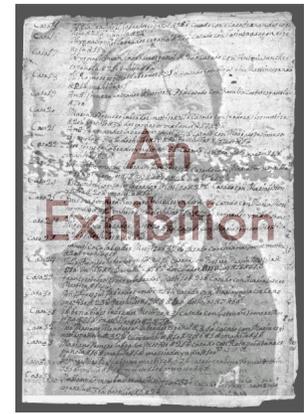


Captive Communities

Utes and New Mexicans Captured Between Myth, Memory and Narrative



The Story

Captive Communities focuses on two distinct communities and the particular convergence that emerges as a result of colonialism and its peculiar foothold in slavery. The first community—Utes, whose historical homeland included significant portions of what today are eastern Utah, western and north-central Colorado, Wyoming and northern New Mexico, historically comprise several different nomadic bands. The second community, while defined both internally and externally with varying labels, are Hispanic New Mexicans (*nuevomexicanos*), the descendents of the first European settlers in what is now New Mexico and southern Colorado. While the story of the contact of *nuevomexicanos* and other Native American communities in the region, including Puebloan, Navajo, Comanche, Apache communities has often been told, the story specifically involving Ute contact with other Native American communities and New Mexicans remains a necessary telling still. The focus on Ute communities is important, given the complex positions imposed upon or taken up by Utes in this story; at different moments individuals and whole clans occupied the role of perpetuators, collaborators, bystanders, resisters and victims, whose subjectivities are articulated within race, caste, gender, and nation, making this story all the more contested and complex.

By focusing on captivity and slavery at the heart of what is foundational to these relations, this particular exhibition promises to recover a more nuanced understanding and appreciation of the complexity of the experiences, histories and identities of these particular communities and their relations. This is a history that had been quieted over the years by whispers as much as by silence, hushed aside even by those who have inherited the story—carrying, as it is, if not its geography in their faces and hands, certainly its memory in an aching consciousness—unknown perhaps, but still there. It is the story of American Indian slavery, an institution that while perhaps obscured, certainly existed and through it, thousands of individual lives passed. Beyond the master narratives, the focus in this study is upon individual slave narratives, taking as a basic premise the critical nature of small stories within the grander narratives of colonialism.

The Exhibition Concept

The concept underlying *Captive Communities* is based on an organizing principle and complimented by a theoretical concept, all of which we hope translates into a meaningful experience for those who visit the exhibition.

There are many ways to tell a story and while traditional historical exhibitions generally are organized chronologically, temporal accounts and events account for only one way in which to view the past. As a counterpoint, this exhibition will be organized around four themes, each exploring how wisdom sits in places (**place**), the significance of events (**time**), the complexity of the human condition (**people**) and the transformative power of memory and narrative (**story**). In other words, underlying the conceptual organization of the exhibit, will be the centrality of *place*, which will include homelands and settlements, extending to include both what is important to Ute and Nuevo Mexicano communities, each carefully

defined by political boundaries as well as specific communities and households. As noted above, the central focus are Utes and Nuevo Mexicano, but this exhibition, shall also be attendant to the other communities, including, but not limited to other indigenous communities, as well as Anglo American communities. But colonialism and slavery also affect identity at all levels. Indeed, *mestizaje*—generations of racial and cultural, defined as much by amicable unions as by coercive relations—also emerged as a direct consequence of these enslavements. The significance of time and events is also critical in terms of understanding temporal context. In many ways the story itself emerges from the convergence of time, people and place. But story also depends upon who is telling; as such, the issue of perspective is central to how this exhibition will be set.

Understanding the importance of perspective is essential to the success of this exhibition. Toward this end, the work underlying scholarship of slavery provides an interesting concept to be paired with the organizing principle. Identifying slavery as meaningfully, violently and painfully folded into the history of New Mexico evades simple analysis; trembling still, these stories demand understanding what slavery is and where it is located. Claude Meillassoux has most thoroughly explored the meaning(s) of slavery, arguing, “slavery must be seen as a process involving several transitional phases.¹ “Enslavement, 'slavery,' and 'manumission' are not merely related events; they are one and the same process in different phases,” according to Orlando Patterson.² While the larger context for the exhibition will be based on the specificity of time, place and story, here the story threading through the exhibition will literally be a narrative of these phases, inviting the visitor not only to be informed of the processes that are slavery and its specific meaning to Ute and Nuevo Mexicano communities, but invite their engagement on this journey as well.

Its organizers understand that the past is a balance of knowing when the past can be used to sustain community and when they can be used to raise consciousness. It is also about inviting these specific living communities not only to be confronted by what they see and experience, but will involve a component where dialogue and engagement with the exhibition is critical to its success. For those who are not from these communities, expanding static notions of the place of slavery as well as of indianness is also important to understanding a broader, expanded view of U.S. history.

Design Concept

Conceptually the design of the exhibition will focus on the history of slavery and its impact upon Ute and New Mexican Hispanic communities as outlined above and detailed below. However, rather than simply taking a traditional approach to a historical exhibition, the design will incorporate a much more innovative approach, all dependent, of course, upon budget. While documents (baptisms, censuses, letters, law), maps and images will in many ways be the bones of the exhibition, our hope is to create an environment where the sentiment of this journey through slavery is respectfully, but meaningfully represented. Toward this end, the senses and sentiment of the visitor are essential, including working with sound, smell, and sight, impacted by the terror and beauty at the heart of a story where the delicacy and strength of the human condition is so important. In collaboration with scholars and writers, eventually a design team will be assembled to further define this exhibition and will include fabricators, preparators, graphic designers, as well as artists utilizing media, performance and visual arts to depict the profundity of this story.

1. Claude Meillassoux, *L'esclavage en Afrique précoloniale* (Paris: Franvois Maspero, 1975), esp. pp. 1126, as quoted by Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Carnhridge: Harvard university Press, 1982), p. 38.

2. Patterson. p. 296.

The conceptual detail of the organization of the exhibition follows in five sections: 1) introduction, 2) captivity, 3) slavery, 4) freedom and 5) conclusion. Following these section descriptions is another section detailing potential documents, maps and artifacts. Here, documents are listed and in many cases, narrative description as well, all for assessment of appropriateness and placement of documents. As with this exhibition concept as a whole, this remains a draft.

Introduction

This is the section of the exhibition where we would establish the context, delineating who, where, when, and what or as noted above, the people, place, time and story. We may want to think of this section as setting out very generally descriptions of the communities, particularly as defined by homelands and settlements, each set in the context of a particular moment in time, a time set perhaps just at the moment of contact or this is the place to actually incorporate a chronology.

In addition to the general context in this introduction, just before the visitor enters into this colonial journey defined by the process of slavery below, there will be panels describing the social-political and legal context for slavery during the colonial period to the end of the 19th century.

Captivity

This section of the exhibition will involve critical components of this process and will focus on captivity and enslavement and shall include means of acquiring slaves and the impact of this captivity upon the natal community, including the rupture of kidnapping and the grieving families left behind. While there are at least 8 means of acquiring captives, the primary focus here will probably involve the raid upon both indigenous and Hispano communities. Setting the context for the trade fairs is also essential in this section and involves the larger context for trade and transaction of captives. Finally, on the heels of both rupture and transaction, the means by which the slave is incorporated into the community and family completes this section on captivity and enslavement. In the New Mexican context, this incorporation involves the symbolism of baptism.

Slavery

This section of the exhibition is about representing the spaces and experiences of slavery. This is the section where it will become especially important to draw parallels and differences in types of slavery, especially since most people living in the United States define slavery only through the lens of the histories and experiences of Africans displaced into large-scale plantations of the American South. Unlike this setting, slavery in the Southwest was a 'domestic household institution.' Aside from defining these parallels and differences, this is the section where the setting of these displacements will be fully defined and represented.

Here, documents and artifacts, will be used to define the complexity of these relationships and while one of the main discourses that has and continues to characterize the servitude within the New Mexican setting, is that of the captive's relation to and between *families* in which they live, a relationship that is continually characterized as one of benevolence. These constructions of a fictive family, however, are much deeper than the paternity they espouse and certainly much more complex than their representations and in reality included a range of experiences from

the slave's perspective, from benevolence to violence, all set, however, in the context of colonial displacement. This is the section where we would forefront the everyday lives of these slaves, including their relationships, their occupations, the products of their labor and their own families.

Freedom

This section of the exhibition focuses on manumission, which ultimately is the ultimate acknowledgment of the state of slavery, even if a tolerated illegality. Here the importance of acknowledging that there is a moment in the experience of those captured and displaced in the New Mexican context, where there is a *release*. While the focus here would be on manumission and freedom, which could be defined by marriage or release or perhaps even escape, all of which will be attended to in this section, it is also essential that in the colonial setting in New Mexico, that freedom is part and parcel of the colonial enterprise itself and defines further and expanded settlement of communities.

In this way, the mid-18th century settlement of what would be recognized as *genízaro* villages is critical in terms of this section. Thus, while *genízaro* families could be found in various communities throughout the colony, by the end of the century four major defensive buffers were in existence. While the closely situated suburb of Analco, south of Santa Fe's main plaza, provided many of the initial *genízaro* settlers for the frontier, it also continued to hold *genízaros* and lower class *nuevomexicanos*, providing a buffer to the colonial center's eastern approach. Belen's settlement in 1740 established the defense for the southern end. While there were numerous grants to the north, including Ranchos de Taos granted in 1750, Las Trampas a year later in 1751 and Ojo Caliente in 1754, which were all of mixed castes, the *genízaro* settlement of Abiquiú was initially created to provide a defense against a northwestern approach. San Miguel del Vado granted in 1794 provided the northeastern defense. By the late eighteenth century, many Hispano settlements and Pueblo Indian villages also held *genízaro* families as well, adding to the peopled fortification sought by colonial officials.

These settlements define one section of how we could possibly represent manumission, but it is also necessary to establish freedom concomitant with efforts being led in the United States to end the slavery of African Americans in the mid-19th century. Even if this slavery, present in the territories, was considerably *different*, and even if it was of Indians—still then considered significant obstacles and threats to westward expansion—slavery of any kind, from an ideological standpoint posed a significant problem for the nation, just then emerging from itself divided over the issue.

Conclusion

As the visitors to the exhibition emerge from the core phases of slavery through which Ute and New Mexican Hispanic communities passed, the goal would be for them to have a fuller understanding of those complex histories and experiences. Above all, what the organizers of this exhibition hope to affect a deep, narrow and sustained commemoration of the past, all at the heart of understanding how captivity slavery profoundly affected communities. For those communities impacted by these changes, in this final section, we hope to reveal that the most telling aspects of any deep and sustained study of both Ute and *nuevomexicano* Indo-Hispano culture, in fact reveals how the long story of the people itself rises from beneath layers of histories formed somewhere in-between erasure and memory—histories experienced, imagined and passed down through story, *telling*, as it is, *identities*. In this section, we hope to reveal how identity is impacted through the use of mirrors.

DESIGN DETAIL

A. Introduction

1. People

a) Utes

b) New Mexican Hispanos

While it is important to place the *nuevomexicano* community in the context of the first Euro-mestizo settlers at the end of the 16th century, it is even more important to show that even at the point of settlement and colonization, this was not a homogenous group. Perhaps of greater importance still is the fact that through the process of mixture and convergence with other communities, this community begins to change. There are certainly many colonial documents that can reveal this, but there are certain ones that reveal this mixture and interchange more than others. I think of the 1776 *Description* of New Mexico made by Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez⁴ who, following his visita to New Mexico, makes note of each village. I think it interesting that of the people of Taos, he writes: These settlers are people of all classes, but mostly *mestizo* and *genízaro*. Some are masters, others servants, and others are both, serving and commanding themselves. They speak the local Spanish, and most of them speak the language of the pueblo with ease, and to a considerable extent the Comanche, **Ute**, and Apache languages.⁵

2. Place

Map: While I think we could have a map designed showing the complexity and concept of contested homelands, with **Utes** and *nuevomexicanos*, I think it would be great to utilize the Mierra y Pacheco Map that is held at the Palace of the Governors and then invite a Ute artists or Chicano artist or both to create a counter-point map.

a) Ute Homeland

While many Europeans would pass through this place, writing about it, I can only point to a few examples in my limited time. When Diego de Vargas passed through in 1694, he noted the “mountains that run along the edge of the Rio Colorado are inhabited by Apaches del Acho. He also describes the presence of the **Utes**, noting, “there were about three hundred of them counting the women.

On January 16th, 1847, a young British traveler, George F. Ruxton arrived in San Antonio del Río Colorado (present day Questa), a community that was as he described it, “the last and most northern settlement of Mexico.”⁶ He goes on, It contains perhaps fifteen families, or a population of fifty souls, including one or two **Yuta** Indians, by sufferenance of whom the New Mexicans have settled this valley, thus ensuring to the politic savages a supply of corn or cattle without the necessity of undertaking a raid on Taos or Santa Fe whenever they require a remount. This was the reason given me by a **Yuta** for allowing the encroachment on their territory.

4. Eleanor B. Adams & Fray Angelico Chavez, trans. *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776: A Description by Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez with Other Contemporary Documents* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1956), xiv-xv.

5. Ibid., *The Missions of New Mexico*, 113.

6. LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., coll. by Clyde and Mac Reed Porter, *Ruxton of the Rockies* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950), pp. 180-199.

3. Time

While it may be important for the visitors to the exhibition to place all the events in a larger context, which is a good idea, I would suggest rather than using a linear time line, that the symbol and use of either a spiral or concentric circles be what is used instead. Here, it will be important to place all “major events” of interaction between **Utes** and New Mexicans.

4. Story

a) Colonial Expansion

There are several documents that may help understand the very particular context in which all of this begins to unfold. This letter from Carlton is telling.

Head Quarters, District of NM, Cimaron, NM, August 25, 1866

To: 1st Liet. George L. Campbell, U.S. 3rd Cavalry

Sir:

I find that the **Ute** and Apache Indians who reside near this place are wholly destitute of food. The game has entirely gone and they are forced to kill the stock of the people or starve. Their killing the people's cattle and sheep leads to collisions. Already blood has been spilled; and much hostile and bitter feeling on the part of the Indians is manifested. In this matter the Indians cannot be blamed. The Indian Department does not feed them; and there is really left but one alternative for the Indians, that is to kill stock, let the consequences be what they may or perish. We cannot make war upon people driven to such extremities. We have taken possession of their Country; their game is all gone; and now to kill them for committing depredations solely to save life, cannot be justified. We have but one alternative. We have either to feed the Indians or let them kill the stock of the people, at the risk of collisions. which will lead to war. This is not only a true story, but the whole story. I have therefore directed that some wheat meal and fresh meat be purchased to feed the Indians above named at the rate of one half pound of meal and one half pound of fresh meat per day for each man, woman and child, until further orders. You will therefore receive from Mr. LB[Lucian Bonaparte] Maxwell with whom arrangements have been made to furnish these articles, as much wheat meal and fresh meat as will fill the required amount— say every ten days or offer if necessary. The Indians will be carefully counted by yourself and the number of men, the number of women and the number of children of each separate tribe will be kept distinct. This count will be verified by two or more witnesses. You will issue and returns corresponding with these verified accounts and make up your returns to the proper departments and to the chief commissary on the last day of each month. Be very particular in keeping the accounts. The details as to when periodically, or how you will issue are left with yourself. The Indians will be made clearly to understand that this issue of provisions may stop at any day and will surely stop if they commit the slightest depredations upon the stock of the people or the slightest act of hostility. This bounty of the government can only be bestowed upon those who behave themselves.

Respectfully your obt. servant
James H. Carleton
Brot brig General Commanding.

In reality, I am not sure where to put this document, but it is an important story and event in terms of Ute-New Mexican relations. It is a story that dovetails with captivities, but it also addresses a larger context taken directly from my work. **August 31, 1844** several bands of **Utes** arrived in Abiquiú and camped on the outskirts of the village. With the band's grievance, Panasiyave, a Ute spokesman proceeded to the door of the local Justice of the Peace, Vicente Martínez. Panasiyave's approach is very telling. It is evident that these people were accustomed not only to the diplomacy of a previous generation, but the local procedure for redressing justice and peace. Panasiyave's claim was that, in a campaign of *nuevomexicano* volunteers, which had been sent out the winter before against the Navajos, a Ute rancheria had instead been attacked. In this attack, several men were killed and taken were "members of their families and possessions which they had in their houses and also their horses." Panasiyave claimed pointedly that the Mexicans were holding the sons of the **Utes** and they simply demanded them back. Panasiyave, according to the letter which was sent by Martínez to Feliz Zubia, the Governor's Secretary, claims "redress as the injured party and demands as guarantee of the sincerity of the alliance which he recognizes as existing between us, the return of two boys and two girls who are held captive by some of our number..." Secretary Zubia then promptly responded, instructing Martínez to insure that the captives are returned, but he also indicated that the Utes are not innocent, pointing to the attack of a caravan the same year. Although the various bands of Utes are growing weary of the delay in justice, Martínez writes back, pointing to the difficulty of the "encampments in their midst" and also indicates that Panasiyave denies being responsible for the attack on the caravan. Panasiyave notes that those that attack did "not belong to his command, because they lived far away, but that the dead Indians were of his party and that his wish to live always at peace was paramount. Finally, realizing that justice would be delayed if even addressed at all, six Ute chiefs and over 100 warriors decide to bypass this middle ground and travel directly to Santa Fe to meet with the Governor themselves. With a governor unseasoned in the diplomacy of the past, this meeting ends with disastrous results for the **Utes**. Not only are all of the Ute chiefs killed in Santa Fe, but the captives are evidently not returned either.⁷ Like the denial that had characterized actual independence, the Fiesta Assembly oblivious of the consequences that faced their northern neighbors, continued its planning, only complaining that the Town Council had not taken care of the slain bodies of the **Ute**, which remained unburied in the streets. At Tierra Azul, near Abiquiú, they met with Cruz Vigil, Ramon Vigil and another Vigil, nicknamed Guero Vigil, who they assaulted leaving Guero Vigil and José de la Cruz Vigil dead at the affray and two Indians. Ramon Vigil being the only one that could escape with a wound on his chest.⁸

b) Slavery

Recopilacion, Title page; Libro VI, Titulo ii, Ley primera: Que los Indios sean libres, y no sujetos a servidumbre (1525-1548) and English translation.

SANM II, No. 2459: Communication pertinent to: a **Yuta** General's request for troops to aid in reprisals against certain "tribes of the north" and a reiteration of the law against the acquisition by any means, of Indian slaves and of any trade in such slaves, with exhortation to the vigorous enforcement of the law and the punishment of violators. Refers specifically to *Recopilacion*, Libro VI, Titulo ii, Ley primera . . . , October 5, 1812.

7. "Truth: A New Mexican Periodical Published Every Thursday, Thursday, September 12, 1844." Documents relative to the Revolt of the Savage Utes Under the Prefecture and Superintendent of the First Military District. In Crawford R. Buell Collection, Folder #4, SRCA, Santa Fe, NM. The translation of these documents must be by Buell and is between Visente Martínez, Justice of the Peace and Juan Andres Archuleta, secretary to the Governor, Felix Zubia.

8. *Ibid.*, Benjamin Read, *Illustrated History*, p. 411

A letter from Kit Carson also summarizes the situation in the mid 19th century:

C. 248 1863, Recd., Aug 17, 1863

1120, R 18, f 0821

Camp at Pueblo Colorado, N. Mex

July 24th 1863

Dear General

I send by Captain Cutler the Official Report of the operations of my command since leaving Los Lunas but in it have made no mention of the Women and Children captured by the Utes (four Women & seventeen Children). It is expected by the Utes, and has I believe, been customary to allow them to keep the Women & Children and the property captured by them for their own use and benefit; and as there is no other way to sufficiently recompense these Indians for their invaluable services, and as a means of insuring their continual zeal and activity; I ask it as a favor that they be permitted to retain all that they may capture. I make this request the more readily as I am satisfied that the future of the Captives disposed of in this manner would be much better than if sent even to the Bosque Redondo. As a general thing, the Utes dispose of their captives to Mexican families where they are fed and taken care of and thus cease to require any farther attention on the part of the Government. Besides this, their being distributed as Servants thro' the Territory causes them [2] to loose that collectiveness of interest as a tribe, which they will retain if kept together at any one place.

Will you please let me know your views on this matter as soon as possible that I may govern my conduct accordingly.

The Utes more than come up to the expectations I had formed of their efficiency as Spies, nor can any small straggling parties of Navajoes hope to escape them. I trust you will grant me permission to send Capt. Pfeiffer to their Villages to employ some more of them.

I am very badly off for Guides and intend to employ some Zuni Indians as such in a few days when I shall visit their village.

The Navajos have planted a large quantity of grain this year. Their Wheat is as good as I have ever seen. Corn is rather backward and not so plentiful. I have directed Major Cummings to send out a party to morrow to bring in all the grain in this Creek which will amount to over Seventy-five thousand pounds of Wheat, and a large amount of Corn. The latter when dried will answer for fodder for the animals in the Winter. I would have permitted all the grain in this vicinity to have ripened but that it is hoped you will change the location of the Depôt there being [3] neither grass, timber, nor anything like a sufficiency of water any place in this neighborhood for this purpose.

I forward with Captain Cutler the resignation of Chaplain Taladrid and Captain McCabe, and request that you will accept them, as well as all others which I may forward you, as I do not wish to have any officer in my command who is not contented or willing to put up with as much inconvenience and privations for the success of the Expedition as I undergo myself.

I respectfully urge that in the event of your accepting the resignation of Captain McCabe that Lieut Brady be promoted to the vacant Captaincy.

Respectfully Yours
Your Obedient Servant,
C. Carson
Col. 1st N. M. Vols.

B. Captivity-Captive Taking

1. Rupture/Loss

SANM I, No. 543: Diego Naranjo is ordered to return mule or its equivalent value. Other complaints, not serious enough to go to court, include suspected abduction of [Comanche or Ute] Indian woman and a breach of a labor contract with an Indian, February 27, 1762.

Ned Blackhawk writes: “As slave raiders descended upon their bands threatening to massacre them, Paiute band leaders had few options other than to compromise and negotiate with their oppressors. **Paiute mothers** often fought their husbands decisions and violently cried when their children were pried from their arms. One of William Palmer’s Paiute interviewee, for example, recalled the fate of one such child sold to the **Utes**. An unidentified Paiute mother refused to turn her baby over to the Utes and fled with the child up Thompson’s Point along the Virgin River in southern Utah. When finally surrounded by the child’s new owners, she sacrificed her baby into the river below.” [Palmer, William R., “Pahute Indian Government and Laws,” in the *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (1929): 35-42 for this story see p. 40 try to find the date.]

2. Trade/Transaction

In 1715, Gov. Feliz Martinez appropriated about 350 **Ute** and Comanche captives and sent them with his brother to Parral for sale.

Individual cases against Vicente Serna, Marcelino Manzanares, Salvador Salazar, Santiago Lucero and Francisco Valverde in 1785 relative to trading with **Utes**. (SANM II 11: 837, 845 & 853). For a case against the community of Abiquiu trading with the **Utes** see SANM II 11: 520. In another case, settlers were again explicitly prohibited from trading with **Utes** in the north. SANM II 10: 1055.

SANM II, No. 2511: This is a very important document showing the trade in **Ute** and PaiUte slaves. This is a trial that follows upon the arrival of eight men from Abiquiú and neighboring villages who had returned from a trading expedition with the Timpanagos Utes in the Great Basin, they were each arrested and tried before the alcalde mayor of Santa Cruz. The men accused were Mauricio Arze, Lagos García, Miguel Tenorio, Felipe Gómez, José Santiago Vigil, Gabriel Quintana, and José Velásquez. These men were accused not only of violating the prohibition of trading with northern tribes (see SANM II, No. 2459), but of slaving as well. Thus, when asked to recount the narrative of events, the expedition’s translator, José Velasquez noted that during the course of their trade talks, the Utes offered to trade Indian boys and girls for Spanish horses. In summary, Velasquez noted that when the Utes were told that they could not buy Indian children since it was illegal, revealing perhaps the hidden narrative of past events, if not present as well, they replied, “but how is it that you have bought our children before?” Following this, the traders went into yet another *rancheria*, where again they were offered Indian children. Velasquez reported that while he himself did not purchase any, the other traders had. The purchases were justified as part and parcel of the necessity of peaceful negotiations. While these trials are critically important to a deeper understanding of the slave trade, particularly as it began in this era to extend its reach northward, I am as interested in what these documents say as what they do not. What are often lost in these proceedings are the captives that were traded in the first place. In this particular expedition, it was reported that twelve captives had been purchased. According to the testimony, three had evidently died on the journey back to New Mexico. Of the other seven, those providing the testimony, little else is said. To complicate matters further, Ned Blackhawk has argued that those twelve purchased were not likely the Timpanagos own children, but instead neighboring Paiute, Shoshone, and other Indian peoples.

He writes, “the New Mexicans likely mistook these children as Timpanagos since the Utes, like other slave traders incorporated captive children into their own societies for extended periods.”⁹ There is no mention as to what was to be done with those captives that were purchased, however, even if Manrique’s reiterated ban had clarified that, those captured “Indian or Indians will be returned and restituted to their own lands with all their natural liberty.”¹⁰

In 1820, the Sandoval trading party visited the Timpanagos and other Utes in central Utah and learned of a plot to kill them. However, one of the Utes agreed to guide the party to safety, and he went with them back to Abiquiu. The Ute asked only one reward for his aid. His wife and daughter had been captured by Kiowas and he asked Sandoval to tell him in which settlement they had been sold. Sandoval replied evasively that he had heard of three Indians recently purchased in Taos, one by “Baustista the Frenchman” and the others by the alferéz, Don Juan Crisotobal Garcia. Aside, Sandoval boasted: ‘I didn’t try to enlighten the Ute to the fact that his daughter was in our community but rather tried to conceal it.’ The Ute set out for Taos with an interpreter who apparently revealed the truth, for presently, he was back in Abiquiu demanding the return of his daughter from Juan Trujillo.¹¹

For an account of how complicated the multi-way trade worked, see SANM I: 494, which is a 1747 account of raid upon Abiquiu, where 23 women and children are taken captive. The account addresses the responsibility, which evidently was initially placed upon the Utes and thus attacked by the Spanish.

SANM II, No. 1876: A letter supporting a claim to the possession of a Navajo girl that Prada had purchased *from the Yutas*. Prada claims that the girl was a captive taken in a just war, and that he paid one hundred pesos for her. The Navajo wanted her back, August 18, 1805.

SANM II, No. 1565:

Diary of events in NM, summarizing reports of various alcaldes, particularly in regard to Indian hostilities, thievery, and other deprivations. Includes: Con fecha del 20 da parte el alcalde mayor en la Canada haversele presentado un vecino del puesto de la Cuchilla con la noticia de que tres **Yutas** que bajaron por una Yndia de aquella nacion que le hallaba en el Pueblo de San Juan le digeron a su recinada avisara al alcalde que los Yutas payuthi de la sierra de abajo havian muerto en esta a siete espanoles los que hasta aquella fecha no se labra quienes pudieran ser ni de que partido . . ., August 6, 1801.

In a report by Joseph Whittlesey to Benjamin L. Beall in 1849 and while on a campaign to “chastise the **Eutaws** for depredations they have committed during the past winter,” near “El Cerro del Oyo, opposite and above the juncture of the Rio Colorado, he writes: “killed 5 of the enemy and captured 2 squaws, and one Boy who I learn is a son of one of the Chiefs.”

This is a chronicle of the expedition led by Lt. Whitley from Taos to the Cerro del Olla where some bands of **Yuta** Indians were camped for the purpose: “to be punished summarily for depredations of various kinds as the stealing of cattle, horses and sheep from the Mexicans of which they had been guilty.” The document actually does not detail much more than how this particular band (not named) is defeated.¹²

⁹Ned Blackhawk has included this event in his study of the slave trade in the Great Basin. His transcriptions, translations and interpretation of this event are quite extensive. See Ned Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land: Colonial Encounters in the American Great Basin*, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Washington, 1999, p. 22-26.p. 28.

¹⁰. SANM II, 17:554.

¹¹. Swadesh, p. 174.

¹². John Greiner, “Expedition of Lt. Whitley against the Yuta Indians” and Indian Agent of Taos wrote these in 1852 in Ritch Collection, RI 541 (A)

3. Incorporation (Baptism)

Baptisms also are great records when placed into a genealogical context of generations. For instance, we can trace a genealogy of a family and its story of holding slaves through the baptisms, by first starting with the baptism of Maria Bentura, the five year old “Indian bought and adopted” by Juan Ygnacio Vigil and wife, Jacinta Aragon on April 5, 1795.¹³ The baptismal entries of these captives can easily be lost into the record, however. According to burial records, Juan Ygnacio had died on February 13, 1805, and less than eleven days later, two baptisms take place, Maria Antonio, a 5 year old **Ute** and Maria Barbara, a 3 year old **Ute**, both are accordingly identified as “servants of Jacinta Aragon.”¹⁴ Still living in Taos, Jacinta Aragon would not remain a widow long, marrying Pedro Martin almost a year later on February 17, 1806. This couple would prominently figure into this ongoing narrative of captivity, baptizing many more captives into their household.¹⁵

There are so many specific Ute baptisms in my records. We may have to be select in terms of which baptisms we use to make the point. Many baptisms of Utes come up in both Abiquiu and in Taos, and in Taos there are some of the leading families who baptize them and thus serve as their masters. For instance, following their move from Abiquiu to the settlement in Taos Padre Jose Antonio Martinez’s parents, Antonio Severino Martin and Maria del Carmel Santistevan appear again in the baptismal records of Taos, incorporating even more **Ute** Indians into their household.¹⁶ The children of Severino and Maria del Carmel would subsequently carry on this custom of captive householding into these decades. There are at least a couple of baptismal entries of Indian captives into the household of their son, Pascual Martínez, along with his wife Maria Teodora Gallegos, of la Plaza de San Francisco de Paula. The first, Maria Guadalupe, baptized on April 3, 1831, a 10-year-old **Ute**. Their daughter, Juana Maria Martínez is also named in the baptismal registry. On April 6, 1828, Maria Timotea de Jesus a 4 year old **Ute** is baptized, where the “baptized was servant of madrina, Juana Maria Martin.” The second entry also points to the issue of transaction. On February 25, 1821, José Christobal Martin, 10 month **Ute** is baptized with the padrinos listed as José Montoya and Ygnacia Valdez with comments indicating that “baptized was purchased from his father by Juana Martin.”

As a follow up to the 1813 trial for slaving (SANM II, No. 2511), we have a few documents that reveal the incorporation of those captured. These are difficult to discern, since many of these traders were the vehicles of the trade but were not often the benefactors of being able to actually hold captives. The presence of some captives in some of these men’s households is telling nevertheless. The record of baptisms in the household of Gabriel Quintana in Abiquiú is perhaps the most revealing. On August 4, 1779, Maria Micaela, an adult Navajo is baptized in Abiquiú, with no father or mother listed and where Quintana is named as the padrino, the godfather. Two months later, Maria Dolores, a “five year old Indian” is identified as “la criada,” the servant of Gabriel Quintana. Again, on February 26, 1809, the baptized, José Santiago Quintana, five year old Ute, is identified as a servant Quintana. Two years later, at the baptism of José Leonardo Quintana eight-year-old Ute, both Gabriel and his wife, Maria Antonia Vigil are identified as the baptismal sponsors.

April 24, 1838, a 12-year-old child identified as a Ute that had been redeemed by Juan de Jesus Branch and Maria de la Luz Luna is baptized. Jose de Jesus Branch was also known as Alexander Branch. This would have meant that she was born in 1826. In 1860, in Rayado, on the Cimarron, and in the Maxwell house, an Indian servant is listed named Ignacia Branch, 34 years old (meaning that she would have been born in 1826). She is listed as Indian, but with “unknown origins.”

13. *Taos Book of Baptisms*, B-46, frame 1300.

14. Martínez, *Taos Baptisms*, p. 32.

15. Martínez et al, *The Descendants of Domingo Montes Vigil: Siero, Spain to “La Culebra, 1695-1999*, p. 231.

16. *Ibid.*, Martínez, *Taos Baptisms*, p. 350.

Ned Blackhawk argues that many of the Abiquiu baptisms identifying “Ute” may be misclassified. Ned Blackhawk writes: “Among the primary trade centers and communities in New Mexico, Abiquiu recorded the highest number of identified Great Basin captives. Between 1754, the time of the repopulation of the Chama River Valley and 1866, 152 identified “Ute” captives appeared in Abiquiu baptism records. Of these 139 were baptized without any known parents, while 13 had known “Ute” mothers. Those of unknown parentage most likely were captives from outside NM brought into Abiquiu for trade. Those with identified mothers were likely the children of “Ute” woman and or genizaros. Godparents, or padrinos and/or priests provided estimated ages at baptism in 129 cases. The average age of those born outside NM (116 out of 139) was 6.7. years. Those born to identified “Ute” mothers had an average age of 1.6 years. The total gender distribution included 96 females and 49 males. For these 139, the years of baptism vary by decade with the most in 1840s (40), 1830s (24) and 1800s (2). The total number of identified “Ute” captives represents less than two percent of the approximately eight thousand total baptisms at Abiquiu. Abiquiu, however, over time became home tot an estimated one thousand unidentified Indian captives. Abiquiu’s baptismal index is filled with hundred upon hundred of unspecified “Indians” and children of unknown parentage.” (Blackhawk, 92-93).

C. Slavery

1. Presence in the communities and families

Some of the best documents that serve as windows into the family structure in the colonial period are census records and this may be one of the places where we show a broad swath of **census** records. The two most revealing censuses (when it comes to Utes) are, I think the 1750 and the 1790 census and as we show the more general, what may be even more important is to then take a page from those census and elaborate. , which the baptismal records can also add to.



The other set of documents that are interesting in terms of documenting the presence of Indian slaves in the communities are last will and testaments. For instance, Antonio Severino Martin noted above . In the last will and testament of Don Severino Martínez in 1827, for instance, one of the very first items he lists is as follows: “I order that a tract of land, which I will describe below, consisting of ninety varas from the Rio de San Fernando up to the road be divided in equal parts between Maria Gertrudis and Maria Dolores, both now married and who were my servants.”

Above, I mentioned the Ruxton account of San Antonio del Rio Colorado, which I write about more extensively, but here is a segment of what I write. *While Ruxton only noted, “one or two Yuta Indians,”* living in the community, the reality was that there were also probably many others who were racially mixed and many more indigenous people that also lived among their masters/families and who, in reality made settlement possible in the first place. By 1842, three families officially petitioned for settlement in Río Colorado, signed by Rafael Archuleta, Antonio Elias Armenta and Miguel Montoya. These three families would bring over thirty *colonos*, colonists with them, mostly from Arroyo Seco and Arroyo Hondo, communities immediately north of Taos. Tracing ecclesiastical records backwards reveals that many of those colonists were the heirs

to generations of mixture that had occurred in the interconnected villages throughout Taos, Abiquiu, Santa Cruz and San Juan de los Caballeros. These same records reveal that many of these colonists had also been born to the custom of holding Indian captives in their household. For instance, one of the settlers, Antonio Domingo Garcia and his wife, Maria Bernarda Sandoval each were children of parents that can be identified as baptizing and holding captives in their household in the 1820s and 1830s as could their grandparents a generation before. Another *colono*, Ventura Martin, had also “rescued” and baptized three Indians into his own household by the time he is listed here. Indeed, there was not a single colonist on this list that was not in some way connected to this practice of holding Indian captives in *nuevomexicano* households, a tradition that would certainly extend for these colonists and their kin into the next two decades. This practice was especially prevalent among the families leading the push toward settlement. Antonio Elias Armenta, the lead colonist had as recent as 1843 also baptized a **Ute** servant. Of this baptism, Padre Martínez himself records this baptism in this way: *In this parish of Taos, on December 10, 1843, I Antonio Jose Martínez baptized a one-month-old infant, and I named him Juan Francisco, a descendant of the Ute tribe, of which he was rescued. He is the house servant of Antonio Elias Armenta and Maria Ysabel Sanches... citizens of the settlement of Río Colorado.*

2. Families of their own

a) Marriage

According to baptismal records on October 3, 1844, Jose Matias Trujillo, is identified as an 8 year old “Ute” with padrinos listed as Fernando Trujillo and Juana Maria Trujillo, with a notation that the baptized was a servant of the godparents. Later, according to a 1860 federal census, Matias is enumerated with his spouse, Natividad

3. Occupations

In 1637, Governor Luis de Rosas captured about **eighty Moache Utes** and forced them to labor in the Santa Fe workshops, where they were to produce mantas for trade on the Plains If this document gets used, it would be good to pair it with hundreds of mantas.

By 1805 Governor Joaquin de Real Alencaster could speak of “*el comercio costumbre en los gamuzas, caballos, y cautivos payutahs*” (“the customary commerce in furs, horses, and Paiute captive”) carried on for nearly fifty years by long time Ute interpreter and trader Manuel Mestas, *genizaro* of Abiquiu. (See Real Alencaster to Commandante Salcedo, 1 Sept 1805, Item #7 SANM II #II #1881, Roll 15, Frames 810-836; Alencaster also praises the interpretive services of “los pananas” rendered by Joseph Chalvet, an expatriate Frenchman. For Mestas ‘ **Ute**-genizaro background and service as interpreter, see SANMII #1866, Roll 15, Frames 849-851.

In Cleofas Jaramillo’s *Shadow’s of the Past*, we learn about **Carmen**, who Jaramillo reveals was a **Ute** slave “whom Uncle Gaspar bought from the Indians with a team of mules. Trained in his household, she was the best cook and so neat.” It is the Carmel perhaps that is enumerated in Gaspar Ortiz’s house in Santa Fe in 1870, listed as a Ute servant, but the same one that over time, becomes Jaramillo’s own cook”

D. Freedom

1. Escape

SANM I,1747, 8:769, 482 Codallos y Rabál, Santa Fe, writ of banishment of soldier Antonio Santistevan of Presidio of Santa Fe for permitting escape of a captive Ute. Nov. 24.

in the counties is interesting, particularly when a more thorough investigation confirms that Head was not being entirely honest when he wrote that the lists contained “every Indian Captive” in the two counties. Within his own household in Plaza de Guadalupe, Head was himself “raising” at least two **Ute** girls, which he had baptized there, this according to both census and baptismal records. This fact did not go unnoticed; however, in a letter by Samuel F. Tappen, from right here in Fort Garland, sent to D. N. Cooley, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on January 27, 1866, only six months after Head's lists were sent, he wrote: “In the fall of 1863 while in command of Fort Garland Colorado territory, I received information which satisfied me of the complicity of Lafayette Head, Agent of the **Ute** Indians, in the kidnapping and enslavement of Navajo Indian women and children, and where by his example encouraged the Mexican population to engage in this infamous business.” Head’s complicity does not, however, discredit the lists he produces. Instead, what is to be understood from this is that, the number of captives within the San Luis Valley in 1865 was actually much higher than he himself represents.

According to the testimonies taken before the San Luis Clerk, on August 1868, some few Native Americans living with individuals in the villages of San Luis found it necessary to declare their freedom. In his testimonies taken in his 1865 listing, indicated that of the thirty nine listed by Lafayette Head, he indicated that Juan Miguel (Duran), a twelve year old Ute, and four Navajos, Pedro (Jacques) a seven year old, Francisco Antonio (Vigil) also a seven year old, Margarita (Martinez), a twelve year old and Felipe (Vallejos) an eight year old were all listed as “absent.”

Of those that Mares refers to, even if generically, one was Maria Rosalia Mares, an adult Ute who was baptized into the household of Juan de Jesus Mares as his servant. Perhaps some of those also identified as his “criados” may have also been passed down to his son, Vicente F. Mares, who is charged by Griffin with holding five Indian slaves.

E. Conclusion