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THE SEGESSER HIDE PAINTINGS

HISTORY, DISCOVERY, ART

THOMAS E. CHÁVEZ

There is no doubt that the Segesser hide paintings are among the most novel and important artifacts of the Spanish Colonial history of New Mexico. As aesthetic works they are striking and as hide paintings they are unique. As historical documents they have already sparked revisions in historical interpretation of the period, providing valuable information on significant factors such as modes of warfare, uniforms and clothing, and the war panoply of the Plains Indians. As artifacts, they are among the most valuable acquisitions made by the Museum of New Mexico. Most important, their presence in the Palace of the Governors brings together more than two and a half centuries of history.

HISTORY

In 1758, Father Philipp von Segesser von

Thomas E. Chávez is director of the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe, New Mexico. As he explains in this article, he has been instrumental in the return of the Segesser hide paintings to North America.

Brunegg (fig. 1), a Jesuit priest stationed in the Province of Sonora, sent "three colored skins," or hide paintings, to his brother in Switzerland.¹ Until recently, two of the paintings have remained in the possession of the Segesser family. Now these paintings, which depict Spaniards and Frenchmen as well as Oto, Pawnee, Apache, and Pueblo Indians, have returned to this continent. Thus, by his act long ago, Father Segesser set in motion a series of events that would span several centuries, tying the present to historical events that occurred a half century before he shipped the hide paintings to the Old World.

During the first decades of the eighteenth century, New Spain's northern Province of New Mexico had become a source of increasing consternation to Spanish officials in Mexico City. New Mexico had just suffered a major Indian rebellion, the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, that had prevented any Spanish settlement for thirteen years. By 1693, New Mexico's governor, Diego de Vargas, finally succeeded in initiating resettlement, but he was impeded in his plan for pacification by constant Indian raids and political infighting.

New Mexico was an important link in New Spain's northern line of defense. The province

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had become an advance bulwark against the pressures of hostile Indians. It was also, theoretically, a bastion against the western pretensions of the French, who had established themselves in the lower Mississippi River Valley and in the Illinois country, and who were competing with the Spanish for control of the trans-Mississippi West at this time. A battle resulting from this Spanish-French rivalry is the subject of one of the Segesser hide paintings, and both it and its companion depict confrontations involving Indians.

Prior to 1719, evidence of French presence west of the Mississippi River is sketchy. On a historic voyage, Robert Cavalier, *sieur* (lord) de La Salle, tried to establish a French settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi River. Various and unclear problems set La Salle's plans awry before he disembarked from his ships. He sailed beyond his intended destination and put ashore at Matagorda Bay on the Texas coast in 1684. He was eventually murdered by his own men, and his settlement of 180 people failed, with possibly a half-dozen survivors remaining. One of these was seventeen-year-old Jean l'Archévêque, who allegedly had helped to kill La Salle. L'Archévêque was eventually found by the Spaniards: he gave testimony in Mexico and later moved to Santa Fe, where he became a prominent merchant and founder of the New Mexico Archibeque family.²

By the 1690s, French *coureurs des bois* (explorers, traders, and trappers) had traveled along the lower reaches of the Missouri River and probably farther west onto the Plains. A series of maps published by Frenchman Guillaume Delisle also adds evidence of French intrusion into Spanish territory. In a 1703 map, Delisle correctly placed the Pawnees but did not note the Apaches, whom the French called *Padoucas*. Two of his subsequent maps, dated 1718 and 1722, accurately located both Indian groups, however. Yet none of his maps noted El Cuartejejo, a settlement of New Mexican Pueblo Indians on the plains near today's Colorado-Kansas border.³

As early as 1702, a memoir of Pierre LeMoynes, *sieur* d'Iberville, mentioned a number



FIG. 1. Father Philipp von Segesser von Brunnegg, S. J. (1689-1762) in 1729. Painting in private collection of Segesser family, Lucerne, Switzerland.

of Missouri River tribes, the most important of which were the Oto Indians, neighbors of the Pawnees. Other reports from the French settlements in the Illinois country indicated that the French undoubtedly knew of New Mexico and "their mines." One French map, based on a report by a former New Mexican governor, Diego de Peñalosa, contains a cartouche of Indians working in mines.⁴

Word of French influence expanding onto the north central Plains traveled among the Plains Indians and reached New Mexico, where it was picked up by expeditions on the Plains northeast of Santa Fe and Taos. New Mexico's governors relayed the information concerning the French to Mexico City.⁵

In 1706, Juan de Ulibarrí led an expedition to bring back some recalcitrant Pueblo Indians from El Cuartejejo. He returned with more tales. The renegade Pueblos had, in effect, enslaved themselves to the Padouca Apaches. The Padoucas invited Ulibarrí and his soldiers to join

them in making war on the Pawnees and their French allies. To drive the point home, the Apaches showed Ulibarrí French trade goods and weapons captured from their Pawnee enemies.⁶

New Mexico also suffered incessant Apache and Comanche depredations. A series of expeditions was dispatched to reprimand the Indians. In 1714, Vargas's old friend and colleague, Juan Páez Hurtado, led onto the Plains a major expedition of more than 200 men, including 146 Pueblo Indian auxiliaries from at least nine different pueblos. Hurtado's expedition resulted from Spanish concern about raiding and counter-raiding among Plains Indians. Such activity disrupted alliances the Spanish had forged among the various tribes. Suspicion was growing that the French had instigated much of this agitation.⁷

Páez Hurtado was guided by the Pueblo scout, Joseph Naranjo, who seems to have been used on most, if not all, expeditions of the period. A native of Santa Clara Pueblo, Naranjo was a famous scout and warrior of his day, and the Spanish paid him an unusual tribute by referring to him as a captain in the documents. He was actually granted the official title of Chief War-Captain of all Pueblo auxiliary troops. The expedition went down the Canadian River to somewhere around the present location of Amarillo, Texas. No contact was made with hostile Indians, nor did they see any evidence of French intrusion.⁸ Nonetheless, the New Mexicans had grounds for concern. Four years later, Frenchman Charles Claude du Tisé tried to make contact with the Padouca Apaches and the Comanches. The ranges of both, he realized, bordered on New Mexico. Claude du Tisé drew on information from his countryman Etienne Veniard, sieur du Bourgmont, who had traveled up the Missouri River to the Arikara/Pawnee villages and thence up the Platte River into Wyoming.

Tisé traveled southwest into Osage country and then into southern Pawnee country (today's northern Oklahoma). In the process he traded all his firearms and received, among other things, a mule with a Spanish brand.⁹ New Mexicans

heard of Tisé's visit to the southern Pawnees almost before he returned. The Comanches were disturbed about their Pawnee neighbors' having muskets and conveyed the information to the Spanish.

Eventually reports of French activity in present-day Texas, coupled with New Mexico's already existing problems, convinced the authorities in Mexico City that action had to be taken. The Spanish viceroy, Baltasar de Zúñiga, Marqués de Valero, instructed New Mexico Governor Antonio Valverde y Cosío to establish a mission among the friendly Jicarilla Apaches on the eastern slope of the Santa Fe (now Sangre de Cristo) Mountains, around present-day Cimarron, New Mexico. Valverde was also instructed to establish a presidio at El Cuartelejo.

Valverde understood the frightening implications of French intrusion. While acknowledging the viceroy's instructions, he concentrated on organizing a punitive expedition against the Comanches, who had just raided some New Mexican settlements. The governor intended to seek information about the French while he was on the Plains. In 1719, Valverde left Santa Fe with 60 garrison troops, 40 settlers, and 465 auxiliary Indians. On this expedition, he did find irrefutable evidence of French presence on the Plains. Once back home, Valverde convened a council to consider the new evidence as well as the viceroy's communiques.¹⁰

Viceroy Valero had received reports from other areas as well as word from Madrid that a state of war had been declared between France and Spain. With the subsequent loss of Pensacola to France in 1719, the viceroy became convinced of a mounting French threat on the Plains. New Mexico needed to act.

In spite of the critical situation, Valverde and his council could not agree with the viceroy's instructions. A presidio at El Cuartelejo proved unfeasible because of expense and distance from Santa Fe. A more practical plan would be the establishment of a mission at La Jicarilla, near present-day Cimarron, and another major expedition to reconnoiter the French.¹¹

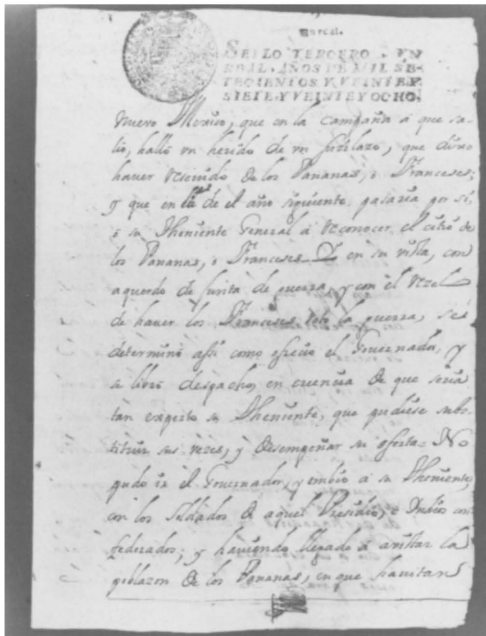


FIG. 2. Testimony dated 29 May 1729 stating that the Villasur expedition left Santa Fe to reconnoiter the Pawnee Indians and their French allies. No. 490, Spanish Archives of New Mexico, State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.

In mid-June 1720, Valverde dispatched an expedition under the leadership of his lieutenant governor, Pedro de Villasur. Approximately forty-two royal troops, three civilians, and sixty Pueblo Indians headed northeast to ascertain the location and strength of the French. (See fig. 2.) Expatriate Frenchman Jean l'Archévêque, now Juan de Archibeque, went along as an interpreter, for the Spanish really believed they would encounter Frenchmen.

The expedition went to Taos, through Jicarilla and south of present-day Raton, and on to El Cuartelejo, where they picked up some Padouca allies. They continued in a northeasterly direction to the Platte River (Río de Jesús María) in eastern Nebraska. They followed the Platte east to the Loup River (Río San Lorenzo), where they found evidence of a large Indian village on the move. They followed the

trail up the Loup until they came to a Pawnee encampment. Villasur tried to open dialogue with the Indians, but to no avail. When he heard from a number of sources that a white man was living among the Pawnees, he attempted to contact the man with a letter written in French by l'Archévêque. Again, no answer. Sensing a potentially hostile situation, Villasur ordered his army to retreat to the confluence of the Loup and Platte rivers, where the men set up camp on a grassy plain. At daybreak of the next day, 14 August 1720, the Pawnees and their Oto allies slipped across the river. Their surprise attack caught the New Mexicans badly disorganized.

The Indians' initial volley apparently included some musket shots, deadly proof that they had indeed obtained firearms from the French. A major battle ensued in which all but thirteen of the Spanish were left dead in the tall grass. Villasur, l'Archévêque, and the expedition's only priest, Father Juan Mínguez, all died.¹² Naranjo, the famous scout, was among the Pueblo allies who were killed. (See figs. 3 and 4.)

The ambush was a major catastrophe for New Mexico. The casualties amounted to a third of the province's best soldiers. A former governor, Félix Martínez, who was Valverde's rival and antagonist, wrote to Viceroy Valero:

In the villa of Santa Fe, thirty-two widows and many orphaned children, whose tears reach the sky, mourn the poor ability of the governor, pray God for his punishment, and await the remedy of your justice.¹³

Martínez was already in Mexico City facing various charges resulting from his term as governor. He attempted to place the blame for the Villasur massacre on Valverde. The result was a series of reports and interviews. Valverde defended Villasur, whom Martínez accused of incompetence and inexperience. The investigation continued for the next seven years.

Valverde reported that Frenchmen participated in the battle, while Felipe Tamaris, one of the survivors, testified that he did not know



FIG. 3. Detail of Segesser II. The blue-robed Franciscan Fray Juan Mínguez, in the center of this section, is clutching a crucifix and running toward the besieged New Mexicans to administer last rites. Behind him is Joseph Naranjo, Chief War-Captain of all Pueblo auxiliary troops. Notice the cruciform stirrup of the Spanish soldier on horseback who is fearlessly charging the enemy. Segesser II, Segesser File, Place of the Governors, Santa Fe.



FIG. 4. The same detail in the brightly colored replica of Segesser II prepared by Curt Peacock for the Nebraska State Historical Society. Peacock replicated the hues of the natural dyes on cowhide to recapture what are believed to be the original hues and details of the painting. Courtesy of Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln.

who was involved. The investigation culminated in a mild reprimand for Valverde. He was ordered to pay 50 pesos towards charity masses for the souls of the dead soldiers and 150 pesos for purchase of a chalice and ornaments for new missions. The same order absolved Valverde of guilt for his judgment in choosing Villasur to lead the expedition.¹⁴

DISCOVERY

Almost forty years after the catastrophic Villasur expedition, Father Segesser sent his gift of three "colored skins" to Switzerland. His correspondence gave no indication that he knew the paintings depicted battles fought by Villasur and his men or other Spanish/Pueblo expeditions. Nor did his writings indicate how the hide paintings had come into his possession. He merely described the paintings as curiosities.¹⁵

Over the centuries, all of Father Segesser's letters and two of the three paintings have remained in the possession of the Segesser family. Those letters and family tradition have helped establish the provenance of the paintings. Ownership of the paintings can be traced from Father Segesser's brother to the most recent owner. Research has proved that during the past century several changes in ownership occurred. Heinrich Viktor von Segesser owned the paintings in 1890. Four years later he sold them to Paul von Segesser, the trustee of the Segesser Palace who, in turn, left them to his son, Joseph Leopold. Joseph left them to his son Hans Ulrich von Segesser, who left them to his nephew, Dr. André von Segesser.

Considered curiosities, the paintings might have been neglected or disappeared altogether had it not been for Gottfried Hotz, a scholar and former seminarian at Küsnacht in Zürich Canton. A member and professor of the Geographical-Ethnological Society of the Geological Society of Zürich, Hotz was also curator at the North American Indian Museum in Zürich. As a scholar of American Indian history and culture, he became the connecting link between the early eighteenth-century New Mexican expeditions, the paintings, Father Segesser,

and the present.

Hotz first learned of the existence of the paintings in 1945. With the cooperation of Hans Ulrich von Segesser and his mother, Mrs. Josefina von Segesser, Hotz devoted himself to the complex task of identifying and establishing the origin of the paintings. He traveled to the United States and Mexico and corresponded with every potential source of information. His inquiries sparked the initial interest of the Museum of New Mexico, whose curators apparently did not know of the paintings.

Dr. Bertha Dutton, curator of ethnology at the Museum of New Mexico, first received Hotz's inquiries and referred them to E. Boyd, curator of Spanish Colonial Art at the Museum of International Folk Art of the Museum of New Mexico. She reacted to some photographs Hotz had sent by writing in 1960, "It is most fortunate that the two paintings . . . were sent to the Segesser family in Switzerland, where they have been preserved." She soon wrote that she wanted the paintings brought to Santa Fe: "Dr. Wedel [of the Smithsonian Institution] and I would very much like to see the pictures brought to the United States . . . for exhibition."¹⁶

Boyd and Santa Fe author Oliver LaFarge became very interested in the paintings and kept up a long correspondence with Hotz. LaFarge wrote to Hotz, "Miss Boyd and I are agreed that, whatever their actual origin, these paintings may be of great historical importance." He added that Hotz had "made a real contribution in calling attention to these paintings." Some scholars were less restrained in expressing their interest. One of Boyd's colleagues was overwhelmed, writing that news of the paintings had her in a "tizzy" and "if you [Boyd] get them in your mitts . . . I'm drooling."¹⁷

After spending years researching eighteenth-century Spanish expeditions, Indian tribes, geography, and colonial art, Hotz reached some conclusions. His work resulted in a book published in 1958 and titled *Indianische Fellmalerien Aus Schweizer Privatbesitz*. In 1970, the University of Oklahoma Press issued an English translation of Hotz's book, entitled *Indian Skin Paintings from the American Southwest: Two Rep-*

representatives of Border Conflicts Between Mexico and the Missouri in the Early Eighteenth Century. The book was published as Volume 94 in the prestigious *Civilization of the American Indian Series*. Hotz's book is the product of a remarkable feat of ethnological detection that has added to, and encouraged, study of Indian, Spanish, and international intrigue in eighteenth-century western America.

Hotz concluded that the paintings depicted two New Mexican expeditions. Segesser I, he wrote, is a painting of mounted Indian auxiliaries with Spanish weapons attacking a tepee village defended by Indians on foot. He theorized that the painting depicted a punitive expedition led by Valverde. Segesser II, he continued, shows Spanish and Pueblo troops surrounded by other European soldiers and naked Indians. Hotz identified the battle as the ambush of the Pedro de Villasur expedition. Hotz even identified Villasur, Father Mínguez, Villasur's chief aid José Domínguez, Joseph Naranzo, and l'Archévêque, as well as the battle's location.

For the most part, subsequent research has verified and amplified Hotz's conclusions. Segesser I shows a confrontation with nomadic Indians. However, the precise expedition depicted in Segesser I has become the subject of speculation. The painting could represent any one of the numerous expeditions to punish marauding Plains Indians. Every New Mexican expedition beginning with Vargas's reentry into New Mexico in 1693 included Spanish soldiers and Indian allies, as shown in the painting. In Segesser II, Frenchmen and Indians attack a hopelessly outnumbered Spanish contingent. As a document depicting the fate of the Villasur expedition, the painting bolsters Valverde's explanation of the calamity.

Most, but not all, scholars believe that the artists of the paintings were probably Spanish-trained artists in New Mexico who had the benefit of eyewitness descriptions. Both paintings have ornate baroque borders indicating European influence.

One recent theory is that the paintings were likely commissioned to adorn the walls of some

wealthy military man living on the northern frontier. Current research points toward the Juan Bautista de Anza family of Sonora as the possible first owners.

The story of the Segesser paintings came full circle in 1984. Acting on information supplied by the Joslyn Art Museum in Omaha and the University of Nebraska State Museum, the Palace of the Governors staff began corresponding with the paintings' owner, Dr. André von Segesser (fig. 7).¹⁸ The staff felt that the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe would be the most logical repository for the Segesser paintings. A brief look at the subject matter of the paintings explains the staff's viewpoint. Segesser II actually includes contemporary drawings of royal presidio troops who were stationed at the Palace. Those men, Spanish as well as Pueblo Indians, are ancestors of many New Mexicans today. The staff became committed to the idea of bringing these rare and important statements of southwestern colonial history to Santa Fe.

Fortunately, Dr. Segesser was pleased to hear of the Palace staff's interest. He, too, felt that the paintings should come to New Mexico. Before arrangements could be made, however, a number of questions had to be answered: Could the paintings withstand travel? How would they be affected by the climate of New Mexico? What would their true monetary value be?

To answer these questions, the Museum of New Mexico Foundation sent me to Zürich to arrange for an inspection of the paintings. On 11 February 1985, I examined the paintings at Sotheby's in Zürich with Dr. Segesser and a number of experts who tested the paintings to determine their authenticity and durability. The consensus was that the paintings could and should travel to New Mexico.¹⁹ This conclusion was reaffirmed when, on a subsequent trip to Lucerne, Switzerland, representatives of the Palace met with Dr. Segesser.

With these assurances, the Museum of New Mexico's Board of Regents and the Museum of New Mexico Foundation agreed to request an eighteen-month loan of the Segesser paintings. While in Santa Fe, the paintings could be properly inspected by the Museum's conservation



FIG. 5. *Cruciform wrought iron stirrup as depicted in Segesser II; see the right hand side of figs. 3 and 4. MNM no. 14733, Place of the Governors Collections 4910/45, Santa Fe.*

staff, exhibited at the Palace, and officially appraised. It was hoped that the presence of the intriguing works would generate enough local support to raise funds to purchase them for the Palace of the Governors. Dr. Segesser agreed to the proposed plan.

On 11 March 1986, after a trip strewn with delays, the paintings arrived at the Palace of the Governors. On the next day, a press conference was called to witness the historical removal of the paintings from the crate and the first viewing of them on the North American continent in more than two centuries.²⁰

Since their arrival, the paintings have evoked much interest. Scholars from as far away as the Vatican have come to the Palace of the Governors to see them. With funding from the New Mexico Endowment for the Humanities, the Palace staff organized and hosted a symposium

on the paintings for historians, anthropologists, and art historians; the purpose of this gathering was to generate further knowledge about the artifacts and their context. The public is now enjoying these valuable documents of borderlands history, which are on exhibit at the Palace of the Governors. They are truly a window through which we can view a part of the Southwest's cultural heritage.

ART AND ARTIFACTS

Segesser I now measures 13½ by 4½ feet. Segesser II measures 17 by 4½ feet. The third of the original three paintings has not been located. Both surviving paintings consist of bison or elk hides, cut into rectangles, tanned and smoked, and stitched together with sinew to form long surfaces for the colorful art work. They show signs of wear, a condition to be expected at their great age. Pieces are missing from both, and the natural pigments used to paint them have faded.

The bright and original "curiosities" from the New World were apparently heavily used by the Segesser family, probably as tapestries or wall decorations. Nail holes are evident around the borders of the hides. Color differences from fading in Segesser I indicate that a frame, probably of wood, once surrounded it. The backs of both paintings once received coats of glue.

A rectangular piece cut from the lower left side of Segesser I apparently was removed to fit the painting around a door or window. This alteration may have been done in the nineteenth century, when the painting probably hung in the Huenenberg Castle, a Segesser family home near Ebikon, Switzerland. Family tradition indicates that the painting hung on a second-floor wall, the measurements of which match the cutout.²¹ Also inexplicably missing are border pieces in the upper left and on the extreme right.

A fourth section missing from Segesser I may someday be recovered. This piece, which measures about thirty inches across, includes a painting of an Indian tepee village. According to Hotz, this section was cut out and given to a



FIG. 6. *Detail of Pedro de Villasur in Segesser II. The dead Villasur is depicted in an officer's coat, lying on his back behind an officer's tent and bleeding out of his mouth. The officer standing over him is José Domínguez. Segesser File, Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe.*

painter named Benz by Heinrich Viktor von Segesser-Crivelli, who owned the paintings from 1890 to 1894. Sometime before 1908, Benz sold the section to an architect named August am Rhyn, who still had the piece in 1960.²²

Segesser II is by far the more complete of the two paintings. Only one piece on its extreme right is missing. In 1976, when the painting was photographed for a Time-Life publication, it still included this section, which depicts a Pueblo Indian auxiliary who is facing right (apparently guarding the horse herd during the attack).²³

The Segesser hide paintings are particularly valuable to us today because early pictorial representations of historical events in the present-day United States are extremely rare. Such visual records are especially scarce in the Southwest, although we do have a few examples. Visual records as large and detailed as these do not exist. The paintings' detail is pristine. As documents they have been used to extract information heretofore unknown.

Some of the early cartographic works show Indians as well as native flora and fauna. There

is a seventeenth-century manuscript drawing actually depicting an event that occurred in Sonoyta, Sonora. In 1693, Father Adam Gilg, S.J., drew a strolling family of Seri Indians, again in Sonora. Various late eighteenth-century Spanish chroniclers illustrated their reports. And numerous illustrations of *mestizaje*, or people of various blood mixtures, have been discovered.²⁴ Some southwestern Indian pictographs, notably those at the Painted Cave in Bandelier National Monument thirty miles west of Santa Fe, show Spaniards riding horseback and wearing flat, wide-brimmed hats similar to those in Segesser II.

As historical documents, the Segesser paintings are reminiscent of early Spanish Colonial

codices done in the sixteenth century under the tutelage of priests—especially Franciscans and, most notably, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún. He used Indian artists to document testimony from Indian elders. This type of manuscript art flourished until around 1660. A notable exception and example of the persistence of the art is a group of Techialoyan manuscript paintings of various Mexican villages, which were done from 1700 to 1743.²⁵



FIG. 7. Dr. and Mrs. André von Segesser, Lucerne, Switzerland, 1985. Segesser File, Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe.

Despite the relatively late date of the Segesser paintings, they bear some similarities to manuscript art. They are historical documents that may have been done to accompany written reports. In that case, like some of the earlier manuscript art, they would have been painted to meet administrative requirements. Like Sahagún's *Codex Florentino*, which was made to

be sent to the Spanish King and the Council of the Indies, the Segesser renditions may have been created for government officials.²⁶ The style of the paintings, especially of Segesser I, is reminiscent of some of the post-Conquest codices (sixteenth century fold-out books) or lienzos (large cloth paintings executed by Indian artists under the tutelage of Spanish priests).

Other early pictorial representations of American colonial life do exist. There are several images of life in the eastern United States in the pictorial scenes of artists John White (works dated 1584-87) and Jacques Le Moyne (1564). These were reproduced by Dutch engraver Théodore de Bry, who also illustrated Sir Francis Drake's meeting with Indians in Alta California.²⁷ Nonetheless, many scholars feel that in size and detail the recently rediscovered Segesser paintings are as noteworthy as any other colonial pictorial representations.

CONTINUING ODYSSEY

As of the final payment on 31 October 1988, the paintings became the property of the State of New Mexico. Between the time of their return and the final payment, much had been accomplished to keep them "home" as well as to unravel their history and the history they illustrate. The state legislature appropriated money for their acquisition in 1988. On 31 August 1988, the check was given to Dr. Segesser, and the dream of the paintings' purchase became reality.²⁸

Subsequent research has identified the ship *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, alias the *Alcón*, or *Falcon*, as having transported Segesser's goods, which included semi-precious stones and a paper model of a church, to Europe. The ship, captained by Domingo Apodaca, sailed from Vera Cruz to Cádiz in southern Spain. After a stop at Havana, the *Falcon* arrived in Cádiz on 29 December 1760. Almost three months later, the ship's owner, Tomás Apodaca, received Segesser's "regales."²⁹

The third painting is still missing. Researchers are investigating two possibilities. The first is that Domingo Apodaca kept one of the paint-

ings as a curiosity for his own collection and that the painting, like the other two, has been handed down from generation to generation. Unfortunately, no Apodacas currently reside in Cádiz although the main street of the city is named Avenida Apodaca. According to local tradition the family has moved to the Jerez country in southern Andalusia. Finally, a check of Cádiz's museums and cultural affairs office has not turned up any information.

A second possibility is that the third painting survived in Switzerland, for a colleague and friend of Father Segesser's in Sonora was Father Antonio Balthasar. The Balthasar family is still a prominent Swiss family and may have the third painting packed away and forgotten. Another possibility is that the painting no longer exists or has been cut into pieces and dispersed, which is what was happening to Segesser I. Upon information provided by Dr. Georg von Segesser, André's son, Dr. Louis Balthasar was con-

tacted to check upon the possibility that someone in the Balthasar family might know about the third painting. Dr. Balthasar wrote family members and checked the "family chronicles" and found nothing. One family source, according to Dr. Balthasar, would have been of help, but he "died as a Cardinal to the Pope [at the] end of May this year [1988]."³⁰

Of course, the Palace staff continues to search for the pieces that are missing from the two existing paintings. Photographs exist of two of the missing pieces and the staff knows of at least two other missing pieces in Segesser I.³¹ The largest depicts a tepee Indian village, which the Palace of the Governors staff reproduced from a photograph for the Segesser exhibition. The piece recently surfaced in Basel, Switzerland, where it was sold to the Segesser Family Trust. Upon hearing this latest news I flew to Lucerne, Switzerland, to meet with Dr. André von Segesser and the trust's representative, Dr. Ludwig



FIG. 8. Thomas E. Chávez, Dr. André von Segesser, and Charles Bennett, Santa Fe, Summer 1988. Segesser File, Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe.

von Segesser, about the possibility of acquiring the piece. At this point, the trust has decided to hold on to the section and to store it in a bank vault in Lucerne.³²

So the paintings have been returned to New Mexico and are exhibited in the Palace of the Governors, but they are not complete. The odyssey of the Segesser paintings continues. Perhaps the missing pieces and the third painting will be discovered and returned. Meanwhile, we are all learning from the history they are teaching. And everyone can appreciate the paintings' beauty.

To date, the Segesser paintings have been responsible for two national awards. The New Mexico Endowment for the Humanities received a commendation from the Federation of States Humanities Councils for sponsoring the Palace of the Governors' symposium on the Segesser paintings. The American Association for State and Local History cited the Palace of the Governors for "efforts to bring before the public the Segesser Hide Paintings." More important, the public has become interested in viewing and studying these unique pieces of early American history. The paintings have become the major request for group tours at the museum. A number of scholars have visited Santa Fe specifically to undertake research on the paintings. Future plans call for a traveling exhibition of the paintings in the United States and Europe and the publication of an anthology of articles dealing with the paintings. We hope that everyone who has a desire to see the Segesser paintings will have an opportunity to do so.

NOTES

Obviously, the success of this project has been a combined effort of many people. New Mexico State Senator Les Houston and State Representative Max Coll initiated and guided the legislation that provided the acquisition money. Santa Feans Howard and Meriom Kastner helped with negotiations. Howard translated all our correspondence into German and all the Swiss correspondence into English. Jeffrey Hengesbaugh championed the paintings enough to get the politicians interested and involved. Fabian Chávez was our unofficial lobbyist. Garrey Carruthers, the Governor of New Mexico, supported the

State's acquisition of the paintings. Dr. Renata Wentelucas, curator of the Ledermuseum in Offenbach, West Germany; Dr. Günter Gall, Director to the Ledermuseum; and Hans Kelker, a chemist from the Hoechst Company in Frankfurt, all investigated the paintings when they were in Zurich. In Nebraska, Marsha Gallagher of the Joslyn Museum and Dr. James Gunnerson of the University of Nebraska State Museum first made us aware of the paintings' availability. The staff at the Nebraska State Historical Society have provided letters of support and have been very informative. Mark Chávez provided some timely and helpful publicity ideas that were instrumental in acquiring the paintings. Charles Bennett, Assistant Director at the Palace of the Governors, has been an equal partner in this project. We thank these people and the many who wrote letters, spread the word verbally and contributed in excess of sixty thousand dollars toward the travel, exhibition, and conservation of the paintings.

1. Gottfried Hotz, *Indian Skin Paintings from the American Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), pp. 8-11.

2. John Francis Bannon, *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier, 1513-1821* (New York: Rinehart and Winston, 1870), p. 97; and Fray Angélico Chávez, *Origins of New Mexico Families in the Spanish Colonial Period* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1973), p. 129.

3. Guillaume Delisle, "Carte du Mexique et de la Floride des Terres Angloises . . .," Paris, 1703 (original); "Carte d'Amerique dressée pour l'usage du Roy," Paris, 1722 (original); "Carte de la Louisiane et Cours du Mississippi . . .," Paris, 1718 (photocopy). All maps are in the History Library, Palace of the Governors (PG), Santa Fe.

4. Bannon, *Spanish Borderlands Frontier*, p. 127; and map, "Le Nouveau Mexique, Appelé aussi Nouvelle Grenade et Marata, avec partie de Californie," 1686-88, Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, History Library, PG.

5. Alfred B. Thomas, *After Coronado: Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), p. 13.

6. Hotz, *Skin Paintings*, p. 176.

7. Bannon, *Spanish Borderlands Frontier*, pp. 128-29.

8. Fray Angélico Chávez, "Pohe-Yemo's Representative and the Pueblo Revolt of 1680," *New Mexico Historical Review* 42 (April 1967): 109; "Testimony on behalf of Antonio Valverde y Cosío," May 27-June 3, 1720, No. 308, Spanish Archives of New Mexico (SANM), frames 1016-18, State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe; "Diary of the Campaign of Juan Páez Hurtado, 1715," in Thomas, *After Coronado*, pp. 94-98.

9. Thomas, *After Coronado*, p. 128.
10. "Diary of the Campaign Led by Governor Valverde, 1719," as translated in Thomas, *After Coronado*, pp. 110-33.
11. Bannon, *Spanish Borderlands Frontier*, p. 129; Hotz, *Skin Paintings*, p. 182; and "Testimony on behalf of Valverde," no. 308, SANM.
12. One source states that Father Mínguez was taken alive by the Indians and held prisoner in their village. There he was asked to show the Indians how to ride a horse; however, as soon as he mounted the animal, he sped away and escaped. Whether or not this story is true, Father Mínguez never made it back to New Mexico. See Henri Folmer, "Contraband Trade Between Louisiana and New Mexico in the Eighteenth Century," *New Mexico Historical Review* 16 (July 1941): 258. In reference to the Pawnees' involvement in the ambush there is Hotz's research (*Skin Paintings*, passim), the testimony of the survivors who referred to their attackers as "Pananas," and a symposium held in Santa Fe 7-8 August 1986 that included many ethnohistorians, none of whom disputed the presence of Pawnees (Segesser File, PG).
13. Félix Martínez to Viceroy Valero, 1720, quoted in Hotz, *Skin Paintings*, p. 204.
14. Order of Juan de Olivan Revollo, 28 May 1727, no. 1728, SANM, role 6, frames 497-99.
15. Father Philipp von Segesser von Brunegg to Ulrich Franz Josef von Segesser, 11 April 1761, as quoted in Hotz, *Skin Paintings*, p. 9.
16. "Palace of the Governors: Report on the Segesser Paintings," p. 1, History Library, PG; E. Boyd to Gottfried Hotz, 1960, as quoted in Hotz, *Skin Paintings*, pp. 227-28; E. Boyd to Dr. Savoie Lottinville, 15 March 1961, copy of correspondence in Segesser File, PG.
17. Oliver LaFarge to Gottfried Hotz, 20 November 1959 and Jane Ivancovich to E. Boyd, 3 November 1959, Segesser File, PG.
18. "Segesser Report," p. 2.
19. Dr. Günter Gall to Dr. Thomas Chávez, 9 July 1985, "Segesser Report," pp. 34-38.
20. *Santa Fe Reporter*, 12 March 1986; *Albuquerque Tribune*, 12 March 1986; *New Mexican*, 13 March and 9 April 1986.
21. Hotz, *Skin Paintings*, pp. 11-12.
22. *Ibid.*, plate 3 and p. 11.
23. *The Spanish West* (New York: Time-Life, 1976), pp. 72-73.
24. For examples see *The Malaspina Expedition*: "In the Pursuit of Knowledge . . .," ed. Richard Polese (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1977); *El Mestizaje Americano*, ed. Concepción García Sáiz (Madrid: Museo de América, 1986); and Pedro Alonso O'Crouly, *A Description of the Kingdom of New Spain*, rpt. trans. Sean Galvin (1774; rpt. San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1972).
25. Donald Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting of the Early Colonial Period: The Metropolitan Schools* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), pp. 3, 30-31, 37, 47, 55; Donald Robertson, "Techialoyan Manuscripts and Paintings with a Catalogue," *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, Vol. 14 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1975), pp. 262-64.
26. Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, pp. 9, 15.
27. Dr. Bernard Fontana to Dr. Thomas Chávez, 31 March 1986, Segesser File.
28. The appropriation is contained in General Appropriation of the Legislature of the State of New Mexico, 38th Legislature, 2nd session, Laws 1988, Chapter 13, page 174 (copy in the Palace of the Governors).
29. Register of Nuestra Señora del Rosario, 1760; and Duplicado del Navio nombrado Nuestra Señora . . . , 1760, and Sr. Con.^{dor} Princ.^{pal} de la R^l Casa de Contratación, folio 40, 30 March 1761, Contratación 2564, Archivo General de Indias. Segesser's mailing is listed as "Regales de Caxon. . .," gifts in a trunk, with a drawing of the Segesser family coat of arms in the margin.
30. Dr. Georg von Segesser to Dr. Thomas Chávez, 26 May 1988; Chávez to Dr. Louis Balthasar, 18 October 1988; Balthasar to Chávez, 23 November 1988, folder 1, box V, Segesser File. This correspondence does raise the possibility that the Vatican Museum may have the paintings.
31. The missing end piece of Segesser II is published in color in *The Spanish West* (1976), p. 73. The original negative is now in possession of the Palace of the Governors. One of the pieces in Segesser I was published in Hotz, *Skin Paintings*, (1970), plate 3.
32. Hotz, *Skin Paintings*, plate 3 and p. 11; André von Segesser to Dr. Thomas Chávez, 31 October 1988; Chávez to Dr. Ludwig von Segesser, 23 February 1989; Ludwig von Segesser to Chávez, 16 March 1989; and André von Segesser to Chávez, 4 April 1989. The meeting took place on Sunday, 5 February 1989 at the Segesser family home in Lucerne.