed many very dense ridges that were traversed only with great difficulty by our beasts of burden. It became necessary to lift up some of them, because some rolled down and others became exhausted and collapsed. This resulted from our not knowing the way. . . . When we had descended the said mountain we came to the river, which was reached only after crossing the ridge. The sierra must be about a league across, but the difficult part is short, only about an harquebus shot across. This includes climbing to the summit and descending.¹⁵

The first La Junta Indians, called Amotomancos, were encountered shortly after the party descended to the Río Conchos from the Cuchillo Parado pass. Gallegos gives no figures as to the number of pueblos nor the size of the popu-

14. Gallegos, in Hammond and Rey, *op. cit.* [note 11], pp. 256-257.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 254.

lation, but according to Obregón the expedition found more than 2000 Indians living along the Río Grande in the vicinity of La Junta.¹⁶ The Río Grande valley was named the "Valle de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción."¹⁷

The Espejo Entrada, 1582-1583:

The Journal of Diego Pérez de Luxán, a member of the *entrada*,¹⁸ is the most important source of information regarding this expedition. Espejo's own account¹⁹ is brief and contains some obvious errors as does the second-hand account of Obregón to which reference has already been made.

The Espejo expedition departed from San Bartolomé, near Santa Bárbara, traveled to the Río Conchos, thence down the Conchos, apparently crossing the cut-off to the Río Grande, back down the Río Grande to the La Junta pueblos, and thence up the same river to New Mexico. On the return trip from New Mexico the party followed the Pecos river to the vicinity of Toyah Creek, and from there crossed to the Río Grande near Candelaria, thence down the river to La Junta and up the Río Conchos, retracing the journey of the previous year.

About 25 leagues down the Río Conchos trail from the mouth of the Río San Pedro they left the last of the Conchos Indian *rancherías*, which they had found scattered all along this section of the river, and entered the land of the Passaguates Indians, apparently in the vicinity of Cuchillo Parado.

Four leagues beyond they came to the first La Junta pueblo, that of the Otomoacos, on the Río Conchos, apparently at the lower end of the cut-off trail from Cuchillo Parado and in the vicinity of modern Santa Teresa. The second La Junta pueblo visited was that of the Otomoacos (?) at the pools of San Bernardino on the Río Grande five leagues above La Junta, apparently on the Chihuahua side at the end of the cut-off trail from the Río Conchos. The third pueblo

16. Obregón's *History* . . . , *op. cit.* [note 13], p. 280.

17. Gallegos, in Hammond and Rey, *op. cit.* [note 11], p. 256.

18. *Expedition into New Mexico Made by Antonio de Espejo, 1582-1583*, as Revealed in the Journal of Diego Pérez de Luxán, a Member of the Party. Translated and edited by George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, Los Angeles, 1929 (Quivira Society Publications, Vol. 1).

19. "Account of the journey to the Provinces and Settlements of New Mexico, 1583" by Antonio Espejo, in Bolton, *op. cit.* [note 12], pp. 161-195.

the party described was located at the junction of the rivers, on the Chihuahua side and on the northwest side of the Río Conchos. This was an Abriaches pueblo named Santo Tomás. The fourth pueblo seen, called San Juan Evangelista, was located one-half league from Santo Tomás across the Río Grande on a high ridge on the Texas side. Houses at the foot of the mesa formed a sort of suburb for this town. The fifth pueblo visited, named Santiago, was located down stream from San Juan Evangelista, apparently on the Texas side of the rivers, and was the largest pueblo discovered. In addition to the pueblos enumerated, Luxán notes that there were other cities and *rancherías* of the Patarabueyes both above and below the junction,²⁰ and Espejo estimated that there were 10,000 Indians in the La Junta region.²¹

The Mendoza-López Entrada (1683-1684) :

A mission had been established at El Paso as early as 1659 and the Spanish settlement there was greatly enlarged in 1680 by refugees from the Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico. In 1683 a delegation of Indians from La Junta visited El Paso and requested that missionaries be sent to their homeland and to the tribes of central Texas. In response to this appeal the Mendoza-López expedition followed the Río Grande to La Junta and established missions there. The expedition then pushed on eastward into central Texas, leaving a *padre* at La Junta to continue the missionary work. On the return trip the expedition followed the Río Conchos into what is now Chihuahua as far as the pueblo of Julimes, and then continued overland to El Paso. Although numerous documents dealing with the *entrada* are known to scholars, they add very little information to our knowledge of the La Junta missions.

The most detailed of the reports, the *Itinerario* of Mendoza,²² merely notes that at La Junta, named "La Nabadad en las Cruces," there were *rancherías* of Julimes Indians on both sides of the Río Grande, that the *rancherías* all had

20. Luxán, in Hammond and Rey, *op. cit.* [note 18], p. 63.

21. Espejo, in Bolton, *op. cit.* [note 12], p. 172. This population estimate is certainly excessive.

22. Translated by Bolton as the "Itinerary of Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, 1684" in Bolton, *op. cit.* [note 12], pp. 326-343.

crosses, and that the Indians were "versed in the Mexican language," and that they all cultivated maize and wheat.²³

In another of these documents, the "Representación" made by Fray Nicolás López to the Márques of La Laguna and the Count of Paredes in April, 1685,²⁴ there are additional data. López states that in the first La Junta pueblo visited on the Río Grande he found a grass church already constructed. In another pueblo six leagues further down the river he found a larger and better built church, also a house for the priests. Seven other Indian nations later built churches. Another notation mentions that there was only one priest for six pueblos. There were many Christian Indians; all of them were settled peoples who cultivated corn, wheat, beans, calabashes, watermelons, cantaloupes and tobacco. In the "Letter of Fray Nicolás López to the Viceroy" in 1686,²⁵ López further notes that the missionaries found two huts already built and then built four others, presumably one in each of the six pueblos, and that nine nations were administered,²⁶ and over 500 Indians baptized.

From the "Certificaciones" of Mendoza²⁷ supplementary data are obtainable. Mendoza noted that seven nations and more than 500 Indians were represented at La Junta and that six churches of grass and wood had been completed, presumably one in each pueblo. On the return trip up the Río Conchos, Mendoza states that they traveled eight leagues more or less from the junction of the rivers to a place of many people which they named Santa Catalina. The second day they continued up the river and apparently crossed the

23. *Ibid.*, p. 325.

24. Quoted in *Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas*. Translated by C. W. Hackett, Vol. II, pp. 349-352, Austin, 1934.

25. Translated in *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, edited by C. W. Hackett, Vol. III, pp. 360-363, Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C., 1937.

26. Included in the "nations" listed in all probability were the Jumano and the Cibola, bison nomads who traded with the La Junta Indians and were probably resident there during the winter season. (*Jumano and Patarabueye; Relations at La Junta de los Ríos* by J. Charles Kelley. Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Anthropology of Harvard University, 1948).

27. "Certificaciones," made at La Junta while en route from the Jumanos, May and June. "Autos Sobre los Socorros. . ." *Archivo General y Público de Mexico, Provincias Internas*, Tomo 37, Expediente 4, 1684.

Sierra Grande back to the upper Conchos, thence up stream to Julimes and overland to El Paso. Eight leagues from Santa Catalina and across the Sierra Grande, apparently at Cuchillo Parado, they noted an Indian *ranchería* which they called Santa Polonia. Beyond this, and ending at a distance of eleven leagues, they found a series of almost continuous *rancherías* along the river, apparently in the San Pedro-Vegas region, which they named Santa Teresa.

The Trásvina Retis Entrada (1715) :

In the spring of 1715, Don Juan Antonio de Trásvina Retis accompanied by 30 soldiers and a party of Indians from the pueblos of San Antonio de Julimes, San Pablo, Santa Cruz, and San Pedro de Conchos, escorted two priests to the La Junta pueblos to establish missions there.²⁸ The Indians were led by Don Antonio de la Cruz of Julimes, governor of the four Conchos pueblos, and by birth a native of San Francisco de La Junta. The party followed the Río Conchos to the pueblo of San Pedro near the Sierra Grande. This pueblo of Cholomes Indians had 190 occupants and cultivated many crops. Here the Spaniards were told that at a marsh two leagues away was the home of the chief Don Andrés Coyame, the ruler of all the Cholomes Indians. This is obviously a reference to the *ranchería* or pueblo later known as Coyame, or Collamé. A short distance farther down the Conchos they came to an outlying pueblo of La Junta Indians (Conejos nation) called Cuchillo Parado and re-named Nuestra Señora de Begonia, with 24 occupants (elsewhere given as 44).

Leaving Nuestra Señora de Begonia the party crossed a rough ridge at a distance of one-half league and then traveled altogether five leagues to La Cuesta Grande, at the foot of the main Cuchillo Parado ridge. The following day they crossed this ridge, following the short-cut route, to the Río Conchos at El Mesquite pueblo, 12 leagues distant. El

28. The records of this *entrada* including the rich diary of Trásvina Retis are reproduced in "The Founding of Missions at La Junta de los Ríos," translated by Reginald C. Reindorp, *Supplementary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Austin, 1938. The original document is in the *Archivo de San Francisco el grande, Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico*.

Mesquite, renamed Nuestra Señora de Loreto, was the first actual La Junta pueblo visited. About one league down the Conchos they found the pueblo of the Cacalotes Indians, re-named San Juan Bautista, and four leagues down stream at the junction of the Conchos and the Río Grande they came to the pueblo of San Francisco de la Junta, of the Opoymes Indians.

The pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu of the Conejos Nation, located one and one-half leagues up the Río Grande from San Francisco was noted although it may not have been visited. The Río Conchos was crossed by raft to the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, the largest of all the La Junta pueblos, in which were united the Polacmes and Sibulas nations, each with its own plaza.²⁹

Beginning about one league below Guadalupe and on the banks of the Río Grande, three other pueblos, located close together, were described. The description and location of the pueblos is given in vague terms and it seems likely that Trásvina Retis did not himself visit this group. The first pueblo of the group named, but not necessarily the nearest, was Puliques, renamed Señor San José; the second pueblo named was that of the Conchos Indians and was named San Antonio de Padua; the third and largest was that of the Poxalmas Indians and was named San Cristóbal.

In all, the total number of Indians supposedly counted by the expedition, or by the native chiefs at the orders of Trásvina Retis, was 1405, including 80 who were absent working in the fields of San Bartolomé, but not including 44 (24?) Conejos Indians of Cuchillo Parado nor the Cholomes Indians of San Pedro. The diary of Trásvina Retis gives considerable information as to the architecture of the villages

29. At least, he crossed either the Río Conchos or the Río Grande. The writer in earlier papers assumed that the river crossed was the Río Grande, not the Conchos. Castañeda (C. E. Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*, Vol. II, Chapter V, pp. 197-221, Austin, 1938) and Daniels (*op. cit.* [note 8]) also accept this interpretation. But the records do not identify by name the river crossed; this must be established by inference. However, in the light of the more detailed reports of later explorers who did specify their route in detail and with place names, the identification of the river crossed as the Río Conchos seems certain; Castañeda and Daniels, as well as the present writer, have misconstrued the general text. This conclusion is verified by re-examination of the original arguments by which the stream was identified as the Río Grande (*infra*, pp. 000.)

and houses, the native agriculture, and the disposition and dress of the Indians. At this time churches appear to have been standing in most if not all the villages, but in disrepair, and European traits were already conspicuously present, including dress, use of the Spanish language, agricultural products, tools, and perhaps irrigation methods, and some architectural features, to mention only the more obvious. The expedition ordered the rebuilding of the churches, left the priests and numbers of domestic animals and other supplies on hand and returned up the Conchos to the point of departure.

The La Junta Pueblos and Missions After 1715:

Following the expedition of Trásvina Retis to La Junta, the missions established there were maintained more or less permanently, with intervals of abandonment, throughout the remainder of the Indian period. Additional priests were dispatched to La Junta in 1716 and the missions of Nuestro Señor La Redonda del Collamé, Nuestra Señora Padre San Francisco, San Pedro del Cuchillo Parado, San Juan, and San Cristóbal were founded.³⁰ The missions were temporarily abandoned in 1718 but reoccupied shortly thereafter and not again abandoned until 1725. Following the Indian uprising of that year they were perhaps not reoccupied until 1732 or 1733, although the data are somewhat contradictory. In the latter years, however, they were reoccupied and certainly not abandoned again.

The Ydoiaga Entrada (1747-1748):

In the year 1747 three separate expeditions visited La Junta as a part of a plan for examination of the area between the mouth of the Río Conchos and the settlements on the lower Río Grande in Coahuila, and to determine the feasibility of placing a *presidio* at La Junta.

The first and most important of these *entradas* was that made by Captain Joseph de Ydoiaga.³¹ Ydoiaga's party left San Bartolomé on the upper Río Conchos in November, 1747,

30. "Declaration of Fray Miguel de Menchero, Santa Bárbara, May 10, 1744," translation in Hackett, *Historical Documents* . . . , Vol. III, p. 394-412.

31. Ydoiaga, *op. cit.* [note 4].

and followed the general course of the river toward La Junta. Some 29 leagues below San Antonio de Julimes the party came to the pueblo of Santa Cruz de los Cholomes located on the Río Conchos near present day Pueblito. This was an outlying La Junta colony recently founded by 299 refugees from Coyame, Cuchillo Parado and the Río Grande above La Junta.

The expedition then journeyed to Coyame and thence on to the lower Río Conchos by way of the cut-off trail over the Sierra Grande. A scouting party visited the site of Cuchillo Parado and found it deserted, as was Coyame. Continuing down the river the party came first to El Mesquite and then to the pueblo of San Juan Bautista, located four leagues across the hills from the canyon mouth and on the north side of the river. The Mesquite Indians had their lands on the south side of the Río Conchos opposite San Juan. The Mesquites had joined the Cacolotes of San Juan in this vicinity for protection against the Apache. Here also various Conejos and Cholomes Indians had gathered.

Continuing down the north (and west) side of the river for four leagues Ydoiaga came to San Francisco de la Junta, located, as it is today, just northwest of the junction of the Río Conchos with the Río Grande. The party then traveled one league southeast across two branches of the Río Conchos, just above the spot where that river joined the Río Grande, to the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. Continuing down the southwestern or Mexican side of the Río Grande the party came to the pueblo of San Antonio de los Puliques, three short leagues from Guadalupe, *en route* passing San Cristóbal, which was situated on the northeastern side of the joined rivers halfway between the other two pueblos.

Ydoiaga and his party were then conducted eleven leagues farther down the Río Grande to another fertile valley, obviously the Redford valley, located just above the head of a deep canyon through which the river ran. In the middle of this valley and on the northern bank they found the ruins of the former pueblo of Tapalcolmes, where the Pescados Indians had lived before going to Puliques. The party then returned up the river some 13 leagues and crossed to the

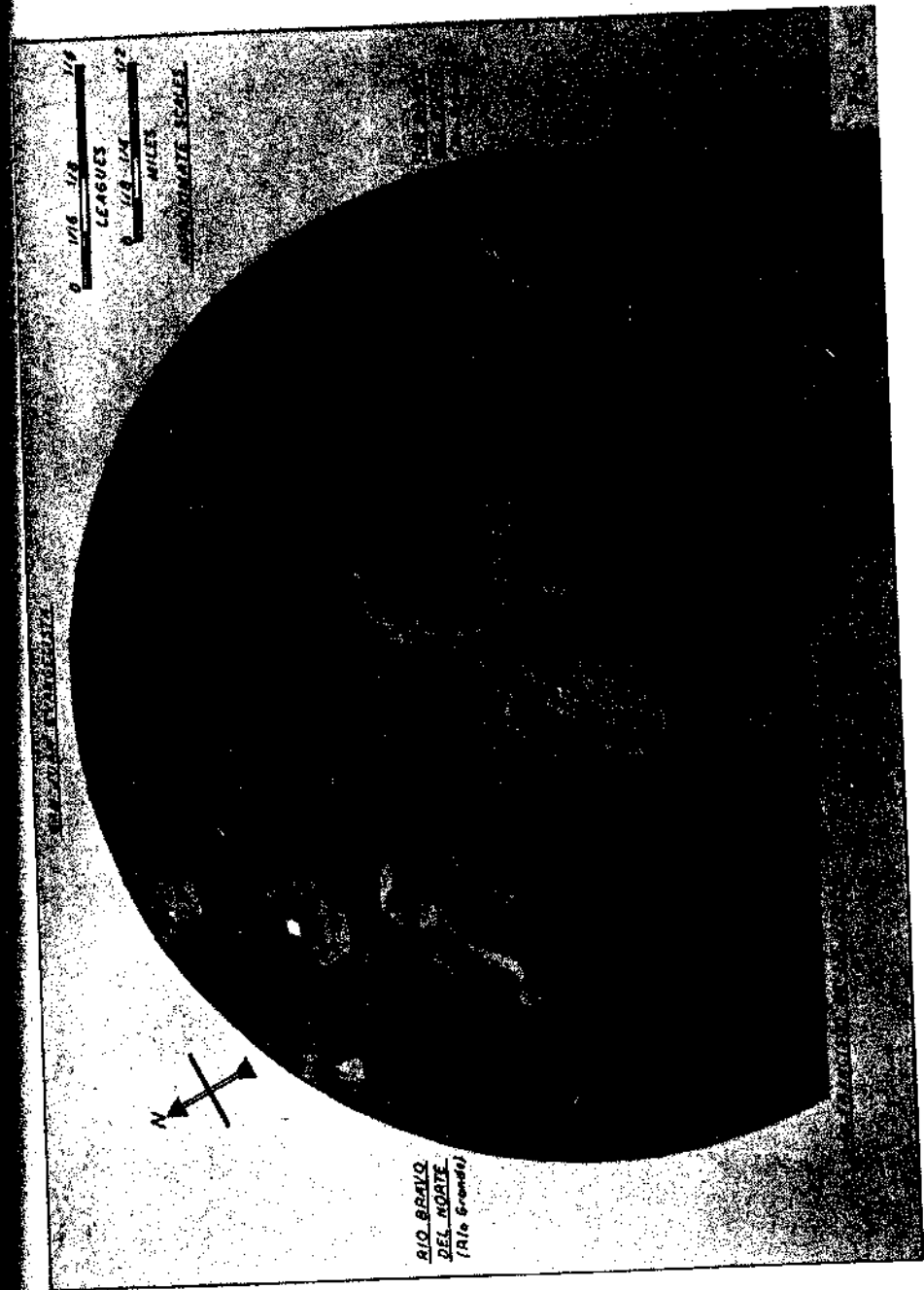
northern bank, above Puliques pueblo, to the pueblo of San Cristóbal, located directly on the bank of the Río Grande and midway between Puliques and Guadalupe. The Spaniards then traveled to the site of the former Cibolo pueblo. The ruins of this pueblo were found 13 leagues north and east of Cristóbal in a deep arroyo or canyon where a spring emerged from a high mountain. Traces of farming activities and adobe house ruins, possibly those of a Catholic chapel, were found here.

Ydoiaga returned to San Francisco pueblo at La Junta and after a few days made a long journey up the Río Grande to find and punish hostile Indians reported to be living at El Cajón. *En route*, he found an abandoned pueblo of the Tecolotes Indians on the Mexican side of the Río Grande about seven leagues above La Junta. No other pueblos, occupied or deserted, were found on the Río Grande above this point, and the remainder of Ydoiaga's journey up the river and his return is of no concern in this paper. After remaining in La Junta for some months and sending out various other scouting expeditions, Ydoiaga and his party returned up the Río Conchos to their headquarters.

The Rábago y Terán Entrada (1746-1747) :

An exploring party led by Don Pedro de Rábago y Terán, Governor of Coahuila, traveled across the mountains of Coahuila to the lower Big Bend, thence across the southern tip of that region, and then back into present day Chihuahua and through the Sierra Rica region to La Junta.³² The last two days of travel of this party brought them along the route now followed by the Ojinaga-Chihuahua City highway from about the vicinity of Chapó (or El Nogal) to Ojinaga, which was at that time Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. After camping overnight in the plaza of this pueblo the Spaniards traveled down the Río Grande to the Redford valley. In the middle of this valley and on the northeast bank of the Río Grande they saw the ruined adobe walls of a mission, which

32. "Diario de la Compañía executada por el Govern^{or} de Coahuila Don Pedro de Rábago y Terán en el año de 1747, para el reconocimiento de las margenes del Río Grande del Norte," *Mexico, Archivo General de la Nación, Historia*, Vol. 52, Expediente No. 6. Hackett Transcripts, Archives Collection, The University of Texas.



was said to be the old site of the pueblo of San Antonio de Puliques [actually of the Pescados Indians of that pueblo] where the Tapalcolmes Indians had formerly lived. Here the party crossed the northern bank of the Río Grande and followed the river upstream to the Pueblo of San Cristóbal located on the northern bank. Here the expedition crossed to the south bank of the Río Grande and returned to Guadalupe. On a later scouting trip Rábago y Terán journeyed to San Juan pueblo, located on the Río Conchos some five or six leagues from Guadalupe. Here on the banks of the river there were distinct groups of *jacales* in which lived the Conejos, Cacalotes, Mesquites, and other Indians. He then returned down the Río Conchos to San Francisco and two days later began his return to Coahuila, leaving the river in the vicinity of San Cristóbal and Puliques in order to follow a new route across the Big Bend and thence through Coahuila to Monclova.

The Vidaurre Entrada (1747-1748) :

A party led by Don Fermín de Vidaurre, Capitán of the Presidio of Santiago de Mapimi, traveled from Mapimi to Monclova and thence across Coahuila, by a slightly different route from that followed by Rábago y Terán, across the Big Bend, and back into Chihuahua, thence through the Sierra Rica area to La Junta, striking the Río Grande on the south side, between the pueblos of San Antonio de Puliques and Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.³³ The following day the party went four leagues farther up the Río Grande, past Guadalupe, crossed the Río Conchos to San Francisco de la Junta, and then went four leagues farther up the same river to San Juan pueblo where they joined Ydoiaga's forces.

The Rubín de Celis Entrada (1750-1751) :

In 1750 a party led by Alonso Victores Rubín de Celis left El Paso (modern Juarez) and marched approximately 71 leagues due south, following the modern Juarez-Chihua-

33. "Derrotero, Diario, y Autos Echos por el capⁿ del R^l Presidio de S^tiago de Mapimi D. Fermín de Vidaurre en Reconocimiento de las Marjenes del Río del Norte hasta los Pueblos de la Junta," *Mexico, Archivo General de la Nacion, Historia*, Vol. 53, Expediente No. 8. Hackett Transcripts, Archives Collection, The University of Texas.

hua City highway, to the vicinity of Carrizal, thence 15 leagues southeast to Hormigas, and then 24 leagues east to the Río Conchos.³⁴ Apparently most of the latter part of the journey followed the present route of the Orient railway from near Encantada to the vicinity of Pueblito on the Río Conchos. During the final stages of the journey the Spaniards were guided by Suma Indians who were *en route* to a new pueblo that had been established on the river.

The party went 14 leagues down the Río Conchos to this "new" pueblo, which apparently was located near modern San Pedro, if not on its actual site. This town was situated on the northern bank of the Conchos and just across a high mountain ridge from Cuchillo Parado, farther down the river.³⁵ The party then detoured over the mountains to the deserted pueblo of Coyame. A scouting party followed the arroyo down to the Conchos; across the river here could be seen the houses of Cuchillo Parado on the east bank. The Indian guide said that people of the same nation as the pueblo just up stream lived there. In subsequent days the expedition traveled 24 leagues east over the Sierra Grande and down into the meadows of the Río Conchos near San Juan Pueblo.

Immediately after descending to the Conchos valley the Spaniards saw *jacales* across the river on the north bank; soon thereafter they came to the outlying houses of Mesquites Pueblo on the south bank. A league and a half beyond they came to San Juan pueblo. This town was located on two small hills, divided by an arroyo, on the north side of the Río Conchos.

After leaving San Juan the party marched three leagues down the north side of the Río Conchos to San Francisco,

34. "Testimonio de los autos del reconocimiento fecho [hecho?] Río avajo de el Norte desde el expresado Río hasta las Misiones de la Junta de dicho Río, y el de Conchos, por el Capitán del Real Presidio del Paso Don Alonso Victores Rubín de Celis," *Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara*, Cuaderno 5, 136-67-3-30. Transcript in Archives Collection, The University of Texas.

35. Just above the small Cuchillo Parado valley the Río Conchos emerges from a steep sided canyon, the Cañon de Prisa, which cuts through a high mountain ridge. A winding, well-worn horse and foot trail comes down the northeastern side of this ridge following the river canyon on the southeast side. This, said the people of Cuchillo Parado, was the direct trail from San Pedro, located a short distance across the mountain ridge. It seems probable that this is an old established trail and that the pueblo was San Pedro. But if so it was not a new pueblo, since Trasvina Retis visited and described San Pedro in this location in 1715.

located on a short high hill which formed a point near where the two rivers joined. Across the Río Conchos could be seen the houses of the pueblo of Guadalupe, occupying the crest of another high hill overlooking the lowlands of the east bank of that river. The party did not cross the flooding Río Conchos but instead returned northward up the Río Grande to El Paso.

Late 18th Century and 19th Century Entradas:

The Spaniards finally established a *presidio* at La Junta in 1759-1760 at the time of the second *entrada* of Rubín de Celis.³⁶ Pedro Tamarón y Romerál in 1765 described the La Junta pueblos, adding some information of value to our knowledge of their location and history, but it is not clear whether or not he had personally visited La Junta.³⁷ In 1771 Nicolas de Lafora started from Chihuahua to La Junta as part of his tour of inspection of the frontier *presidios*. After having gone only a short distance however, he was informed that the *presidio* had been moved from La Junta to Julimes and consequently the trip was discontinued. Nevertheless, his comments add to our knowledge of La Junta at this late period.³⁸ In 1773 Hugo O'Connor made a tour of inspection of the border *presidios* and proposed *presidio* sites. He came to La Junta through the Sierra Rica pass from San Carlos and after a brief inspection of the deserted *presidio* returned to Chihuahua via the Río Conchos.³⁹ Numerous expeditions visited the portions of Texas adjacent to La Junta in the late 18th century and early 19th century but either they did not visit the river junction or else the data given regarding the La Junta pueblos in the documents consulted is negligible.

36. This statement is based on Castañeda, *op. cit.* [note 29], pp. 229-230. Castañeda does not give his source and the present writer has been unable to locate the documents of the *entrada*.

37. Pedro Tamarón y Romerál, *Demostración del Vastísimo Obispado de la Nueva Vizcaya, 1765, Durango, Sinaloa, Sonora, Arizona, Nuevo Mexico, Chihuahua, y Porciones de Texas, Coahuila, y Zacatecas*, con una introducción bibliográfica y acotaciones por Vito Alessio Robles. Biblioteca Historica Mexicana de Obras Inéditas, 7, Mexico. Antigua Librería Robredo, de José Porrúa e Hijos, 1937.

38. Nicolas de Lafora, *Relación del Viaje que Hizo a los Presidios Internos, Situada en la Frontera de la América Septentrional, Pertenciente al Rey de España*. Con un Limitar Bibliográfico y Acotaciones, por Vito Alessio Robles. Editorial Pedro Robredo, Mexico, D. F., 1939.

39. "O'Connor to the Viceroy, May 10, 1773," *Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara*, Dunn Transcripts, 1773-1741, pp. 91-93. Archives Collection, The University of Texas.

In the 1850's field parties of the U. S. and Mexican Boundary Commission visited La Junta and some geographic descriptions which they published are of value.⁴⁰ Other than this the reports of United States explorers and military men have not been found of value with regard to the La Junta pueblos.

IV. Archaeology

Archaeological reconnaissance and excavation in the La Junta region and the related drainage areas of the Río Conchos and the Río Grande have contributed many data regarding the La Junta pueblos and their locations. The general archaeology of the area is now fairly well known, although the details are as yet vague.

There seems to have been a long earlier occupation of the region, probably dating back several thousand years before the Christian era, by peoples with a primitive food gathering culture, termed the Big Bend Aspect. Sites of this culture are found primarily in the mountains and plateaus, especially in rock shelters, but there must have been some occupation of the river valleys as well. The last manifestation of this aspect, the Chisos Focus, represents a late cultural development, particularly well represented in the mountains surrounding La Junta, which shows influence from agricultural—pottery making peoples. This way of life may have survived in modified form in the primitive culture of the historic Chisos Indians.

Concurrently with the development of the Chisos Focus other peoples came into the region bringing with them a new cultural tradition, involving such traits as the use of the bow and arrow, snub-nose scrapers, and finely worked flake knives of stone. This Livermore Focus may have appeared as early as 900 A.D. Although the focus apparently represents the culture of a Plains hunting people, it must have played an important part in the development of the La Junta pueblos, because the lithic industry, including many specific artifact types, introduced at this time survived as the lithic tradition of the La Junta culture.

40. Major William E. Emory, *Report on the U. S. and Mexico Boundary Survey*. House of Representatives, 1857. Washington, D. C.

By about 1000-1100 A. D. a sedentary, agricultural, pottery-making way of life had begun to spread down the Río Grande valley from the vicinity of El Paso. By about 1200-1300 permanent villages of peoples possessing this culture had been established throughout the Río Grande and Río Conchos valleys adjacent to La Junta. Here developed the first phase of a specialized local culture which the archaeologists have called the Bravo Valley Aspect. This first village-dwelling culture of the Bravo Valley Aspect is known as the La Junta Focus, dated at about 1200-1400 A.D., and represents the most widespread utilization of the region by farming peoples. Most of the historic La Junta pueblos have debris of this prehistoric culture underlying the later ruins and refuse, and in addition there are numerous other village sites throughout the area that were occupied only during the earlier period and for some reason, probably arising out of ecological factors, were abandoned at its close.

The beginning of the second period of the Bravo Valley Aspect, the Concepción Focus, dated at 1400-1700 A. D., found the area occupied by sedentary peoples reduced to the immediate vicinity of La Junta, the Redford valley to the south, and the lower drainage of the Río Conchos above La Junta. This was also a time when new peoples and a new cultural tradition came into the region, bringing changes in house type, pottery type, and probably changes in the non-material aspects of the culture as well. It is possible that the Toyah Focus, a plains-type hunting culture employing the bow and arrow, a specialized pottery type, skin tipis, and other local specialties was the culture responsible for these changes. This focus is thought to represent the archaeological culture of the Jumano Indians, who enjoyed an intimate trade and friendship relationship with the La Junta peoples and perhaps should even be included with them. However the Jumano were plains hunters who at best only spent the cold winter months at La Junta, returning to the bison plains to hunt and trade when spring came each year. The archaeological remains which they left are inextricably mixed at La Junta with Concepción Focus there. It is possible that the Jumano, and the Toyah Focus, represent the advance

wave of Athapascan migration into the area, but on the other hand they may represent a development in *situ* out of the older Livermore Focus.

At any rate the Concepción Focus represents the archaeological remains of the culture which the Spanish explorers found and described in the La Junta towns in the 16th and 17th centuries. The documentary descriptions agree with and supplement the archaeological findings. As Spanish influence grew greater at La Junta, we find ever increasing evidence in the archaeological remains and in the documents of the progressive acculturation of the native culture. This period of Spanish-influenced native culture at La Junta, the mission period, has been called the Conchos Focus, and it is more or less arbitrarily referred to the 18th century, although the beginning date may actually have been as early as the time of the founding of the first missions in 1683 and the end of the period may actually belong well into the 19th century. The initial and terminal dates of such a period must be a matter of definition.

By the time the first Anglo-Americans entered the La Junta area in the middle 19th century, the native culture apparently was quite well integrated into the local Mexican culture, as it is today. Nevertheless, in pottery, house type, economy, and perhaps in many other ways the Indian elements survive in the modern Mexican culture. Ruins belonging to this 19th and early 20th century Mexican period are referred to the Alamitos Focus and are easily recognized and differentiated from the earlier Conchos Focus archaeological remains, although both contain historic artifacts.

V. Location and Description of the La Junta Pueblos

Identification of the exact sites of historic Indian pueblos is often difficult or impossible. It is through a fortunate combination of circumstances that the sites of most of the La Junta pueblos can be identified with some assurance of accuracy. First of all, the physiography of the region is bold; there are many lasting and outstanding features in the landscape which form sure landmarks. Thus, the exact location of the junction of the Río Conchos and the Río Grande is not

static, but shifts from time to time. But the range of shifting of both rivers is restricted by the gravel mesas which enclose them on either hand. The outstanding landmarks are geologically much older than any of the cultural remains and apparently have changed very little in appearance during the last thousand years or so. Even the shifting courses of the rivers are imprinted indelibly on the valley floor in the form of old abandoned channels.

Secondly, several of the pueblos still exist today as Mexican towns and have the same name by which they were known in the 18th Century. The locations of these towns correspond to the descriptions given in the documents and provide both a check on the accuracy of the records and specific anchors to which the other town locations may be tied. Thirdly, not one but several *entradas* described most of the pueblos; the combined records check and supplement individual descriptions. Fourthly, archaeological sites by virtue of their nature and location are easily discovered in this region and it seems sure that the sites of the great majority of both late prehistoric and historic villages of this culture have been located. Most of these prove to have been continuously occupied over several centuries throughout the existence of the Bravo Valley Aspect and those that survived into the historic period carry sure signs of the historic occupation on their exposed surfaces. This factor reduces the potential locations of the pueblos to a small number of choices, or only one in specific cases, and coupled with the landmarks in each instance makes specific identifications possible and dependable. Furthermore, the permanence of occupation indicated by the archaeological deposits disposes of the suggestion that the principal villages were transitory *rancherías* moved from spot to spot over the years.

Where there is an archaeological site of the historic period in the proper physiographic location and in the specified spatial relation to other towns, and no other sites of the appropriate period exist in similar locations in the vicinity, and especially when the town still bears the name of the former Indian pueblo, there can be little doubt of its identification. But when any of these lines of evidence are lacking,

fragmentary or contradictory, or if they are inferential and not specific, then there may be reason to doubt the identification proposed, and at best the probability of an accurate identification having been made is decreased accordingly. Several of the principal La Junta pueblo sites have been located with fair assurance as indicated in the following pages, but in some instances there must remain doubt.

San Antonio de Julimes ("El Xacal"?):

Julimes is not usually classed among the La Junta pueblos, and strictly speaking should not be so identified. But the Julimes Indians themselves represent one of the main ethnic elements in the aboriginal La Junta population; the governor of Julimes on occasion originally came from San Francisco de La Junta, and there remained a strong bond between Julimes and the river junction towns. There is even some evidence that San Antonio de Julimes was a colony founded in the middle 17th century by Julimes Indians who came from La Junta to work in the plantations and mines of the upper Río Conchos.⁴¹ For that reason it will be considered briefly in this report.

The Rodríguez and Espejo *entradas* found the Río Conchos above Cuchillo Parado occupied by the Conchos Indians. On the Río Conchos two leagues below the mouth of the Río San Pedro, approximately at the present location of modern Julimes, Chihuahua, the Espejo expedition halted at a place called "El Xacal." Luxán states that it was given this name because Lope de Aristi, captain from Santa Bárbara, took captives there and built a *jacal* hut in which to protect his prisoners from the rain. Here the Espejo expedition found a cross marking the grave of Captain Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado, the leader of the Rodríguez expedition, who had been buried here earlier, the same year.⁴²

When Mendoza came up the Río Conchos from La Junta *en route* to El Paso in 1684 he found the pueblo of San Antonio de Julimes in approximately its present location, settled with Christian Indians, and long enough established to have

41. "Notes on Julimes, Chihuahua," by J. Charles Kelley. *El Palacio*, Vol. 56, No. 12, pp. 358-361, December, 1949.

42. Luxán, in Hammond and Rey, *op. cit.* [note 18], p. 52.

an adobe church in the plaza.⁴³ Significantly, at this time the La Junta Indians, including the Julimes, were already engaged in going up the Conchos to work in the mines and plantations of Parral and Santa Bárbara.⁴⁴ Other than this there is no information regarding the founding of Julimes. The present town is situated some 60 miles east of Chihuahua City on the high gravel mesas on the east bank of the Río Conchos, overlooking fertile flood-plain farm lands and a shallow ford in the stream, and adjoining a fresh water creek and a hot spring. The modern inhabitants are quite conscious of their Indian ancestry and are quick to point out to strangers the location of the "indigenous pueblo," on the gravel mesas northwest of the town. Archaeological materials collected from this site include no artifacts definitely prehistoric or early historic in age; indeed they correspond most closely with the specimens found in the late 18th century refuse heaps of the La Junta pueblos. Thus the archaeological collections yield no data regarding the documented early historic period at Julimes, much less information regarding the date and circumstances of its founding. The older refuse and ruins may lie under the buildings of the present town, or there is a slight possibility that early Juli-

43. Mendoza, *Certificaciones*, 1684 [note 27].

44. Thus the Jumano, Juan Sabente, declared at Parral in 1689 "that through some Indians who have come to their rancherías [the Jumano camps at La Junta] from [Parral] and from the labor on its hacienda they have learned of the good opinions that the Indians have of the governor." ("The Governor Arrives," in Hackett, *Pichardo's Treatise* . . . , II, 40, p. 261.) And Fray Agustín de Colina, president of the missions of La Junta, spoke of "the departure of the poor [La Junta] Indians to work on the haciendas." ("Declaration of Fray Agustín de Colina," *ibid.*, pp. 241-243). The records of the Trásvina Retis *entrada* in 1715 supply ample additional data with regard to this migratory labor force from La Junta. Thus, the Indians of San Pedro pueblo were "in the habit of going to the estates of General Don Juan Cortés del Rey . . . to work." "Don Santiago [General of the Cholomes] was on the point of going with some people to cut the said Cortés' wheat." The Julimes Indians of San Francisco de la Junta spoke very good Spanish and wore Spanish clothes. "In order to buy clothes, they travel more than one hundred thirty leagues at the risk of meeting enemies to work on the farm estates of San Bartolomé Valley." The Governor of San Antonio de Julimes, General Don Antonio de la Cruz, was himself a native of San Francisco de la Junta and had on occasion brought his own people to help the La Junta Indians fight the Apache. At San Francisco de Cuellar, Trásvina Retis wrote, "A few days after returning here from La Junta de los Ríos, Captain Don Pedro with forty Indians came from there *en route* to the wheat harvest on the farms of the San Bartolomé Valley. Trásvina Retis asked the Viceroy to authorize the Indians to work on his own farms, instead of going twice as far to work on the farms of the San Bartolomé valley. (Trásvina Retis, in Reindorp, *op. cit.* [note 28].

mes may have been situated on the west side of the river.⁴⁵

There is a somewhat remote possibility that prior to 1684 the original Julimes pueblo may have been located some distance farther down the Río Conchos at the approximate location of the pueblo of Santa Cruz. In 1715 Trasvina Retis noted that the Santa Cruz site, located near modern Pueblito, had earlier been occupied by the Auchanes Indians who had since then been incorporated in Julimes. In 1771 Nicolas de Lafora left Chihuahua City *en route* to inspect the Presidio del Norte at La Junta. He apparently followed the general line of the present day Orient railway out of Chihuahua to the vicinity of Hormigas. Here he was told that the road he was following continued to Julimes and then on to La Junta. But by no stretch of the imagination could this be true; the road led to the Río Conchos at Pueblito, near the old home of the Auchanes Indians, and thence on to La Junta. Julimes itself lay many miles up stream and on an alternate and entirely distinct route from Chihuahua to La Junta.

Later Lafora learned that Presidio del Norte had been moved from La Junta and reestablished at "Julimes el Viejo."⁴⁶ Could this "Old Julimes" be the Santa Cruz pueblo formerly occupied by the Auchanes, and was Presidio del Norte established there during the period of abandonment of La Junta by the Spaniards, rather than at San Antonio de Julimes as customarily thought? And was Julimes el Viejo the original site of Julimes from which it was moved to a better location up stream? This would fit nicely with the theory of the establishment of Julimes as a colony of La Junta Indians who had become laborers in the haciendas and mines of the upper Río Conchos and settled progressively closer to their source of income.

In 1765 Pedro Tamarón y Romerál noted that the popu-

45. Thus, both the Trasvina Retis and Ydoiaga expeditions apparently went down the west bank of the river from Julimes to the Vado de los Cholomes some seven leagues below La Junta, described on occasion as the "first crossing of the Río Conchos," where they crossed to the east bank. High mesas suitable for the location of a town are lacking on the west bank in this vicinity but there are several small towns situated on the lowlands only a short distance up stream from the Julimes ford and ferry. No archaeological evidence was noted there of the former existence of an old pueblo, but only a cursory search was made. But Lafora's map of 1771 shows Julimes in its present location.

46. Robles, *Nicolas de Lafora, Relación . . .*, pp. 72-74.

lation of Julimes had been reduced to seven families of Indians, totaling 52 persons. By that time at least it occupied its present site on the east side of the Río Conchos. At that late date it was still the last of the true peaceful and Christianized pueblos, the "jumping-off place" for *entradas* into the La Junta region and the *despoblado* as it had been throughout the 18th century. For this reason the "gente de razón" had been inclined to desert their homes and fertile fields there in fear of the Apache.⁴⁷ According to Robles the population in 1937 was 1,411⁴⁸ and there are many small hamlets located nearby on the western side of the Conchos.

Santa Cruz (Ranchos de Herrán?) :

There are extensive areas of lowland suitable for riverine and *temporal* farming along the Río Conchos valley immediately above and below the Orient Railway bridge, in the vicinity of the modern towns of Santo Domingo in the upper valley, Falomir at the bridge, and Pueblito in the lower valley. Rodríguez and Espejo found Conchos Indian *rancherías* along this stretch of the river in 1581-1583, and in 1684 Mendoza noted almost continuous *rancherías*, perhaps Conchos, in this vicinity. Trasvina Retis in 1715 noted at about the location of Pueblito or Falomir the deserted pueblo of Santa Cruz, at the old Rancho de Herrán, where the Auchanes Indians, who had now been incorporated in San Antonio de Julimes, had formerly lived. As far back as 1684, the head chief of the Conchos named the Auchanes (Yaochane) as one of the confederacy of Conchos (and La Junta) tribes which he had governed since 1642.⁴⁹ In 1747 Ydoiaga found the new pueblo of Santa Cruz established on the old site by refugees from Coyame, Cuchillo Parado, and the Río Grande. The new pueblo included Cholomes, Conejos, Tecolotes, and some heathen Indians, total 299 persons. They raised corn, calabashes, and beans in the moist river lowlands and were said to have ample lands to care for their needs. They had united in this pueblo because of repeated Apache attacks on

47. Robles, *Pedro Tamarón y Romerál, Demostración . . .*, p. 155.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

49. Quoted in Carl Sauer, "The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern Mexico," *Ibero-Americana*, 5, p. 64, Berkeley, 1934.

their smaller individual home pueblos. Only four years later, in 1751, Rubín de Celis was led by Suma Indians to the Río Conchos in this locality but mentions only small Indian *rancherías* in the vicinity. Significantly, the Indians of Cuchillo Parado had returned to their own pueblo at this time, apparently deserting the community colonization project at Santa Cruz. The writer searched farmlands and bluffs across the Río Conchos from Pueblito in the summer of 1949 without finding any archaeological sites, and high water in the river made it impossible to check the more promising areas on the northwestern bank near the pueblo. In the summer of 1951 an archaeological site was discovered on the bluffs on the east side of the Río Conchos opposite Santo Domingo, and another on a low knoll east of the river in the valley opposite Falomir. Neither of these sites nor the others that certainly must exist there could be specifically identified as Santa Cruz. But from the documentary evidence the various expeditions travelled from Las Chorreras in the mountains to the south to the Río Conchos at a point about two leagues above Santa Cruz. They could have reached the river as far upstream as Santo Domingo or as far down stream as Falomir. Santa Cruz, located two leagues down the river, was probably located on the east bank near Falomir or the western bank near Pueblito. No data are immediately available regarding the founding of the modern towns here and their relation to the older pueblo.

San Pedro (Santa Teresa?) :

This is not the pueblo San Pedro de Conchos, which is located on the Río San Pedro, a branch of the Río Conchos above Julimes. This pueblo was located on the Río Conchos about 14 leagues below Pueblito, just across a mountain ridge from Cuchillo Parado, and two leagues or more from Coyame. It was visited and named by Trásvina Retis in 1715. As described then it had fertile farmlands on which wheat, maize, pumpkins, and string beans were raised. The occupants were 190 Cholomes Indians, who were regarded as peripheral members of the La Junta group. Earlier, in 1684, Mendoza had noted extensive *rancherías* in this vicinity and

had called them, collectively, Santa Teresa. The Ydoiaga expedition went by way of Coyame after leaving Santa Cruz, and there are no data as to whether San Pedro was, like Cuchillo Parado, abandoned at that time or not. Rubín de Celis found it a large and active pueblo in 1751 and noted that recent additions to its population were Suma *apostates* from a Río Grande mission south of El Paso. The natives were said by Rubín de Celis to be of the same nation as those occupying Cuchillo Parado, who were elsewhere described as Conejos, but it seems more probable that the identification of them as Cholomes by Trásvina Retis is more accurate. Modern San Pedro is situated on the southeast bank of the Río Conchos a short distance across the mountain ridge from Cuchillo Parado. It was not visited in the field, so nothing is known of its archaeology. It seems probable that the modern pueblo occupied approximately the same site as the former Indian town.

Cuchillo Parado (Nuestra Señora de Cuchillo Parado; Santa Polonia) :

At about the location of the ridge separating San Pedro and Cuchillo Parado, the Rodríguez and Espejo expeditions crossed a political and linguistic boundary from the Conchos nation to another Indian group which was said to differ in language from both the Conchos and the Patarabueye of the La Junta towns, and to be at war with both groups. Gallegos called this group the Cabris and Luxán termed them Passaguates; immediately after leaving them the Spaniards crossed the Sierra Grande. This places the Cabris-Passaguates quite definitely in the Cuchillo Parado valley.

Whatever their language and political views may have been, descriptions of their culture given in the documents of the 1581-1583 *entradas* place them culturally with the La Junta Indians, and they were so regarded in later times.

After crossing the Sierra Grande from the lower Río Conchos valley in 1684, Mendoza found in this location Indian *rancherías* which he called Santa Polonia. Trásvina Retis in 1715 found the Conejos Indians living here and named the town Nuestra Begona de Cuchillo Parado, usually

shortened thereafter to Cuchillo Parado. Here were 44 Indians (elsewhere given as 24) raising the same agricultural products as their neighbors up stream at San Pedro, and like them given to supplementing their farm fare with fish from the river. Trasvina Retis locates the town itself a short distance down stream from San Pedro, apparently on the southeast bank of the river. Half a league below the town there was a rough mountain ridge; beyond it was the great jumble of ridges of the Sierra Grande. At this point the cut-off trail over the mountains to Mesquite pueblo began.

Ydoiaga in 1747 found 120 Indians from Cuchillo Parado among the colonists at Santa Cruz. The town of Cuchillo Parado was then deserted, but it was the opinion of his lieutenant, who inspected the site, that the farm lands there were better than those at the new location.

Rubín de Celis followed the Coyame arroyo to the Río Conchos opposite the town. He found it situated on the east bank of the river opposite the mouth of the arroyo and just over the mountain from San Pedro. He was told that it was occupied by people of the same nation as those of San Pedro; hence it presumably had been recently reoccupied.

The modern town of Cuchillo Parado occupies a high gravel mesa overlooking the river lowlands of the east bank of the river near the mouth of Palo Blanco Arroyo and directly across the Conchos from the mouth of the Coyame Arroyo. Just north of town a jagged but relatively low ridge, an escarpment formed by the upturned edge of a geologic stratum, trends from the river eastward toward La Mula. Just beyond it is the first of the several high ridges of the Sierra Grande. The cutoff trail to Mesquite pueblo and the lower Río Conchos begins here and can plainly be seen ascending the steep southern flank of the Sierra Grande. A mile or so to the south another high ridge trends across the country from east to west. The Río Conchos runs through this ridge in cliff-walled Cañon de Prisa, the mouth of which is visible from the town, as is the well torn trail from San Pedro winding down the ridge just east of the canyon. The Conchos swings in a great curve around the modern pueblo and there are good and relatively shallow fords across the

river below and above the village. On the mesas on the western side of the river lie the scattered houses of the modern hamlet of Magle. This stretch of the Río Conchos is famous today for its excellent fishing and the town of five hundred or more people benefits from this resource as well as from the produce of the limited amount of local farm land.

The present situation of the town itself is by far the best one available in the valley. Judging from the description, this must have been the pueblo site in earlier days as well. If so, a fairly large archaeological site must underlie the modern town. No evidence of this ruin, if it exists, was uncovered but a ring of smaller archaeological sites surround the modern pueblo. These range in cultural affiliations, as judged by materials collected from their surfaces, from La Junta Focus (1200-1400 A.D.), through Concepción Focus (1400-1700 A.D.), to Conchos (1700-1800 A.D.), and Alamito Focus (1800-present). Apparently there has been a more or less continuous occupation, although by only a small population, of the Cuchillo Parado vicinity from the La Junta Focus to the present day. It is reasonable to assume therefore that the former Indian population has been submerged in the present Mexican population, but if so the natives are not aware of their local Indian ancestry.

Coyame (Nuestro Señor La Redonda del Collamé) :

When the Trasvina Retis party visited San Pedro in 1715 they were told that Don Andrés Coyame was the "general of all the Cholomes," and that he lived with some of his people at a *ciénega* two leagues distant. One of the missions established in 1716 was "Nuestro Señor La Redonda del Collamé." In 1747 at Santa Cruz there were 60 Indian colonists from "la Ciénega de el Coyame." Ydoiaga visited this location, leaving the Río Conchos a short distance below Santa Cruz and heading north three leagues to the Arroyo del Pastor, then eight leagues to the Ciénega del Coyame. This was an area of small springs but poor land located not far from Cuchillo Parado and some 11 leagues from the head of the canyon which the Río Conchos has cut through the Sierra Grande. Coyame was deserted at this time.

Rubín de Celis in 1751 traveled north eight leagues over a rough mountain road from San Pedro to the marshes of Coyame. The water of the springs there ran down an arroyo which flowed into the Río Conchos in front of Cuchillo Parado. Coyame itself was deserted but at San Pedro Rubín de Celis had encountered a party of forty Indians and their chief, on horseback, and had been informed by the chief that they were from Coyame but had left there to go to the new pueblo because of Apache attacks.⁵⁰ The name used in the records of this expedition was "El Pueblo de Santa María la Redonda, alias el Coyame."

Today there exists a hamlet called Coyame located about 11 miles west of Cuchillo Parado at the junction of the Coyame Arroyo and the Arroyo del Pastor. This is undoubtedly the Coyame of the earlier accounts. Coyame was not visited in the field and nothing is known regarding archaeological evidence there nor of the size or location of the pueblo. After its abandonment it must have been reoccupied in either the late 18th century or early in the following century because the La Junta archives contain numerous references to the *visita* of Coyame during the 19th century.

El Mesquite (Nuestra Señora de Loreto) :

After descending to the Río Conchos valley at the foot of the cut-off trail across the Sierra Grande, the Rodríguez party came to a settlement of the Amotomanco Indians. A short distance farther down the Conchos they crossed over the intervening hills to the Río Grande. In the same location the Espejo party found a settlement of Otomoaco, or Patara-bueye Indians. This settlement was located on the Río Conchos, in some dense mesquite groves and near a high ridge or *sierra* and a gorge, perhaps the canyon the Conchos has cut through the Sierra Grande, and two and one half leagues above the point where the cut-off trail to the Río Grande left the Conchos. It will be recalled that Mendoza in 1684 noted a

50. All the evidence is that this conversation took place at San Pedro, but these are obviously the same Indians who were found at Santa Cruz by Ydoiaga. Perhaps they had returned to Coyame to visit their old pueblo—as do modern Pueblo Indian colonists in New Mexico when they have moved out into more conveniently located farming hamlets away from the mother pueblo—and were on their way back to Santa Cruz.

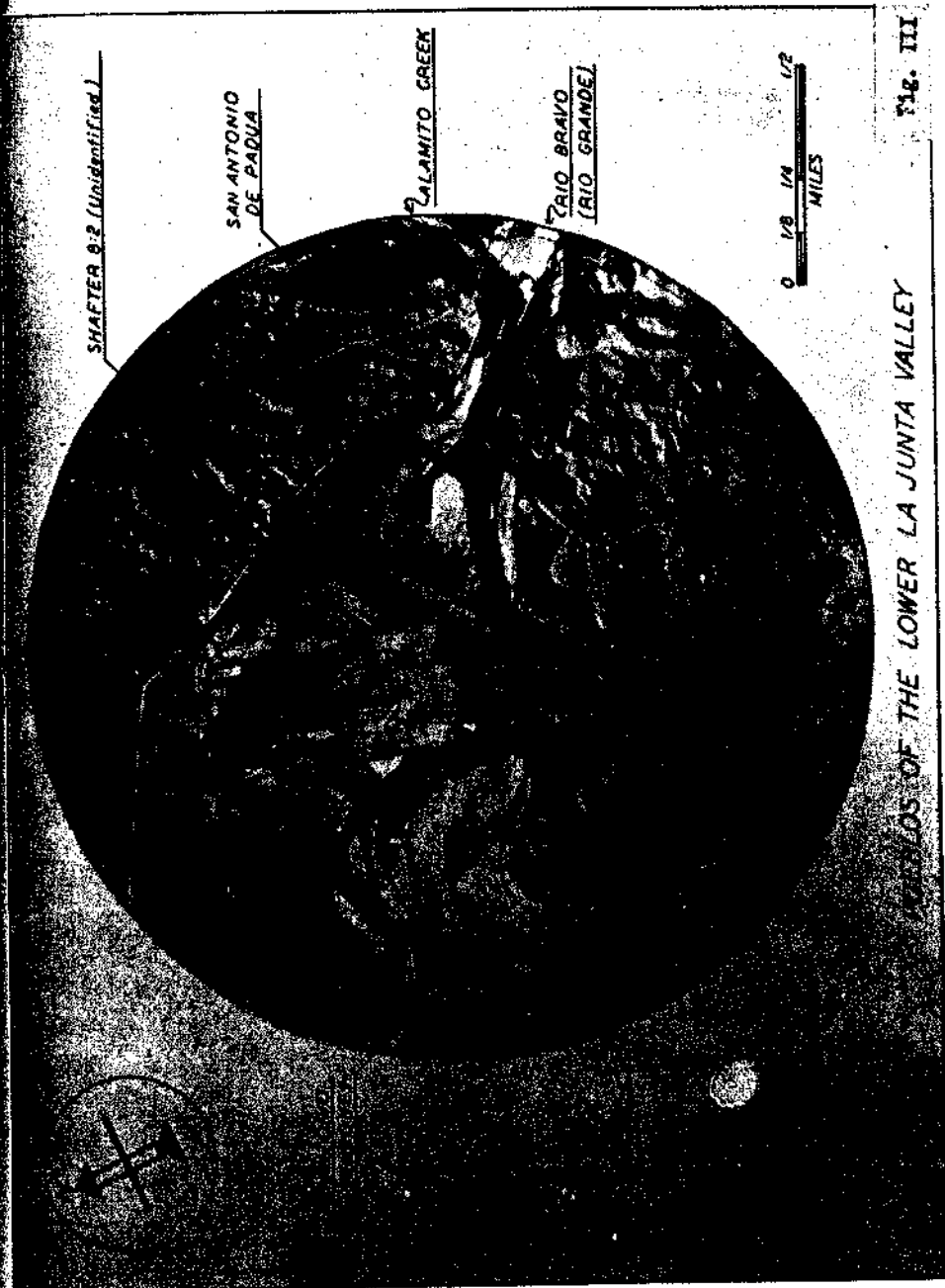


FIG. III
PUEBLOS OF THE LOWER LA JUNTA VALLEY

"place of many people," which he called Santa Catalina, eight leagues up the Conchos from La Junta and below the Sierra Grande in this same vicinity.

In 1715 Trasvina Retis followed the cut-off trail over the Sierra Grande from Cuchillo Parado and found in the rolling land of the Conchos valley, apparently on the south bank of the river, one league above San Juan, the first of the La Junta pueblos. This pueblo was called El Mesquite, but he renamed it Nuestra Señora de Loreto. Trasvina Retis described the pueblo as having "its plaza in the middle, [it] is well fenced with a wall. Its houses and portals have thin walls and roofbeams of sycamore. . ." The land was open and rolling on both sides of the Río Conchos with mountains in the background. The Indians had much wheat, maize and beans planted in irrigated fields. There were 80 persons of all ages in the pueblo.

Ydoiaga in 1747 came four leagues down the Conchos from the Sierra Grande to "el Pueblesito que llaman el Mesquite." Here he counted 77 Indians of the Mesquites nation.

Rábago y Terán in the same year inspected the San Juan-Mesquite area, which he found on the banks of the Conchos five or six leagues west of Guadalupe and two or three leagues above San Francisco. Here the Mesquite and Cacalotes (San Juan) Indians lived in distinct *jacalitos*.

Rubín de Celis crossed the Sierra Grande to the Río Conchos and passed a few scattered houses of Mesquite Indians on the south bank of the river about one and one-half leagues above San Juan. Previously he had noted Indian *jacales* on the other bank.

Tamarón y Romerál in 1771 mentioned Mesquite as one of two "pueblos de visita" of San Juan; the other *visita* of San Juan was Conejos. The writer was informed at Cuchillo Parado in 1949 that the cut-off trail over the Sierra Grande intersects the Río Conchos at Mesquite pueblo. At San Juan the same year, he was informed that Mesquite was a small pueblo on the south side of the Río Conchos a short distance above San Juan, apparently also above Santa Teresa on the north side of the river. Circumstances made it impossible to visit the town, so nothing is known of its archaeological

background or of its present situation. Apparently the general location of the modern pueblo is the same as that of the ancient town.

San Juan Bautista (Santa Catalina; La Paz):

As previously stated, the Rodriguez and Espejo expeditions in 1581 and 1582 found Amontomanco or Otomoaco Indians at the foot of the Sierra Grande on the Río Conchos. After arriving at the first of these *rancherías* Espejo went two and a half leagues down the Conchos to a place which he called La Paz, where he was met by other La Junta Indians who had come from the river junction to talk with him. Here, at the location of modern San Juan, he took the cut-off trail over the hills to the Río Grande. Mendoza's "place of many people," eight leagues above La Junta and below Sierra Grande, named Santa Catalina in 1684, probably included San Juan as well as Mesquite.

One league below Mesquite and four leagues above La Junta, apparently on the north bank of the Río Conchos, Trásvina Retis came to an Indian pueblo of the Cacalotes nation, which he renamed San Juan Bautista. This should not be confused with a similarly named town on the Río Grande below Del Río. Trásvina Retis said of this pueblo: "It is fenced and has its plaza in the middle, upon which the houses face, where the inhabitants, having put up arches, received me." San Juan at this time had a population of 165 persons, "young and old." In the general vicinity were "fields of wheat, corn and other grains on both banks of this river."

Ydoiaga in 1747 marched four leagues "by the hills" from the mouth of the Río Conchos canyon and the Sierra Grande to San Juan located on the Río Conchos four leagues above San Francisco and apparently on the north bank. Here he found the Cacalotes and the Conejos living together, but their lands were distinct, the latter group having joined the former because of fear of the Apache. There were 143 Cacalotes and 40 Conejos at San Juan at this time; in addition 38 Cholomes are listed for either San Juan or Mesquite. In this vicinity there was much good lowland suitable for farming; however, the Indian farms were small and non-

permanent, since the Indians farmed only those areas flooded by the rivers, and these shifted with the channel. Irrigation projects could be installed here only with difficulty because of the sandy nature of the river deposits.

Rábago y Teràn in the same year noted San Juan, with Mesquite, as lying some five to six leagues from Guadalupe on the Río Conchos two or three leagues above San Francisco. Vidaurre in 1748 marched four leagues up the north side of the Río Conchos from San Francisco to San Juan.

Rubín de Celis in 1751 found San Juan located in the lowlands of the north bank of the Río Conchos, one and a half leagues below the first Indian settlement after leaving the Sierra Grande, and three leagues up the river from San Francisco. The pueblo was located on two low hills divided by a small arroyo. There were four small houses of adobe, others made of palings, and an adobe house without furnishings, except for a painting of Saint John the Baptist one *vara* high. This house contained a small hall or court complete with a cell at the back for dispensations, and was said to be the habitation reserved for the use of the *Padre* when he came to the pueblo. The walls of a church some 14 or 15 *varas* (approximately 38 or 41 feet) in length by five *varas* (about 14 feet) in width with its transept, had been finished to a height of about a yard, and the outlines of the sacristy and baptistry were visible.

There were forty families living at San Juan at this time. The Spaniards inspected their lands and found them very poor. The Indians used only the moist sandy alluvium bared by the retreating river at low water. Each household planted a very small area with about a bushel and a half of wheat or other grain, using a digging stick and a gourd or pitched basket vessel of water in the planting. The newly planted field might be destroyed by the next rise. Rubín de Celis was surprised to learn that the Indians had no tools to aid them in their farming. When he attempted to barter tools to them they replied that their digging sticks were quite adequate. They had no livestock with the exception of a few unbranded horses.

Tamarón y Romerál in 1765 described San Juan as a

pueblo of 84 families and 309 Indians located on the Río Conchos five leagues southwest of La Junta. It had two *visitas*, one for the Conejos and one for the Mesquite Indians.

The modern pueblo of San Juan lies on the north bank of the Río Conchos about ten miles west of modern San Francisco, across the river and down stream from modern Mesquite, and about seven miles from Porvenir on the Río Grande. The town is a collection of scattered adobe houses and house-rows together with a large adobe church and numerous corrals, courts, and utility houses of various sorts. It lies on two high parallel eroded gravel mesas, separated by an arroyo, at the edge of the Río Conchos lowlands. The present short-cut road to the Río Grande leaves the Conchos about two miles up stream, but there is open terrain between San Juan and the Río Grande. When the town was visited in July, 1949, the only archaeological material found was on the mesa edge at the western edge of the town near the river. Here were fire cracked stones, flint chips, and potsherds in quantity. However the only pottery types noted were late historic wares of the Alamitos Focus, and perhaps a few attributable to the earlier historic Conchos Focus. Although there seems to be no question at all as to the identity of modern San Juan with the protohistoric Indian town, it seems probable that here as at Julimes, Cuchillo Parado, and Ojinaga, the earlier archaeological remains lie beneath the present structures and are masked from surface view. In 1937 San Juan had a population of 186 people, according to Robles.

San Francisco de la Junta (Santo Tomás):

The town at the junction of the Río Conchos and the Río Grande was first named and described by the Espejo expedition in 1582, although Rodríguez and Chamuscado had undoubtedly visited it in 1581. Luxán called the town Santo Tomás, and said it had about 600 people. This was a town of the Abriaches nation and its cacique was named Baij Sibiye. Santo Tomás was located at the river junction five leagues down the Río Grande from San Bernardino, southwest of the Río Grande and northwest of the Río Conchos.⁵¹

51. This seems fairly certain for the following reasons: 1. The next day the party went to another town located on the opposite side (from Santo Tomás and from Santa

There was a cross here which had been erected the year before by the Rodríguez party.

Although the Mendoza-López party reported Indian *rancherías* of the Julimes nation on both sides of the Río Grande at La Junta, specific pueblos were not described. When the Trasvina Retis party visited La Junta in 1715 they called the pueblo located at this point San Francisco de la Junta, a name which had apparently been applied some time previously, perhaps at the time of the Mendoza-López *entrada*. San Francisco de la Junta was located four leagues down the Río Conchos from San Juan at the river junction southwest of the Río Grande and northwest of the Río Conchos. It lay directly across the Conchos from Guadalupe pueblo and down the Río Grande about one and one half leagues from the town of the Conejos Indians called Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu.⁵²

San Francisco was described by Trasvina Retis as consisting of three distinct settlements separated from each other about 300 yards, with one settlement in the middle and the others on the outside. There was a church, apparently located outside the pueblo, which was in bad need of repair

Bárbara from the context) of the river called Del Norte [Río Grande], hence Santo Tomás was on this side, the southwest bank of the Río Grande. No earlier crossing of the Río Grande by the party had been noted. 2. When the party returned from New Mexico via the Pecos River they stopped at Santo Tomás for several days because the Río Conchos was so high that they could not cross it, as they needed to do in order to get to the trail over the Sierra Grande. Hence, Santo Tomás was on the northwest side of the Río Conchos.

52. The location of San Francisco from the data supplied by Trasvina Retis must be examined more explicitly. The actual statements of Trasvina Retis are, in effect, as follows: 1. San Francisco was located at the river junction in the center of the La Junta pueblos. 2. It was four leagues down the Río Conchos valley from San Juan. 3. It was one and one half leagues down the Río Grande from Aranzazu. 4. It was located across either the Río Conchos or the Río Grande from Guadalupe pueblo. The following inferences have been made: a. San Juan was on the northern side of the Río Conchos and the party went from there to San Francisco without any note of a river crossing; hence the latter town was located on the northwestern side of the Río Conchos; b. While waiting for rafts to be constructed to take the party across the river Indians were sent to take the census of Aranzazu, hence it was presumably located on the same side of the river as San Francisco. Aranzazu was said to be located on "this bank on the edge of the river that comes from the north [the Río Grande];" hence San Francisco was located on "this bank," i. e. the Mexican or southwest bank, of the Río Grande; c. This would place it across the Río Conchos from Guadalupe, confirming the other inferences. It should be noted that singly these inferences may be challenged; taken together and with the fact that this was specifically the location given for San Francisco by Ydoigaga in 1747 and that a town in that location is still called San Francisco de la Junta today they appear completely valid.

and lacked a friary and cells for the *padres*. Along both rivers and on little islands were stands of trees with thick foliage, including sycamore, willow, and tamarisk. There was much fertile land in which corn, wheat, and other grains were grown. In the pueblo were 180 people of the Oposmes nation, and Trasvina Retis expressed his delight at seeing them so reasonable and polite, and so well dressed in Spanish clothes. The people were all good natured and happy and appeared quite sociable and at ease with the Spaniards.

San Francisco next appears in the documents of the *entradas* of 1746-47. Rábago y Terán located it across the Río Conchos from Guadalupe and down the river from San Juan. Vidaurre placed it across the Río Conchos from Guadalupe and four leagues below San Juan. Ydoiaga located the pueblo at La Junta on the left or western bank of the Río Conchos four leagues below San Juan. It lay about one league across the two branches of the Conchos, just above their union with the Río Grande, from Guadalupe. Ydoiaga counted 217 people at San Francisco. Fifty of these were Tecolotes Indians; the others presumably Julimes (or Oposmes).

Rubín de Celis found San Francisco located three leagues down the Río Conchos from San Juan and on the same (northwestern) bank of the river. He describes its situation succinctly. It lay upon a short, high hill that formed a point near the junction of the Río Grande with the Río Conchos. From it could be seen the pueblo of Guadalupe located on another high hill across the Río Conchos. Neither of the two rivers were crossed; hence San Francisco lay southwest of the Río Grande and northwest of the Río Conchos at their junction.

Tamarón y Romerál in 1771 noted that San Francisco was situated at the river junction, but closer to the Conchos than the Río Grande, and on the west bank of the Conchos about one half league across that river from Guadalupe. At that time it had 42 families and 177 persons. Lafora's map of 1771 shows San Francisco in approximately its present position; O'Connor in 1773 did not mention the pueblo.

There is only one mesa tongue extending between the Río Grande and Río Conchos northwest of their junction. This

mesa is a dissected remnant of the high gravel terraces of the valley. It forms a point overlooking the lowlands not far from the junction and from it can be seen the houses of Ojinaga, site of the ancient pueblo of Guadalupe, across the Conchos valley. The pointed end of the mesa is broken up into three major and several minor segments by arroyos. On these segments today are found the scattered adobe houses of the settlement known as San Francisco de la Junta. Near the end of the mesa point, especially on the Río Conchos side, there are thick refuse heaps containing not only the debris of the modern pueblo but the firecracked stones, ashes, and artifacts of an Indian occupation as well. Preliminary collecting here produced pottery of the La Junta, Concepción, and Conchos foci, as well as some stone artifacts. The local inhabitants stated that a church had formerly stood in the pueblo but had been destroyed many years ago. This is undoubtedly the San Francisco pueblo of the Indian and Spanish periods, but today it has lost its importance in the La Junta valley under the impressive dominance of Ojinaga, formerly Guadalupe, across the valley.

(To be continued)