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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

THE PENITENTE MORADAS OF THE TAOS, NEW MEXICO, AREA

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
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degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
HAROLD NELSON OTTAWAY
Norman, Oklahoma
1975

THE PENITENTE MORADAS OF THE TAOS, NEW MEXICO, AREA

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Introduction

General Statement

Los Hermanos Penitentes, the Penitente Brotherhood, is a lay religious organization located primarily in northern New Mexico and in southern Colorado. Membership is restricted almost exclusively to Spanish-Americans who are likewise members of the Catholic Church. Their meeting place is referred to as a morada, normally an adobe or stone structure that is sometimes near a camposanto, or cemetery, at the edge of the village. The members expiate their sins through prayer and bodily penance, and act as a service organization both within their own group and, upon request, in the greater community.

The Problem

Upon making the acquaintance of a Penitente Brother, I became interested in learning more about the group. Information obtained from an initial survey of the literature concerning Penitentes, and in a later, more intense search in appropriate libraries and archives, was disappointing. While there is substantial literature on the Penitente Brotherhood, and though some might assume that sufficient data exist, actually most accounts are popularized and sensationalized versions that can be traced to one or two sources. Practically all of the accounts, especially the older ones, seem to be elaborations and exaggerations of

writings stemming from Charles F. Lummis and the biased account of Reverend Alexander M. Darley, published in 1893. Consequently much of what has been written reflects prejudice and insufficient information and simply perpetuates previous errors and misunderstandings. Popular writers have repeatedly tended to place undue emphasis on the self-flagellation and simulated crucifixion aspects of the Penitentes.

The majority of these accounts attempt a general treatment, and do not offer an intensive study of a particular morada or its members. For the most part, local differences are ignored in the literature. Since the present information leaves much to be desired, an attempt at a more rigorous investigation seemed important, as there is evidence that the society is losing members and failing to recruit the young. Indications are that before too long the information that is now available may be impossible to obtain.

Therefore, at the onset of my study of the Penitentes it was my goal to obtain basic information about the Brotherhood that had heretofore been omitted in the literature. I felt confident that this endeavor would lead me into some interesting aspects of religion and the dynamics of religious change. In order best to accomplish my objectives, my initial research design was quite specific in nature. It was my intention to concentrate on one particular morada and to learn as much as I could about its historical background, structural organization, activities and members, and to shape this information into a meaningful view of the

Penitentes as seen against a general background of Spanish-American life. Previously, the literature had focused on the Easter week activities of the Penitentes, ignoring completely the events that occur during the remainder of the year which are important in maintaining group solidarity and continuity. Also, no other work has presented the Penitente member on a personal level. Interviews with Penitente members have made it possible for me to provide introspective material from the individual--why he joined, why the organization is meaningful to him, what it offers in the future, etc. Opinions of peers, non-Penitentes, and Anglos were also obtained, and these enabled me to put the opinions of the members into their proper perspective. Likewise, after sufficient data were gained from the one morada, I expanded the inquiry into collecting information from other local moradas so that the one that was the primary object of my research could be understood better in its relation to them and in its contextual framework.

This latter aspect of my study has provided me with interesting data that will enable me to discuss the future of the Penitente movement with more authority. When I initiated this study, I was of the opinion that the Penitentes was a dying organization. My opinion was in part formed from watching the members of the Ranchos morada group grow older and fewer in number each year. This assumption--that the Penitentes as an organization would die out within a relatively short number of years--constituted one of the

principal incentives for conducting the study. This same conclusion has been voiced before in the literature.

John Burma (1954:198) has stated that:

As of 1953, the Penitentes still exist...

The brotherhood still is a religious society...but rapid cultural change stemming from the deisolation of villages is doing what opposition by the Church and state was unable to accomplish in a hundred years.

Working in the San Juan Basin and the Chama River Valley, Frances Swadesh (1966:287) reported the defections of former Penitentes "...to a variety of Protestant Evangelical sects." Many other authors have hinted that this unusual group is destined to obsolescence in the not too distant future. It was my hope that I would be able to record aspects of Penitente life that previously had been ignored before that information was lost in the death of the movement. Indeed my friendship with a Penitente hermano offered a unique, and usually unobtainable, research opportunity.

My effort, then, centered on a multifaceted study to provide base line data on an individual morada group. This information was meant to provide facts basic to the knowledge of the Penitente organization, its activities, and its members and essential for analyzing the future of the Penitente movement in the Southwest.

Methodology

Beginning in the summer of 1967, I established rapport with an hermano ("brother," member of the Penitente society) from the greater Ranchos de Taos area. Each summer as I returned, I continued my contact with him and came to know other members of the society as well. In the spring of 1972, I was secretly permitted entry to their morada, where the interior arrangements were shown and explained in detail. A few days later the Holy Week observance began and I was invited to return for the events which took place. There were solemn visits to the altar room to view the santos and the praying outside the morada in connection with each procession. On the final day of these events, my wife and I were allowed to participate in the procession to Calvary.

After having been invited to share in future activities, I returned to the University of Oklahoma and resumed academic work. In April, 1973, my wife and I returned to live in the Ranchos de Taos community. I was fortunate to find employment in nearby Taos at the Taos Book Shop. My position in this legendary book shop was a great boon to my field studies. A position at the book shop seemed a reasonable occupation for someone still enrolled in college. Moreover, my work enabled me to become acquainted with a number of knowledgeable individuals in the tricultural community. Many of these contacts developed into friendships that in turn gave me opportunities to acquire new and previously

unrecorded material.

Contacts with my morada group friends were soon reestablished and my wife and I did our best to join the community. During Holy Week of 1973, we were again invited to come to the morada to see the santos and to walk in the various processions. As a participant observer, I maintained the same kind of field notes that I had taken the previous year.

In July, 1973, my wife gave birth to our first child and it was gratifying to see the pleasure of our Spanish-American neighbors. One morada group member told me with a wide grin, "Now you are a family," and proceeded to bless the baby boy by making the sign of the cross over him. This blessing became a part of each visit.

Beginning in the Fall of 1973, and continuing through the Summer of 1974, I intensified my field work and conducted numerous open-ended interviews with both morada group members and nonmembers. While everything was still fresh in my mind, I returned home to type the material just collected and to prepare for the next meeting. I made an effort to ask questions and later to seek clarifications. Almost always I was alone with the person, as when running errands in his company, visiting one of the local museums together, walking through a camposanto, or when en route with him to another village. The people were seemingly pleased that I was interested in their Spanish-American traditions, for most Anglos of the vicinity only ask questions about Indians!

The remaining interviews were made with the use of a tape recorder and ninety-minute cartridges. I experienced no difficulty in using a recorder other than that outside noises sometimes coincided with a low-tone verbal response, something which made transcribing troublesome. In such cases I rechecked that segment of data soon afterward with the particular helper. A nominal compensation was made to those individuals who worked with me in tape-recording sessions, and in every case the person was appreciative. All of these longer and more directed interviews were conducted in the late winter months to avoid conflicts with possible employment elsewhere. Field studies were terminated in September, 1974.

Questionnaires were not used, for I felt that these smacked of governmental red tape of which nearly everyone was weary. Also, I wished to avoid embarrassing those whose reading skills were not well developed. My own interviewing was carefully prepared far ahead of time and was rechecked with the typed transcripts that followed each effort.

In this study the individuals consulted are purposely not identified. Much of the information that was given me in offhand conversation and in the more formal taped sessions was secured as a result of an established friendship and I decided at the outset not to betray these special kindnesses and trust.

Photographs were not permitted to be taken during Holy Week at the morada or during any of the processions. The

few that are included in this study were made at a great distance during the final day of processions in 1974. The quality is admittedly poor and they are included only to give the reader a rough visual idea of the procession. Since no one is recognizable at this distance, the pictures will not be offensive to anyone.

Historical Background

The initial Spanish entry into the Rio Grande Valley and the greater Southwest was made in 1540-1541. This entrada was accomplished under the leadership of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado. From the beginning, the first viceroy of Mexico, Antonio de Mendoza regarded this "...expedition as a missionary as well as a business enterprise" (Bolton 1971:75). Even as Coronado made preparations to return to Mexico, he was informed by Fray Juan de Padilla that some of the friars had decided to stay in the country to work among the natives (Bolton 1971:335). Documentary evidence is meager, but it appears that three friars decided to stay. Fray Juan de Padilla returned to what is now Kansas; Fray Luís de Escalona and Fray Juan de la Cruz are thought to have worked among the Puebloan groups.

In 1598 Franciscans accompanied Don Juan de Oñate up the Rio Grande as he led the first authorized colonizing venture. The group's historian, Captain Gaspar Pérez de Villagrà, later wrote a report (1962:110) for the King of Spain in which he related the religious observances carried out by the Spaniards on Holy Thursday while en route north. On March 20, 1598, somewhere south of what is today El Paso, Texas, the expedition camped and constructed a small chapel. The priests, officers, and men assembled there to offer prayers and penance and to beg forgiveness for their sins. Oñate is said to have cruelly scourged himself until blood

flowed from his many wounds.¹ By midsummer, Oñate and his followers settled at San Gabriel de Yunque opposite the Tewa village of San Juan. The colony's existence was precarious, and by 1610 the settlement was abandoned and its inhabitants moved to the present capital, Santa Fe.

The area's history was disrupted in 1680 when Popé, a native religious leader from San Juan, joined with Catiti, from Santo Domingo, to lead the "Pueblo Rebellion" against the Spanish population. In most of the pueblos, resident Franciscans were killed along with any other Spaniards who could be found. Missions were destroyed and within a few days twenty-one out of thirty-three missionaries and several hundred colonists were dead (Spicer 1962:162-163). The Spanish survivors retreated to Paso del Norte, just south of El Paso, Texas and remained there for more than a decade.

Franciscans returned with Don Diego de Vargas when he reconquered the region between 1692 and 1694. The Franciscans maintained their hold on the area throughout the eighteenth century. Even though they were understaffed they continued to establish missions among the Indians and, at the same time, to administer to the religious needs of the Spanish settlers. They were forced to divide their ministries among diverse peoples over a wide and rugged geographical region. To illustrate this problem of ratio between Franciscans and colonists, Simmons (1968:107) noted that church treasury

¹This event is often cited as the earliest evidence of penitential expression under the spiritual guidance of Franciscan friars in the Southwest.

records in the year 1788 indicated there were approximately thirty friars in all of present-day New Mexico.

During the first two centuries of Spanish dominance, New Mexico was administered by the Franciscan Order of Friars Minor and by royal authority in Spain. This system prevailed until the Bishop of Durango (Mexico) was able to secularize the villa churches in Santa Fe, Santa Cruz, El Paso, and Albuquerque in 1797, making the priests responsible to Durango. Once Mexico declared independence from Spain in 1821, the Franciscans lost their royal financial support and were gradually forced to withdraw. Commenting on the void that existed in the remote parts of New Mexico, Chavez (1954:116) says:

...some native New Mexicans were ordained, but these were never near enough to cover a vast primitive territory which the Franciscans had left vacant, and whose population had increased and spread out in many new villages and hamlets away from the Rio Grande Valley.

Simply too few priests remained to administer to the religious needs of so many people. Even the basic rites of baptism, confirmation, marriage, and burial were left unattended. The situation worsened as a result of expansion which occurred under Mexican rule. Thus during the first half of the nineteenth century, these events helped to

create an atmosphere that was favorable to the growth and perpetuation of the Penitente Brotherhood in the remote villages. Joining together, the Penitentes served to fulfill their religious and social needs, and in so doing consolidated families into a larger unit which aided their survival in a semiarid environment amid still-hostile Plains and Pueblo Indians.

While my own informants say that their Brotherhood is "very old," they are admittedly uncertain as to its precise beginnings in the Southwest and even in their own community. They do feel that it "...is connected with the Third Order of Saint Francis and the Catholic church," and beyond that the question of origin appears academic and is of little interest to them.

Saint Francis of Assisi founded a religious order in 1206 that within a few years consisted of three groups. The first group was for men, the second for women, and in both cases these men and women gave up everything for a monastic life. The third group was for lay men and women who wished to be disciples of Saint Francis but at the same time retain their worldly goods and professions. The Franciscan Order grew and in time extended to the New World. Franciscans served as the initial missionaries to Mexico, and were a part of the Coronado entrada and the later Oñate expedition into the American Southwest. For nearly two hundred years the Franciscans administered to the religious needs of the Spanish colonists and attempted to "save souls"

among the native population. The plain, poorer colonists belonged to the Third Order in New Mexico and, in many of the old Spanish wills, the testator indicated a desire to be buried in the habit of the Third Order (Boyd 1974:442).

Father Francisco Atanasio Dominguez was commissioned to tour and to prepare a detailed report (Adams and Chavez 1956) dealing with all of the New Mexico missions in 1776. In the process of performing this duty, the padre did not once use the name Penitente. Conflicting theories have resulted. On the one hand, Fray Angelico Chavez (1954) has interpreted this as proof that the Penitentes did not exist at the time, while E. Boyd, on the other hand, felt that:

...Dominguez did not once use the name Penitente, nor did he ever mention separate moradas, or houses used by the Third Order outside of the churches. This, obviously, was because neither the name nor the need for a morada existed in his time; the Third Order was conducted as usual by the Franciscan missionaries, and its members ...made whatever devotions or disciplines were "proposed" to them by the fathers (Boyd 1974:443).

It was only in 1833, when Bishop Zubiria made his first visitation from Durango to New Mexico, that the name Penitente

appeared in writing. The Bishop became angered with the Penitentes at Santa Cruz, and on July 21, 1833, issued orders for total suppression of the group by the present and future pastors. E. Boyd (1974:450) noted that while these orders had no practical effect in abolishing the group or organization, they "...may have been the final cause of the removal of the chapters from their allotted altars or chapels within churches and into private buildings of their own." This may well have been the time when the need for the morada, or separate chapel, arose, thereby providing a meeting place for the society that was now forced into secrecy. Furthermore, as Boyd suggests:

...the Penitentes banded together to practice their preferred devotional ceremonies just when they most needed a mutual protective organization on a year-round basis. The chapters of brotherhoods were better able to resist not only the effects of new religious laws but also the foreigners who now came with a new language and new business methods--the Santa Fe traders, preceded by trappers from the east (Boyd 1974:450).

Though its effect was felt to a lesser degree in the distant mountain villages than in the more heavily populated districts, the suppression of the Penitente

Brotherhood was continued by the Church hierarchy. Santa Fe became a diocese in 1850, and Bishop John B. Lamy was appointed to the new post. Both Lamy and his successor, Archbishop Salpointe, issued orders that prohibited priests from giving sacraments to any who did not disassociate themselves from the Brotherhood. While these reforms were effective in Albuquerque, Santa Fe, and Las Vegas, members residing in rural communities "...formed a single society which by its unity and secrecy served the year through as a mutually beneficial union and clearing house for news, rumor and planned protective action" (Boyd 1974:451).

It is doubtful that the precise origin of Los Hermanos Penitentes will ever be decisively resolved because of the lack of documentation. Manuscripts pertaining to its founding may never have existed, especially when it is realized that the colonists were more involved in the struggle of providing for their basic needs than in maintaining organizational records. Possibly the Brotherhoods were not derived directly from the Third Order of Saint Francis, but instead may have been modeled after the Order and Franciscan ritual structuring. It is known that the Franciscans emphasized Lent and Holy Week observances, and discipline had long been a favored Franciscan tradition. Throughout the secular period (1790-1850), settlements attempted to preserve the older and more familiar Franciscan forms of expression. In an effort to maintain at least some level of spiritual benefit and to help fill the void

left by the departing Friars, the Penitentes grew in numbers and new morada groups were formed, mainly in the rural areas. The solidarity of the Brotherhood made it possible for many of the villages to delay their own integration with the more aggressive outside world. In this way, the Brotherhood fortuitously performed a most important role, that of saving much of their culture.

Finally, the Penitente tradition found in Spain (Barker 1957), Mexico (Foster 1948:213; 1960), and parts of South America, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines should be mentioned. In various time periods, flagellation and simulated crucifixion have been practiced as basic religious rites in these countries. During Holy Week in 1974 and again in 1975, the major newswire services reported that a man permitted himself to be nailed briefly to a cross in a village north of Manila in the Philippines. Dozens of flagellants were said to be at the foot of the cross lashing themselves with bamboo scourges. At roughly the same time, another news report from Taxco, Mexico, told of some 150 members of the "Brotherhood of the Cross Bearers" who made a public display of their repentance in three processions.

It would seem tenuous to attempt to tie these traditions to a common origin other than to suggest that they most likely are manifestations of Catholicism. When these news clippings were later shown to Ranchos members for comments, they explained that these rites that at first seem similar are different. They asserted that Brotherhoods in New Mexico

associate a solemn, prayerful, and religious tone with their processions and rites, as opposed to the wild, carnival-like atmosphere that rules elsewhere. It seemed clear that news items such as these had come to their attention before and had been discussed not only this year, but also in years past. Needless to say, my friends felt that their own Penitente observances and rituals were different and "much better than those of foreigners."

Moradas in the Taos Area

The Taos Valley has long been recognized for its concentration of Penitente activity. Many of the small mountain villages in the area supported one or more morada groups, and for a time they seemed to flourish in numbers, enthusiasm, and purpose.

In working with several of my older sources I found them to be interested in the history of the region and they seemed pleased with my own absorption with their past--the Spanish-American ways. Locally, everyone has long been accustomed to the fascination of so many with the Taos Indians that my own probing was somewhat of a welcome change, at least for the Spanish-American men and women with whom I worked closely.

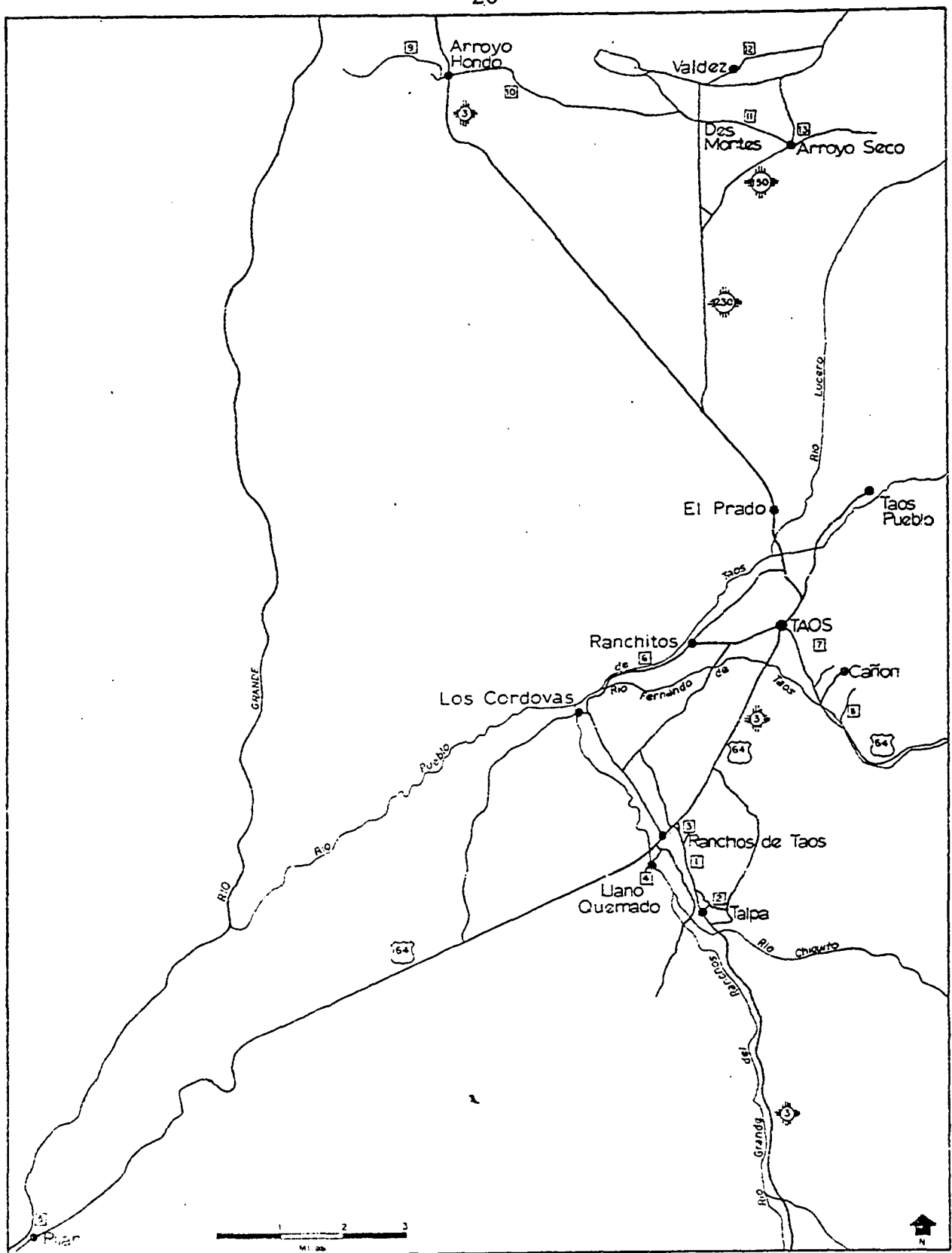
Having a dependable automobile would sometimes bring requests for a ride into Taos, or to a cousin's home, or to the post office in Ranchos de Taos. I always tried to oblige, and many times I would return home to record something that had been said en route and might otherwise not have come to light during an interview session. On such trips I would sometimes purposefully suggest a back road to the destination rather than the paved highway. In this way I became familiar with the countryside and had a splendid guide en route. Remembering that an abandoned morada had been pointed out on a late evening trip, I returned with the same person several weeks later to make

certain of my bearing. It was after such an occasion that I decided to compile a census of the active and inactive moradas in and around Taos. The following is a compilation of these findings. All of the moradas are numbered and correspondingly keyed to Map 1.

1. The Ranchos morada, upon which the major portion of my study is based, has several names. The majority of my sources who are members of this morada call it either "the morada," and/or "the Ranchos morada." Both Spanish-American and Anglo friends who are not members assured me, nevertheless, that it has always been called the San Francisco morada. The Saint Francis cemetery or camposanto joins the morada property, separated by a wire fence. This cemetery not only serves the Ranchos morada members, but members of the St. Francis of Assisi Mission Church are also occasionally buried here.

2. The Rio Chiquito morada is to be found above Talpa, and is sometimes referred to as the Talpa morada. A cemetery is located on the same grounds and is called the Talpa cemetery. Around the turn of the last century members who had once belonged to the Ranchos morada separated and formed their own morada group. This remains an active morada today, but the membership dwindles as each year passes.

3. The Nazareth morada is located a little over a mile northwest of the Ranchos morada. Members broke away from the Ranchos morada and formed this one at about the same time the Rio Chiquito morada was organized. This, too, is



Map 1 Taos, New Mexico and neighboring villages. Squared numerals from one to thirteen refer to the location of the Penitente moradas discussed.

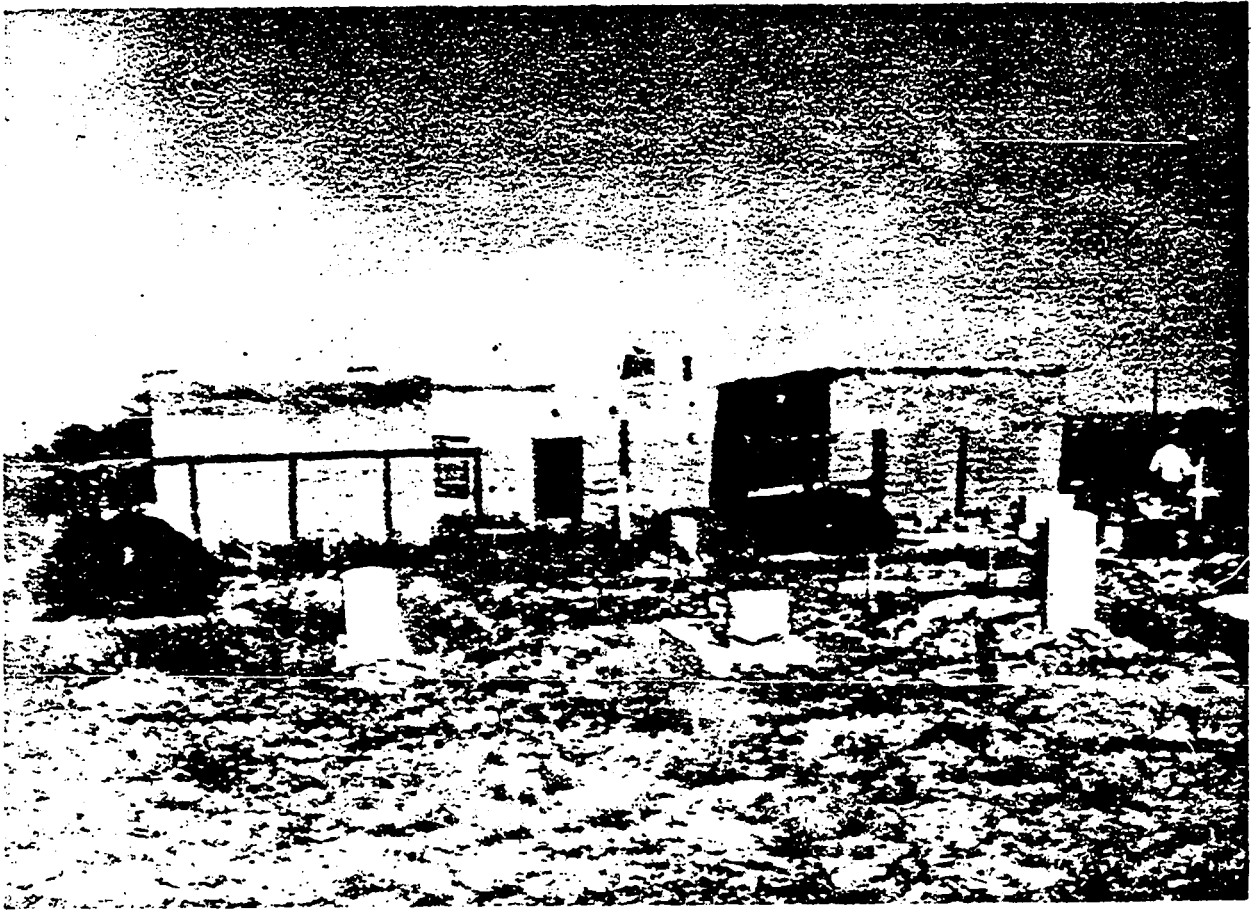


Fig. 1 The Rancho morada, located between Ranchos de Taos and Talpa, New Mexico.



Fig. 2 The Rio Chiquito morada, located on a high point that overlooks Talpa, New Mexico.

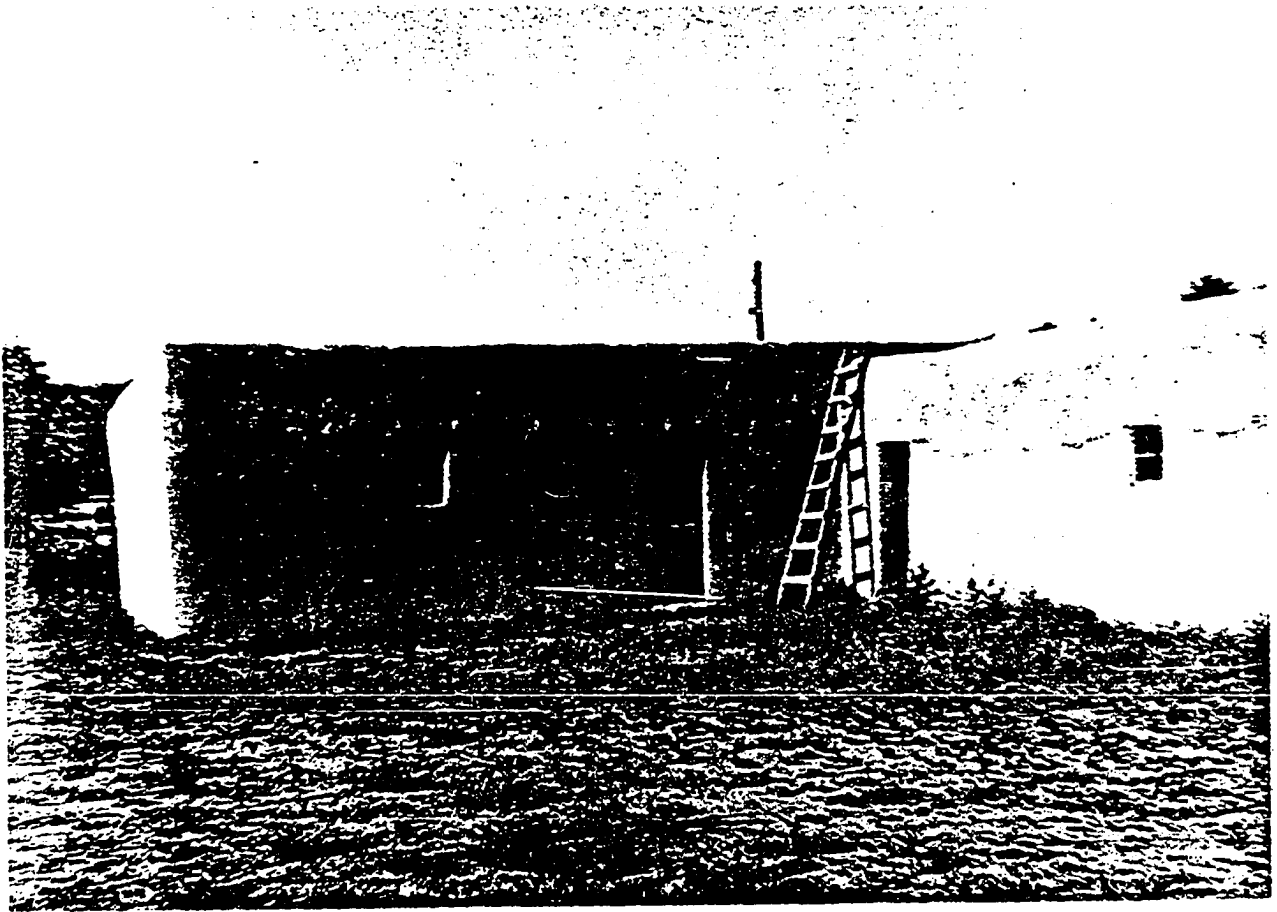


Fig. 3 The Nazareth morada, near Ranchos de Taos, New Mexico.

still an active morada, but seems to have fewer members than either the Ranchos or Rio Chiquito groups. The Jesus of Nazareth cemetery shares the same grounds with this morada and both are enclosed in a fence with a locked gate.

4. The village of Llano Quemado is south, on a ridge that overlooks Ranchos de Taos. Weigle (1971:23) indicates that there was a Penitente morada or activities here, and I have been told by older Spanish-American friends that they had heard that there once was a morada in Llano Quemado. However, no one was ever able to show me its location. The morada/cemetery pattern exists very often elsewhere, but in Llano Quemado the cemetery overlooks the community and there is no evidence of an adobe ruin in the immediate vicinity. Though there is a lack of any documentary or physical evidence, I still feel that it is safe to assume that Penitente activity was carried on here and probably there was a morada as well. It is not uncommon for abandoned adobe structures to be torn down and the salvable timbers and adobe bricks to be used elsewhere in new construction.

5. The morada at Pilar has been abandoned and the remaining active members have transferred their membership elsewhere.

6. A morada ruin may still be seen on the west bank of the Taos River situated in the Lower Ranchitos district some two and a half miles from the Taos Plaza. The former morada is enclosed within a fenced area and the present land owner has cattle grazing inside. The cattle are free

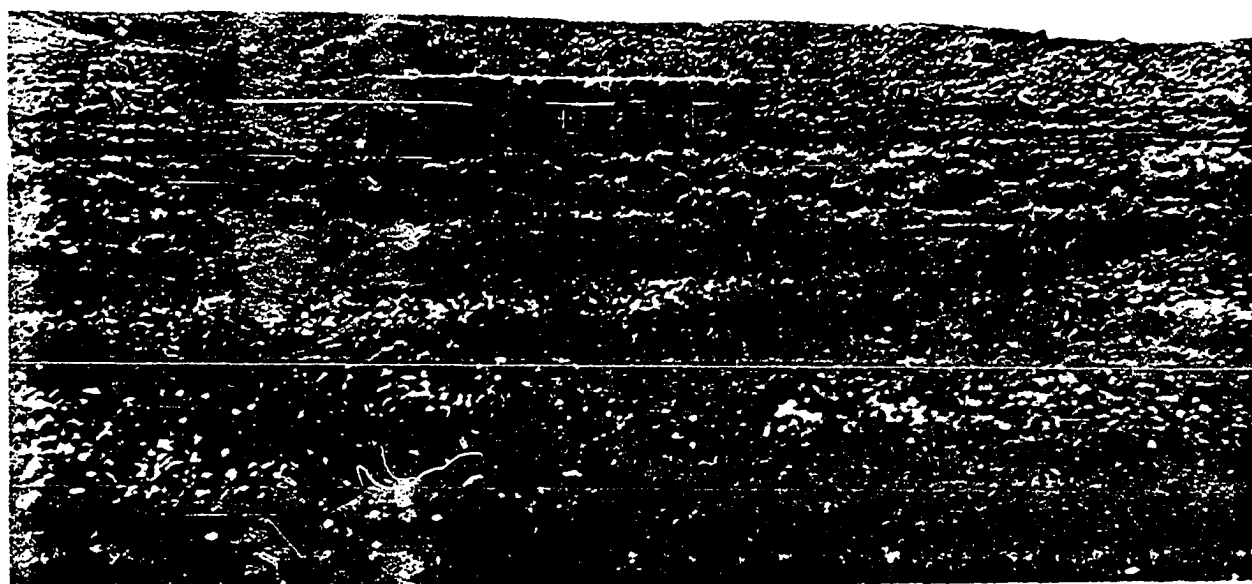


Fig. 4 Today a ruin, this adobe structure once served as a morada to the people in the Lower Ranchitos district, southwest of Taos, New Mexico.

to enter the structure, to rub against it and to enjoy the protection from the elements it provides. None of my friends remembers it as an active morada, but they do recall having heard it referred to as one.

7. Locally called "Mabel's morada," or "the morada behind Mabel's (Luhan) house," this morada is probably the most documented of those in the Taos Valley. Mabel Luhan (1937: facing page 136) included a photograph of this morada in her book, Edge of Taos Desert, and a still different view is in the Rose collection (Rose #1118) of photographs now owned by the Western History Collections at the University of Oklahoma Library.

This morada has the distinction of having been constructed on land owned by the Taos Pueblo. Anglo sources who live in the neighborhood have told me that the morada is inactive, but I have never been able to confirm this for certain. Whatever the present status may be, the morada structure appears to be secured and in reasonably good condition.

8. The Cañon morada is one and a half miles southeast of Taos on a side road that leads to the Forest Service maintenance area. This remains an active morada and I have been told that a few of the former members from the morada behind the Luhan home have joined this morada group. A cemetery is contiguous with the morada property.

9. The lower morada in Arroyo Hondo is the result of a possible rift in the membership of the upper morada. I say

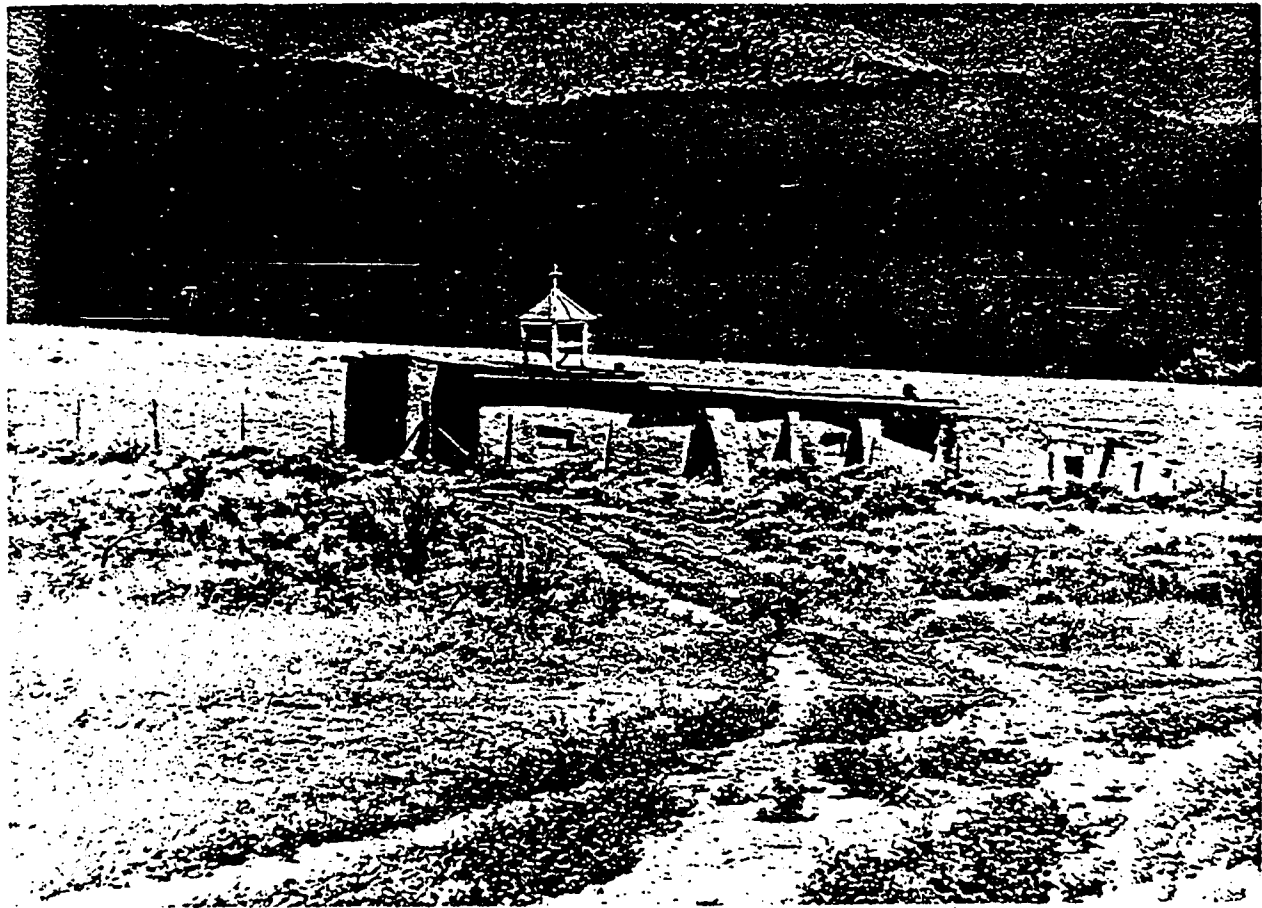


Fig. 5 The Penitente morada behind Mabel Luhan's home, east of Taos, New Mexico. The morada was built on land that belongs to the Taos Pueblo.

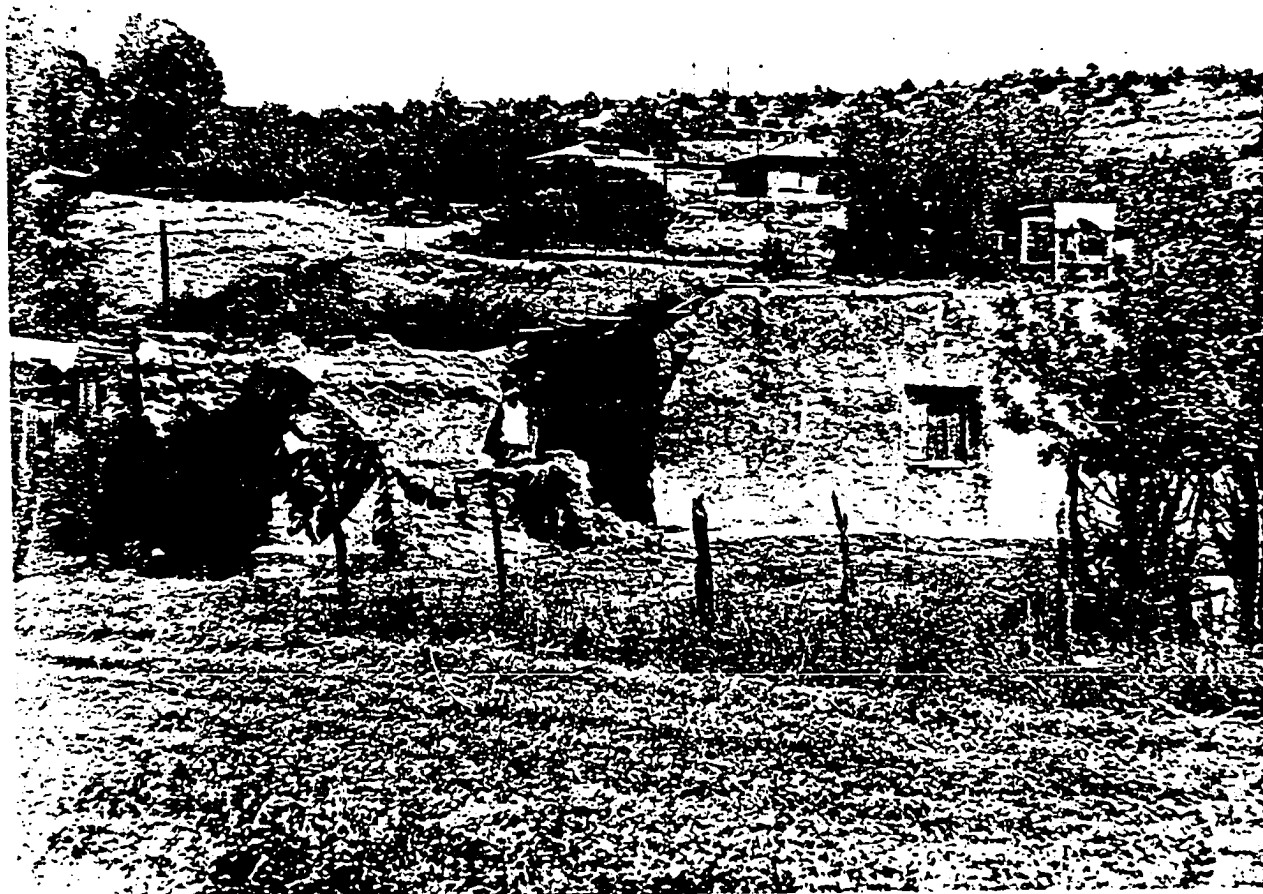


Fig. 6 The south end of the lower morada in Arroyo Hondo,
New Mexico.

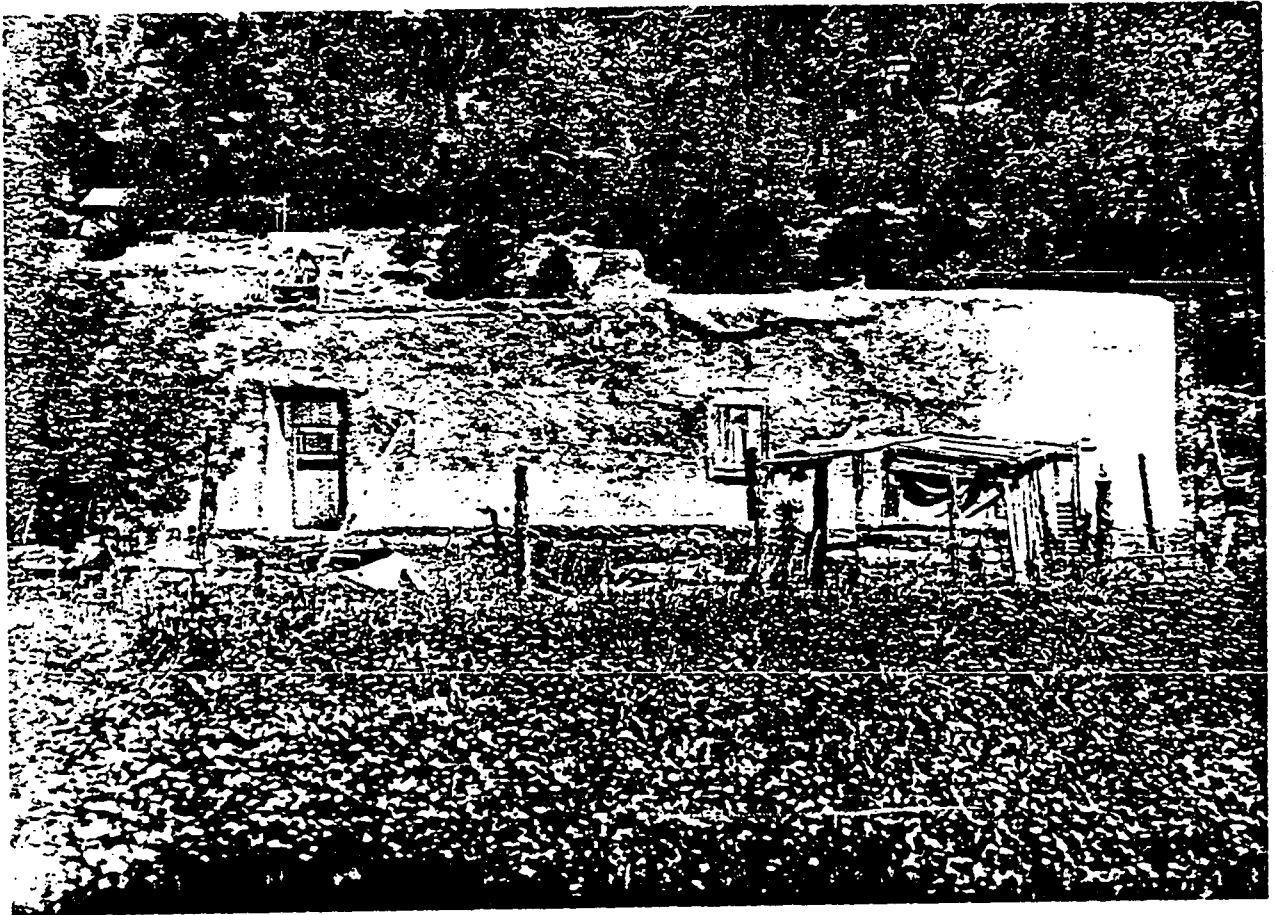


Fig. 7 The north end of the lower morada in Arroyo Hondo,
New Mexico.

"possible" only because all of this took place sometime in the 1850's and today evidence is sketchy at best. In any case, Arroyo Hondo is some twelve miles northwest of Taos, and the lower morada lies in ruins on the north side of the Rio Hondo river in the lower part of the village. As the accompanying photographs testify, the storage room, or the west end of the morada is rapidly deteriorating. Even the ruin is distinctive, for there are white crosses painted on the facade.

While the santos and religious paraphernalia from the vast majority of abandoned moradas have had varying disposition, this has not been the case in Arroyo Hondo. Sometime in the 1930's both the upper and lower moradas in Arroyo Hondo began disposing of their religious artifacts, and soon thereafter the Taylor Museum in Colorado Springs came into a position where they were able to obtain nearly the entire contents of the two moradas (Shalkop 1969:4).

10. The upper morada in Arroyo Hondo was built sometime between 1852 and 1856 (Shalkop 1969:12), on an open terrace overlooking the valley. The morada no longer serves its original purpose, that of worship and penance by the Penitente brothers. In 1961 the building was purchased by an Anglo family who have since converted it into their home. The new owners have retained most of the original architectural features and have shared these aspects with students of historic adobe buildings through publications (Bunting 1964:54-61; 1974:18, 22, 29, and 57).

11. The Des Montes morada once served the Des Montes area that is just west of Arroyo Seco. In the mid-1950's this morada was sold to an Anglo family who soon after renovated it and made it into their seasonal home. The structure is on the north side of the east and west road that connects Des Montes to Arroyo Seco.

12. The Valdez morada is just outside of Valdez, north and east on the road that leads to the Taos Ski Valley. In the late 1960's the morada property was sold, and the active members transferred to the morada group in nearby Arroyo Seco. Recently, the old morada structure has taken on a look of habitation.

13. The Arroyo Seco morada has developed new life in recent years. It is located just north of the village of Arroyo Seco, relatively close to the Holy Trinity Parish Church, down a narrow lane that is hidden among bushes and woods. The morada itself is very well maintained and was given a fresh coat of paint over its hard plaster this past spring.

Through a friend and fellow Taos Book Shop employee, I learned about the Holy Trinity Parish of Arroyo Seco and of a revival of interest in the local morada group. In every other case that I had examined in the region I found the membership to be dwindling, so word of this turnabout stimulated me to investigate further.

In late 1971 the total membership of the Arroyo Seco morada was about twenty-two members. Even though it drew

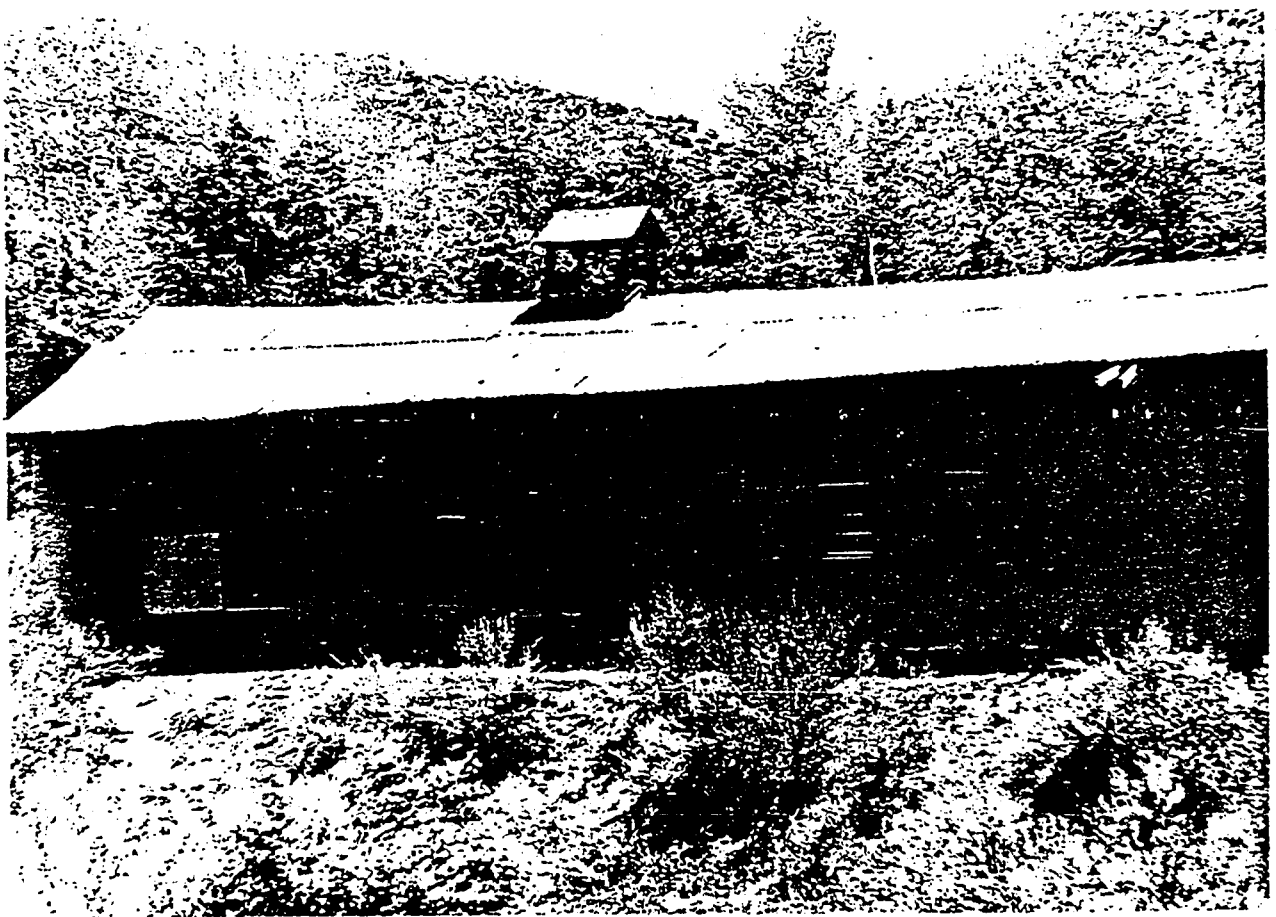


Fig. 8 The Valdez morada, located north and east of Valdez,
New Mexico.

from the near-by communities where the Brotherhood was no longer locally active, the Arroyo Seco group was composed only of older men and their total grew smaller each year because of death, old age, and sickness. Soon thereafter a change took place.

In March, 1972, Father George V. Salazar was assigned to be the new Pastor of the Holy Trinity Parish of Arroyo Seco. Two days after he arrived Father Salazar was confronted by a three-man delegation from the Arroyo Seco Brotherhood, headed by the hermano mayor. The three men brought with them the "Rule of the Brotherhood" or their constitution for the Father to read. Penitente members have told me that "Instead of being brushed aside with a promise to read the documents sometime soon, Father Salazar welcomed the men inside and read everything with care right then," in front of them. This was the beginning of a new relationship within this parish between the priest and the Brotherhood.

Upon this foundation of sensitivity and interest, Father Salazar has built a warm working relationship with the Arroyo Seco morada group. He has done everything possible to bring the Brotherhood into the actual functioning of the Church, such as permitting and encouraging the Brothers to participate in Church services during Holy Week, and having processions as part of a service. In return, the members have come to him and have asked his assistance in reworking their alabados, or their traditional hymns. For years these alabados were maintained as an oral tradition,

and then as people were exposed to formal education, hymns were written down in small notebooks. During the time of transition from the oral to written records, errors were made in spelling, and in time the entire meaning was changed in differing degrees. The example that was given me was the verb adorar, which means "to worship." The context was in connection with a particular saint, and instead of worshipping the saint, the members believed and Father Salazar concluded that it probably was originally meant to be alabar, or "to praise" the saint. The members had recognized this and had long questioned these transcriptions, but had been reluctant to change anything for fear that they would err. And so, as a result of the interest of the Pastor, the old ways of the people in this village are being understood and preserved for future generations.

This young Padre has inspired the young, middle-aged, and elder members of his parish. The result for the Brotherhood membership has been significant. In a little over two years the number of morada group members has increased to forty-seven, and there are others who have indicated a desire to become a member. The age group of those who have recently joined is for the most part between thirty and fifty years of age and this can be only interpreted as a good sign for the longevity of the organization in this community.

When I inquired into the personal background of Father Salazar, I learned that he was born and raised in Las Vegas, New Mexico. Here his uncles and grandfather were members of a morada group and he grew up learning, understanding, and knowing what they stood for as a group. Even though he has never personally been a member, he learned at an early age many of their alabados and prayers simply by listening to the older people. As a young man he recognized the untruths that he heard and read about concerning the Penitentes and he deeply resented the manner in which they were being maligned. He promised himself that if he were ever to become a priest or be in a position to do something constructive he would do his best to "...give the Brotherhood his strong encouragement and to be sensitive to the life style of the people."

This census of moradas in the region in and around Taos reveals that only five morada groups out of thirteen still seem to be functioning as active volunteer societies. Of these five only the Arroyo Seco morada group seems to be showing visible signs of substantial growth. The circumstances in Arroyo Seco can be accurately described as a rebirth of interest in the morada as the direct result of the cooperation and inspiration of the local priest. This development and other comparative data will be considered in a later section that deals with the future of the Penitentes.

A Description of the Ranchos Morada,
Including Religious Paraphernalia

The Ranchos morada is situated midway between Ranchos de Taos and Talpa, just west of the Acequia Madre del Rio Chiquito, one of the principal irrigation ditches for this district. It is contained within the Cristobal de la Serna Grant, which is the earliest existing land grant made in Taos Valley. Prior to the Pueblo Revolt in 1680, a Don Fernando Duran y Chavez was granted this same land. During the uprising, all but three of the settlers in the valley were killed. Don Fernando, his son, and Sergeant Major Diego Lucero de Godoy escaped and made their way with the other retreating colonists to the village of El Paso del Norte. When Don Diego de Vargas pushed north and set about to reconquer and recolonize New Mexico between 1692-1693, Don Fernando and Godoy chose not to follow. Don Fernando's grant was reissued to Cristobal de la Serna in 1715 (see Appendix 1), and Godoy's was given to Antonio Martinez a year later (Martinez 1968:2-3).

Land in the midwest is normally surveyed and divided very neatly into sections, townships, and ranges, and to obtain title to property there is a relatively simple matter. This is not the case in much of northern New Mexico where the land was originally distributed in grants made by the Governor of the Province, on authority from the Dominion of Spain, and later by the Mexican government. The person

to whom the grant was made was anxious to claim the land to be inhabited and cultivated. All of this was slow in materializing but through the centuries families established themselves in the country that borders the Sangre de Cristo mountains. This area offers a source of water for the irrigation of crops and gardens.

In checking with an abstract office and at the County Court House in near-by Taos, I learned that the Cristobal de la Serna grant was patented in 1903. This means that the United States government surveyed the boundary of the grant and by granting patent they relinquished any prior ownership of the grant to the Cristobal de la Serna heirs. A few surveys of the interior of the granted region, which includes 22,232.57 acres, were made after 1903, but these usually merely read that someone's property was bordered on the north and east by a named person, on the west by another person, and on the south by still another. In 1941 the State of New Mexico surveyed the state in order to establish the individual land holdings for taxation purposes. These maps are excellent but the state failed to place any boundary markers, so today it is next to impossible to establish property lines with any certainty. Prior to the 1941 reassessment survey, families divided their holdings among their surviving children and there was very little that was recorded at the Court House, since family members understood among themselves where their property was located--on this side of a fence post, or to the west of the line that was

formed by sighting from a particular tree in someone's front yard to the peak of Picuris Mountain.

In the most recent work on Taos, Claire Morrill (1973a: 22) interestingly presents an account of a complex problem that has resulted from continuous ownership by Spanish-American families.

The head of a Taos Spanish family would have no liking for the English system whereby the estate goes intact to the eldest son. What would the other sons do? They had no wish to leave the land, to which they had a deep emotional attachment, nor did anyone want them to leave. It was much better for everybody to stay here together. Because there was no money to buy more land for the children, the father arranged to divide the home place with meticulous exactness. To be fair, he cut it up into long strips, each strip fronting on the irrigation ditch and backing up to the foothills, where there were upland pastures and timber.

Over the generations the strips grew progressively narrower, until finally they reached the dead end of economic

futility. One piece of property here is twenty-six inches wide and a mile and one-half deep and is owned by eight heirs. Another is twenty-seven feet wide at the highway and seven and one-half miles deep.

This passage illustrates the reasons why it is impossible to go to the Taos County Court House, determine the section, township, and range of the morada, and then probe to the earliest records in order to obtain a name (or even a date) of the person who sold or gave the land for the morada and the accompanying camposanto. The earliest (and here I was unable to even find a date that was associated with the legal reference) mention of the Saint Francis cemetery shows it listed simply as "La Morada Property."

As has already been noted, the Ranchos morada is situated between the Jesus of Nazareth morada and camposanto nearer Ranchos de Taos, and the Rio Chiquito morada and camposanto above Talpa. The Ranchos morada and camposanto are the oldest of the three and my sources report that in about 1890 members split away from the Ranchos morada and the smaller groups formed the other two. Very little information about what caused the division seems to be remembered today. An older member of the Ranchos morada group told me "...my father was a member at that time, but he never said much about it." This same person went on to say:

...it was pretty hard for the people from Talpa to come all the way down here. There were too many, you see; there were one hundred fifty or so and it was pretty hard to keep up with the meetings and duties. Everybody has their own habit, and the way in which they do things. I think it was a pretty good idea to split up like that. Even today we're only twenty-five you know and with twenty-five it isn't very hard to get together and everything.

In checking this data with other members, I learned that the reasons offered for the split are much the same as I have just quoted. I probed for evidence of factionalism, such as family members who left together, or for any other reasons that might have caused the split, but at this late date there does not seem to be any continuing rivalries that would be suggestive of earlier problems that might have led to the schism. Nor is there any memory of such difficulties: apparently size was the only factor involved.

Richard Ahlborn (1968:136) discovered a similar case when he conducted work in Abiquiú. Here an original chapter divided in order to create another, for a total of two moradas, for like reasons: "The older members say that

the first morada merely had become too large for convenient use of the building."

In my efforts to determine a beginning date for the Ranchos morada and camposanto, I checked the literature concerning burial practices in Spanish New Mexico. I found that recurring Indian raids in the region and the Indian practice of desecrating graves made it necessary to inter the bodies inside churches. E. Boyd, one of the most knowledgeable authorities of colonial New Mexico life style explained the circumstances thus:

Missions had churchyards at their doors but most of the Spanish, religious or lay, were buried in church floors, more or less close to the altar according to their means or prestige. Without modern methods of embalming or metal caskets, human remains and wooden coffins soon disintegrated. Digging for later burials often exposed fragmentary remains which were mixed with the disturbed soil until the church floor became a literal compost of earth and particles of human bones. No permanent marking of individual graves was done; instead a notation in the burial record

stated that he, or she, was laid in such a place as "the gospel side of the sanctuary rail." Monuments to the dead, so prevalent in European countries, were universally absent in New Mexico whether for rich or poor (Boyd 1966:1).

In 1776, when Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez visited San Jeronimo de Taos (today this is referred to simply as Taos Pueblo), he indicated that the mission had "...charge of the administration of a small settlement called Trampas de Taos" (Adams and Chavez 1956:112).

Adams and Chavez (1956:112) note that:

Later, the name of this village reverted from Trampas back to Ranchos de Don Fernando de Taos, still later shortened to Ranchos de Taos. It will be noted that in 1776 neither the plaza of this village nor its now famed church of St. Francis had yet been started.

The evidence about when the mission church at Ranchos de Taos was built is clearly conflicting (Kubler 1940:103-104). Prince (1915:261) contends: "The understanding among those best informed is that this church was built in the year 1772..." while the brochure that is available today

to visitors to the old mission reports: "Plans for the building were drawn up in Spain at the turn of the 18th Century. Actual construction, which took forty-five years, was started about 1710" (Anonymous n.d.:3). E. Boyd (1974: 352) has acknowledged this confusion but says "...there is little record of construction of the chapel or of its completion...until 1815 when one Ignacio Duran petitioned the provincial Custos, Fray Isidoro Barcenilla, on behalf of himself and his neighbors, to receive the ministrations of Fray Benito Pereyro in the plazas of San Francisco de las Trampas and of San Francisco de Paula."

In 1798, a royal decree was sent to all of the Spanish colonies by the King of Spain, "...forbidding further burials inside of churches in the interest of public health" (Boyd 1966:2). E. Boyd found evidence to suggest that this ruling was not adopted in New Mexico until 1833. By the late 1840's Mexico had ceded much of what is today New Mexico (for details of the various military campaigns see Twitchell 1909), and by the early part of the next decade a line of army posts had been established to protect New Mexicans from hostile Indians. In most communities open cemeteries were now safe from desecration.

It is difficult to say exactly where the Spanish New Mexicans first learned of grave markers, but they may have noticed the marked graves of traders and military personnel, and adopted the practice themselves. With protection available, trade routes expanded, and within a decade or so,

many of the Spanish New Mexicans had obtained a few tools and were putting them to use. One manner in which these tools were utilized was in the creation of wooden cruciform markers for graves. "Soon weathered to silvery grey, these (carved crosses of pine) in many individual varied details, transformed barren clay camposantos into gardens of purely proportioned, simply designed versions of the cross" (Boyd 1966:3). (For a splendid photographic collection of these crosses, see Dorothy Benrimo's (1966) book, Camposantos.)

Because the early burial records for the St. Francis Mission Church no longer seem to exist, I felt that it was worthwhile to utilize the available sources to reconstruct historically an approximate time for the beginning of the Ranchos morada and camposanto. My efforts to arrive at a probable date when the Spanish New Mexicans might have felt enough at ease against Indian attacks to have consecrated ground away from the church to serve as their camposanto are the basis for the discussion that follows.

I feel confident in following E. Boyd's suggested date of 1833 as the time of compliance to the ruling that forbade further burial inside the church. Because of the remoteness of Ranchos de Taos and the lack of military force in the area until after the Taos Rebellion in 1847 (when Governor Bent was murdered), I would hesitate to suggest a date much before 1847 or 1848. Further protection was provided in 1852 after Cantonment Burgwin was established, located some five miles west of Ranchos de Taos at the junction of two small

streams, the Rito de la Olla and the Rio Grande del Rancho (Frazer 1965:96; Murphy 1973:7).

Today there are still a number of the hand-fashioned grave markers in the Ranchos camposanto. Their presence leads one to believe that these crosses were initially made around the early part of the second half of the nineteenth century. The weathering of the crosses prevents all the markers from being deciphered; most never received any identifying carving in the first place. A date of roughly the early 1850's seems most reasonable to me for the establishment of the camposanto.

Furthermore, I suggest that the local population might have felt even better about making the transition from burial in the church to the camposanto by having the morada built nearby. The additional activity would have been a further safeguard. Even today a member neighbor in the area looks after the morada and camposanto and carefully maintains the fence and locked gate that encloses both. Besides vandalism, there is the ever increasing problem of forced entry and looting of the morada (and even the camposanto for the crosses) that concerns the morada group and the local population in general.

The Ranchos morada shares the common method of adobe brick construction with the other religious and private dwellings in the region. This building technique was first introduced into Spain by the Moors, and was later a by-product of the Spanish conquests into the New World, finally

reaching what is now New Mexico. Prior to this time the Indians had used a technique known to architectural students and archaeologists as coursed adobe construction. Basically this consisted of laying "...mud walls in solid courses or layers, about two feet in thickness. Shaped by hand, each layer had to dry before the next was added" (Bunting 1964: 6). While the Indians placed "their first courses of adobe directly on the ground," the Spanish "formed a rough stone foundation on the leveled ground" and in so doing "prevented some erosion at ground level" (Bunting 1964:6).

The Ranchos morada is constructed of adobe bricks set on a partial stone and leveled earth foundation. The door and window frames are made of wood and have heavy wooden shutters which secure the windows when the morada is not in use.

Several times I make reference to the Ranchos morada being constructed in the form of the letter "U." Figure 9 shows this U-shaped floor plan and the general features of the structure. There are four rooms which I have labeled: the altar room or oratory, the kitchen, the meeting room, and the storeroom.

The altar room (sometimes referred to in the literature as the oratory or chapel) has one outside entrance which is located in the northwest corner. Upon entering the altar room a person is usually invited to take a seat on one of the several wooden benches that are placed along the back wall or next to the adobe fireplace. The fireplace, a corner

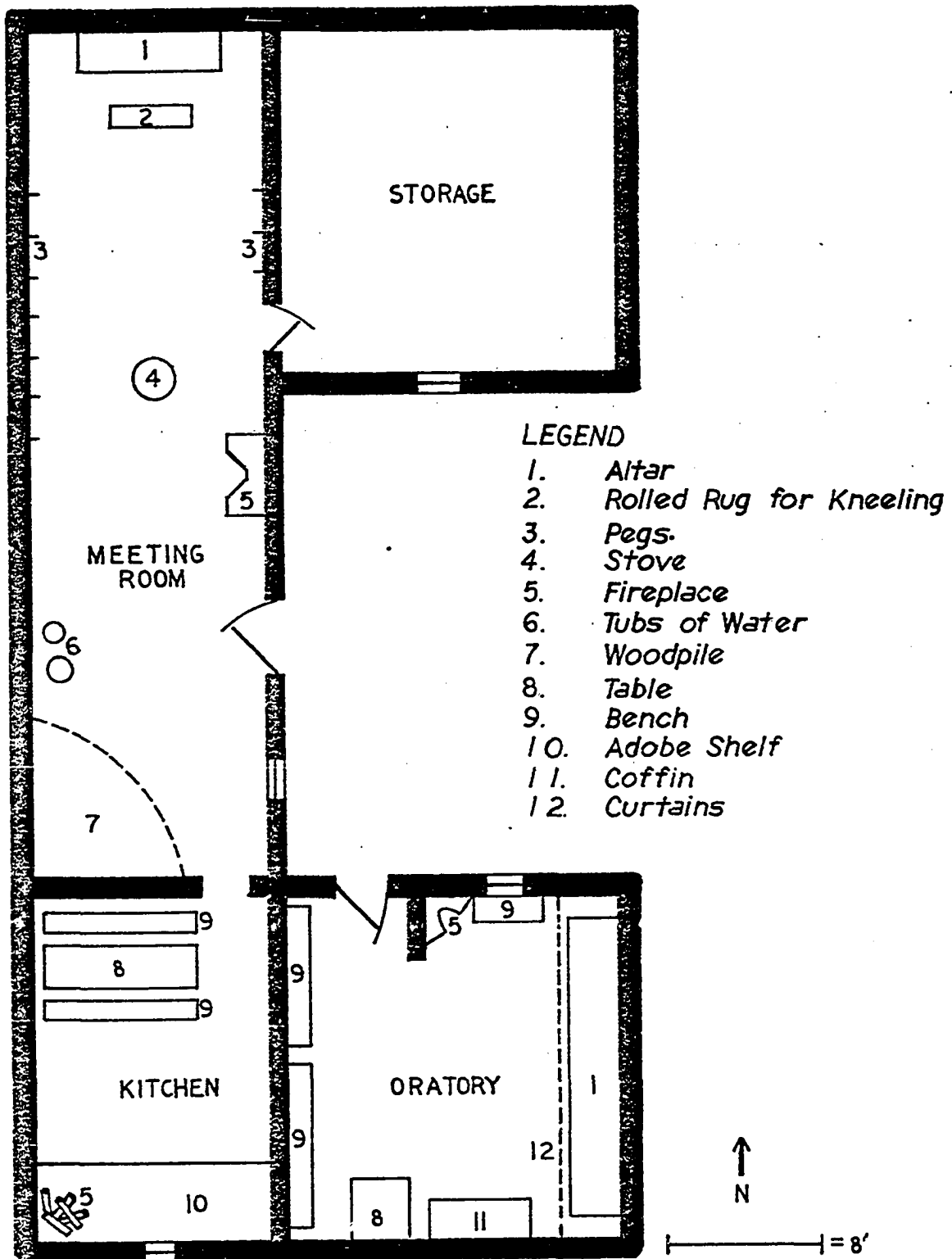
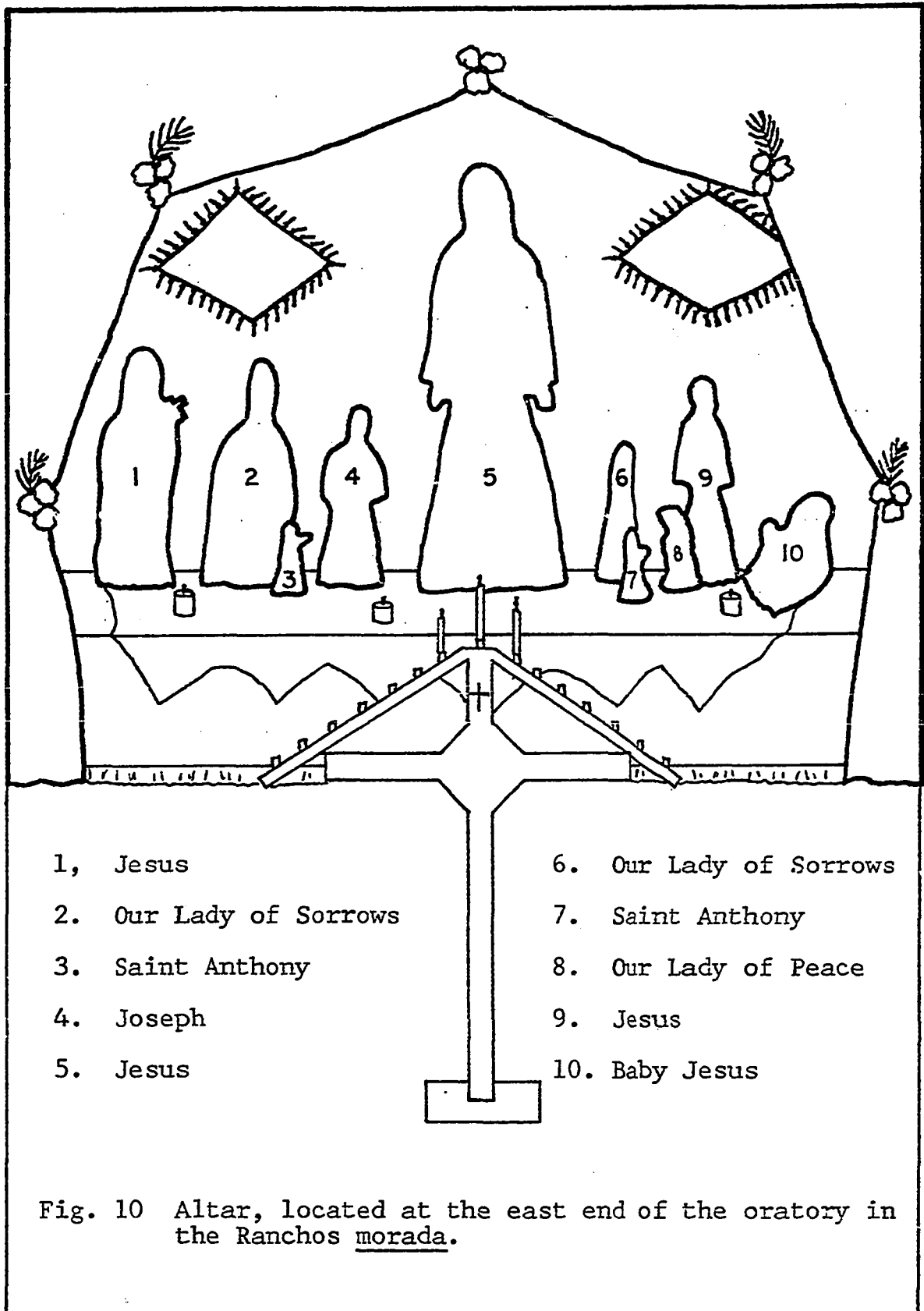


Fig. 9 Floor plan diagram of the Ranchos morada.



type, which is on the north wall close to the door, is typical in its construction of those seen in this region. Along the east wall is the beautiful altar where many of the bultos are positioned (see Fig. 10).

Santos are sacred images which represent Christ, the Holy Family, the Holy Trinity, the Madonna, and the saints of the Christian faith. Those that are carved in the round are referred to as bultos, and those that are painted on a flat surface such as a panel, canvas, large altar-screen, or print are called retablos. A person who makes bultos and retablos is known as a santero.

The altar itself is covered with a white cloth with a white lace edging at floor level. A crocheted piece, which is finished in large zigzags, overlays the white cloth. The near life-sized, red-robed Christ is the central figure on the altar. He is flanked by small bultos which represent Him as an adult and as a baby, as well as those depicting Mary, Joseph, Saint Anthony and others. In my second and third years of observation, I noticed that some of the santos had had new robes fashioned for them.

The number of saints varies from year to year, or even from day to day, as explained later in this section. In 1974 there were ten. The first is a statue of Jesus clothed in a white robe and carrying a cross over his shoulder. Except for His size and His crown of white roses, He is dressed identically as the large Cristo carried in the Friday morning procession. Next is Mary, or Our Lady of

Sorrows, dressed in black and wearing a tin crown. A small Saint Anthony, a carved santo that is not dressed, is placed near Mary's feet. Just to the left of the large Cristo is Joseph, dressed in lavender satin. A veil extends out from under his tin crown and envelopes his body. In the center is the large Christ figure, dressed in red on Thursday and in white on Friday. The statue to the right of the Cristo is another version of Mary. She is dressed in blue and black. Another small, carved Saint Anthony is positioned close to the figure of Mary. The next santo is adorned with a lace mantilla-like veil as well as a silk robe edged with lace. She is probably Our Lady of Peace. Behind her is a Cristo, resembling the large Christ figure as it is dressed on Thursday. The last figure is that of "Baby Jesus" with His arms outstretched. This year [1974] He is dressed in turquoise edged with a wide ecru lace. The position of the santos varied somewhat during the three years that I was admitted to the altar room, but it seems fairly standard that the white-robed Jesus, Our Lady of Sorrows and Joseph remain to the left of the large Cristo (facing the altar). "Baby Jesus" usually was found toward the extreme right of the altar.

Candles in the style of vigil lights are placed at various points on the altar. Above the smaller saints, on either side of the large Cristo, are two crocheted pieces, worked in a "popcorn stitch" in dark colored yarns. Though square, these hang in a manner that makes them appear

diamond-shaped. Approximately four feet in front of the altar is a lace curtain which is fastened back in several places with plastic flowers and leaves. A single candelabro constructed of wood and painted black holds candles that are kept burning continuously. A crucifix is affixed to the upper portion of the candelabro, which is itself cruciform. An oriental rug covers the central area of the wooden plank floor in front of the altar. Overlying the rug, directly in front of the candelabro, is a strip of speckled linoleum. Along the south wall is placed the black coffin containing the Cristo with leather-jointed arms. He is covered with a white veil. I was told this figure is known as Jesús Entierra. The coffin is resting on two sawhorses, which have been painted white. The lid, which is open, has a red painted interior lined with lace. Four ribbon gift bows are randomly placed on the lace. Also on this same wall, between the coffin and the altar, is a crucifix. In addition to the Christ figure, there is the figure of an angel attached to the crucifix. The figures are dressed in white and a white veil envelops them both. The door into the altar room remains partially open much of the time unless severe weather conditions outside make it more comfortable to have it closed. Normally the single window (on the north side just east of the bench beside the corner fireplace) is unshuttered, so that the light may play upon the altar and santos. It is curtained with white lace and adorned with plastic flowers.

The kitchen measures twelve feet east and west and some twenty feet north and south. It is a much more austere appearing room with a long table and two side benches serving as the only furniture. The floor is hard-packed adobe and the only entrance is from the larger meeting room directly north. A threshold approximately eight inches high separates the kitchen and meeting room. A high window above the fireplace is on the south side of the room and its purpose is to give light to the room. The adobe fireplace is an interesting architectural feature. It is not the corner fireplace that is usually seen in older adobe structures. (Examples showing the variety of fireplaces to be found in the Taos area are well described in Bunting 1964 and 1974). The noteworthy aspect is an adobe shelf arrangement, about nine inches thick, which runs over the fireplace and along the end of the room (or the entire south wall). Members said that food was placed on and served from this shelf. The advantage of holding a quantity of dished food and keeping it warm makes this feature a very functional one indeed.

The meeting room measures twelve feet wide and approximately forty feet long. Upon entering the room from outdoors one is immediately faced with an enormous woodpile that covers much of the southwest corner of the room and is obviously the fuel supply for the several fireplaces inside the morada. Several tubs of drinking water and a communal dipper are seen along the west wall near the woodpile.

Wooden pegs have been driven into the west wall and here winter coats are hung while the members pray near the altar that stands along the north wall of the room. The altar itself is lighted with candles and one can observe on it several santos, the cross that is used in the procession, and two or three tin-framed retablos. A candelabro stands in front of the altar. An adobe fireplace is along the east wall, near the entrance to the storeroom. To provide additional warmth, a round heating stove has been placed in the center and toward the north part of the room, close to the altar. Near the corner, next to the altar, is the floor model matraca, or the wooden box rattle (see Fig. 15).

The storeroom is similar in size to the altar room, or approximately eighteen feet square. Herein are stored fence posts, wire, and other maintenance equipment. Also, during processions the snare drum and flute are sometimes placed inside this room when they are not in use. A window on the south side normally remains closed and shuttered.

Except for the altar room with its wooden floor, all of the other rooms have hard-packed adobe surfaces. The interior walls appear to have a tierra bayeta finish and a wainscot is achieved by coloring the lower portion of the walls (approximately three feet up from the floor) a darker shade. The tierra bayeta coating that colors the walls is actually a fawn-colored dirt that is found near the neighboring village of Llano Quemado. The dirt is mixed with water, allowed to soak, and then applied to the walls with a sheepskin, wool side out.

Until seven or eight years ago the exterior adobe walls of the Ranchos morada were soft-plastered, but since that time the Brothers have adopted the change made to the walls of the St. Francis Mission Church during renovation, and both structures are now hard-plastered. This of course cuts down substantially on maintenance and makes it easier for the older members to preserve their morada. Whenever I inquired about this change, the members seemed pleased with their decision and with the results.

There are no electric lights or modern conveniences inside the Ranchos morada. In the daylight hours, windows and doors are opened to allow light into the interior. After dark, kerosene lamps are lit and serve as the main source of light. Of course there are always the candles, too, usually placed upon or near the altar, and they provide some illumination.

The morada is flat-roofed, as are all of the three moradas in this general vicinity. This, according to Bunting (1964:54) is an early-day trait, later replaced with "...corrugated iron and sawn timbers" as these were introduced and became available in the area. Though rain does not fall in excessive amounts near the Ranchos morada, heavy winter snows must often be removed from the flat roof in order to prevent interior leaking and water damage that results from the freezing and thawing process.

I have never actually seen a disciplina, the braided cactus whip, in the Ranchos morada. These were used in

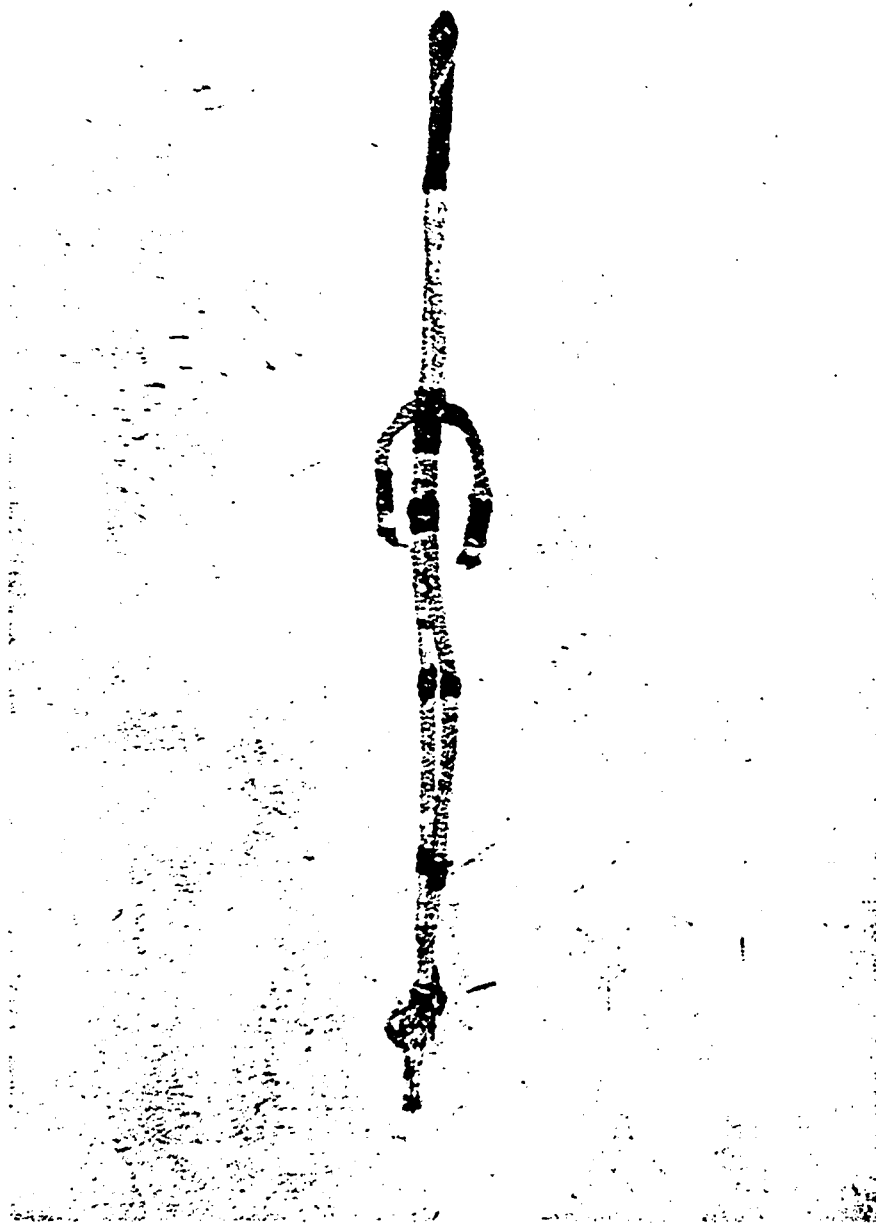


Fig. 11 Braided and tightly wrapped disciplina on display
at the Millicent A. Rogers Memorial Museum, near Taos, New Mexico.

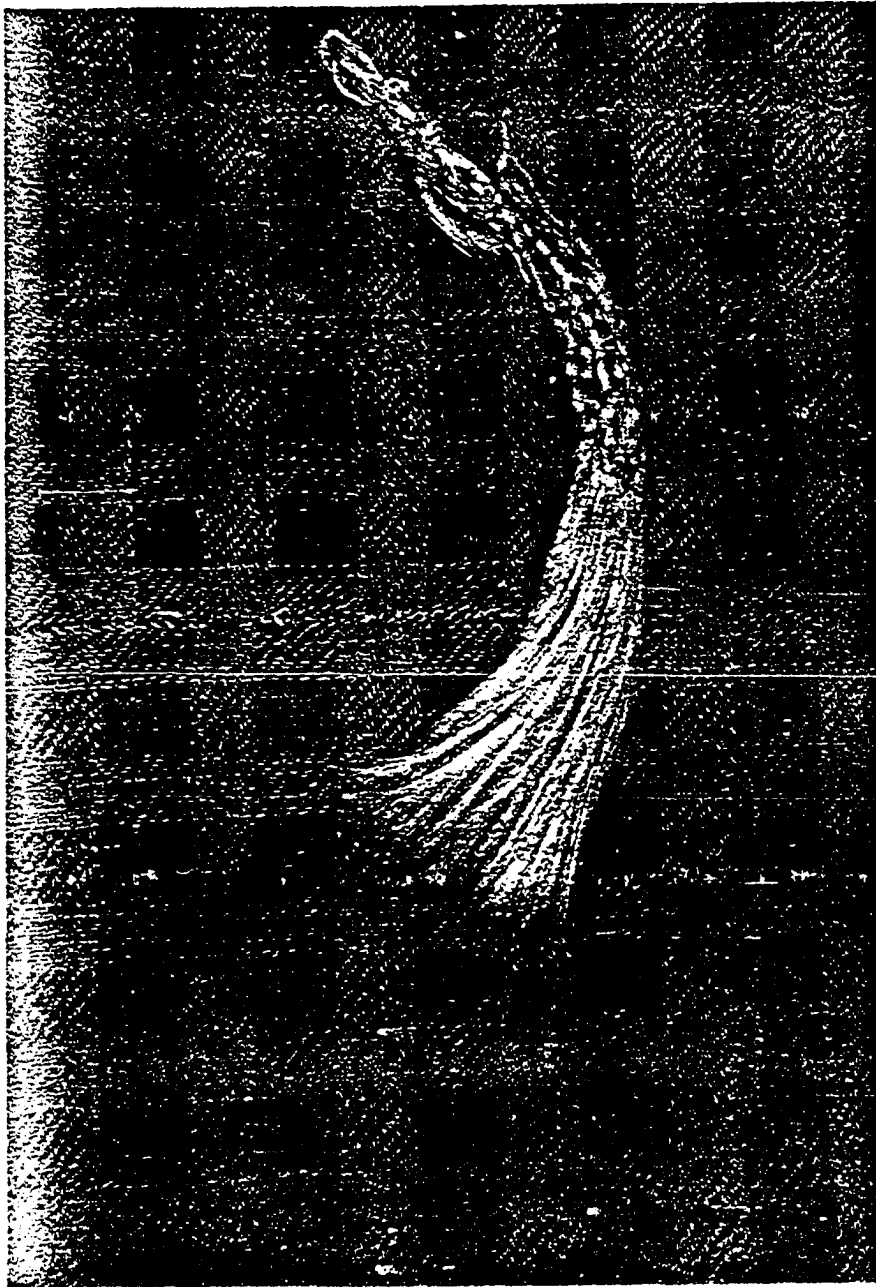


Fig. 12 Disciplina, or braided cactus whip used in Penitente services and processions.

self-flagellation, a practice that was once seemingly commonplace throughout northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. In another section (pages 83-84) I have written about the novice who had his back cut with sharp flints of obsidian or glass in preparation for the penitential exercise. Actually, this was done to make the blood flow freely and in so doing prevented the severe damage that might have resulted from just whipping one's back with the disciplina until blood gushed from the wounds. Because this aspect of the organization has been the part that has been so sensationalized, and because this is what outsiders normally want to hear about, I purposely did not mention anything about flagellation during the first two years of my field work. Only after I got to know some members very well did I inquire about disciplinas and their use, and even then I did not dwell upon the subject. While my sources tend to differ slightly on placing a time when flagellation ceased to be practiced at the Ranchos morada, as nearly as could be determined it has been between fifty and fifty-five years ago. I did interview several of the physicians in Taos and another who conducts clinics in the outlying communities in northern New Mexico. None of these men had come across a case where a patient's back showed the aftereffects of flagellation. Isolated cases may very well still exist, but it is my opinion that this aspect of the Brotherhood probably is in its past, at least at the Ranchos morada.

The literature on santos is rich--many books have been written on the topic (Wilder and Breitenbach 1943, and Espinosa 1960, to name but two major works). But none has made a greater contribution than E. Boyd. Influenced and encouraged by Ralph Linton, Harry Mera, and others, E. Boyd became in time the authority on Spanish New Mexico and its material culture. An early history of the New Mexican santero tradition and the classification of santo styles (Boyd 1946) was followed by an outpouring of publications resulting from further research. Finally her magnum opus, Popular Arts of Spanish New Mexico, was recently published (Boyd 1974).

Mabel Luhan and some of her friends were early collectors of santos in the Taos Valley. She (Luhan 1937:125-127) tells of buying them from local Spanish people for as little as twenty-five cents and for as much as one dollar and fifty cents for a "finer specimen." Today, many of the retablos from her collection have been given to the Harwood Foundation in Taos where they are on display. E. Boyd has catalogued the entire collection and I have gone over this extensive record, hoping to determine their provenance. I had anticipated being able to locate retablos that had once hung in the Ranchos morada, but if these data had ever been recorded they are no longer with the collection. Another active collector was Helen Wurlitzer, and many of her treasures are now on display and available for study at the Millicent A. Rogers Memorial Museum just outside of Taos.

Upon checking their catalogue, I found that once again provenance apparently had not seemed important at the time of acquisition and is therefore unrecorded and unknown today. But this is really not too surprising, for when the word got around that certain wealthy Anglos would pay money for the old images (the newer plaster bultos and chromos under glass were then much preferred by the Spanish), the Spanish-Americans would gather together what they had and deliver them. They were eager to receive payment before the demand lapsed. It was the item that was important to the new owners and collectors, and its maker or its source seemed unimportant. This attitude is not uncommon, even today.

In each of the three years that I have observed the Ranchos morada during Holy Week, I have noted varying numbers of santos on the two altars. The reason for such variance can of course, be attributed to the fact that the santos, distributed to the members at the close of the observance on Good Friday, are not always returned at the same time for the next year's services. Also, some individuals personally own one or more santos, usually bultos, and often a person will bring his santo to the morada and ask that it be placed upon the altar during the observances. Nearly all of the santos seem to be bultos, the only exceptions are the tin-framed retablos that hang near the altar inside the meeting room. This preference coincides with George Kubler's (1964:6) observation. He

suggested that: "A sculpture of physical realism and spiritual aura surely (stands) foremost in the preferences of these pious villagers. For them, painted panels (seem) less physical, less real, and less necessary than sculpture."

I found one of my helpers especially graphic in explaining the meaning of santos and their use.

People like to take a santo home with them, because you know it is a will that the people have and something comes from it. It isn't the, take for instance, these people, these Jehovah Witnesses say, "You Catholics worship that wooden santo." It isn't that, it is, take for instance when you go ask for a job you ask the manager and he in turn will, you don't go up to the main boss and ask him for a job, see, he might be busy. That's why he appoints managers and people to take care (of these matters). That's the way, the same thing goes for the santos, see, people don't worship them, they ask the santo, you know, to ask the Lord and that's the way it goes.

Several of the fine museums in northern New Mexico boast period room exhibits that have been made to resemble

the interior of a morada (see Fig. 13). Nearly all of these have one or more Carretas de la Muerte, or death carts. These are normally two-wheeled carts, carved of wood. Inside the cart is the figure of the death angel, called La Muerte or Doña Sebastiana. The figure of death is usually carved to look like a skeleton, and normally holds a bow and arrow in its hands. Sometimes additional weight was added to the death cart, thus intensifying the penance for the man who pulled it along the rocky road to Calvary. This was an enactment of the struggle against death.

Alice Henderson (1937:35) vividly described how the death cart was utilized during the Holy Week processions near Abiquiú, New Mexico.

The penitent dragged the Carreta del Muerto by a horse-hair rope passed over his shoulders and under his arm-pits, the painful weight of the dragging cart cutting into his naked flesh--a penance as severe as any other, and increased by the fact that the axles of the cart were stationary, and where there was a turn in the path, the entire cart and its inflexible wheels were dragged by main strength.

Stories abound concerning the bow and arrow that the death angel carries. Some say that a nonbeliever was once struck and killed by the arrow, while others explain that

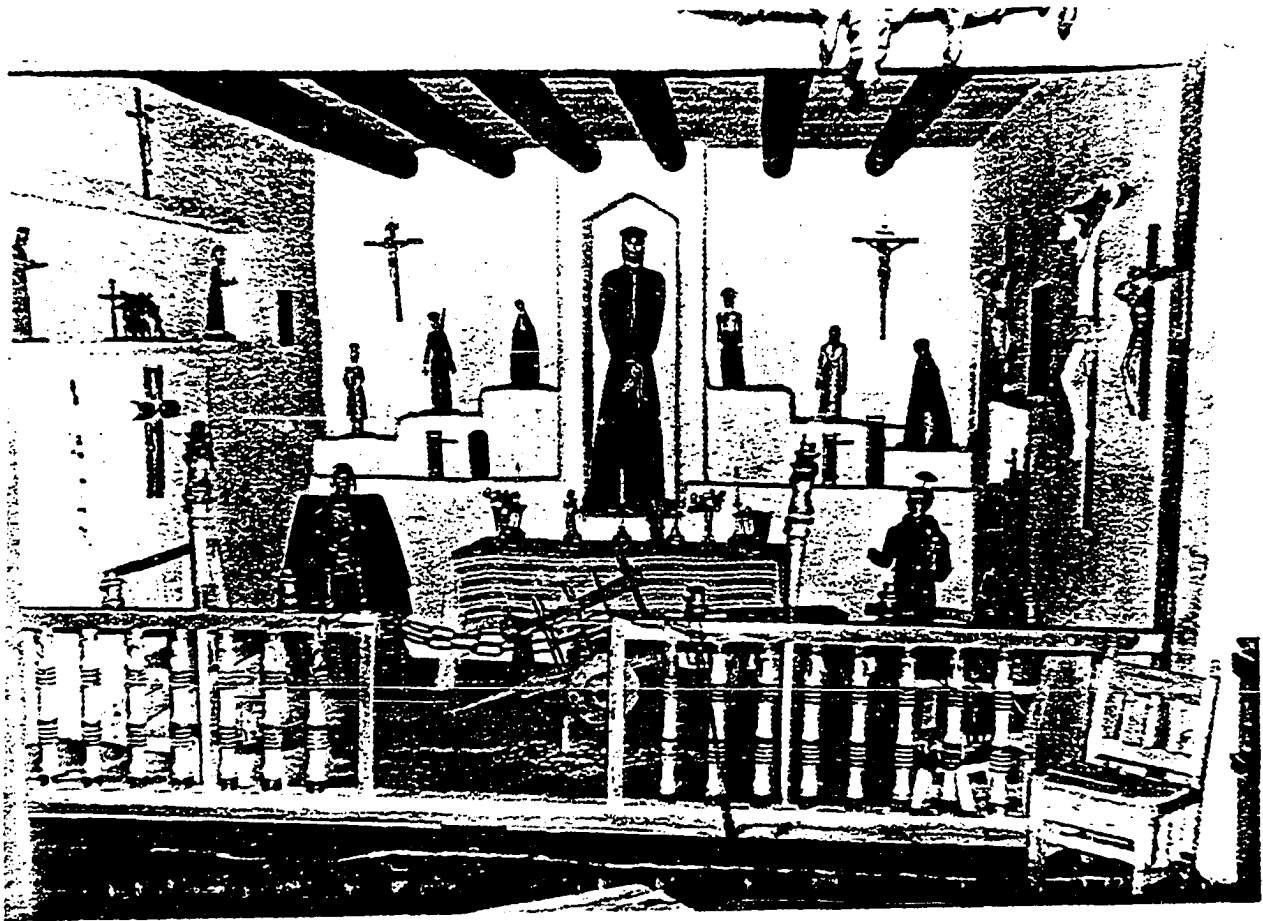


Fig. 13 Reconstructed oratory or altar room that is part of the permanent exhibit at the Millicent A. Rogers Memorial Museum, near Taos, New Mexico.

should the arrow fall, the person who brushes against it will die within the year. Still another source told me that if you brushed against the death cart while it was moving, you would experience good luck for the coming year. Obviously, if anyone ventures close to the Carreta de la Muerte, it would be well to have a positive outlook in mind just in case he should come in contact with the cart or its passenger.

The Ranchos morada no longer owns a death cart. Members told me that approximately ten years ago a representative from one of the local museums approached the Brothers and inquired as to the possibility of purchasing their death cart for exhibit. A meeting was called and a long discussion ensued, centering around the fact that they had not used the death cart in nearly forty years. Others noted the risk of someone breaking into the morada and stealing it. What was considered a fair price (around \$200.00) was negotiated and the death cart was sold.

After one of the processions three years ago one of my Penitente friends motioned to me to look toward the reservoir above Talpa in order to see the Rio Chiquito morada group making their procession to Calvary. They still have and use their death cart and it was in evidence that day. My friend remarked, "What a sight" and I could only agree.

In inventorying the contents of the two moradas in Abiquiú, Ahlborn (1968:153) listed a pierced tin candle

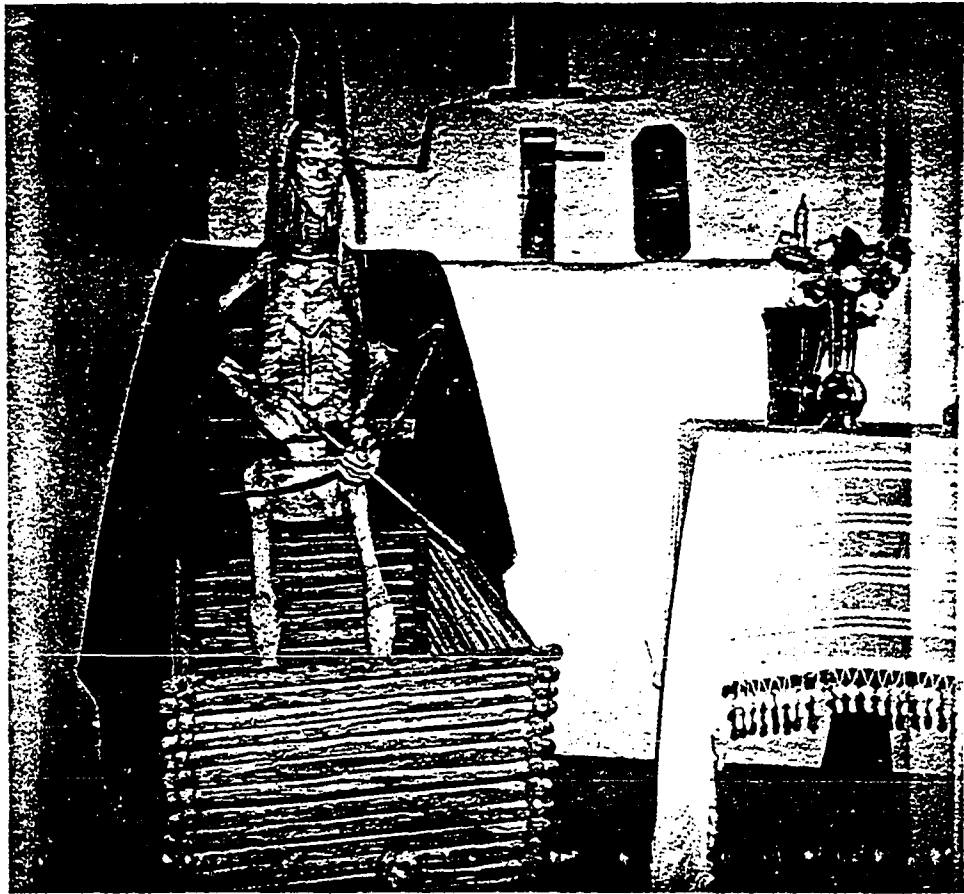


Fig. 14 The Carreta de la Muerte, or death cart, with the death angel holding her bow and arrow. Also note the matraca, or noise maker, in the upper center of the photograph. A portion of the display at the Millicent A. Rogers Memorial Museum, near Taos, New Mexico.

lantern, and I have seen these in museum displays as well. If the Ranchos morada ever had one or more of these, they must have been sold or removed for one reason or another. There are several of the glass-based kerosene lamps still in use inside the Ranchos morada. Wicks and globes are stocked at the local general merchandise store. In fact, a number of homes in the Taos Valley still depend on this form of artificial light.

A pair of candelabros, made of wood with attached tin holders for candles is included in the Ranchos morada furnishings, as are the two musical instruments, the pito or flute, and the snare drum. The flute is made of wood, but does not appear to be as old as the snare drum.

Though they are not a musical instrument, the rattles or matracas do provide a characteristic sound accompaniment. They are used in the private services held inside the morada at night. There are two models, one made to be held in a man's hand (Fig. 16), and the other, a floor model (Fig. 15). The raucous noise results when a notched cylinder on a handle turns on one end and flips the flexible tongue set at the other end of the wooden frame. E. Boyd (1974:465) suggests that the matraca is probably a survival of a material culture item brought from Spain.

The alabados, or religious hymns, are sung in praise of the Sacraments. While they are associated with the Penitentes here, they may be sung at almost any ritual observance, or for family worship. Juan Rael carried out a

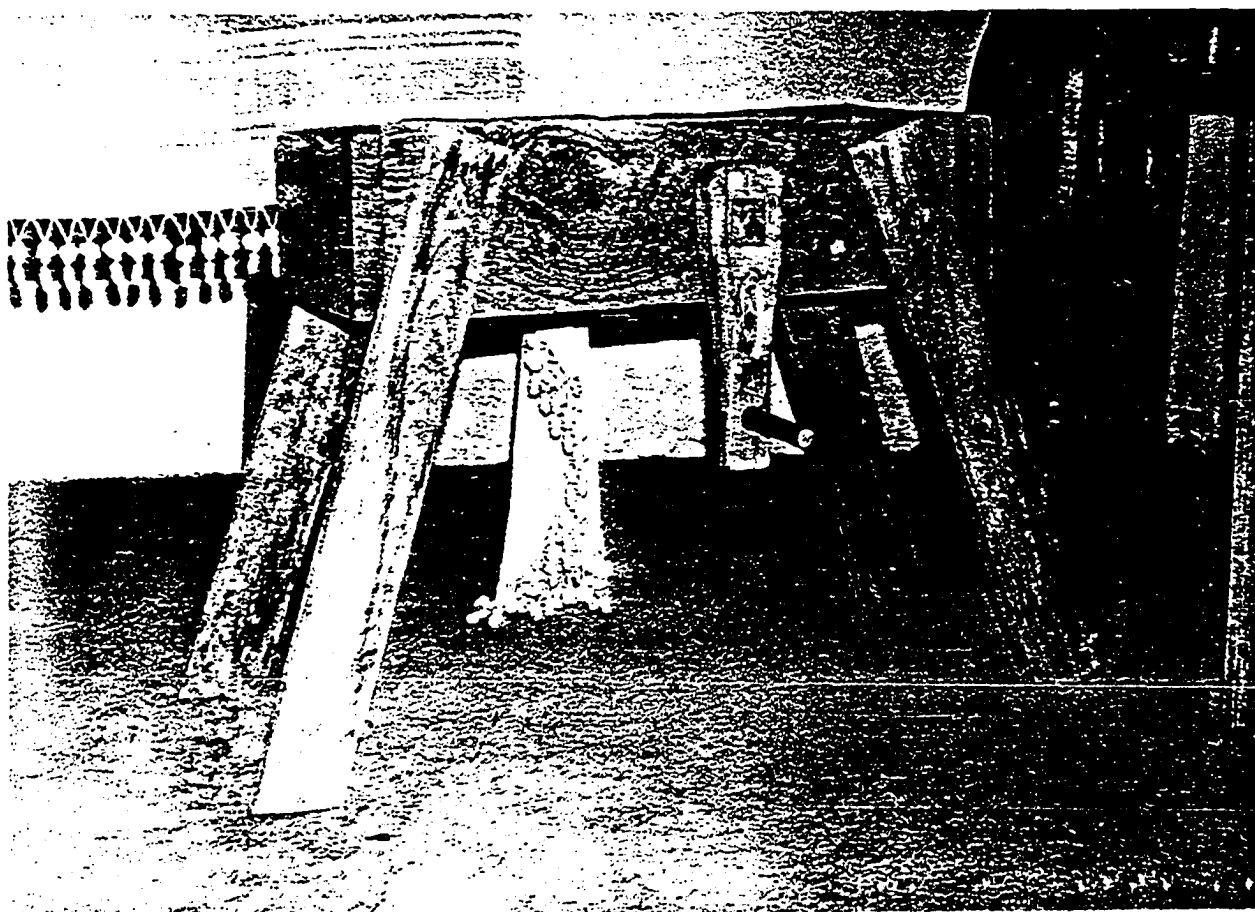


Fig. 15 View of a floor model matraca on display at the Millicent A. Rogers Memorial Museum, near Taos, New Mexico.

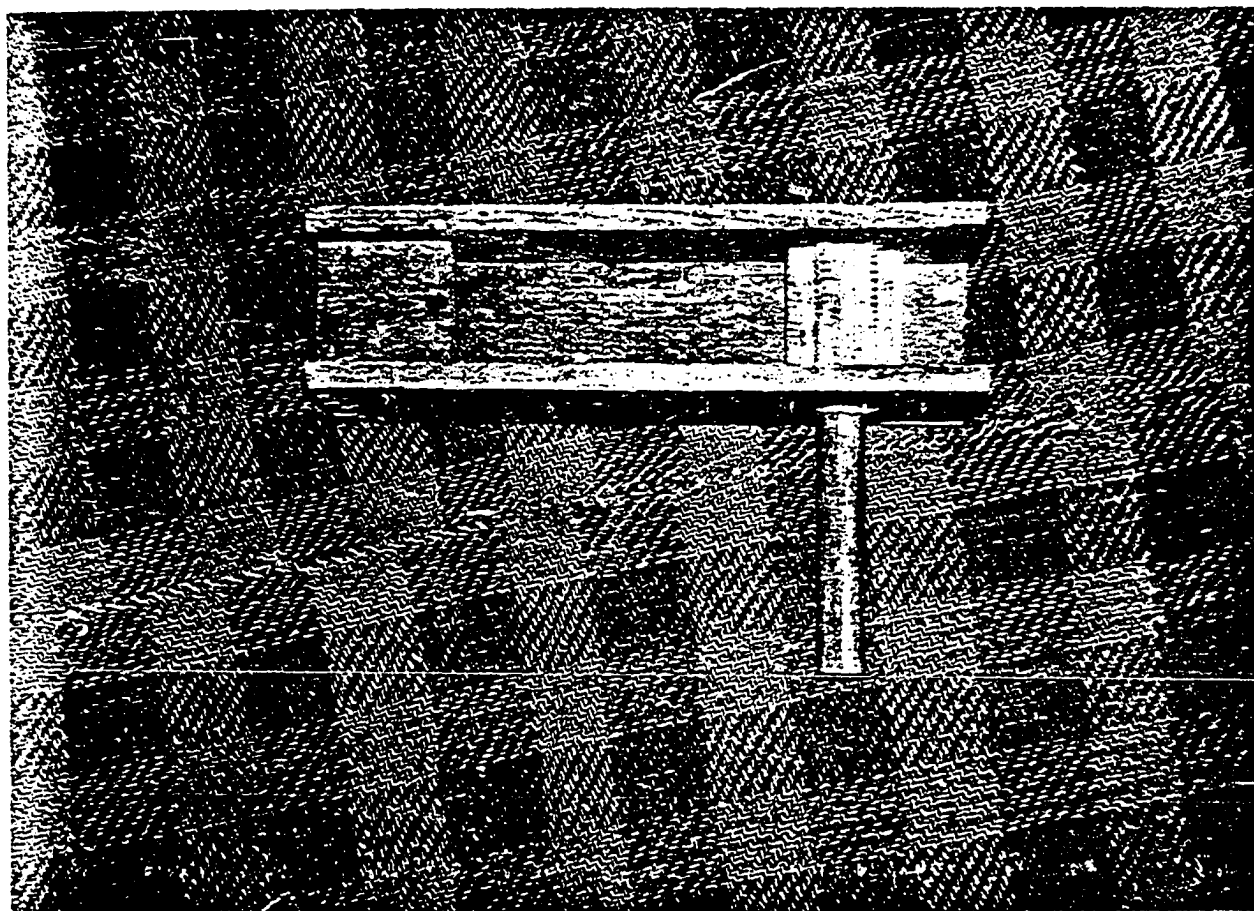


Fig. 16 Matraca, or noise maker. Hand-held type.

comprehensive study (1951) of these alabados and found that many of the basic verses and musical themes had their origin in Spain. Through time, and in the hands of a nearly illiterate society, these hymns were preserved through memory. What remains today are the verses as they have been handed down and recorded in small copybooks. For an example of an alabado, see Appendix 2.

The alabados that pertain to this study deal primarily with the episodes of the Passion, but as I have previously mentioned, alabados were also sung at wakes, vigils, and even for Holy Communion. When sung during Holy Week in the processions that led to and from the Ranchos morada, they were accompanied by the flute and the snare drum. Rael (1951:19) does not mention the use of the drum for he states: "The only musical instrument ever used is a reed flute." I see the use of the drum at the Ranchos morada as a case of localized variance.

In this section the physical aspects of the morada known as the Ranchos morada, located between Ranchos de Taos and Talpa, New Mexico, have been discussed. The difficulties encountered in determining the ownership of the land on which it is situated have been explained. The method of historical reconstruction has been employed in an attempt to set a date for the founding of the Ranchos morada and its accompanying camposanto. Based on the military protection available in the area and on the presence of wooden grave markers this date is assumed to be in the early 1850's.

A detailed description of the structure and each of its rooms and their contents has been offered. Further, an inventory and description of the morada's religious paraphernalia have been presented.

Officers of the Morada

Each year on Ash Wednesday the members of the Ranchos morada meet in the early afternoon at their morada. After a short period of prayer, the members hold an election of officers for the coming Holy Week and the year to follow. An hermano mayor is elected annually, but normally the treasurer, or mandatario, is retained from year to year: "Too much problem otherwise." Since the members' dues and contributions are maintained in a bank account in Taos, it seems reasonable to the membership to have this continuity.

Following Ash Wednesday, the members assemble at the morada each Friday in the early afternoon throughout the Lenten season. Attendance is voluntary and the members who are employed are not expected to come. Although this pattern is understood and accepted today, it is nevertheless possible to see that a change has taken place in the last few decades. Outside employment was not the norm for these ranchers and farmers of Ranchos de Taos before World War II. Prior to this time, the entire membership would have been expected to be in attendance at each meeting and the resulting spirit was bound to have made the group more cohesive.

Any repair work needed on the morada is decided at these Friday meetings and the members volunteer their services willingly. Some of the men are skilled at carpentry, some have pickup trucks, some have extra adobes, and others might offer their labor. Roofs on the flat-topped adobe

morada must be checked for leaks and possible drain problems, and the hard-plastered adobe walls often need patching. Only recently the solid wooden shutter on the altar room window was replaced. Firewood is a major item in preparing for the Holy Week vigil. The fireplace in the altar room, in the kitchen, and the heating stove in the larger meeting room must be maintained (See the floor plan diagram for the Ranchos morada in Fig. 9). The weather more often than not is blustery and cold at this time of year and since the majority of members and friends who come to the morada are elderly, the relief offered by the fires is most welcome.

Historically, each morada group within the Brotherhood was governed by ten officers who were elected annually. The exact number and titles tend to vary, depending upon the source. The list of officials that is most often quoted is the one taken from the 1860 Constitution and By-Laws of the Third Order of St. Francis, as published by Alexander M. Darley in 1893 (1968:14-17).

<u>Position</u>	<u>Duties</u>
1. <u>Hermano Mayor</u>	Chief Officer of the <u>morada</u> and sees that the duties of the following officers are fulfilled.
2. <u>Coadjutor</u>	Washes the <u>disciplinas</u> and sees that the Brothers are cared for and washed upon returning from an "exercise."

Position	<u>Duties</u>
3. <u>Mandatario</u>	Informs members of meetings and duties and collects dues and monetary gifts.
4. <u>Celador</u>	Serves as the group disciplinarian both inside and outside of the <u>morada</u> .
5. <u>Enfermero</u>	Looks after the sick members and their families and keeps the <u>Hermano Mayor</u> informed of their condition and needs.
6. <u>Maestro de Novios</u>	Examines those who wish to become members and instructs them in the ways of the Brotherhood.
7. <u>Secretario</u>	Maintains the record books and reads from them when clarification is requested.
8. <u>Picador</u>	With glass or a piece of flint, inflicts the seal of the Brotherhood on the back of novices and members in preparation for their self-flagellation.
9. <u>Rezador</u>	Reads the prayers and rituals from a copybook and thereby assumes an important role in the observances.
10. <u>Pitero</u>	Plays the <u>pito</u> , or flute, at various services.

The hermano mayor is the leader and administrator of the morada group. It is to the mayor that a member or nonmember may come when questions and/or problems arise that concern someone within the organization. The position is not taken lightly, and naturally a great amount of respect is associated with the office. Within the morada groups with which I have become acquainted, the office of hermano mayor remains one of leadership. In a quiet way this individual commands the respect not only of members and their families, but also that of nonmembers and Anglos as well. The mayor is usually the one who is in contact with the priest concerning matters of mutual interest, and it is the hermano mayor who members or nonmembers approach when problems arise in the community or with someone in the morada group. As with any conscientious leader, the hermano mayor makes himself available and accountable to the membership that elects him. When first pointed out, and then later introduced, the hermano mayor was referred to as "the mayor." Several of my helpers have served as mayor and others have had family members who have been elected, so the duties and obligations are well understood within the morada group.

In recent years the Ranchos morada group has by necessity become flexible in electing their officers. The mayor has retained his position for the last three years and, of course, the mandatario, or treasurer, has continued to serve in his office. The remaining positions are assumed by the

members as they are needed. This is to say that a man may assume a different role from the one he may have played earlier in the day or in the previous week. Such flexibility has become commonplace within this morada because of the advancing age and poor health of many of the practicing members. Weather conditions may prevent a man from serving as the pitero, or flute player, in both the morning and afternoon processions during Holy Week. Such an adaption is recognized and thought of as simply an adjustment, and is not considered a real change in procedure. Since we have no real comparative data for this morada in the early twentieth century (or at any time other than this study) it is difficult at best to make assumptions concerning such possible changes. In my three years of observing I can say with certainty that the policy of adapting and adjusting to the circumstances has been customary.

Meeting Schedule and Burial Participation

The meeting and the election of officers on Ash Wednesday is the first time in a new year that the membership is called together for a scheduled assembly. From this day until Holy Week begins, the men meet every Friday in the early afternoon at the morada.

Holy Week begins with a variety of personal prayers by the membership on an individual basis. On Holy Wednesday the members meet early in the morning at the morada and begin what will be a time of separation from their homes and families. This detachment lasts until the services are over on Good Friday. This marks the end of scheduled meetings for the Brotherhood, but the mayor may see a need and call the members together at any time during the rest of the year.

Sources tend to disagree as to whether the Brotherhood holds observances other than those that take place during Lent and Holy Week. There is solid evidence that many morada groups led processions and participated as a membership in celebration of their patron saint. Jaramillo (1972: 72-73) notes that "On the first of August, the penitentes celebrated the wake of La Porsiuuncula, the most important event, excepting Holy Week."

The Ranchos morada's patron saint is the same as the one for the mission church in Ranchos de Taos, Saint Francis. The feast day for San Francisco de Assisi is October 4

(Bacigalupa 1972:20), and while appropriate observances are held inside the church in Ranchos de Taos, nothing takes place at the morada itself on that day.

Nearly everyone who resides within or in between Talpa, Ranchos de Taos, and Llano Quemado picks up his mail daily at the post office across the road from the Saint Francis Mission Church in Ranchos de Taos. Mail is received the night before and is generally "put up" by 9:30 A.M. The traffic to the post office is heaviest between this time and noon and the pickup trucks and cars may be seen pulling up, and the older passengers getting out and going inside. Obviously the opportunity for brief or sometimes extended visiting is present and it is safe to say that by noon the major local news has been disseminated. Conversation among the older people usually includes the latest health reports on relatives and friends who are ill, who have become worse, or who have just passed away. Attention has already been given to the local radio morning news broadcast in which all of the recent deaths and respective funeral arrangements are given.

In the case of sickness of a member of the morada, or of sickness in his immediate family, word is passed to the mayor and he in turn will often give notice of a meeting to be held at the morada or the sick person's bedside. The message will have been passed via the post office or by telephone. Those members who come offer blessings and prayers for a recovery.

Whenever there is a death in the community, whether the deceased is a member or not, a call may be made by the grieving family to the mayor and he in turn will make arrangements for members to appear at the mortuary to give the rosary. If the deceased happens to have been a member, the family will often request help in digging the grave, and will ask that the Brotherhood offer prayers and participate in the graveside service that follows the church service. There is also the financial help that the Brotherhood offers from its treasury. As in so many other aspects of contemporary practices that involve Penitente participation, I have found that there is no hard and fast rule pertaining to the services that may be rendered either by the individual or the Society. Each situation is treated as a distinct or singular case and usually the family makes the arrangements and decides the individual roles for participation.

This was not always the case, however, for before the first mortuary was established in nearby Taos in 1930 (Brogden 1975), and certainly when priests were not so easily available, funeral procedures were primarily in the hands of the Brotherhood. It was up to the members to prepare the corpse, dig the grave, arrange the velorio (consisting of prayers, singing, and a meal for those who attended), plan and execute the procession to the camposanto, and finally to take charge of the burial.

Richard Ahlborn (1968:124) reported that in "...
Española in November of 1965, I witnessed penitentes con-
tributing...help to respected nonmembers: grave digging,
financial aid, and a rosary service..." My Ranchos morada
friends indicated that they were not financially able to
help with any burial expenses other than those of their own
members. They do, of course, lead the rosary service at
the mortuary for a member or his family and if requested
will do so for a nonmember. They will also assist with the
grave digging, often receiving help from younger and more
able relatives. Fewer members and the increasing age of
the existing membership have made this further assistance
necessary.

The Lenten Season

The greatest period of activity for the Penitentes is during Lent, the forty days from Ash Wednesday to Easter. All of the members who are physically able and who are available (not being required to be at work) assemble at the morada in the early afternoon on Ash Wednesday. They meet for an hour or more and during this time elect their officers for a one-year term. Some of the men retain their positions from the previous year while others are replaced. Primarily because of advancing age, some of those who are no longer able to walk in the processions relinquish their office in favor of a younger man. I use the word "younger" gingerly, for the youngest member is in his early fifties and the men in this age range are not all in good health.

Following this Ash Wednesday meeting, the members assemble on each succeeding Friday afternoon during Lent. These Friday observances are times of prayer and of preparation for Holy Week. In some families only one meal is served each day during Lent and, of course, there is no meat eaten. Not only Penitentes, but nonmembers who are Catholic practice this restraint too. Fasting is one form of penance that is widespread, as is sobriety, during Lent.

My friends have told me that they formerly met at the morada on Holy Tuesday, the Tuesday before Easter. This occurred in the evening and it was a time when new members might be brought into the Brotherhood with appropriate prayers

and hymns. One of the last men to join the society did so "at least eighteen years ago." With the passing of nearly two decades it is little wonder that the details pertaining to this evening were unclear to my sources. Directions for the ritual are contained in written form in one of the big books of records that is safely maintained at a member's home throughout the year. During Holy Week, however, these books are brought to the morada for use.

Today someone who lives close to the morada will stop by and unlock the central room door and make certain everything is in order for the next day's (Ash Wednesday's) observances. Essentially, this is a time to check on last minute details and preparations.

The literature indicates that Holy Tuesday was once the time for the novices and any members who wished to do penance to make their ceremonial entrance. This was the occasion of their initiation rites, and because of their sensational nature in the eyes of outsiders, these rituals have been exploited and taken out of context in much of what has since been written about the Penitentes. Rev. Darley, "self-labeled as an apostle of the Colorado Mexicans" (McCoy in Darley 1968:i) was one of the early observers who gathered material in Southern Colorado on the Penitentes. Later his information was published. Darley (1968:15-16) indicated that the novice came to the morada with a sponsor, a Brotherhood member, who served as his godfather. The maestro de novios (teacher of novices) asks the novice concerning:

...a creed about the passion and death of our Lord Jesus Christ, and he, coming to the place where the crucifix is placed, shall kiss the earth saying, "We adore thee, Christ, and bless thee who by the holy cross redeemed the world and me, a sinner. Amen." He shall further say: "My Lord Jesus Christ, I am a poor 'Penitent,' who comes to perform my exercise and fulfill my devotion." Then all, en masse, shall respond: "God carry forward and increase your devotion."

This being done, he shall say: "Brothers, if I have injured any of you or any other person, pardon me for the love of God in whom I dwell." And they shall all reply as before, and say: "May God pardon him who is already pardoned by us." He then is to turn and kiss the crucifix, and holy ground, and pray for blessing.

All standing, he, with humble reverence, shall go from the oldest to the youngest, kissing their feet and hands with the contemplation of the disciples of Christ

in his passion, and with salutation of the souls of Purgatory, saying: "May it be for the relief and rest of the blessed souls in Purgatory."

Having concluded this, let him return to the place where is placed the Lord and ask his blessings by day and night upon all the Brotherhood.

The novice shall then be unanimously given to understand that he is a member of the confraternity and that he shall not have to separate himself from it for any light cause; but solely in case he shall show sign of heresy (Darley 1968:15-16).

A more often quoted reference to these initiation ceremonies is to be found in James (1920:286-288). George W. James was present at a morada on Holy Tuesday at the invitation of the mayor. He reports:

A knock was heard and the voice of a novice chanted: God's child knocks at this Mission's door for His grace.

Hermano Mayor (from within): Penance, penance is required by those who seek salvation.

The Novice: St. Peter will open the gate, bathing me with the light in the name of Mary, with the seal of Jesus. I ask this brotherhood: Who gives this house light?

Hermano Mayor: Jesus.

The Novice: Who fills it with joy?

Hermano Mayor: Mary.

The Novice: Who preserves it with faith?

Hermano Mayor: Joseph.

The warden (then) opened the door and the novice entered. He was received by the Maestro de Novios and the sangrador, who took him into the inner room.

Once inside, the novice was escorted to the inner room of the morada where the maestro de novios instructed him in his duties: "...obedience, loyalty to the brotherhood and its officers, faithfulness in attendance upon its rites, the absolute need of whipping-discipline for salvation, and above all secrecy" (James 1920:286). At this point the novice was turned over to the sangrador while yet another novice received his instructions. The sangrador had the novice strip to the waist and bend over, resting his hands on a bench.

An assistant held a lighted candle over his back, on one side. Standing at his buttocks, the sangrador, with a jagged

piece of broken bottle, made a deep incision clear down the back of the novice on the left side, then another in the middle and still another on the right side. Wiping off the blood, he stepped to the side of the novice and made three parallel slashes across the back. This is the official seal of the brotherhood (James 1920:287).

While the novice's wounds are still bleeding, he asks "For the love of God bestow upon me a reminder of the three meditations of the passion of Our Lord." The sangrador responds by lashing the novice six times with the disciplina, three times on each side, the length of the spine. Afterwards, the novice cries out: "For the love of God bestow on me the reminder of the five wounds of Christ."

Five lashes are given, and then in turn, "For the love of God" prefacing each request, the sangrador is asked to bestow the "seven last words," and the "forty days in the wilderness," all of which are given. With a final warning to secrecy the novice is now allowed to go home. Generally there is a procession of whippers to the Calvario following the reception of new brothers (James 1920:288).

My field research included interviews with a number of long-time residents in the Ranchos de Taos area. Some of these were Anglos and most of them had either been born and raised in northern New Mexico, or had come to the region as a young person with their parents. From their earliest experiences here, I learned that it was considered good sport to go "Penitente hunting" around Easter time, and often such a hunting party was organized. Young men and women would ride on horses out to the moradas and under the cover of darkness would crouch behind sagebrush and chamisa to watch for any activity around the morada. Such parties were expected and groups of Spanish-American boys were also often near to run the "prying Gringos" off. Whether these young Spanish-Americans were sympathetic to the Penitentes or were out for their own sport remains uncertain, but I would suggest a bit of both. I have other accounts where adult Anglos are described as driving their automobiles to a morada and partially encircling it. They made themselves even more unpopular by parking and turning their headlights and lanterns towards the morada door in anticipation "of seeing something weird." This is not to suggest that this was a general Anglo attitude in the area; nevertheless, it did happen. Certainly, a lot of curiosity remains in the minds of outsiders, but in my three years of observation and participation I have seen only a few who did not treat what they were seeing with the respect the religious observance deserved, and others were quietly and promptly asked either to conform or leave.

I have carefully described in my field notes the major processions that are formed on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday of Holy Week. Each of these originates at the morada, proceeds to the large cross at the Calvario, and then returns to the morada. Sources tend to differ on the times and identity of these processions. Woodward (1935:232) has noted that the La Procesi3n de los Dolores (the Procession of Sorrows) took place on Wednesday, La Procesi3n de la Santa Cruz (the Procession of the Holy Cross) on Thursday, and La Procesi3n de Sanore de Cristo (the Procession of the Book of Christ) on Friday. Edmonson (1968:39) tells of single processions on Holy Wednesday and Holy Thursday, and then four on Good Friday.

My own notes indicate some variance in the past three years.

Year	Holy Wednesday		Holy Thursday		Good Friday	
	A.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.
1972	x	x	x	x	x	x
1973	x	x	x	x	x	x
1974		x	x		x	x

On the basis of my field notes and interviews I feel it is safe to assume that in recent years the Ranchos morada normally has a total of six processions, two each day on Holy Wednesday, Holy Thursday, and Good Friday. The service and burial for a Brother on the morning of Holy

Wednesday in 1974 prevented that morning procession, and very strong winds on the afternoon of Holy Thursday of that same year likewise kept the participants inside the morada. Even though the actual processions were not made, appropriate prayers were recited and alabados were sung behind the closed doors of the meeting room in the morada.

During the years I have witnessed the observances, Holy Wednesday is the first day of processions at the Ranchos morada. There are two processions, and they are known as La Procesión de los Dolores, or The Procession of Sorrows. The ones that I have observed on this day were composed of from eight to eleven Brothers, several older women, and a few children. The Brother who leads the procession carries a black cross (measuring four feet high and one and a half feet across) and is followed by others who walk in pairs. As they leave the morada and nearby camposanto they make their way across the highway. At this point two of the men step out of the procession and halt any oncoming traffic so the others may cross safely. The procession then proceeds along a steep, rocky road that soon winds out of sight of the highway.

Two small girls adorned in black dresses, shoes, and veils walk in the center of the procession. These girls are followed by another pair of Brothers, one playing the pito, or wooden flute, and the other carrying and playing a drum. These men in turn are followed by older women, a few young girls, and a few men who are not members but are sympathetic to these processions and to the Brotherhood.

As the procession moves slowly down the road, the flute and drum are played and the men sing alabados and recite various prayers. Everyone walks with his head lowered, not only out of devotion, but also because the unevenness of the road makes walking very difficult. Members of the group proceed until they reach the Calvario, or Calvary, marked by a large wooden cross that was brought from the morada and is erected during the morning procession. After it is set in place, everyone walks around the cross, and kisses it as he passes by. Then the marchers return to the morada. The singing and prayers continue en route. At the highway the men again stop traffic, allowing everyone to cross. The procession then ends with the members stationing themselves along the U-shaped walls that make up the yard of the morada. Here, sheltered from the blowing winds, everyone listens in reverence as one of the men reads scripture from a handwritten copybook. This is followed by a prayer that signifies an end to the morning or afternoon procession. Anyone who wishes to view the santos may enter the altar room and sit on wooden benches provided for this purpose. The room is pleasantly warmed by a corner fireplace and persons are welcome to stay as long as they wish. Men and women may stop by during the day to view the santos and to leave an offering with the Brothers, who in turn note this act of generosity in a copybook. The donor or whomever he designates will be included in the Brother's prayers. Donations are in the form of money or inexpensive white candles purchased from the Ranchos Trading Post.

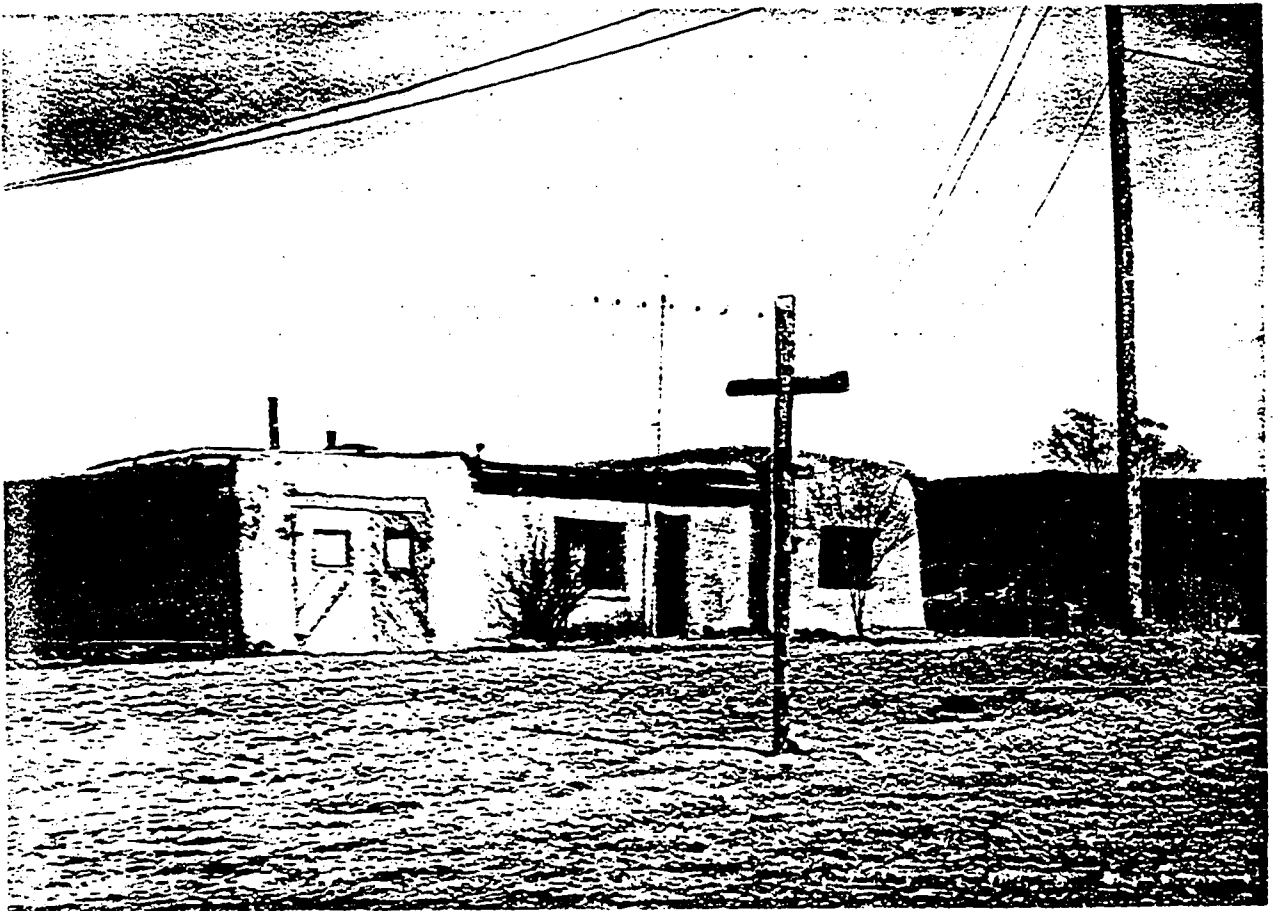


Fig. 17 View of the cross that serves as Calvary for the Ranchos morada group during Holy Week each year.

Soon after the morning procession, lunch is served inside the morada for the participating Brothers. The food has been prepared and given to the Penitentes by their wives, mothers, and other members within the community who might want to have loved ones included in the Brothers' corporate prayers. An informant described the food as being:

...more or less, [there] was a tortahuevo, or an egg fillet in a chili sauce. They mix it with red chili and different kinds of foods. They have greens, peas, corn, and sometimes other types of vegetables. And someone might bring some fruit pies.

Food that is served varies from morada to morada, but members of the organization and the literature agree that all meat is forbidden during these holy days. Even though a majority of the Spanish-American residents in the Ranchos de Taos area do maintain fine garden plots in the summer months, there is, nevertheless a great dependence placed upon store-bought foodstuffs. This is especially true at this time of year when the food stored for the winter has mostly been consumed and the start of the new growing season is still a month to two months away. With the present economic trend of greater inflation and the resulting higher prices for edible commodities, I have noted a

renewed interest in gardening not only among the younger native Spanish-Americans, but among Anglos as well. Displays of garden seeds and vegetable starts are soon depleted when they are first stocked in town.

Holy Thursday is the time for La Procesión de la Santa Cruz or The Procession of the Holy Cross. The actual procession is similar to Wednesday's in the composition of the participants. The Brother who leads carries the black cross. He is followed by the mayor and the rezador who walk side by side. The little girls dressed in black, the flute player, the drummer, and the other Brothers come next. The older women and young children bring up the rear. One major difference from the processions of the day before is the appearance of the large scarlet-robed figure of Jesus that is carried in the procession. This life-sized image of Christ has been carved from wood by one of the early-day santeros who lived in the region. It is mounted on a wooden base and is carried on its base in the procession. Gustly wind and the unevenness of the road makes transporting this large figure very difficult, and it is for these reasons that the Brothers take turns in carrying it to and from Calvary. Just as on the previous day, the flute and drum are played as the Brothers sing the alabados and pause as the rezador reads scripture from the small copybook that he carries en route. Upon approaching the large cross that represents Calvary, the procession members circle it, traveling in a counterclockwise direction, and each person kisses

it as he passes. Still singing, the procession then returns to the morada.

After arriving back at the morada the participants again take places along the walls that form the U-shaped courtyard and kneel reverently as the rezador, or reader, recites scripture and prayers from a large copybook. Afterward the Brother who is holding the large Christ figure enters the altar room and replaces it on the altar. The Brother who carried the black cross enters the meeting room and is followed by the mayor, rezador, pitiro, drummer, and the Brothers.

There did not appear to be any noticeable difference between the morning and afternoon processions of Holy Thursday other than that different alabados were sung. Sometimes fewer or additional participants were in attendance, depending upon the severity of the weather and personal motivations.

As I walked along with the procession, it was always interesting to take notice of the attention that was given the procession by the people whose homes we would pass. Often there would be an assortment of faces at a back window, and sometimes older women and their grandchildren would step outside and stand in silence as we passed. One time I recognized a neighbor girl who appeared to be playing near the corner of an adobe structure that was close to the road. The next time she visited our home I asked if I had not seen her and she replied "Yes, I was watching Jesus."

As on Wednesday night, the prayers, recitations, and alabados continue through Thursday night and into the morning of Good Friday. There are occasional breaks for rest, but the worshipping soon resumes.

On the morning of Good Friday there is a procession that once again leaves from the morada and proceeds to the cross at Calvary. The older women carry a santo of the Virgin Mary, and one of the little girls dressed in black (Veronica) carries a white cloth that is folded once, and she is careful to hold it so the ends are in her hands and the fold is towards the ground. The pitero and drummer are present, as are the mayor, rezador, and the remaining Brothers. One of the Brothers again carries the life-size wooden Cristo, but on this day a white robe has been secured around the Cristo's body and the black cross that was carried in yesterday's procession is today tied to the Cristo's shoulder. One of the Brothers wears a white sheet wrapped around his upper torso and head, in the style of a toga. Carrying a long wooden spear, this Brother is costumed to resemble a Roman soldier who is guarding Christ en route to His crucifixion. In addition to the spear, he carries the end of a rope that is wound around the large Cristo and the cross that is tied to the Cristo's shoulder. Along the road to Calvary, one notices many persons watching the procession from their windows and yards on this morning.

Once the procession reaches Calvary the participants form a half circle in front of the cross. The crowd swells

a bit as older men and women step from their homes to watch the dramatization and to join in the prayers that are about to be recited. Others arrive in cars.

The rezador and mayor assume positions near the Brother who is still holding the large Cristo and when the correct passages are found in the copybook the rezador begins to read. Passages are read from the Bible and the first nine stations of the cross are described. (See Appendix 3 for the stations of the cross.) At various stages in the reading, such as after the fourth station, in which Jesus meets His Blessed Mother (Alston, et. al. 1912:569), the person holding the Virgin Mary santo steps forward and holds the santo with outstretched arms as the man bearing the large Cristo allows it to lean forward in order to make brief contact with the statue of the Virgin Mary. In each case there is a reenactment of the appropriate station of the cross. The sixth station involves the little girls who are dressed in black to represent Veronica. They step forward and as Jesus moves through the crowds on His way to crucifixion, the little girl who has been holding the white cloth reaches up and wipes the sweat from His face. She then drops one end of the cloth, revealing the image of Christ's face that has appeared on the cloth. Everyone present privately meditates on the Passion of Christ as the stations are dramatized before them.

After the rezador completes his readings from the large copybook, everyone moves around the large cross, many kissing

it as they go by. The procession then travels slowly back to the morada yard along the winding, rocky road. (See Fig. 18) Again, as on Holy Wednesday and on Holy Thursday, prayers are read and personal meditation follows. Afterwards the Cristo is returned to the altar room, some of the Brothers go inside the meeting room of the morada to warm themselves, rest, and pray, while others circulate outside and receive any gifts that neighbors and friends may have brought. In each case, whatever is given is promptly taken inside the morada. The donor's name, or that of whomever he designates, is added to a record book and hereafter whenever the Brothers pray, this person shall forever be included in oral prayers. Gifts range from small monetary sums to candles that may be used on the altars or in wooden candelabras inside.

Some of the businesses in town close for Good Friday and by early afternoon nearly ninety per cent of the firms have posted notices on their front doors that they will be closed from 1:00 P.M. to 3:00 P.M., and some close for the remainder of the day. Many of the people who are now released from work go to church for a 1:30 P.M. service.

In the middle of the afternoon, a group composed primarily of friends and relatives of the Brothers gathers at the morada. The Brothers have made their preparations ahead of time. A rope has been stretched between the north and south walls of the morada yard and placed over this rope are several white sheets that serve as curtains. These

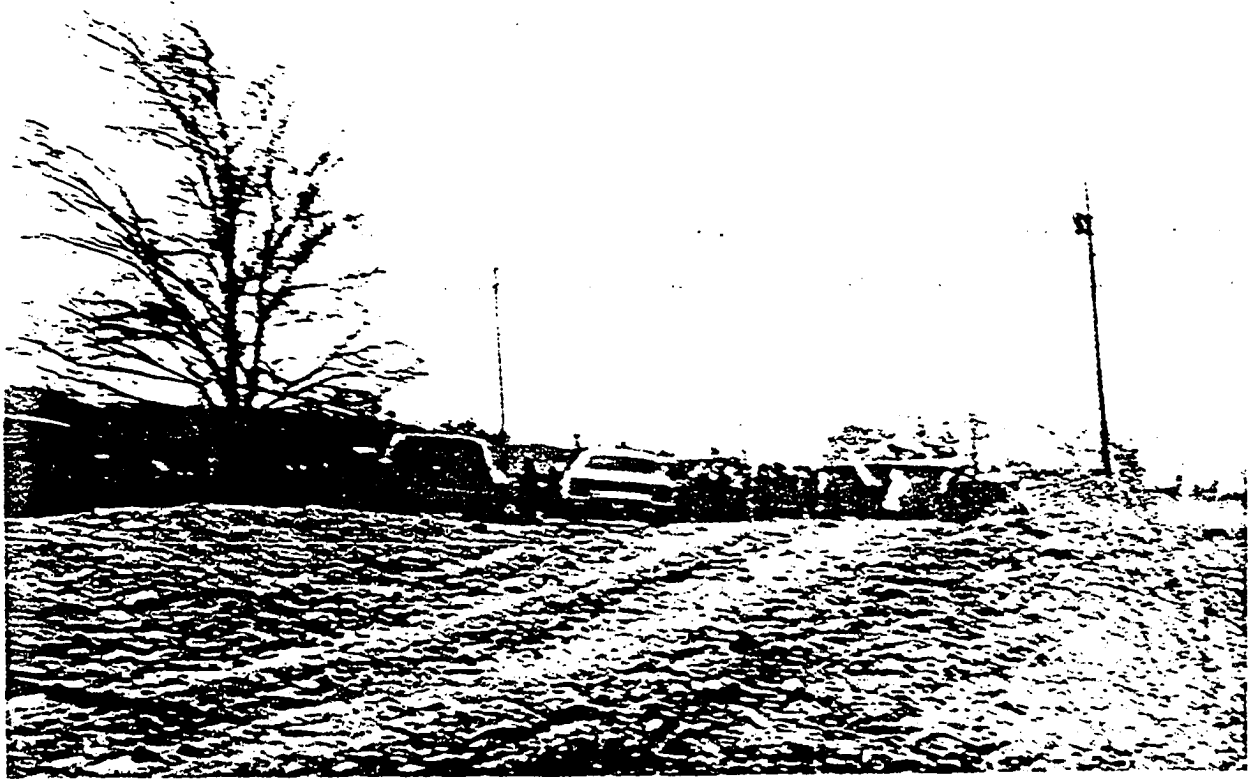


Fig. 18 View of the morning procession leaving Calvary on Good Friday. The white-robed Cristo may be seen being carried near the front of the procession.

are arranged toward the center of the rope, so that the outer edges of the courtyard are still visible. Behind these curtains a large black plank cross has been erected and upon it has been tied a life-size image of Christ. The body of the crucifix has leather joints where the arms attach to the torso, thereby permitting an even more realistic pose. This statue, known as Jesús Entierra is not the same one that has been carried in the previous processions. Near the altar room door a coffin rests on its bier. The majority of the smaller santos have been distributed among the older women and they hold them with visible pride and dignity.

When everything is ready the Brothers emerge from inside the morada and stand or kneel along the wall within the U-shaped yard. The nonparticipants cluster on the opposite side of the curtains, trying (largely in vain) to shield themselves from the cold wind. The crowd of spectators numbers about thirty-five and includes all age groups. Children and old people are in the majority, while teen-aged persons are sparsely represented.

The mayor looks on as the rezador reads prayers from the copybook. The Book of John is quoted, as are some of the stations of the cross. At one dramatic point the curtains are pulled open to reveal "...our Lord on the cross" as the rezador reads John 20:32-34:

So the soldiers came and broke the
legs of the first, and of the other

who had been crucified with him;
but when they came to Jesus and
saw that he was already dead, they
did not break his legs. But one
of the soldiers pierced his side
with a spear, and at once there
came out blood and water.

At this moment a Brother dressed as the Roman soldier and carrying a long wooden spear steps forward and pierces the right side of Jesus. This great Cristo presents a realistically carved side wound complete with painted blood gushing from the opening. It is at this point that the spear touches the Christ figure.

The thirteenth station of the cross is recounted and "His body is taken down from the cross." Two Brothers assist each other as they remove the title "I.N.R.I." (Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews) at the top of the cross. There are three Veronicas standing nearby, one of whom steps forward to receive the "I.N.R.I." sign. The rezador at this time continues with the narration and at the appropriate moment the cross of thorns is removed and given to a second young girl. The narrative proceeds and then the Brothers carefully remove the nails (bolts with the heads painted black and the shanks painted a bright red) from the Cristo's hands and feet. These are presented to the third Veronica. The men then untie the black pieces of cloth that have been lashed around the Cristo's arms to

secure Him to the cross. As they do this a third man holds the figure firmly around its waist, so that it does not fall. Once all of the restraints are removed, the two Brothers gently lower the Cristo and carry Him to the table placed near the altar room door. After further reading by the rezador, the Cristo is placed inside the coffin and the lid is closed. "Our Lord is dead."

The final procession is formed and all, including those friends who have been invited to see the dramatization, walk along together. There are approximately fifty people making up the procession. The women who held the santos during the just-completed dramatization continue carrying them. The bier is carried by four Brothers and the pitiro and drummer offer the accompaniment for the Brothers who sing the alabados. The Brother who is dressed as the Roman soldier also walks along with the procession, as do the three little girls, still dressed in black, who represent Veronica. This is a solemn procession and the participants often walk with their heads bowed in meditation and prayer. As Calvary is reached the Brothers gently touch, sometimes genuflecting in reverence, and kiss the cross. Many of the others who follow will touch the cross and then cross themselves. After everyone has passed by Calvary, two Brothers step out of line and work the cross loose from the earth. Once it is free, the cross is hoisted on to the shoulders of one of the men and he quickly proceeds to the front of the procession as it makes its way back to the morada.

I have repeatedly made reference to the wind and cold weather that is more often than not experienced at this time of year in northern New Mexico. During my three years of observing these Holy Week processions and dramatizations, one procession will always be remembered because of the weather conditions. We were precisely at this point on Good Friday, i.e., returning to the morada after having been to Calvary. The roadway winds around a mesa-like formation, dips down and then has a steep turning grade that must be climbed before the highway is reached. We were making our way up this grade when the clouded sky suddenly became darker and snow began to fall and blow hard against us. As I looked up the Penitentes and older women were silhouetted against the charcoal sky, with the large cross looming above them. Alabados were being sung, and the eerie sound of the pito and drum accompanying them could be heard. The many santos were held tightly in the arms of the short, older women. For fleeting moments I felt as if I were seeing a procession as described by Lummis (1889, 1893, 1896), James (1920), or Henderson (1937). Then we reached the highway and the stopped automobiles brought me quickly back into proper time perspective.

Back at the morada, the black plank cross is dislodged from the ground and taken inside as the Brothers assemble around the north side of the yard. The rezador goes inside and soon returns with his copybook and takes his position near the mayor. All of the Brothers and some of the women

holding santos kneel as the rezador reads and leads the prayers. After the last prayer everyone stands and the Brothers go inside the meeting room and the women return the santos to the altar room.

Very soon the mayor and several Brothers enter the altar room with a kerosene lamp and a record book. Where in the past the santos had been stored inside the morada, beginning in 1972 they were distributed to individuals to take home for safekeeping and for their inherent blessings. It seems that today these santos have become an art form for which the demand far exceeds the supply, and so it is not uncommon for moradas to be robbed. In fact, in October, 1971, the Ranchos morada was broken into and many of the santos were stolen. Fortunately they were recovered soon thereafter from a storage room of a local Anglo antique dealer (see The Taos News, November 17, 1971 for details.) As of the date of this writing the case is still pending in the courts. Similar burglaries in other villages, such as at Truchas and Abiquiú have resulted in devastating losses with no recovery.

As the santos are handed out to various families the mayor carefully writes the name of the person to whom it is being lent and in a general announcement he makes certain that everyone understands that the santos are to be returned to the morada the next year for the Holy Week observances. During this time, everyone is quite jovial, voices are loud and happy and laughter is heard. In a few cases a santo

may be especially popular (such is the case with "Baby Jesus") and in these situations the mayor decides who shall have it first and then after three months it is to be passed to the next person on the list, and so forth. In one case I observed a lady obtaining the "Baby Jesus" santo first in order that she might take it home to benefit a sick child who was bedfast. Another year the lady who was to have the "Baby Jesus" beamed visibly as she told me of her good fortune. Another santo was requested while a family's oldest son was fighting in Vietnam. Everyone seems to be pleased with the decisions that are made and there is no outward sign of disappointment.

Following this distribution of santos there is quite a bit of mixing between the Brothers and their family and friends. An air of congratulation seems to be present and there is much handshaking and introducing of friends to other Brothers. Within an hour or so, depending upon the weather, the automobiles and pickup trucks have pulled away from the morada and headed toward home. Many of these same men and women will be present at the evening service in the Saint Francis of Assisi Mission Church in Ranchos de Taos tonight. All week long, while many of the Brothers have been at the morada, their wives and children have attended the Holy Week services at the Ranchos church. (The following section briefly describes the church services held during Holy Week.)

The obligation of an hermano to his Brotherhood during Lent is most likely a natural extension of his experiences as a boy. The native Spanish-Americans in this region have actively participated since childhood in religious processions, pageants, and services that are a part of their holy observances.

One is struck over and over again at the undeviating faith the people place in their God and their religion. Examples of this faith are seen almost daily. One man signs all of his correspondence with "We are fine, thanks be to God." Another, distressed over a personal problem, heaved a sigh and ended the conversation with a very final "Oh well, it is God's will." Before the birth of our son, we would occasionally speculate on the sex of the unborn child, but one spokesman seemed to view this as a waste of time as the child's sex "would be of God's choice." These words are not merely mouthed, God is seen as guarding over each individual or family and there is strong faith that He will protect them. He will get them through the winter with enough food. Their fate is in His hands.

This is not to say that the people do not attempt to help themselves, for they certainly do. In the fall, they are busy preparing for the winter, canning and drying foods, and gathering firewood. But in circumstances over which they have little control, they leave it up to God to do the "right thing." Of course there are those who do not attend church faithfully but I have noticed that when the subject

comes up, God and Jesus Christ are spoken of with reverence even by them.

The activities at Easter time serve to strengthen this faith. There are many sights and activities that serve this purpose--the altar room, the life-sized Cristo figure dressed in His various robes, and the dramatization on Good Friday--to name but a few of the more spectacular. The processions, and particularly those on Good Friday fill one "...with a beautiful feeling of renewed faith," and I should add that I experienced a similar feeling, even as a non-Catholic. The last procession on Good Friday is much the same as the others in composition, but with the additional people joining in and making their way down the difficult path to Calvary there wells up an overwhelming sense of comradeship. "Christ died for our sins."

Holy Week Activities

At the Saint Francis of Assisi Mission Church

The parish in general seems to be a faithful one. Attendance appears to be good at all of the services each Sunday. The 9:00 A.M. mass is probably the least well attended, as the 11:00 A.M. service is popular with the late risers and the 7:00 A.M. mass is always quite full. This early service is the "Spanish mass" and is the favorite of many of the people, of those who are able to speak English as well as those who cannot. Activities sponsored by the church also seem to be well attended. Such functions as church suppers (one is always open to the public each October 4, Saint Francis' Day), socials and the processions promoted by Father Alvarez are always supported by the parishioners. The church also manages to staff a nightly lecture during the summer months. The lecture pertains to the history and architecture of the church and its restoration a few years back. The grand finale is the viewing of the "Mystery 'Shadow of the Cross' Painting" in darkness.

During Holy Week the pace of activities at the church increases. While I do not intend to describe the Holy Week services in great detail, I do want to make mention of them as they are central to the Easter week observances in this small community. Upon leaving mass on Palm Sunday each family receives a bulletin (see Appendixes 4 and 5)

outlining the activities for the week to come. In preparation for Easter week, the bulletin entreats everyone to come at an appointed time to help clean up the church yard. The church is decorated by some of the parishioners. The decorations consist of tree branches adorned with flowers resembling tulips, which are made from styrofoam egg carton cups. A tree is placed in each of the deep ledges made by the two large windows, one on each side of the church (see Bunting 1974:50). Large plastic inflatable Easter bunnies, probably purchased at a local variety store, are also placed on these ledges. There are more egg carton flowers hanging from some of the light fixtures and some potted flowers (not Easter lilies) in brackets (once used for kerosene lamps) located toward the front of the church. In 1974, some swags of crepe paper festooned the altar area. These homemade touches serve to remind one of the dedication of the parishioners to their church. The Father's concern with the budget was handled in refreshing ways. The congregation was asked to be sure to hand back the booklets used during Easter Week, since by using last year's book, they had saved fifty dollars. One year palms were evidently too expensive for Palm Sunday, as we were handed juniper twigs.

On Holy Thursday occurs the Misa Popular "for the intention of all our parishioners." This service includes the "washing of the feet ceremony" as part of the last supper commemoration. The priest tries to involve young people in church activities, so he chooses teen-aged boys to play the

parts of the Disciples. There is Communion at this and at every service during Holy Week. On Holy Friday, a day of fasting and abstinence, there are two services at the Ranchos church. At 1:30 P.M. there is the sermon "de las siete palabras" and then at 7:30 in the evening the stations of the cross are repeated. Activities on Holy Saturday include the Blessing of the Animals at 2:00 in the afternoon. In the evening at 8:00 the Liturgical service is held. This service involves the use of candles at its opening and closing, and each member of the congregation receives a candle to use during the service. Traditionally this is the service at which babies should be baptized. In 1974, six babies were baptized on this occasion, making the service last well over two hours. The Father was quite pleased to be able to perform this sacrament, as it was the first time the tradition had been observed in many years.

The babies were quite young, mostly around a month old. I was acquainted with the parents of one of the baptized babies and when I asked why they were baptized at so young an age, I was told, "It is best that way, in case something would happen." While there is an adequate hospital in Taos, one can see that the time when medical care was not so available in this rural, isolated area has not been forgotten. Moreover many people are not able to afford the available medical care.

On Easter Sunday the three masses are held at their regular times. All are quite crowded. Following the second

mass comes the blessing of the children's Easter baskets. All week long the children have been reminded to bring their Easter baskets for this occasion. The priest has the children line up on either side of the walkway. Then he offers a prayer, and gives a little speech about being kind and sharing the contents with the other children and their parents, and with the priest too! After this the baskets are blessed with holy water. Treats are then handed out to all of the children.

I have offered this brief description of Easter week services to illustrate the importance of the church to its parishioners. Their participation speaks for itself.

While the Brothers have been conducting their own ceremonies, many of their families are attending the church activities. After the afternoon procession on Good Friday, and when the Brothers are no longer residing at the morada, many of them attend services in the evening. When the activities of the church and those of the Penitentes are considered together, one finds that church-related functions occupy a large part of Easter week. The fact that these observances are important enough to the people to warrant dutiful attendance, shows their strong faith in their religion, their dedication to their beautiful Mission Church, and their respect for their priest.

The Role of the Ranchos Morada and its Members in the Community

The Ranchos morada group currently has approximately twenty-five members. Of this number more than half are the wives, daughters, and mothers who pay dues to the society and receive financial assistance toward their burial. The woman's role within the Brotherhood will be discussed in a later section. The remaining number are the male members who form the active morada group organization.

The ages of the male members range from late forties to early and middle eighties, with the older men being in the majority. The members of the Ranchos morada group are, for the most part, native to the immediate locale. The majority were born in their parents' adobe homes and were brought into the world by grandmothers and aunts who served as midwives.

In the late nineteenth century this region was especially known for its grain production, in fact some have termed it the "breadbasket of the Southwest" (Morrill 1973a: 33). Numerous grinding mills, powered by the mountain-fed streams and rivers, transformed the grain into flour. Any excess not needed by the family was sold and traded. Surpluses dwindled in the early to middle twentieth century until these people found that they were no longer able to raise these cash crops profitably. Soil nutrients had been

depleted by the continual planting of the same crop in the same field year after year. Furthermore, erosion in the mountains caused less water to flow into the valley for irrigation. The situation was made even more unfavorable because the small farm units became even smaller through the years as a result of the custom of subdividing the land among heirs. The old pattern of making a living by farming slowly changed; today wage earning, with farming as a supplement, is the rule.

Some of the morada group members have obtained steady employment: one works for the Forest Service, another is a maintenance man at one of the local schools, and a third is employed as a carpenter and cabinetmaker. In previous years some of the men have found work as professional firefighters, trained and employed by a federal agency. Today, the majority of the members are retired and either work around their own homes or assist extended family members with various projects. Since nearly everyone lives in an adobe home, there are always repairs to be made, and occasionally a new room is added or a smaller room enlarged. With the help of neighbors and relatives, a room is constructed within a relatively short time. Occasionally odd jobs are performed for Anglo neighbors, but this work source is sporadic at best.

Each year a number of the men obtain permits from the U.S. Forest Service to go into designated areas to cut firewood. Sometimes the wood is cut for personal use only,

but, more often than not, extra loads are brought into the villages and offered for sale. In some cases this activity is not as critical as it once was, as natural gas and propane have decreased the once total dependence upon wood as the major heating source. In other cases, however, wood remains the only means of cooking and heating.

Nearby Taos has attracted artists and tourists to the area for most of the lives of those I consulted. What began as one gallery showing the works of several artists has blossomed into the seventy or eighty galleries present in Taos today. In addition there are now motels, restaurants, gas stations, and numerous other shops and businesses selling services and merchandise. In their younger days several Penitente friends worked part-time in the tourist industry, and today some of their children and grandchildren are so employed.

Many of the men must leave their homes and families for weeks and sometimes months at a time in order to find wage earnings. The fall potato and sugar beet harvests in Colorado are usually a potential source of employment. In some cases the entire family moves away to earn money in seasonal work and then returns home whenever the season is ended or when personal situations demand. The variety and combinations of occupations within most families are great and may change at different times of the year. The seasonal factor in the local tourist industry is not as great as it once was, since winter sports facilities have been

constructed in the area in recent years. Although few if any Spanish-Americans are ski instructors, there is a need for employees in all of the service-related businesses.

While most of the women who are related to Penitente members work in their own homes and are busy looking after their children or grandchildren, there are those who also have outside employment. Some do house cleaning, others are nurses, cooks, and waitresses, and some work as clerks in the numerous stores in Taos. A few individuals are specialists in working with adobe and have made names for themselves throughout the valley. One morada group member's wife will long be remembered for her fine application of tierra bayeta and tierra blanca to the interior walls of adobe structures. Another woman has specialized in leveling, preparing, and making the adobe floors (Morrill 1973a:16-18). The corner fireplaces, found so frequently in older homes, are likewise the work of skilled artisans.

Many of the women who once worked with adobe and earth pigments have died or are physically unable to do this kind of labor any longer. Also, among Spanish-Americans the need for proficiency in this media (adobe) is no longer needed to the extent that it once was, because linoleum and sometimes even shag carpets have been placed over adobe floors.

The interior walls of my Spanish-American friends' homes are painted mainly bright pink, pale green, yellow, or blue. Whatever the shade, the visitor soon realizes that his host now seems to prefer the commercial paints to

the older, natural earth pigments. A few have covered their adobe walls with the Masonite paneling that resembles a finished wood surface.

Still another preference found in this predominantly Spanish-American village is the mobile home. They appear to be everywhere, and more often than not when one drives home from work in the evening another new "house on wheels" may be spotted tucked in close to an older adobe structure or standing alone on a small plot of land close to the road. The presence of so many mobile homes has sparked some controversy, especially among the Anglos who prefer their own gracious two-hundred-year-old adobes, patios, and gardens. Yet the appeal of the mobile home to the new Spanish-American owner is easily understood and difficult to counter.

By one acquisition the Spanish-American family may realize many of its dreams for the better things in life that are flaunted on television and in movie sets--things that the Anglos have long taken for granted. The mobile home offers instant conveniences, namely: a kitchen with dishwasher, refrigerator, garbage disposal, and running water; a living room with upholstered sofa and chairs; a built-in radio and stereo system; indoor plumbing; carpeting throughout; a bed for each member of the family; and above all a dry, warm home. For these advantages the family often has traded an old adobe house that more than likely had a leaky roof.

Some of these modern conveniences may not be readily obtainable, depending on the location of the mobile home. Water lines do not reach everyone's property and a number of families still have fifty-gallon barrels outside their house trailers so that when the irrigation ditch is running, buckets of water may be taken from the ditch and stored. If the weather is cooperative when the ditch is running at capacity, family members are often observed washing their hair and bathing in or near the acequia. Several Penitente members haul water to their homes every day or so for normal household use and must also use outside toilet facilities. Severe winter temperatures provide further incentive for inside plumbing. Some occupants of mobile homes have their own water well and pump, and others wish that they did, but the cost of drilling a well runs between twelve and fourteen dollars per foot. Even in a good year this much in expenditure is nearly out of the question for them, as the water table is roughly 150 to 200 feet below ground level. Consequently, if it is possible to locate a mobile home near an existing water line, the problem of obtaining this utility is greatly eased.

Monthly payments are in line with other expenses and after a given length of time the mobile home will be theirs. When the sometimes poor construction and cheap furniture of the mobile home are mentioned, the Spanish-American shrugs his shoulders and says:

I know, but we could live in rental property the rest of our lives and still not be able to save enough money for a home and furniture. We would rather buy a mobile home and have these advantages for our children now, rather than wait and perhaps never have them.

Another source summarized the situation:

...she knows a lot of people don't like the way they /mobile homes/ look, but they're cheaper than an adobe house and you don't have to buy any furniture or heaters or a stove or refrigerator. They're all built in, and you have them right away (Morrill 1973b:2).

Who can argue with this?

The neighboring villages of Talpa, Ranchos de Taos, and Llano Quemado are not incorporated and have no form of local government. As residents of Taos County, the inhabitants depend on the elected officials of the Taos County Commission to see to such things as highway maintenance and the overseeing of normal county operations. A partial list of other elected and appointed officials would include those involved in law enforcement, the court system and the usual business assumed by the County Assessor,

County Treasurer, County Clerk, and the District Attorney. Though no Ranchos morada group member holds public office in Taos County, frequently there exists some "close" relative who has been elected. These "close" relatives are often cousins, and even though the kinship tie may seem removed and distant to an outsider, the link is understood by those who refer to each other as "primo." On various occasions I have overheard men greet each other with "Hola primo," or "Hello primo." Normally this courtesy implies some kinship tie between the two individuals, but this is not always the case, for sometimes a Spanish-American will speak to an Anglo in the same manner, in which case the reference to primo is simply one of friendship.

Almost all of the Ranchos morada group members faithfully attend the Saint Francis of Assisi Mission Church in Ranchos de Taos. The majority seem to go to the early service at 7:00 A.M., referred to as the "Spanish mass." Sometimes the members' children accompany their parents or may attend a later service by themselves or with friends. One of the Brothers rings the mission bell each Sunday morning just prior to the beginning of the early service, and then helps pass out church bulletins to the congregation as they leave the church. Brothers sometimes serve as ushers for various services, and some participate in the men's action group called The Holy Name Society. Formally recognized by the Ranchos church, the members of this organization are dedicated to prayer and often work to help formulate and manage fund-raising events.

The vast majority of adult Spanish-Americans with whom I have had contact seem to be much influenced in their daily lives by the values and beliefs that are a part of their religion. In normal conversation, references to "Jesus," "the Almighty," "the good Lord," and "heavenly Father" are common. A number of the homes contain a small altar where pictures of Jesus and various saints look down upon an individual who offers prayers. The elderly morada group members seem especially responsive to their faith, and of course the fact that they are Penitentes indicates the intensity of their faith and the comfort they find in associating with others of similar persuasion. The morada group is a service organization in that it helps members and friends in their time of need. Furthermore it consists of men and women who value some of the "old ways" of their community, and they work to perpetuate these traditions.

One of my non-morada group sources, who seems sympathetic to the Penitentes, in indicating that he might join them at some time in the future, listed what he felt to be some of the advantages of membership. He told me about the aid that the Brotherhood gives the family of a deceased member and how "...good this is for those who have lost a father, a mother, a brother, or what have you." He went on to say:

The Penitentes are in a way a good organization, for during Lenten season that's when the devil possesses more

than anything else and, uh, in a way the Penitentes will pray and sing you know, and you won't have any possession that comes forward you know. In a way the Penitentes helped to eliminate it, that sort of stuff to happen. See, you don't hardly hear of anyone being possessed these days. See, and that came about because the Penitentes got together and started praying and doing things like that, see? As of later when they ignored the Penitentes, probably that is what happened. People got possessed more than anything else, see? Why I can think back, if I think of myself, probably then when they would have this, you know, probably people were being possessed more when the Penitentes were started you know. And that wasn't good for people to be thinking about and so on. That's the way I see it. Like I said, they have prayers in case someone is possessed, but you hardly hear of anybody being

possessed. Everybody gets angered, and when you get angry you might do something drastic. Like shoot somebody, but like I said, you don't see anybody possessed. Like I say, when our Lord was, a whole bunch of people were being possessed by the devil, then when our Lord was on earth, and you have read the Bible. I'm pretty sure when it says that when that time people were being, people were more possessed by the devil than at any time. According to what I read, I think it is true. People were possessed and then later on the Penitentes came about and they helped to suppress this.

These comments were partly generated by this individual's interest and concern over the movie "The Exorcist" that had just been released, and which at the time of this interview was receiving wide notice in the press. It is interesting to see how "possession" and the Brotherhood were associated by this informant and how in his own mind the morada groups helped to counteract the work of the devil. I made extensive interviews during this time period, but found interest in the relation of the Penitentes to "possession" limited to this single account.

During my stay in Taos I noticed that whenever the subject of Penitentes came up among Anglos their knowledge of them more likely than not consisted of a stereotyped pattern of "facts." First, they were aware that the Penitentes practiced self-flagellation. Second, they had heard that a member was crucified during Easter rituals. The remaining "fact," usually voiced in a whisper and accompanied by a knowing look, was the notion that the Penitente members were powerful in the villages. I cannot find evidence for the existence of any of these attributes among the Penitente Brotherhood in the Ranchos morada at the present time.

That self-flagellation existed in the last century has been documented and there may have been crucifixion of members, but it has been many years since these practices were performed at the Ranchos morada. In regard to the power and influence of the Penitentes in the community, we have previously noted that no member of the Ranchos morada holds office in the Taos County government. Since each village lacks a formal government of its own, the most prominent people in the community are the priest, who is not a Penitente, and the mayor domo, who at this time is likewise not a Brotherhood member. There are other influential persons in the Ranchos community. Most appear to be quite active in the Ranchos mission church. One particular "pillar of the church" is very prominent in local affairs. He is not a Brother. Still another respected

member of the community happened to be hermano mayor of the morada during one year of my study. The office itself does command a certain amount of respect among nonmembers, but I received the impression that this man was held in high esteem because of his accomplishments, rather than just because of his position in the morada group. He is a religious, church-attending man who has raised a family whose members work with and assist their father in his profession. There are other members of the morada group who are also active in church affairs and who seem to be respected by the members of the community. On the other hand there are members of the morada who are not held in very high regard in the community. Being a member of a morada group lends one a certain amount of respect from nonmembers, and officers--particularly the hermano mayor--are regarded even more highly. Yet a person's conduct and individual achievements seem to have more to do with how he is looked upon by the community than the mere fact that he is a Penitente. In other words, being a Penitente does not automatically assure one a position of power and influence in the community. Members who have realized such a position have done so by other means. Today the Ranchos morada group has a very limited effect on the village as a whole. The tight, mafialike hold on the community that the Anglos whisper about is just not present. Any influence that any morada group member might have within the community appears to be strictly on an individual basis.

I would like to stress that these statements apply to the Ranchos morada group, and that situations may be different in other areas. However, in Holmes' (1967), general discussion of political influence of Penitentes he states that:

It is difficult to separate fact from legend in an accounting of the politics of the Brotherhood. According to some sources, the Penitente vote was "deliverable" and highly subject to manipulation. According to others, it was a vote inflexibly controlled by the Republican party. Probably it was neither....If the general election vote of the Penitente precincts had been inflexibly dominated by the Republican party, it is improbable that officers of both parties would have felt impelled to expend in them as much time and effort as they did. Much more likely is the proposition that the Penitente precincts comprised a vote large enough, and variable enough, to make them a marginal factor critical in the election strategies of both parties (Holmes 1967:38).

When the election results of 1916 from five northern New Mexico counties (Guadalupe, Mora, Rio Arriba, San Miguel and

Taos) were analyzed by Holmes, he found that if a candidate was favored by the Penitentes it was evident in the election returns. Yet, the voting in the Penitente precincts was revealed to be very little different from that in Spanish non-Penitente precincts (Holmes 1967:42 and Table 4).

The point demonstrated here is that voting in the Penitente precincts shared the characteristics of the voting in other Hispanic but non-Penitente precincts. In the Penitente precincts those characteristics were etched a little more sharply; they were a little more discernible (Holmes 1967:42).

Holmes emphasizes that the results of neither precinct group (Spanish Penitente and Spanish non-Penitente) indicated an "extreme reaction" to favored candidates (Holmes 1967:42). Apparently the vote reflected an ethnic preference rather than strong-armed domination by morada group leaders.

Efforts to determine if the Ranchos Penitente members wielded political power in the past were made during interviews. Questions of this nature were always answered negatively. I was left with the impression that the notion and my questions were considered somewhat ridiculous. Even though I approached the subject from various angles, the response was essentially, "No, we don't do anything like that."

Undoubtedly the Penitente members once had more of an impact on the small Ranchos community, not only in politics, but in regard to a broad spectrum of matters. In earlier days there were less diversions, members were more numerous and in their prime years. Now many things have changed since the world wars. Influence from the outside world has created new priorities among the people--cars, television, and stereo tape decks have become important. The control that the church once exercised has loosened under the influx of new ideas and new material items. Another step away from the church has resulted from the closing of the parochial schools in Ranchos; all of the children now attend the public schools.

Penitente members have grown old and few in number. Since farming has become less and less dependable for a living and because their age makes it more difficult for some members to obtain wage-earning jobs, the majority are no longer self-sufficient and must depend on their children or social security and welfare for support. This state of affairs is the pattern for most of the people in the older age bracket, and while the younger generation still respects and feels an obligation toward the elders, these attitudes are not as strong as they were a generation ago. Often diversions take priority over attention to the aged. Then, too, there is a stigma placed upon lack of self-sufficiency, even in a community where so many receive welfare, especially among those who are able to live without

its aid. Because it is not adding new members to the society, the Ranchos morada group has become stagnant as an institution. All of these factors have contributed to the dwindling of its importance as a group in the eyes of the rest of the population in the greater Ranchos de Taos community.

The Women's Role in the Morada Group

The role played by women in the morada organization can be considered somewhat marginal to the activities in which the men engage. Nevertheless their involvement is noteworthy, and their role is not as small as might be expected.

A woman may be asked by her husband to prepare and bring food to the morada during the Holy Week observances, or she may prepare the food as the fulfillment of a vow that might have been made by her during the period since the last Holy Week. Such vows are personal: they may have been made to help a loved one regain his health, as a supplication for the safe return of a son or daughter in the armed forces, or perhaps it was made at the time of death of a relative or neighbor. Whatever the situation, my friend says that "...it takes a great amount of faith for things to work out."

While the male membership takes care of the major repairs of the morada, sometimes women assist in cleaning the structure prior to Holy Week. The women also see to it that the altar room is in order and "looks nice." The female members may also participate in the twice daily processions from the morada to Calvary and back. Two or three young girls may be asked to be Veronicas in the processions. Women who were once Veronicas have told me that "...it was fun to dress in the black dress, shoes, stockings, and to wear the black veil." Oftentimes a

granddaughter or neice of an hermano will be chosen and asked to be a Veronica. While most age groups are represented in the Friday processional, the majority of the women present are older, perhaps in their 60's, 70's, or early 80's.

The women also may assist in the care of sick members and their families, but with improved medical facilities near by, these services are not as urgent as they once were. Furthermore, being a good neighbor, whether the other people are members of the Brotherhood or not, would be reason enough for assisting them in their own time of need.

In the case of the Ranchos morada, the hermanos' wives are permitted membership in the morada and sometimes are referred to as "sisters." For the most part, however, the actual involvement of women is limited to the roles just described, as well as the burial plan for women discussed below. It should be stated that cooking food, walking in the processions, and cleaning, are not roles assigned only to female members, nor does all of the female membership so participate.

Besides the individual spiritual benefit that may be attained, there is also an economic advantage to membership in a morada group. Women members pay yearly dues to the morada treasurer and this money is deposited in a savings account at one of the Taos banks. When the woman dies, a portion of the savings is withdrawn from the account and is made available to help with the member's burial.

Spokesmen stressed that this money does not pay for the entire burial today, as it once did, but that it certainly helps. This arrangement serves as a form of burial insurance and is thereby indicative of the older people's wishes to be self-sufficient, even until "the end."

Early in my field investigations a woman was introduced to me as an hermana by a friend who was a member of the Ranchos morada group. The lady brought food for the Brothers, and on Good Friday assumed custody of a santo to take to her home for safekeeping and the good feeling it gave her. We visited several times during the course of my study and I learned that she was not the mother or wife of a Brother, but rather the daughter of a male member. Her father had once been a leader in the morada group in Pilar, a small village located several miles to the south and toward Española. Finally the number of members in this group dwindled to such an extent that it was decided by those who remained to join a larger group. One of the closer moradas (though nearly fourteen miles away) was the Ranchos morada. Some of the former Brothers of Pilar were of such advanced age that they decided to discontinue membership altogether. The remaining Pilar residents were accepted into the Ranchos morada group not as new members per se, but as "transfers."

William Wallrich (1950), who conducted field studies in northern New Mexico, near Costilla, and in southern Colorado, near San Luis, looked into the woman's role within

the moradas in these regions. He found them to be known as Auxiliadoras de la Morada, and went on to define their duties within the morada group as follows:

1. The physical care of the Morada and certain of its furnishings.
2. The nursing and care of the sick and of their families.
3. The preparation of meals for "men in the Morada" during Holy Week.
4. Attendance at and the preparation of la cena, the supper, during velorios or wakes (Wallrich 1950:5).

The first three duties coincide with those performed by female members in the Ranchos morada group. The fourth duty, having to do with the attendance and preparation of food for the wake at the morada, is no longer practiced. In recent years people have come to rely on the services of the local funeral home, and the body of the deceased usually remains there until the time it is taken to the church for services, and later, for burial in the cemetery. Food is still taken to the home of the recently deceased to help feed the extended family that gathers at the time of such a crisis, but the women told me that such practice is performed out of kindness and sympathy rather than as a duty prescribed for those who are female members of the morada group.

While Wallrich found the female division of the morada group to be called Auxiliadoras de la Morada, my own helpers would use the terms "sister," "hermana," or "woman member," almost interchangeably. In the book on Santos of the Southwest, the Denver Art Museum (1970:58) noted that the "...Lady's Order of the Penitentes...were known as Carmelites." They offered this explanation of the origin of the term:

Originally the Carmelite Order was located on Mt. Carmel in the Holy Land and their history antedates the birth of Christ. However, in the early part of the 13th century, the Carmelites became a party of the 3rd Order of St. Francis and were known as the Sisters of Penance. Thus, they became associated with the lay brotherhood of the Penitentes, also under the rule of the 3rd Order of St. Francis.

I lack evidence to comment further on this statement other than to say that the term "Carmelites" is not utilized by the Ranchos morada female members. In any case, it seems clear that women play a supportive role within the morada group, and this is the extent of their participation. This seems to be satisfactory to the women, for the morada group is recognized by them as being primarily

a male religious organization. In commenting on the subject, one woman whom I consulted smiled and said, "That's the way its always been, and that's fine with me."

The Role of the Indian within a Morada Group

In the process of interviewing people during my field study I inquired about requirements for membership in a morada group. I learned that one had to have been baptized a Catholic and, naturally, be desirous of becoming a member. Membership was something personal, and while a family member might suggest to his relative that he become a member, my friends told me that there was no great pressure brought on them to join. When I pressed one Brother on the subject, he replied in a raised voice saying: "Look, anyone can become a member. Italianos, Spaniards, Niggers, we don't care. But they do have to be Catholic and must have been baptized in a Catholic church." When I asked if an Indian could be a member, he said, "Yes." But as far as an Indian (or for that matter, a Negro) ever having been a member in the Ranchos morada, no one remembers such an event. And while in theory they might have been acceptable for membership, the Brothers were always quick to tell me that the Indians have their own religion. Since there is no apparent rule that excludes Indians from joining the Penitentes, it is plausible to suppose that the possibility of Indian membership is more likely in a locality where there was more interaction between the Puebloan and Spanish cultures, and where Catholicism was dominant over native beliefs.

There is a classic example of an Indian rejecting the idea of becoming a Penitente or practicing Penitente ways, reported by Fray Alonso de Benavides and noted by Parsons (1939:1102-1103). She tells of:

...the "great pueblo" of the Xumanes (Jumanos), neighbors to the Piro or Tompiro. Angered by the wave of conversion, a "wizard" shouted: "You Spaniards and Christians, how crazy you are! And you live like crazy folks! You want to teach us to be crazy also!" "I asked him ...wherein were we crazy?" And he must have seen some procession of penance (Penitentes) during Holy Week in some pueblo of Christians, and so he said "You Christians are so crazy that you go all together, flogging yourselves like crazy people in the streets, shedding (your) blood. And thus you must wish that this pueblo be also crazy!" And with this, greatly angered and yelling, he went forth from the pueblo, saying that he did not wish to be crazy.

In more recent times Elsie C. Parsons (1939:159) tantalizes us with an account that she uncovered during her own field work among the eastern Pueblos.

There is a story at San Juan that a townsman, old man Cata who was chief of the Catholic Penitentes, an organization the Indians observe with interest as comparable to their own esoteric groups, that Cata would call upon his Penitentes, Mexicans though they were, to help him get in his harvest.

It is regrettable that we do not have any more information on old man Cata, though in an earlier work she (Parsons 1926: 168) did confirm that Cata was "...a pure Indian of San Juan." It should be noted that if there was any Indian participation (and there is no reason to doubt this story) within a morada group, it would not be surprising to find that it occurred in or near San Juan. This Tewa-speaking Pueblo has long intermarried with persons of Spanish descent and is not as conservative in terms of change and interaction as Taos (Frisbie 1974).

In the mid-1940's Alice Marriott interviewed the then, and now even more, renowned potter, María Martínez, for the data that soon thereafter were organized into María: The Potter of San Ildefonso. María told of some of her family experiences and one of these events relates to the Indian-Penitente association being discussed. According to María's account it was 1890 and she had accompanied her sisters and parents to a friend's home (the latter being Spanish-American) near Chimayo, New Mexico. On this occasion her father said to her mother:

"I think I will go with my compadre and take part in the procession," her father told her. "He has asked me to do that, and it is a great honor to be invited. I don't want to refuse such an honor when it is offered to me. I never knew of any Indian man's being asked to do that before." "No," Mother agreed, "I never heard of its happening, either. Will you be all right?" she asked, anxiously. "I'll be all right," said Father. "It is religion, and that is all right" (Marriott 1948:47).

Later, in discussion with her father concerning the self-flagellation that she had observed, one of María's sisters asked:

"...but why do they whip themselves?"

"It's their religion," said Father.

"It's different from the dances, in that way. The Indian religion is to be happy, but the Spanish religion is to be sad. That's why they are two different people" (Marriott 1948:51).

Another reference to Indian participation was that made by Mabel Luhan's husband (who was a Taos Indian) who said:

"...over in Picuris Pueblo, sometimes Indians walk in parade

with Penitentes. I don't know what for they do that, unless they all mixed up with Mexicans, now" (Luhan 1937: 146).

Finally, there needs to be some mention made of what is fondly referred to today as "Mabel's morada," or "the morada behind Mabel's house." (See Fig. 5) As the latter reference suggests, the morada under discussion is located behind, or to the east of the old Mabel Dodge Luhan home that is itself just east of Taos. This is probably the morada that Mabel Luhan (1937:141-146) wrote about "visiting" (hiding and waiting in the sagebrush in order to see the Penitentes). What makes this particular morada interesting is the fact that it was built on land that belongs to the Taos Pueblo. Luhan (1937:135) says: "...the Penitentes had a long lease from the Pueblo so they could have their strange secret rites in undisturbed privacy away from the townspeople." Obviously some arrangement was made in the past that permitted its construction in the first place and its maintenance through the years. From evidence I have gathered I assume that this morada is inactive today and that any former members have probably joined with the Brothers in nearby Cañon or elsewhere. Since the adobe structure was built on Indian land there are no county records or land documents in the abstract office, and therefore officially it does not exist. Even though I had some cooperation from informants at Taos Pueblo, I was still unable to learn anything more about "Mabel's morada."

To summarize, I would say that sources do indicate the occurrence of some Indian participation in Penitente affairs. However, the documentation is sketchy and does not denote such practices to be widespread or generally accepted. The few recorded instances were undoubtedly remembered because of their uniqueness.

As to the question of any participation at the Ranchos morada by Taos Indians, I would have to say that I have not found any indication that this has ever been the case. Several of my helpers told me of local events that their fathers or uncles had remembered and told them about, but never was there anything "about Indians and morada business."

Furthermore, there is the matter of attitude toward the Indians that is held by the local Spanish-American community. John Bodine reported on these aspects in his doctoral dissertation (Bodine 1967). In a subsequent paper he noted that:

For generations the priests had worked to convert the pagan Indians to the True Faith. Their reluctance to accept this core aspect of civilization was taken as proof of their inferiority. Most Spanish are still very derogatory in their remarks about the nominal adherence to the Church of most Indians (Bodine 1968:149).

It seems to me that the Spanish-American feeling of cultural superiority is probably a substantive reason for the lack of Indian association within the morada groups. An example of this attitude was evident in an incident involving one of my contacts. This man was employed at a business that brought him in frequent contact with many of the tourists who visit Taos. One evening he stopped by to talk. After the polite preliminaries, he began to rant about a tourist who had come up to him that day and had asked him if he were an Indian. From his tone of voice, the excited manner in which he related the incident, the words he used, and the fact that he repeated the story several times, one could easily comprehend that he considered it disgusting and degrading to be thought of as an Indian. He did not hold the tourist in very high regard either.

In considering the very small amount of Indian involvement one cannot overlook the fact that the Indians are probably not very interested in achieving membership either. They have their own activities and organizations to attend, and it is easy to understand why someone would want to avoid an organization where they would most likely not be accepted or made to feel welcome.

The Future of the Penitentes

In an earlier section I commented on the recent growth of the Arroyo Seco morada group, and I attributed these developments largely to the empathy that was shown by their parish priest. Because he shares a somewhat similar geographical and cultural background with the people in this area, Father Salazar has been able to work effectively with the parishioners from the villages of Arroyo Seco, Arroyo Hondo, Colonias, Valdez, and San Cristobal that form the Holy Trinity Parish of Arroyo Seco. A friend who is a member of this parish seemed to say it well: "Without making a big deal of it, Father Salazar has made us proud of our heritage and has shown us some of the values in our old ways."

In an effort to evaluate comparatively the situation in the Ranchos de Taos community, I interviewed the parish priest, Father Manuel Alvarez. Also, as I talked to parishioners, I made an effort to discover their attitudes and viewpoints toward their priest and his goals. Father Alvarez was born and raised in Ecuador. He received a portion of his religious training in Rome and soon thereafter came to the United States. He is no stranger to New Mexico, having held four posts in the Spanish-speaking archdiocese of Santa Fe including Arroyo Seco, Santa Rosa, Vaughn, and Ranchos de Taos, the latter since 1965.

Not long after his appointment to Ranchos de Taos, Father Alvarez consulted with an architect to see about "fixing up

the church," and was told bluntly "It's either going to have to be restored or condemned." Time had taken its toll; too many of the massive vigas, or beams, were rotted at the ends, and many of the adobes were crumbling. Something had to be done and, in true Taos fashion, a controversy developed. With the support of the archbishop and his parishioners, Father Alvarez felt that restoration was the only answer. Many of the townspeople in and around Taos were skeptical of such talk, and feared the changes that might be incorporated once work was started. There was talk of replacing the soft-plastered surface with hard plaster, and this met with even further objection. The parishioners had found that the annual job of replastering had become too arduous, and was complicated by the fact that so many of the younger people found employment during the summer and therefore were no longer available to help with the monumental task. After much controversy, restoration was begun and was continued for many months. In the rebuilding and stabilization processes, some of the original architectural features were rediscovered as well as several santos that had been sealed in niches during previous renovations. At last, in the summer of 1967, the church was rededicated. Because of the discoveries that were made, Father Alvarez beams with pride when he tells visitors that "the church we have today is more original than before."

The parishioners have long enjoyed the processions on saint's days and on Christmas Eve. The Fiesta of Saint Francis

is observed on his saint's day, October 4, and is preceded by a candlelight procession to the church the evening before. On this occasion luminarios (small bonfires) burn outside the courtyard, and farolitos (paper sacks filled with sand, holding a burning candle) line the walls surrounding the church. Following the morning mass, this day is for family reunions and celebration. Northern New Mexico is famed for the "fall colors" and many see this as being the time for a final enjoyment of this great beauty before the long winter. In earlier times when farming and ranching were the primary means of support for the community, this occasion was even more of a thanksgiving event than it is today.

On Christmas Eve the midnight mass is preceded by an impressive procession of members carrying achones, torches of pitch pine that were used by the early settlers. After the participants have assembled, they are led around the church and then inside by Father Alvarez. The sight of achones against the winter night is unforgettable.

Throughout his tenure at this church, Father Alvarez has worked to reinstate some of the old traditions. As a whole, the congregation tends to be conservative and therefore has welcomed these revivals. Soon after the church was rebuilt, Father Alvarez reintroduced the "Blessing of the Animals," a tradition that had died out in recent times. It takes place in the early afternoon on Holy Saturday. Throughout the Holy Week children are urged to bring their pets and to "dress them up pretty." Both children and adults

respond. One sees baby lambs with ribbons tied around their necks, goats in sweaters, baby chicks in baskets, dogs, burros and horses with hats, kittens in dresses and sunbonnets, and sometimes a guinea pig. Father Alvarez calls together everyone with pets and then parades them around the church (Fig. 19). Afterwards, everyone gathers around the front wall of the church, and Father Alvarez speaks to them about treating their pets with kindness and respect (Fig. 20). This is followed by the actual blessing, during which the father sprinkles holy water on each animal. While these activities have been taking place, a three-or-four-person committee judges the pets and the costumes that their owners have created. After the blessing, the judges announce the prize-winning pets and monetary awards are presented to their lucky owners. The entire event is extremely festive and is enjoyed by the adult onlookers as much as by the children. Everyone takes delight in exclaiming how "cute" this or that animal is in its costume. The Blessing of the Animals ceremony is one of the happiest occasions of the year, and when people speak of it they do so with pride. All agree that "bringing back this ceremony was a good thing."

Another ceremony that involves the children is that of the "Blessing of the Easter Baskets." This takes place immediately following the second, or 9:00 A.M. mass, on Easter Sunday. Everyone files out of the church, and all of the children are directed to line the walkway that leads



Fig. 19 Father Manuel Alvarez leading the procession around the Ranchos church during the Blessing of the Animals.



Fig. 20 After the procession of the Blessing of the Animals, Father Alvarez speaks to the people about being kind to their animals.

from the front gate to the church entrance. Father Alvarez encourages the children to "share your candies or whatever you have in your Easter baskets with your family and friends." He also indicates that a few goodies offered to Father Alvarez will be fine too! The Father proceeds up one side of the walk and down the other, blessing each basket and child with holy water as he goes. Then the exchange begins. Additional favors are distributed by some of the church ladies, and everyone looks on with great pleasure. Few events seem to please the adults more than to see their children, grandchildren, nieces, and nephews dressed in their Easter finery, sharing the contents of their Easter baskets.

Father Alvarez feels that "it is important for everybody to participate and keep alive all these ceremonies of the Holy Week and Easter, for they are good things." In the case of the Blessing of the Animals and of the Blessing of the Easter Baskets, he feels that it is not the blessing per se that is important, but rather it is the teaching of being kind to animals and sharing their gifts and good fortune with others that is significant. Both of the ceremonies are directed toward the children and encourage their participation and involvement in church-related activities.

One of my non-Penitente sources who is an active member of the Ranchos church had the following to say about Father Alvarez and his efforts to restore some of the old ways:

...he's trying to make the people go back to the things that happened during the time before World War II, you know, the traditions. After the war things started dying down a little, so now what the priest is trying to do, he is trying to bring the people up to the old traditions and festivities. One of the ways he has done this is through the Blessing of the Animals ceremony. I mean this is one of the old ways, isn't it? Right, this is one of the things and another thing he is trying to do is the processions and the luminarios, and things like that. So he is trying to bring the people back to the traditions that the old-timers had, which were nice. I agree with him. I, for myself, I got to see some of these traditions, the Blessing of the Animals, and then later on that thing died and he brought it back then.

So things are working fairly well. I don't know, but probably I would say for myself people are trying to be more

enthusiastic, you know what I mean, too, as to where things might come back again to what old-timers were doing.

Father Alvarez appears to have an open-minded view of the Penitente Brotherhood and lists it as being an organization that is recognized by the church. Another morada member talked about how he thought the father feels about the three active morada groups in his parish.

...according to what I see, especially during the Lenten season, he advises people to attend what they believe themselves, in that the Almighty is everywhere you know...

In the late 1960's Father Alvarez followed the archbishop's suggestion and brought the Hermano Mayors from the three near-by moradas together. He encouraged them to join and form a single morada and then to bring their membership under a central man, the Hermano Supremo. He says that individually the mayors told him "they would get back to their members and would let me know, but that was the last I ever heard of it from them." In other parts of the state, morada groups thought this was a reasonable plan and followed it, while others felt it was a break from the traditional and older ways and refused to consolidate in this matter. Those groups that did unite were led by a man named Miguel Archibeque, who passed away in the summer of 1970.

About this time there was a change in official policy from Santa Fe, and indifference toward the matter allowed the Brotherhood groups to remain as before. And so without conforming, the local morada groups in the Ranchos de Taos area were once again in favor with the church hierarchy.

Several Penitente friends recall the time when Father Alvarez suggested that the three morada groups join to form a single morada. Members resisted the idea then, and continue to disfavor the notion. "Things have worked well for us since we separated years ago, and we do not wish to go back together. We all like our own moradas and ways." (This statement indicates not only a wish to remain separate, but also an acknowledgment that there are differences in their "ways.")

It is difficult to compare Father Salazar and his parish at Arroyo Seco with Father Alvarez and his parish in Ranchos de Taos. Both men are of Spanish descent, which is in itself a most welcome change for their Spanish-speaking parishioners. Each priest has worked to reinstitute some of the old traditions of the parish, and from what feedback I have received from the respective church members, their feelings toward these efforts have been quite positive and enthusiastic. Both priests are well-liked within their communities and among the morada groups. Undoubtedly Father Salazar has enjoyed greater success in working with the Arroyo Seco morada group as an organization. It would seem that this accomplishment can be partially attributed to his

initial good judgment in meeting with the local leaders of the Brotherhood at their convenience, and to his continued efforts to make the Brothers feel a part of the working church body. Whenever decisions are made that affect parish programs, Father Salazar seeks the advice and counsel of all the church groups, including the Penitentes. Until recently the morada group had not experienced this kind of confidence and involvement with the local church. Such openness between the two institutions has resulted in making the Brotherhood more attractive to young men. The organization that has long been a part of their heritage is now the object of renewed interest in the Holy Trinity Parish.

There are probably at least twenty and perhaps thirty years separating the ages of Father Salazar and Father Alvarez. While both men are helpful and friendly to all age groups, it seems that Father Salazar, who is in his early 30's, has an advantage in communicating with the young people in his parish. His positive feeling toward the morada group is recognized by nearly everyone, and this acceptance is transmitted to prospective new members. This does not suggest that Father Salazar recruits Penitentes, but rather that his actions have given the Brotherhood a respect that it had not experienced for many years. While Father Alvarez "goes along with the Penitentes," he does not have the empathy that Father Salazar developed as a boy through growing up in close association with family members who were active in a morada group near Las Vegas, New Mexico.

However, Father Alvarez has enjoyed success in other endeavors, namely in the revival of old traditions such as the processions and the Blessing of the Animals.

While it is difficult to predict the future, especially in matters which reflect human involvement, a somewhat negative attitude is detectable in the minds of sources regarding the future of the morada groups near Ranchos de Taos. Father Alvarez feels that the three active moradas nearby will "...last another fifteen to twenty years at the most and then probably completely die out." As a man who favors many of the old ways and traditions, he dislikes seeing this "inevitability" come true. Nevertheless he feels it is because:

...the younger people of today have a different mentality than their forefathers. After all, the Penitentes never really play up to the young people, but instead look for members to come from the middle-aged to older people.

In contrast, the church maintains its own program in which groups of young people are taught Christian doctrine. Established by Papal decree in the early twentieth century by Pope Pius X, it is known as C.C.D. or Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. It is especially helpful in recent years because the majority of children do not attend parochial schools. In the Ranchos de Taos community, the C.C.D. sponsors a three-day event each year that brings young people

and teen-agers together for prayer and concentrated learning about the church. They are together throughout the day and return home only at night. The following morning they return to the church for another day of planned study. While Father Alvarez admits that those who attend probably do so for the social aspect more than anything else, he nevertheless believes that in the process a great deal of good results from the three-day association. He wondered aloud "...if the Penitentes would be able to lure young people for the Holy Week, that means almost constant praying and very little socializing," and then concluded with "Forget it!" This is what he has in mind when he says that the young people possess a "different mentality."

Besides the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine and the Penitentes, there are four other recognized groups in the Ranchos church. They are: the Parish Council, the Holy Name Society, the Fransicanas and La Liga del Sagrado Corazón.

The Parish Council is composed of men, women, and youth who assist the pastor. Fellow parishioners elect a cross section of representatives to serve as members. Parish Council members may be asked by the pastor to do a variety of things, from leading prayer sessions to assisting with lectures and services.

The Holy Name Society is a men's action group that is dedicated to prayer. These men are often called to help organize fund-raising drives.

The Fransicanas is usually thought of as a woman's organization, though men may also belong. Members are dedicated to prayer and attempt to follow the life style of Saint Francis in a nonclerical lay state.

La Liga del Sagrado Corazón is the League of the Sacred Heart. Where once it was a group that attracted both men and women to its ranks, in recent years it has been "taken over by women." The members offer special prayers and frequently make visits, individually or as a group, to sick people. Charity projects are another activity of this organization.

Father Alvarez feels that it is important for the church to offer programs and organizations that will bring parishioners together for prayer and for service to others and the church.

On the surface it might seem logical for the priest to work for a renewal of the old ways and traditions. However such efforts on behalf of the Penitentes actually have little historical precedence in church-morada group relations. The brief summary that follows will review these post-Territory (after 1850) feelings, beliefs, and demands.

Pope Pius IX named Santa Fe as the center of the newly established Southwest Diocese in 1850, and appointed John B. Lamy to be Vicar-Apostolic. Bishop Lamy arrived the next year and soon developed the opinion that the Penitentes were unfavorable to the image of the Catholic

Church. Lamy issued guidelines to the local priests that in time became so severe that they forced the individual parishioner to renounce his Penitente association before he could receive the sacraments. Lamy became the first Archbishop of Santa Fe in 1875 and held office until 1885. A few months later, Lamy's former co-adjutor, John Baptise Salpointe, was consecrated the second Archbishop of Santa Fe. Salpointe continued the official harassment of the Penitentes and ordered all cross-carrying and public flagellation to stop. As a means of enforcement, priests were prohibited from giving sacraments to any who persisted. Individually, morada groups resisted in different ways; the chief result was that the society deepened its secrecy and went underground.

The official position banning the Brotherhood made it increasingly more difficult for the parish priests, who were also having to contend with incoming Protestants--Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Congregationalists. Protestant evangelists took advantage of the situation and identified the extreme actions of the Penitentes with what they believed to be the excesses and horrors of Catholicism. "They went so far as to organize Penitente groups that had been reprimanded by the Catholic clergy into Protestant sects, thus making life that much more uncomfortable for the already harassed Catholic pastors" (Espinosa 1960:33). While some conversions to Protestantism must have been made, it seems doubtful if these were more than minimal.

Local morada groups tended to operate independently, but in time it seemed advantageous to form a larger organization. Weigle (1970:17) has reported such a case:

Prior to the 1930's, individual moradas usually operated as autonomous units with only unofficial, friendly relations with other nearby groups. In April, 1931, a county organization, La Fraternidad de Nuestro Padre Jesus del Condado de Taos, was incorporated, with a concilio (council) of local Hermanos Mayores and other elected representatives. It was governed by an elected Hermano Mayor Principal. Other such organizations were established elsewhere. Despite these early attempts at order, there was still bitter disagreement about the return to the Church...

Archbishop Edwin V. Byrne formally eased the tensions on January 28, 1947, when he officially granted the Penitentes "the Catholic church's blessing and protection." (See Appendix 6 for the complete text of this declaration.) Furthermore, the archbishop appointed Don Miguel Archibeque as Hermano Supremo in recognition for his efforts to return the Brotherhood to Church direction. Holmes (1967:38) has reported that each hermano mayor was urged to attend a general meeting each June. "As many as three hundred have

attended, but the conclave has sometimes assembled with only a hundred or so members present to hear formal addresses by the archbishop and other officials of the church and Brotherhood."

Despite the incorporation of several local morada groups in the Taos area in 1931, and of Archbishop Byrne's recognition of the Brotherhood in 1947, Ranchos morada members tend to be oblivious to these happenings. One hermano said: "I don't know how our morada is recognized by the Church or the State. I don't know how this is." Another member flatly stated: "We don't have any connections with any state organization, even with the Church in Santa Fe. At least not that I ever heard--my father never did say." It therefore seems doubtful that the Ranchos morada group played an active part in the 1931 incorporation effort, and it is probably safe to assume that they have never felt the need to associate with the Hermano Supremo and the state organization in Santa Fe. It is of course entirely possible that a previous mayor may have been contacted by a representative of the Hermano Supremo, but none of my sources remember any mention of this happening.

It is interesting to note that the morada group in Ranchos de Taos enjoyed their greatest membership gains during the time when pressure from the archbishop's office was at its height. The Ranchos Brotherhood split three ways in about 1890, and two new morada groups formed, making a total of three active societies with roughly fifty members

in each. As well as can be remembered today, these membership numbers remained firm for another twenty to thirty years.

One Brother who joined the Ranchos morada group in 1926 did so in part because he "...wanted to belong to something,...for...there weren't many other clubs at that time. Now they have the Holy Name Society and those from the church." When asked if he has since joined some of these church groups, he replied, "No, I never joined any of them. It takes more money to join these others and what have you. It takes money and many of us don't have steady work very much."

People first began noticing a change in attitude toward the Brotherhood when the World War I veterans began returning home. Having been exposed to the world outside of northern New Mexico, many of the men who might otherwise have been prospective members for the Penitentes were no longer interested. They had returned as "buddies" from the war and many wished to maintain this association. They remained close by forming local chapters of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion.

The St. Francis Mission Church instituted the Holy Name Society, Parish Council, and other service groups to assist with church-related activities. No longer were the Penitentes unique in offering "something to belong to."

Further changes came about during World War II. More men were called to duty overseas, and many of those who

remained at home were involved in various war-related programs. An entirely new city was created out of a former boys' ranch school, and in time it became known as Los Alamos or the Atomic Energy City. Jobs were available in Los Alamos and in the near-by towns that felt the rippling effects of the boom town located high on the Pajarito Plateau, southwest of Española. Spanish-Americans from the Taos area commuted each day for this welcome employment. Gonzalez (1967:94) wrote: "The effects of this were to urbanize the countryside, as it were--a process probably less traumatic for the individuals involved than direct and immediate transfer to an already existing city." An example of this "urbanization" resulted from transportation needs. At first, car pools were formed to carry individual workers to and from the Los Alamos area each day, but in time the wage earners bought their own private automobiles. A car in front of the house has meant more mobility for its owner and an opportunity to attend the basketball and football games played away from home, to enjoy the dance at Los Compadres on the north side of Taos, or to take a meal while sitting in the car at A & W or Tastee Freeze. All of these familiar themes of urban living have encroached upon the area, taking away the old notion of "isolated mountain villages" from the settlements of Ranchos de Taos, Talpa, and Llano Quemado.

In the face of all of these outside diversions and alternatives, it is little wonder that the Ranchos morada

group does not retain the appeal that it once enjoyed. While the local Catholic church has involved more and more of its parishioners in various associations and programs, the Penitentes have remained one of the more, if not the most, fixed religious institution in the community. Ranchos morada spokesmen seem resigned to the fact that "the members are dying off and no new members are joining, and the ones that are left are too old."

It must be remembered that it has been eighteen years since the last new member joined this morada group. The members are getting older and are at an age where several seem to die each year. As this marked decrease takes place it is easy to understand their pessimistic attitude. Recruitment, which previously depended largely upon the personal initiative of an individual, has fallen off completely. Ranchos morada members feel sorrow about seeing the society that has enriched their own spiritual needs heading for eventual abandonment. At the same time they recognize the changes that have come to the Taos Valley since they sought to become members, and see the demise of their morada as a part of this transformation.

The nearby Nazareth morada group celebrated last year during Holy Week when a teen-ager, whose father was an officer, asked to join the society. The young man remained at the morada throughout Holy Week and participated with the older men in all of the observances and services. Whether or not this person's decision will influence others

in his peer group to take similar action remains to be seen. The induction of this new member presents the possibility of a renewed interest in this morada.

The Arroyo Seco morada group's renewal has been phenomenal, for in the face of the abandonment of moradas in Valdez and Des Montes, it seemed only a matter of time before the Arroyo Seco group would likewise disband. The credit for reversing this trend is the direct result of the dynamic action of Father George Salazar. His success was the product of a unique set of circumstances, Salazar's willingness to meet with the morada delegation at their convenience, his personal background, which carried with it an empathy for the Brotherhood, and, probably more than anything, his total commitment to his parish and to working with all the people at their own levels.

Local friends have advised me that early last Fall (1974) Father Salazar was transferred by the archbishop to a parish in Albuquerque. Another young priest, also of Spanish-American descent, was appointed in his place. A reexamination of the Arroyo Seco Brotherhood a year or so from now to determine what changes develop as a result of the influence of the new parish priest would make an interesting study.

Remembering that the Penitentes evolved in northern New Mexico from the lack of full time priests to meet the needs of the people, it is ironic to note that the membership in the morada groups was at its peak when the organ-

ization and affiliation with it were discouraged by the church. Since that time the many diversions that we have discussed have resulted in attracting prospective members elsewhere. Official attempts by the Catholic Church to unite the groups have apparently failed, at least in the Ranchos area. Meanwhile the remaining members are dying, and with each passing year the future of these morada groups grows dimmer, as they are surely headed for extinction. This sad opinion is not only held by the priest, but by the members themselves.

Yet a few miles away in a locality where general conditions are not much different, the Arroyo Seco group offers an isolated case of renewal. This group has flourished in the last few years despite the diversions available, the death of older members, and the other problems plaguing the Ranchos morada members. The reasons for this rejuvenation have been enumerated, but essentially are the result of the influence of one man, Father Salazar. While his transfer may arrest the growth of the Arroyo Seco group completely, his brief association has presented a unique case of revitalization in one Penitente group. It is highly unlikely that the other groups will experience a similar turnabout--their years are undoubtedly numbered. Yet the example of the Arroyo Seco morada group's renewal illustrates that under a certain set of circumstances, it is possible.

Conclusions

Throughout this study, and the field observations that led to it, I have tried to take full advantage of what has seemed to me to be a heretofore unique situation. Through years of friendship and trust, I found myself in a position where I was able to work with and learn from Penitente Brothers. By concentrating on the Ranchos morada group, I was able to focus on their historical background as a society, their structural organization, their activities, and on the members themselves.

While the primary thrust of this work centers on the Ranchos morada group, I also investigated other Penitente groups in and around Taos. I found that where there had once been thirteen moradas, only five still appear to be active today. Of these five the Arroyo Seco morada group stands alone in showing visible signs of substantial growth.

In statements of Ranchos sources quoted in this study, both those of Penitente and non-Penitente members, there appears to be a fatalistic attitude toward the future of the local Brotherhood. More than eighteen years have passed since the Ranchos morada group recruited its last member, and everyone is quite aware that as each year passes more of the older members die. They feel that death will also be the fate of their morada group. This same feeling of inevitable disappearance of the morada is shared by Father Alvarez, Parish Priest for the greater Ranchos de

Taos community, who stated that all three (numbers 1, 2, and 3 on Map 1) nearby moradas will "...last another fifteen to twenty years at the most and then probably completely die out."

The central problem relates to the fact that there are no young people who are interested in becoming members. Alternatives abound today, where during the early manhood years of many of my sources, the Brotherhood was unique in offering security and comradeship, and at the same time a place and "a way to show respect and love for the Lord."

The section dealing with the moradas in the general Taos area further supports the contention that the local morada groups are dying and that they will continue only as long as there are enough members who are able to assemble and carry on the traditional duties that are a part of being a Brother. Exactly how few in number they would have to be before their morada group would disband is difficult to say. We do have a hint about this from Pilar, where the group diminished to two or three members before they relinquished their society. Even then those who were able, joined another morada.

In the process of conducting the census of area moradas, I learned about the morada group in Arroyo Seco (number 13 on Map 1). While the other twelve Penitente groups of the area had either passed out of existence, or were operating in varying stages of decline, the Arroyo Seco Brotherhood had increased its membership from twenty-two to forty-seven

in the past two years. I began to ask why it was that a morada group that had felt many of the same kinds of pressures from an increasingly Anglicized world, from world wars and conflicts, and from a change from dependence on farming to wage work, did not also lean toward extinction.

The comparative data from the other morada groups seemed to indicate that the alternatives and stress situations that are general throughout the region in and around Taos have had a more or less similar effect on each of the morada groups. Until early 1972, the same attitude and feeling prevalent in other Taos area moradas was evident in the Holy Trinity Parish in Arroyo Seco as well. The two moradas in Arroyo Hondo had been abandoned, and the one in Des Montes was sold in the mid-1950's. In the late 1960's the Valdez morada property was sold, and the active members transferred to nearby Arroyo Seco. In late 1971 the membership of the Arroyo Seco morada group, including those members from Valdez, totaled around twenty-two members, and there was a feeling of quiet despair among the Brothers for the future of their local society. Just as in the Taos and Ranchos de Taos communities, the members were in their advanced years, very few young men were attracted to join, and sickness and death reduced the membership as each year passed. Yet the group I viewed in 1974 was flourishing; it was recruiting new members and enjoying a new life. In order to understand fully the causes of this remarkable transformation, an attempt to analyze the circumstances leading to its development is essential.

In the process of working with the Penitente material, i have been impressed with certain elements that seem to be characteristic of nativistic movements. The origins of the Penitente movement in New Mexico do not allow it to qualify as a nativistic movement as defined by Linton (1943:230):

"Any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture."

It may be remembered that evidence concerning the founding of the Brotherhood in the mountain and foothill environs in and around Taos has shown that during the first half of the nineteenth century too few priests remained to administer to the religious needs of the Spanish-American population, and that the Penitentes joined together in order to fulfill their religious and social needs. Rather than being a "conscious, organized attempt" to revive or perpetuate a culture, the founding of the Penitente movement was primarily an effort to meet the crises of life on the part of religious people in isolated communities who had lost their formal religious leaders.

Despite this beginning I believe that the organization as seen today exhibits selected elements that are nativistic in nature. I have used the term "nativistic," because I do not see evidence of an attempt to revive a past culture. The elements present are more similar to those detailed by Linton (1943) under the title "Nativistic Movements" than those movements described by Wallace (1956) as revitalizations.

Looking at the Ranchos morada group against its present background, Linton's description of a rational perpetuative nativistic movement certainly applies:

Rational perpetuative nativistic movements
...find their main function in the
maintenance of social solidarity. The
elements selected for perpetuation become
symbols of the society's existence as a
unique entity. They provide the society's
members with a fund of common knowledge
and experience which is exclusively their
own and which sets them off from the
members of other societies (Linton 1943:
233).

That there is a strong sense of group solidarity among these Spanish-American Catholic males is unquestioned. The very secretive nature of the organization constitutes an intense unifying factor. The successful endurance of what is said to be rigorous initiation rites is a component of this secrecy. The fact that the organization is religiously orientated lends it a deeper dimension and acts as a powerful solidifying force among the members. The activities that take place at times other than during the Lenten season attempt to maintain fellowship throughout the year. The most dramatic reinforcement of group solidarity occurs during Holy Week, when members participate in processions and the reenactment of the crucifixion of Christ. The mutual cooperation

required for such activities and an additional element of "showing off" results in a great deal of pride for their group among members. These performances are enacted before family members and other spectators, are a source of strong emotions among the members, and certainly contribute to group unity. Undoubtedly an attitude of great comradeship is stimulated during Holy Week when members live together in the morada and participate in closed rituals within its walls.

Elements unique to the Penitente movement within Spanish-American culture are evident.

What really happens in all nativistic movements is that certain current or remembered elements of culture are selected for emphasis and given symbolic value. The more distinctive such elements are with respect to other cultures with which the society is in contact, the greater their potential value as symbols of the society's unique character (Linton 1943:231).

Certainly the most distinctive elements of the Brotherhood society are those associated with the desire for penance through the acts of flagellation and crucifixion, and the instruments by which these are accomplished. While flagellation and crucifixion are no longer practiced in the Ranchos morada group, they remain in the memory of many of

the members. This memory is enough in itself to allow the group to maintain a distinctiveness from every other group. Although the acts of flagellation and crucifixion are not performed at the present time, the context of which they were a part remains intact: the ritual and the songs and processions to Calvary are uniquely theirs. While it is true that these forms of worship are based on Catholicism, it is a form of Catholicism found in past generations, and the ecumenical changes that are part of the Church today are not incorporated. Likewise, the material inventory associated with the complex belongs solely to the Brotherhood. In the past this would have included various disciplinas and other items used for self-torture, and the death cart, which has been sold. Now the inventory partially consists of the matracas, candelabros, leather-jointed Cristo (designed expressly for their purposes) and other santos made and decorated by native folk artists, etc. Further, the morada is an architectural form characteristic only of the Penitentes.

The activities participated in by the Brotherhood represent the ultimate in devotion to the Lord and in being a "good Catholic" to the members themselves, to many Spanish-American peers, and even to some Anglos. They constitute a stereotype model of the religious Spanish-American. But to others, including some Spanish-Americans, Indians, and Anglos, their activities are considered extreme and the Brothers are feared or ridiculed, depending on the viewpoint.

Whatever the opinion of outsiders, the group remains functional, although fading, because it fulfills the special needs of the members. For them their membership in the Catholic Church is not enough. They seek another dimension in their relationship with the Lord. Wallace (1966:156-157) discusses the needs of individuals in the context of expiation. According to him, penance and "good works" attract those persons whose identities are "reasonably intact," but who feel they suffer from failings in a particular aspect of their identity. Thus, the sin, broken taboo, avoided obligation or other responsible fault does not threaten the identity structure as a whole, but it does necessitate action in the affected area. Ritual that acts as punishment can eradicate guilt, and the practice of good works can maintain the restored identity. If, however, the flaw is not taken care of, the misdeed could in time lead to a breakdown of the entire identity structure and emotional or physiological collapse could result. Expiation is therefore tied to salvation in the sense that it acts to preserve the identity by repairing the portion which was damaged, thus preventing a collapse of the entire identity structure.

Apparently the most extreme measures of penance are no longer required by the members in order to retain their identity as a group. The less fanatical forms of expressing penance as seen in their remaining ritual complex are sufficient to satisfy the needs of the individuals and the group as a whole. Of course the solidarity of the group

is further augmented by the benefits gained from comradeship, doing "good works" together, and sharing a fund of common knowledge and unique experiences.

In outlining the cultural elements which are a part of the Penitente structure at the present time and in interviewing its members, I received an impression of continuity. There was no frantic dialogue by members; there was no indication that their material inventory included relics rescued from the past. In other words, the organization exhibits none of the classic characteristics of a full-fledged revitalistic movement. Rather its character is one of perpetuation. However, the elements the aged members now perpetuate are apparently merely remnants of former practices. The distinctive elements that compose the Penitente complex were brought together at some point during the past. This is apparent from the rituals which display features which diverge from more recent Catholic procedures. These distinctive elements were considered important enough at that point in time to warrant the desire of the members to perpetuate them.

I suggest that the Penitente organization was confronted with more pressures in the past, placing it in a much greater stress situation than it experiences today. These pressures very possibly turned the organization from a group banded together simply to fulfill the typical religious needs, to one which satisfied the more atypical needs of people experiencing stress. At some point the organization took on

the character of a rational perpetuative nativistic movement, even though it was not founded as one. The need for relieving pressure through the unusual practices of flagellation and simulated crucifixion was evidently felt by many Spanish-Americans, for while these techniques were employed, the membership burgeoned. In the beginning there was undoubtedly stress felt from living in a foreign land, arid and isolated as it was, and among Indians who were not always friendly. Later Anglos began to appear on the scene, gradually asserting themselves as a threat to the Spanish people and their land. Efforts to alleviate these pressures by penitential flagellation fell into disfavor with the Catholic Church. This was the beginning of an extended period of pressure from the Church. The group responded by continuing their practices, only now in secret, which served to further increase group solidarity. Evidently as more pressure was exerted upon the group, more and more members joined, apparently in an attempt to relieve the stress that they were experiencing. Ultimately the Ranchos group became so large that they were forced to split into three groups in order comfortably to accommodate the growing number of members.

Then the pressures slowly began to subside. The military kept the Indians under control and the population learned how to eke out a living from the arid land. Later, the Anglos and the Spanish came to tolerate one another, and the Catholic Church dropped its ruling against the Penitentes. During and after the world wars, Taos entered an era of "deisolation."

This era perhaps caused stress to some people, especially older persons, but offered the willing ones and the youth a whole new vista of alternatives to explore.

Today we see in the Ranchos morada group only remnants of the past activities and the pressures they felt. As the intensity of the stress was relieved, so was the intensity of the method of relieving it. As pressure diminished, the need for their unusual way of dealing with it through flagellation became less and less important. At present the Ranchos group has even passed a leveling off stage, and as the membership dwindles, apparently the organization is headed toward ultimate extinction unless a reversal of present trends occurs. Undoubtedly pressures are still felt, but these pressures are not acute enough to force the members to the extreme measures they felt compelled to take in the past; nor are these pressures great and pervasive enough to excite other Spanish-American youths or elders to join their ranks.

Meanwhile a few miles from the waning Ranchos morada group, the Brotherhood of Arroyo Seco has suddenly and unexpectedly experienced a rebirth. Its membership has increased by some twenty-five members in the past few years, and many of the Arroyo Seco initiates are young. In a previous section I have discussed the various factors contributing to the renewed interest in the Penitente organization by the population of the Arroyo Seco community. Prominent among these is the personality of the parish priest and an

unusual set of circumstances. This priest, Father Salazar, is a Spanish-American, raised in nearby Las Vegas, New Mexico. Some of his relatives were members of Penitente groups. When he assumed the role of priest at Arroyo Seco, he brought with him a personal understanding of Spanish-American needs and problems that no Anglo priest (which most previous priests had been) could begin to comprehend. Further, he was familiar with the doctrines and practices of the Penitente Brotherhood. Perhaps it was his respect for the organization that caused him immediately to accommodate the morada group leaders when they requested him to read their constitution. Whatever his reason, this action won him the devotion of the Arroyo Seco Brothers and opened the door to an unprecedented relationship between the Church and the Penitente morada group. Further aid and support to the Brothers by Father Salazar, and his influence among the parishioners, led to renewed activity among the existing Brothers and was responsible for the sudden increase of membership in the organization, largely by recruitment from the younger generation.

In a previous section in which I have discussed the Arroyo Seco morada group, I have described Father Salazar as a person with charismatic qualities. Max Weber, who introduced the term "charisma" into sociological literature, adopted the concept from Sohm. The literal meaning of the Greek word is "gift of grace" (Henderson and Parsons 1947:106; Gerth and Mills 1946:52). The many ramifications of the term

are evident from the varied implications of the definitions. Henderson and Parsons (1947:358) in their translation of Weber's The Theory of Social and Economic Organization offer the following interpretation:

The term "charisma" will be applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader....What is alone important is how the individual is actually regarded by those subject to charismatic authority, by his "followers" or "disciples."

Gerth and Mills, translators of selections from Essays in Sociology by Weber, claim that to Weber the term was used ...to characterize self-appointed leaders who are followed by those who are in distress and who need to follow the leader because they believe him to be extraordinarily qualified (Gerth and Mills 1946:52).

Devereux discusses power in charismatic leadership in these terms:

The powers of the charismatic leader are--nominally at least--not derived from society, or from the occupancy of a status, but from some external agency, with which the leader is felt to entertain a closer relationship than other persons do (Devereux 1955:145).

It is emphasized by Devereux that even though a charismatic leader may later attain a higher status or office, his power is not the result of that status or office, but is drawn from the quality of "charisma" (Devereux 1955:146).

Wallace (1956:273) points out the applicability of Weber's "charismatic leadership" concept to the personalities involved in revitalization movements. I do not mean to imply that Father Salazar intentionally instigated the revival of the Arroyo Seco Brotherhood, or that he considered himself their self-appointed leader. He did, however, possess personality traits which could only be described as charismatic. Upon meeting this man one felt he was exceptional, and one liked him instantly. Everyone who knew him reacted in the same manner. He was by no means an ordinary man. His parish was filled with enthusiasm, and under his guidance, "his" morada underwent a rejuvenation. He was of the people and made them proud of themselves and of their heritage. In this sense a "revolution" occurred in the Arroyo Seco community.

Other priests, even those of Spanish-American ancestry, had not elicited such a response from these people. What took place in the Holy Trinity Parish was not simply the result of the people being inspired by the normal authority and status of office of their priest; surely "external agencies" were operating (Devereux 1955:145-146). Because of Father Salazar's office of priest, and because he was not seeking personal power or trying to revolutionize, the "movement" did not suffer from the economic instability that plagues the classic examples of charismatic leaders (Henderson and Parsons 1947). Economics were already accommodated within the existing structure of the church. I do not wish to give the impression that we are discussing a classic case of charismatic leadership or charismatic authority, for Father Salazar did not profess to be a leader of a "movement." Rather I am implying that special qualities in his personality were an aid in creating a dynamic change in the outlook of the Arroyo Seco morada group. I have used Weber's writings essentially as a background in order that his guidelines may assist in describing more accurately the various aspects of the impact of Father Salazar's personality of the tiny village of Arroyo Seco. Now that Father Salazar has left the Holy Trinity Parish, it may be useful to consider Weber's discussion of the "routinization" of charisma.

In her article on millenarian movements, Talmon (1965: 528) notes that in some of them the loss of the leader through death or other means has resulted in an almost immediate

dissolution of the movement. Wallace credits Weber with insight into the fate of an organizational movement based on charisma:

...the "routinization" of charisma is a critical issue in movement organization, since unless this "power" is distributed to other personnel in a stable institutional structure, the movement itself is liable to die with the death or failure of individual prophet, king, or war lord (Wallace 1956:274).

Weber's concept of the routinization of charisma embodies more than the turn of events in the death or loss of a movement's leader--in this case removal of the priest to another parish. Rather, as interpreted by Wallace, it encompasses an evolutionary progression that the movement must pass through if it is to survive. This cycle occurs with or without the presence of the charismatic leader. In some cases the leader "loses" his charisma, which has the same effect that his death or his loss by other means would. Pure charismatic authority, according to Weber is "...specifically outside the realm of everyday routine and the profane sphere" (Henderson and Parsons 1947:361). It is the opposite of rational, including bureaucratic, and traditional authority (Henderson and Parsons 1947:361). Relationships are on a personal level. It is by nature enthusiastic. Also traditional methods of economic support are not permissible.

However, charismatic authority in its pure form can exist only in the initial stages of a developing movement; otherwise the movement will fail. If a permanent, stable organization is to be achieved, charismatic authority must be fundamentally altered (Henderson and Parsons 1947:363-364). This process is what Weber calls "routinization." Power is delegated to selected followers and the organization moves toward a more stable, routine, everyday, traditional, existence. Weber contends that:

...the most fundamental problem is that of making a transition from a charismatic administrative staff, and the corresponding principles of administration, to one which is adapted to everyday conditions (Henderson and Parsons 1947:371).

Economic support converts to more normal, legitimate methods in striving for security. This chain of events causes the movement to lose impact, power, and enthusiasm, as well as to suffer compromises in ideals, but it must take place if the organization is to survive.

With the loss of the personal charismatic leader, the question of succession must be resolved if the group is to persevere. "The way in which this problem is met--if it is met at all and the charismatic group continues to exist--is of crucial importance for the character of subsequent social relationships" (Henderson and Parsons 1947:364).

Weber considers succession to be critical because of its relationship to routinization.

In it, the character of the leader himself and of his claim to legitimacy is altered. This process involves peculiar and characteristic conceptions which are understandable only in this context and do not apply to the problem of transition to traditional or legal patterns of order and types of administrative organization (Henderson and Parsons 1947:371).

Loss of the charismatic leader undoubtedly speeds up the process of routinization. If the group is to persist and a successor is designated, it is almost certain that the group will be altered in some manner, if only because the successor's personality is different from that of the replaced charismatic leader. Weber deems "charismatic designation of a successor" and "hereditary charisma" as the most effective methods of insuring continuity in succession (Henderson and Parsons 1947:371).

When pressed by the archbishop to transfer to the San Felipe Church in Albuquerque, Father Salazar told him that he would consider the new station, but that he had strong feelings for his Holy Trinity Parish and would like to have a part in choosing its new priest. This request was granted and resulted in the appointment of a young, Spanish-American,



PARISH PICNIC—Mixed feelings were expressed at the Holy Trinity Parish Picnic at the home of O. G. Martinez in Arroyo Hondo. The picnic was held to welcome Rev. Jose Hernandez (left) as the new parish priest and as a farewell to Rev. George Salazar who will be transferred to the San Felipe Church in Albuquerque this week. THE TAOS NEWS Sept. 19, 1974

Fig. 21 This news story is from The Taos News, September 19, 1974, and is used with their permission.

Father Jose Hernandez, to the post. This furnishes an example of the original charismatic leader designating his own successor as described by Weber (Henderson and Parsons 1947:365). This method of succession is considered one of the most successful as far as the continuation of a movement is concerned (Henderson and Parsons 1947:371). Whether the successes in the parish and among the Arroyo Seco Penitente Brotherhood stimulated by Father Salazar will endure under the guidance of his chosen successor remains to be seen.

In the light of the above discussion an examination of two morada organizations--the one at Ranchos and the one at Arroyo Seco--reveals contrasting stages of progression. On one hand, we see the Ranchos morada group relegated more or less to the status of an elderly men's religious club. It functions as much for comradeship as for anything else. The activities are carried out faithfully each year by the members, but these in themselves have become predictable, i.e. routine. The exciting days of more impassioned expressions of penance are gone. Gone, too, is the intense enthusiasm that the members must have felt when the organization was at its peak. Their interest in recruitment belongs to the past, as well, an attitude that is paralleled by a lack of interest of other community members in becoming one of their ranks. The Ranchos morada group has reached "old age."

On the other hand, the Arroyo Seco morada group prior to Father Salazar's departure can be seen as an enthusiastic,

active group. Their excitement was attracting new members and the organization was a growing one. New activities, such as processions in the church on special occasions, were instituted. Whether flagellation was or is a part of their activities is unknown. Nevertheless the group has experienced, rather dramatically, a complete change from its dormant state of only a few years ago; it is now a growing organization. Whether these conditions will continue depends on the rapport Father Hernandez establishes with the Brothers, as well as some other factors to be discussed below.

I would like to return to Gerth and Mills' phrasing of Weber's meaning of "charisma," in which the leader is "...followed by those who are in distress and who need to follow the leader because they believe him to be extraordinarily qualified" (Gerth and Mills 1946:52). Devereux speaks in the same vein in his discussion of "charismatic leadership" and "crisis" and their relationship to each other (Devereux 1955). La Barre sums up Devereux's viewpoint as follows:

In his study of charismatic leaders and the social contexts of their rise, George Devereux has shown that these culture-heroes are individually and socially a response to stress-situations in the culture. A society's culture is a series of defense mechanisms, both technological and psychological. If technological means fail to protect people against anxiety

and stress, then psychological means must be called upon to maintain homeostasis (La Barre 1958:201-202).

These quotations and the discussions from which they are drawn provide additional insight into the Arroyo Seco "phenomenon." It is easy but probably simplistic and incomplete to claim that Father Salazar's charismatic personality has been the sole cause of this morada's growth, for a look at the turn of events in the community of Arroyo Seco reveals a real source of stress to its Spanish-American population. In recent years this community has been subject to increased Anglo contact as a result of the development of a major ski resort located just up the mountain in nearby Twining. Previously the village was more or less isolated. It is certainly off the beaten track of the tourist trade felt by Taos, and it was largely ignored by visitors to the region. Now, Arroyo Seco is the closest town to the ski resort and offers adequate lodging at prices considerably less than accommodations on the mountain. Tourists take advantage of this lodging and of the town's small grocery store, gas station, and post office. The hippie movement which began a few years ago has also touched this small community. Several communes, including the well-known Morning Star, are located in the nearby hills. Many "hippie types" actually live in the community of Arroyo Seco. Until last Fall, several of these women ran a craft co-operative, which was a further attraction to Anglo tourists.

In addition, a gradual but steadily increasing number of more "establishment-type" Anglos are building substantial homes near the area and do a certain amount of trading in Arroyo Seco. The invasion of this small, previously isolated community has undoubtedly had a great impact on its population. The Spanish-Americans with whom I have dealt are particularly incensed at the presence of hippies.

As if the influx of these "undesirable" Anglos was not enough of an irritant, the problem extends beyond that. Many of the Spanish-American and Anglo people who live in the greater area between Arroyo Seco, Valdez, and Arroyo Hondo, harbor a valid fear for their existence as farmers, ranchers, and home owners because of the strain placed upon their tenuous water supply. The water table fluctuates noticeably in dry years, and the quantity of snow in the mountains determines the amount of water in the Rio Hondo that is used for irrigation throughout the area. Sewage plants that service the many homes and the neighboring ski resort in the mountains are not adequate and are polluting the streams that feed into and form the Rio Hondo at lower elevations. There is talk by Anglo promoters of creating a condominium complex on a nearby mountain which would house a thousand or more people. The results could be disastrous to an already temperamental water table and could add to pollution of the water source. The population sees in these developments a real threat to their very existence, for without water in this arid land, property is virtually

worthless. Numerous meetings have been held in order to air grievances and hear details of the plans and the studies that have been ordered by the Forest Service. Everything possible is being done by these people to prevent further invasion of their area.

Because of these situations, the community of Arroyo Seco is experiencing stress. When Father Salazar, with his charismatic personality, his Spanish-American ancestry, and his favorable attitude toward the Penitentes and other local groups appeared on the scene, what would have been thought impossible a year before, happened. A morada group similar to the Ranchos group in that it was in a deteriorated state, suddenly experienced a revolutionary revival; a focus for solidarity which drew from Spanish-American elements and background was needed by the fearful population at this point and was found in the Penitente organization. I contend that both the stress and the influence of a charismatic personality were responsible for the development. The Ranchos morada group, which continues on its road to obsolescence, is not subject to these same stimuli.

What has happened to the Arroyo Seco Brotherhood serves to remind us that human behavior reacts to patterned responses, given defined circumstances. By analyzing these circumstances and recognizing their repetition, it is possible to predict a future response fairly accurately. Thus, we have seen that an organization thought to be doomed, was actually saved from extinction. Therefore it is possible

that other groups thought to be dying could also experience a rebirth if the combination of stress and a special kind of leadership were present.

In this connection the possibility of a renewed interest in the Penitente organization as a result of pride in their heritage of Spanish-Americans should be mentioned. Students returning from the campuses of colleges and universities may bring back with them a feeling for "Brown Power" that in turn may stimulate some renewed interest in the Brotherhood.

In New Mexico, pride in one's Spanish-American ancestry is steadily growing. The Catholic Church is assigning more Spanish-American priests to the remote areas of the region. In recent months a Spanish-American Archbishop has been appointed, the first in the history of the state. This new-found pride of heritage that is shared by the Spanish-Americans of New Mexico could conceivably turn their attentions to aspects of culture which are distinctly their own. The Penitente Brotherhood certainly would qualify as an expression of Spanish-American culture, but a revival at the local level would be dependent on many other factors.

Within the Ranchos de Taos area we have no base line data bearing on the Penitentes with which to compare the information collected by me in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Consequently I have mainly attempted to provide a contemporary case study of a morada group, and hopefully something that contrasts with the majority of sensationalized and often unreliable accounts that have accumulated in the

literature. Perhaps, with this study in hand, others will be able to do comparative work with additional surviving morada groups in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado.

Using this Ranchos morada as a control, a study of the Arroyo Seco Brotherhood would be useful in order to investigate further and test the reasons for its rebirth of spirit. I have made suggestions as to probable causes, but it is likely that there are explanations that might become apparent only if a more detailed and sustained ethnographic case study is carried out. Ideally, work should commence soon in Arroyo Seco in order to record the impact on the Brotherhood of Father Salazar's departure. The relationship of his replacement to the parish and to the morada group would likewise be quite significant in view of the data presented in this paper. A study of the process of routinization and of the ultimate demise or success of the group would be a valuable contribution to the literature.

A restudy of the Ranchos morada group in another five or ten years would also prove beneficial to the knowledge and understanding we have of the Penitentes and of culture change. During this time, one would expect further changes to occur in the Brothers' efforts to prolong existence of their group as a functioning entity. In the Ranchos de Taos area, a water dam project now being discussed, known locally as the Indian Camp Dam, might qualify as a source of stress and a catalyst in the future.

Though this venture began as an intensive study of one present-day Penitente morada, it soon became apparent that it was important to reach backward into its past, to attempt to predict its future, and to compare it with other contemporary moradas with which it showed resemblances and contrasts in vitality and promise. The Spanish-American segment of American culture is stirring, seeking symbols and institutions through which it can express its pride and declare its identity. There remains the question of whether the traditions and practices of the Penitentes will play any significant part in this reaffirmation. The case of the Ranchos morada suggests that the Brotherhood will be bypassed and that other social and religious structures will act as rallying points. The Arroyo Seco example, however, serves notice that under certain conditions, new life can be breathed into the framework of the old Brotherhood organization. Because moradas are sufficiently independent, very scattered, and are responsive to local conditions, these contrasting tendencies have developed. Which of them will ultimately triumph is not yet certain. In this study it has been possible to document the contrasts and the settings out of which they emerged. Something also has been said about the conditions that will make for extinction or revival. The set of factors which will exercise a controlling influence will undoubtedly take shape in the years immediately ahead. A good deal of fantasy, some of it verging on the malicious, has been written about the Penitente movement in the past.

It is to be hoped that social scientists, building upon the more sober investigations which have been conducted recently, will provide a reliable and illuminating guide to the interesting developments which are now beginning to unfold.

APPENDIX 1

Archive 830 - Land Grant to Cristobal de la Serna - 1715

W. Tipton - translator

As found in "Land Grants in Taos Valley" edited by Rowena Martinez. Taos County Historical Society Publication No. 2, pp. 3-4, 1968.

(Endorsed at top of Page: At this town of Santa Fe, New Mexico, on the 31st of May 1715, the party therein mentioned presented it with the grant to which it refers to the Senor Governor and Captain General)

I, Cristobal de la Serna, who have been Captain of this garrison of the town of Santa Fe, and at present an enlisted soldier therein, appear before your Excellency with the due formality conceded me by law, and I state that in the year of one thousand seven hundred and ten, on the eighteenth of April, the Senor Marquis of Penuela, your Excellency's predecesor, upon my petition made me a grant in the name of His Majesty, of a tract and ranch that is in the valley of Taos: which, prior to the revolution of the year -80 (1680) was held by Captain Don Fernando with all its lands, entrances and exits as appears by said grant: Which with the necessary formality I present to your Excellency: and as I have not settled said tract and ranch on account of being employed in the service of the King, our Lord (whom may God preserve) as a soldier in this garrison, as I have before

stated, and at present finding myself with sufficient age, with some servants and attendants which I have designed to employ in that undertaking, for which reason your Excellency will be pleased, in justice, to approve the said grant to me, in the name of His Majesty, for its greater vigor, force and validity: and that the chief alcalde of the pueblo of Taos, or his lieutenant, give me the royal possession, and that I may receive it, setting forth all the boundaries called for by said grant: and for that purpose let him formally summon the governor, lieutenant, caciques and other Indians, of the said pueblo acquainting them with said grant and that he gives me the possession of said tract and ranch in virtue of your Excellency's order, so that if they have anything to say in opposition to it they may state it and that it may appear of record for all time.

Wherefore with all humility I beg and pray your Excellency will be pleased to decree and order that it be done as I request it as I thus expect from your great impartiality, for it is justice I ask and I formally swear that it is not in bad faith, and what is necessary, Etc.

Cristobal Serna

(Scroll)

APPENDIX 2

Example of an alabado, or religious hymn.

As found in "The New Mexican Alabado" by Juan B. Rael.

Stanford University Publications, University Series;

Language and Literature, Vol. 9, No. 3; pp. 24-25, 1951.

Por el rastro de la sangre

Along the trail of blood

Por el rastro de la sangre

Along the trail of blood

que Jesucristo redama,

By Jesus shed, our Christ and

camina la Virgen pura

Sire,

en una fresca mañana.

Went Mary, Mother of Our Lord,

Upon a morning dire.

De tan de mañana que era

So early was that morning hour

a la hora que caminaba,

When Mary walked forlorn,

las campanas de Belén

Only the bells of Bethlehem

solas tocaban el alba.

Were heralding the dawn.

Encuentra a San Juan Bautista

St. John the Baptist there she

y de esta manera le habla:

met

"¿No me has visto por aquí

And thus to him did say:

al Hijo de mis entrañas?"

"Oh! Have you seen my precious

Son

Pass by this grievous way?"

Por aquí pasó, señora,
antes que el gallo cantara;
cinco mil azotes lleva
en sus sagradas espaldas.

Aye, that I have, oh, Mary
mild,
Ere cock had roused the day,
And on His sacred shoulders
Five thousand lashes lay.

Con una cruz en sus hombros
de madera muy pesada;
como el madero era verde,
cada paso arrodillaba.

A cross was on His shoulders
Of heavy, heavy wood;
The wood was green, at every
step
He stumbled where He stood.

Una soga a la garganta
que más que cien ñudos daba;
allí estaba una mujer,
Verónica se llamaba.

A rope about His neck there
was
A hundred knots and more;
A woman there was with Him,
Her name, Veronica.

Lleva un clarín por delante
publicando el padecer,
una corona de espinas
de juncos marinos es.

A trumpet went before
Announcing the Passion,
There is a crown of thorns
Of sea rushes.

Tres clavos lleva en sus manos, Three nails to crucify Our Lord
con los que ha de ser clavado; Within His hands are found,
coroa de espinas lleva, He carries too a crown of thorns
con que ha de ser coronado. With which He will be crowned.

Cuando la Virgen oyó esto,	When this the Holy Virgin heard
cayó en tierra desmayada;	She fell down in dismay;
San Juan, como buen sobrino,	The good St. John then tenderly
procuraba levantarla.	Raised her from where she lay.
 Levántate, tía mía,	 Arise, sweet Mary, do not wait,
ye no es tiempo de tardanza	Arise now from the ground,
que allí en el Monte Calvario,	For yonder on Mount Calvary
tristes trompetas sonaban.	The mournful trumpets sound.
 ¡Ay, Jesús, mi Padre amado,	 Oh, Jesus, Father dearly beloved
que por mí estás de esta suerte,	Suffering thus for me,
haz que nos valga la muerte	Oh, may thy death redeem our sins
para redimir el pecado!	For all Eternity.
 Quien esta oración cantare,	 He who recites this prayer
todos los viernes del año,	Each Friday through the year,
saca una ánima de penas	From purgatory saves a soul
y la suya del pecado.	And his own soul from sin.
 El que sabe y no la enseña,	 He who knows it and does not
el que la oiga y no la aprende,	teach it,
el día del juicio sabrá	He who hears it and does not
lo que esta oración contiene.	learn it,
	Will on the great Judgment Day
	Know the meaning of this prayer.

Madre mía de Guadalupe,
Madre de consolación,
Señora de los Dolores,
yo te ofrezco esta oración.

To thee, Oh, Mother of
Guadalupe,
To thee, Oh, Mother of
Consolation,
To thee, Our Lady of Sorrows,
This prayer I offer.

APPENDIX 3

Stations of the Cross.

As found in the Catholic Biblical Encyclopedia: New Testament.
by John E. Steinmuller and Kathryn Sullivan, p. 609, 1959.

- I. Condemnation of Jesus
- II. Acceptance of the Cross
- III. Fall of Christ
- IV. Jesus Meets His Afflicted Mother
- V. Carrying of the Cross by Simon of Cyrene
- VI. Veronica wiping the face of Jesus
- VII. Second fall of Christ
- VIII. Meeting with the Weeping Women of Jerusalem
- IX. Third fall of Christ
- X. Jesus is Stripped of His Garments
- XI. Jesus is Nailed to the Cross
- XII. Death of Jesus
- XIII. Jesus is Taken Down from the Cross
- XIV. Burial of Jesus

APPENDIX 4

ST. FRANCIS CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY BULLETIN No.15

Palm Sunday- April 15, 1973.

HOLY WEEK'S PROGRAM:

Please, read this bulletin and keep in mind the hours of the different services.

CONFESSIONS:

Mon. & Wed. After 7:00 P.M. Mass.

Fri: at 7:00 P.M. and Sat: at 4:00 P.M. ONLY.

SAT: at 9:00 A.M. for children.

*CHILDREN PROGRAMS:

*SAT: at 2:00 P.M. Blessing of animals.

* Different & nice prizes.

*SUN: after second Mass, blessing of

Easter baskets. Share your candies

***** with your parents

LITURGICAL CELEBRATION:

MON: Macedonia & Apolinar Rodriguez by Mr. Mrs. Raymundo Rodriguez.

TUES: Smo. Int. of Daniel Garcia by Rafaelita Garcia.

WED: Santisimo, or favores recibidos by Mrs. Guillermo Santistevan.

HOLY THURSDAY: 7:30 P.M. For the intention of all our parishioners.

Misa popular. Commentator: Mr. Maes. LECTORS: 1st. Stephen Torres

2nd. Vickie Trujillo.

WASHING OF FEET: The following teenagers are requested to be present for this ceremony: Pat Fernandez, Martin Hammer, Michael Trujillo, Jerry Trujillo, Paul Trujillo, Robert Trujillo, Daniel Torres, Chris Chavez, Lawrence Torres, David Herrera and Stephen Torres.

ALATR BOYS: Use the red Casaks. First come first serve.

EXPOSITION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT: Until midnight. Come....

Collection of the Lenten folders or cartera de penitencia.

HOLY FRIDAY: FAST & ABSTINENCE. Sermon de las siete palabras.

Alatr Boys: Black Casaks. Commentator: Mr. Seiso Martinez.

Collection for Holy Land. READERS: 1st. Robert Torres.

At 7:30 P.M. Let us have the Stations of the Cross.

HOLY SATURDAY: At 9:00 A.M. Children Stations of the Cross and Confession.

At 2:00 P.M. Blessing of Animals.... good prizes... for the better decorated animals.

Liturgical Services: Commentator: Mr. Gilbert Quinto.

Altar Boys: Use red Casaks.

READERS: 1st. Gus Fernandez. (Short Form) MASS: Epistle: Commentator.

2nd. Daniel Torres (Short Form) * Gospel: Priest.

3rd. Arthur Trujillo. * People's Mass.

4th. Paul Trujillo. *

5th. Christine Mondragon * BAPTISM: It will be according to the

6th. Sally Santistevan * Liturgy to have babies

7th. Bobby Trujillo * baptized during this Mass. Call.

REMEMBER, this evening Mass does not satisfy the obligation of Sunday.

Also, be careful with the candles this night... Don't let the

wax fall on the pews or floor of the Church.

EASTER SUNDAY: Regular services and the usual Commentators... etc etc

7:00 * Dora Vigil by Mrs. Donaciana Vigil.

9:00 * Abelina M. Romero by Mr. Mrs. Maurillo Romero and family.

11:00 Solemn Celebration of Easter - Mass: Misa Popular

* Richard Valdez by Mrs. Richard Valdez and family.

MEETINGS & ACTIVITIES:

TODAY: SOCIAL at 1:30 P.M. * CHOIR: Tuesday at 7:00. Preparation

At St. Francis Center.... * For Holy Week....

JOK-POT \$ 55:00 Turkeys for Easter* I appreciate the response last week

* at the choir... we had many people.

C.C.D. CLASS: After today, we will have the Easter Vacation.

After Easter we will start an extensive preparation, especially for 1st. Holy Communion with the children and parents of first

Communicants. Be ready and responde to it.

WILL YOU HELP US, PLEASE As a material preparation for Easter, we are going to clean the Church and especially the yard and around the walls. There is a lot of porqueria around our venerable Church.... Will you come TUESDAY at 9:00 A.M. and give a hand? Thanks.

CANDLES: Salud de Rosana T. Martinez by Mrs. Yufe Casias.

S. Jose int. of Mrs. Benito Trujillo by Rose & Casilda Trujillo.

Dr. Bruce Dettler of the Animal Shelter is looking for good prizes for our annual ceremony of the Blessing of animals.

Read the pater and listen the radio.

CHILDREN: Our C.C.D. Staff will prepare something to share with the

children during the Blessing of the Easter Baskets....

APPENDIX 5

ST. FRANCIS CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY BULLETIN

No. 14

Palm Sunday
April 7, 1974.

OUR MISSION: Was it successful? All depends how do we consider it...
1. If we consider the sermons...really they were a success...
2. If we consider ourselves...the success depends on...
from us...depends of the way we are going to act and do in the future...
PERSONALLY, I am happy that we had these two wonderful preparations for
Easter. First, our christian weekend for our teenagers and the Mission
for our adults...And I am grateful to God and to the people who worked
a lot for the success of these programs. GOD BLESS ALL THEM. *****

HOLY WEEK PROGRAM: CONFESSIONS: Regular time..... *HAPPY
MON: 6:45 A.M. Juan Quinto, Geremias Garcia by Rafaelita Garcia. * Father *
TUES: 8:00 A.M. Daniel Garcia by Rafaelita Garcia. * ALL *
7:00 P.M. REGULAR PRACTICE OF CHOIR. IMPORTANT. *****
WED: 6:45 A.M. Refugio Vigil Duran by Mr. Mrs. Felipe N. Trujillo and family.
7:00 P.M. Instructions for Baptism on Saturday night. All parents and
god-parents are supposed to be present.

HOLY THURSDAY: Services at 7:30 P.M. Mass for intention of our parishioners.
MISA POPULAR. Comm. MR. A. J. Maes Intention: 1st. Michael Rodriguez
2nd. Robert Torres.

WASHING OF THE FEET: The following parishioners are requested to be present
for this ceremony: *****

Michael Rodriguez	Bobby Trujillo,	Dale Romero, *	HELP
Frank Struck	Carlos Barela,	Albert Struck*	this week to
Richard Griego,	Chris Chavez,	Paul Torres *	clean the Church
Anthony Archuleta	Robert Torres	Steve Vigil.	* yard very well

ALTAR BOYS: First comes, first serves...USE RED CASACKS. *****
BLESSED SACRAMENT will be exposed until MIDNIGHT. Come..Don't leave Home
COLLECTION: Tonight we will collect the Lenten Folders to pay the pastor
Bill.

HOLY FRIDAY: Day of Complete fast and Abstinence. The DEATH OF CHRIST.
At 1:30 P.M. *

SERVICES: Comm. Mr. Selso Martinez. * **ALTAR BOYS:** Use black casacks
Readers: Oriinda Struck * **THE PASSION** will be read by the priest
Marcia Martinez. Commentator & people.

VENERATION OF THE CROSS: let us do it with love, and understanding.
The collection during this ceremony: For Holy Land.
7:30 P.M. I invite to make together the Station of the Cross.

HOLY SATURDAY: 9:00 A.M. CHILDREN, Sta. * **BLESSING OF ANIMALS:** as it was announced
tions of the Cross & * ed, Holy Saturday at
Confessions Prepare and bring your * 2:00 P.M. Nice prizes for the latter
Lenten cans..... * decorated animals. *****

LITURGICAL SERVICES: 8:00 P.M. Commentator: Mr. Rumaldo Garcia. * **THANKS to ***
Altar Boys. Use the red Casacks. * all who help

READERS: (Read the short form MASS: People's Mass.... * **all who help**
1st. Christine Mondragon if there BAPTISMS: We are going to have 6 * **ed in the 60**
2nd. Isabel Garcia, is any.) Baptisms..... * **cial, Friday**
3rd. Miranda Valerio, This is the proper time for Baptism * *********
4th. Vickie Trujillo, like in the Old times...
5th. Arthur Trujillo, * **FELIZ PAS-** * **PARENTS & God-Parents** see you on
6th. Sally Santistevan, * **CUA A TODI** * **Wednesday night** at the Rectory
7th. Pauline Mondragon * **TOS.** * **instructions..** lease be on time.
Epistle: Sammy Montoya. *****

BE CAREFUL with the candles that night..Don't let the wax fall down on the
pews or banches...Keep them Straight...

REMEMBER also, that the Mass on Saturday does not satisfy the obligation
of Mass on Sundays... *****

EASTER SUNDAY: Regular Masses, Commentators etc etc... * **ATTEND ALL** * **ATTEND ALL**
7:00 Ruben and Celia Santistevan by the family. ***** **VICES WITH**
9:00 Sarita Velarde by the Franciscans. * **votion and LOVE...** *
11:00 Souls of Mr. Mrs. Jesus Martinez by the family *****

At 11:00 A.M. Solemn Celebration of Easter: Mass Misa popular
Readers: Steven Torres (1st Reading); and Kathie Valerio (2nd.)

BLESSING OF THE EASTER BASKETS Right after 2nd. Mass in the yard...
Children, repare your baskets....

After Blessing, SHARE your candies or whatever you have with parents and
friends.

NOTE: I INVITE EVERYBODY TO PARTICIPATE AND KEEP ALIVE ALL THESE CEREMONIES
OF THE HOLY WEEK AND EASTER.....THEY ARE GOOD THINGS....

MEETINGS: COUNCIL today at 7:30 P.M. C.C.D. PROGRAM: We have just few
It is important... classes to finish the

FRANCISCANS: Same... 7:00 P.M. program for this year...So, this coming
The Social will be for another Sun- Sunday there will be class for Grade
day not for Easter Sunday... School.

APPENDIX 6

Archbishop Edwin V. Byrne's Statement recognizing the
Brothers of Jesus of Nazareth, 1947.

Archbishop Grants Church Blessing to Penitente Order in New Mexico

Archbishop Edwin V. Byrne today, in a declaration on the status of the Penitentes, granted this order the Catholic church's blessing and protection, 'if the Brethren proceed with moderation and privately under our supervision.'

Miguel Archibeque and leaders of the Hermanos have acted to rid them of 'excesses and abuses' which have occurred in their practices in past years, the metropolitan says. However, 'there are still instances of individual bad lives, as in other societies, and this or that group still makes itself a political football, thus giving a bad name to the Brethren.'

Declaring the order's aim is corporal and spiritual penance, he declares such acts 'after abolishing whatever excess or abuse there might have been, are not acts of sadism or masochism...not so severe or cruel as to injure one's health.'

Frowning upon what has been called 'Penitente hunting,' the archbishop says no polite or cultured person should try to spy upon their meetings.

His statement follows in full:

It has become necessary for us to make a definite declaration regarding the Brothers of Jesus of Nazareth (commonly called the Penitentes), in order to clarify their status both to Catholics as well as to non-Catholics.

These Brothers or Brethren constitute a pious association of men joined in charity to commemorate the passion and death of the Redeemer. This society, like many others in the Catholic church, is part of that church and therefore deserves her protection and guidance so long as it keeps and practices the teachings of the Church.

Its origin is obscure in history. It seems that it began somewhere in the beginnings of the last century when the Franciscan padres left New Mexico by order of the new government of Mexico. No other priests were sent to take their place. Groups among the faithful tried to keep up Catholic practices without priestly guidance, and though certain excesses crept in, it is to these groups of penitential brethren that we owe, in a manner, the preservation of the faith in those hard and trying times.

But why do we make this declaration now? Precisely because many, even Catholics, harbor an erroneous idea concerning this association. It cannot be denied that the association itself is at fault because of certain excesses and abuses in the past. There are still scattered instances of individual bad lives, as in other societies, and this or that group still makes itself a political football, thus

giving a bad name to the Brethren.

However, moved by the admirable zeal of Mr. Miguel Archibeque who at cost of great personal sacrifice has conferred with heads and important members (Hermanos mayores), in order to abolish any abuse there might be and so place the association definitely under the guidance and protection of the Catholic church which they love so much, I, as archbishop of Santa Fe, take them under my supervision to guide them according to directions already accepted by them, and to protect them from ill-instructed persons who consider them as objects of curiosity or ridicule.

Therefore, I declare:

1. That the Association of Hermanos de Nuestro Senor Jesus Nazareno is not a fanatical sect apart from the church, as some seem to think, but an association of Catholic men united together in love for the passion and death of our Blessed Lord and Saviour;

2. That the end of this society is to do corporal and spiritual penance, for the saying of our Lord concerning the necessity of penance for salvation is just as true now as it was centuries ago, and therefore there should be no shameful connotation attached to the word penitent; (The saints, like the humble and sweet St. Francis of Assisi, loved by the wild birds and beasts, and whom the whole world still loves and admires, practiced many penances. The Third Order, which he founded for lay people in the world, he himself called 'the Order of Penance.' And this confirms us

in the opinion that the Hermanos are descended from those Tertiaries founded here by the Franciscans in centuries gone by. Certainly there is no connection, as some writers claim, between the Hermanos and those fanatical sects of Flagellants in medieval times.);

3. That these acts of penance, after abolishing whatever excess or abuse there might have been, are not acts of sadism or masochism, as modern wise men wish to say in these days, softened by luxury and comfort; and that they are not so severe or cruel as to injure one's health, for then they would be sins and not acts of virtue; and that these penances must be done in private to avoid scandal, because Christian penance is of itself private and not like that of the Pharisees; hence it follows, that no individual, be he Catholic or not, should interfere with their meetings, just as no one who deems himself polite or cultured would try to break in or spy on the meetings of societies to which he does not belong;

4. That we have the authority and power to suppress this association, just as we can and must suppress any other pious association in the church which goes counter to, or exceeds, the laws of God and His church, or the dictates of reason. But if the Brethren proceed with moderation and privately and under our supervision, meanwhile giving a good example to all as Catholics and citizens, they have our blessing and protection.

Santa Fe New Mexican, Wednesday,
January 29, 1947, p. 1, cols. 5-7,
p. 7, cols. 4-5. Cited from Tate
(1966:18).

Glossary

- acequia - canal or ditch used as a water carrier for irrigation purposes.
- achones - torches of pitch pine.
- adobe - sun-baked bricks made of mud and straw.
- alabado - religious hymn.
- bulto - santo that is carved in the round.
- Calvario - Calvary, often designated by a large cross.
- camposanto - cemetery.
- candelabro - candelabra.
- carmelitas - females who assist the Brothers and help care for the morada.
- carreta de la muerte - death cart.
- celador - Brother who acts as disciplinarian for the morada group.
- coadjutor - Brother who cares for Brothers when they return from an "exercise."
- concilio - council.
- Cristo - Christ figure.
- disciplina - braided cactus whip used in self-flagellation.
- enfermero - Brother who looks after sick members and their families and keeps the hermano mayor informed of their needs.
- entrada - entrance, and Spanish entry into the Southwest.
- farolito - paper sacks filled with sand, holding a burning candle.

- hermana - sister, female member of Los Penitentes.
- hermano - brother, male member of Los Penitentes.
- hermano mayor - elder brother, chief officer of the morada.
- Jesús Entierra - Christ figure in coffin.
- La Muerte - death angel transported in the death cart.
- luminario - small bonfire.
- maestro de novios - Brother who instructs novices in the ways of the morada group.
- mandatario - Brother who acts as treasurer in the morada group organization.
- matraca - wooden noise making device used during Penitente observances.
- mayor domo - local elected official in charge of the community ditch system.
- morada - meeting house for the Penitentes. Also refers to a particular chapter of Brothers.
- padre - father, Catholic priest.
- Los Penitentes - the Penitentes of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado.
- picador - Brother who inflicts the seal of the Brotherhood on the back of novices and those who prepare for self-flagellation.
- pitero - Brother who plays the pito or flute during Penitente services.
- pito - flute.
- primo - cousin, often a distant cousin or friend. Indicates a bond between the individuals.
-

retablo - santo that is painted on a flat surface, such as a panel, canvas, large altar-screen, or print.

rezador - Brother who leads prayers and rituals during meetings and Penitente processions.

santero - individual who makes bultos and retablos.

santo - sacred image which represents Christ, the Holy Family, the Holy Trinity, the Madonna, and the saints of the Christian faith.

secretario - Brother who acts as the morada group record keeper.

tierra bayeta - soft, fawn-colored dirt that is applied over interior adobe walls.

tierra blanca - off-white colored dirt containing flecks of mica that is applied over interior adobe walls.

tortahuevo - an egg fillet in a chili sauce.

velorio - wake.

viga - beam used in the construction of adobe building.

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