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DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE RIO GRANDE PUEBLOS, NEW MEXICO

BY ADOLPH F. BANDELIER*

Part I —1536 to 1542

When Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions reached the Spanish outposts in Sinaloa in 1536 they brought the news that at, or near, the confluence of two rivers, which rivers were the Pecos and the Rio Grande, they had understood from the Indians that, farther north, people living in permanent houses would be found. No description of such buildings being given, and Cabeza de Vaca not placing any particular importance on the matter,

* In 1910 the then "School of American Archaeology" published as "No. 13" of its *Papers* the "Bibliographic Introduction" prepared under date of "New York, March, 1910" by Adolph F. Bandelier for his "Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos of New Mexico." This Introduction may still be had if desired (28 pp. \$.25; School of American Research, Santa Fe, N. Mex.), and only the opening paragraph is here quoted:

"Seventeen years have elapsed since I was in the territory in which the events in the early history of the Rio Grande Pueblos transpired, and twenty-nine years since I first entered the field of research among those Pueblos under the auspices of the Archaeological Institute of America. I am now called upon by the Institute to do for the Indians of the Rio Grande villages what I did nearly two decades ago for the Zuñi tribe, namely, to record their documentary history."

Bandelier evidently intended to carry his history of the Rio Grande pueblos thru the seventeenth century, but the manuscript which he sent in covers only the period from 1536 to 1584. Incomplete as it is, the manuscript runs to some 150 pages, and the value and interest of the text seem to warrant its publication.—Editor.

it is not possible to discern if by that notice a vague allusion to the Rio Grande Pueblos or their congeners about the Salines of the Manzano is to be supposed.¹ Farther westward, however, probably still in Chihuahua, they were informed (or made to understand or thought to understand) that "in some very high mountains toward the north . . . there were villages with many people and very big houses."² Whether this is an indistinct allusion to some of the Pueblos or not, is hardly safe to decide. In connection with this it may not be amiss to state that it was obtained by Cabeza de Vaca at a place where he saw, in possession of the Indians, "five emeralds, shaped as arrowpoints, which arrows they use in their feasts and dances." Hence they were ceremonial objects. The Indians "traded for them with featherbushes and parrot plumes."³ The Pueblo Indians have parrot's feathers in limited quantities, and at the Pueblo of San Juan the writer saw, in possession of one of the chief medicine-men, a beautiful large and well-polished plate of *malachite*, which was highly esteemed as a ceremonial object and said to have come from Chihuahua a long time ago.⁴

It is to the year 1538 that we must turn for the earliest positive statement in writing that concerns the Rio Grande Pueblos, or, rather, one of the tribes composing their num-

1. Either, or perhaps both, are possible. The allusion is very vague. Cabeza de Vaca, *Naufragios y Relación de la Jornada que hizo a la Florida*. (Vedia, *Historiadores primitivos de Indias*, vol. I, cap. XXX and XXXI, pag. 542 etc.)

2. *Ibidem* (page. 542).

3. *Ibidem* (p. 543). "y a mi me dieron cinco esmeraldas hechas punta de flechas, y con estas flechas hacen ellos sus areitos y bailes. . . les pregunté que donde las habian hábido, y dijeron que las traian de unas sierras muy altas que están hacia el Norte; a las compraban a trueco de penachos y plumas de papagayos, y decian que habia allí pueblos de mucha gente y casas muy grandes."

Coronado, *Letter to the Viceroy Mendoza*, (translation by Winship, p. 559 (from Ramuzio; *Terzo volume delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, folio 359.—edition of 1556) dated August 3d, 1540, mentions at Cibola-Zuñi, "two points of emerald" found in possession of the Zuñi Indians, together with other little stones "in a paper." The Indians of New Mexico had no paper before the whites came.

4. My informant was the so-called "Tzi-hui," one of the four principal shamans of the Tehuas. See my *Final Report on Investigations*, etc., vol. I. p. 305.

ber. That tribe is the one of Ácoma, the most westerly representative of the stock of the *Queres*.

While the Franciscan monk, Fray Marcos (of Nizza in Savoy) was on his tedious and dangerous journey to reconnoiter the North American South and in search of the (then yet mythical) "seven cities," he met in southern Arizona an Indian who had escaped from Cibola, (Zuñi) who gave him much information about that region and who said, among other things: "that there is another province and kingdom, very great, which is called Acus. There is Ahacus and Acus with aspiration, is one of the seven cities and the principal one. Acus is a kingdom and province for itself . . ." This information was confirmed to him later during his advance in the direction of Zuñi.⁶ I have repeatedly established that, while Ahacus stands for the (now ruined) Zuñi village of Hauicu, Acus is Ácoma, called Hacu by the Zuñi Indians in their language.⁷ Hence this is the first positive notice had, by whites, of any of the Rio Grande Pueblo stocks and it was in the year 1538.

It is foreign to the purpose of this work to give any detail on the march of the expedition of Coronado, its arrival and stay at Zuñi. The point of departure of that corps for the Southwestern United States was Culiacan in Sinaloa, the actual site of that town whither the earlier settlement had been moved in 1532 and where it since remained.⁸ While Coronado was among the Zuñis, he ani-

5. In regard to the seven cities see my *Contributions to the History of the southwestern portion of the United States* (1890) published by the Archaeological Institute (pp. 5, 11 to 14.) As the early sources are amply referred to in that monograph I do not enumerate them here.

6. Compare, in the same volume as in preceding note: *Fray Marcos of Nizza*, (pp. 145 and 146, and notes 1 and 2 p. 148.)

7. This information was secured, thirty years ago at least, by my late friend Frank Hamilton Cushing.

8. Fray Antonio Tello, *Historia de la Nueva Galicia* (in vol. 2 of *Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, by Yzcabalceta). Father Tello wrote the History in 1652. The date of the transfer of San Miguel del Navito, the original Spanish settlement at Culiacán, is given on page 355 of the volume quoted and reads as follows: "A todos estos españoles dejó Nuño de Guzman en la nueva villa de San Miguel del Navito; aunque en el mismo año, que era el de treinta y dos, fue

mated those Indians to inform the other Pueblo tribes of the arrival of the Spaniards and to prepare for the latter a friendly reception.⁹ This shows that there existed, prior to 1540, friendly though probably sporadic relations between the Zuñis and more eastern Pueblos and indeed, in the summer of 1540, an Indian delegation came to Hauicu from a village called Cicuyé "situated seventy leagues to the East they had with them a Cacique whom the Spaniards surnamed *Bigotes* since he had very long [moustaches]. He was a young man, tall well-built and he seemed to be robust. He said to the general that, from what they had been told about the Spaniards, they came to tender their assistance and their friendship and that, if we came to their country, they begged to be treated as allies. As presents, they gave tanned hides, shields and helmets. The general received them very well and gave them precious things such as they had never seen. They gave information on the cows of their country and we found out they were cows as one of these Indians had one painted on his

trasladada a Culiacán, que es en donde hasta hoy permanece." Under the year 1532, the following is found in the important work of Antonio de Herrera: *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y tierra firme del Mar oceano*. (edition of 1726 Decada V. Lib. I, VII. Pag. 18 Cap. VIII.) "Solia estar la Villa de San Miguel cinco leguas mas arriba, i pasose al Valle de Horaba, por el aparejo de Sementeras, i Frutas, i otras comodidades." That the present Culiacán, is only five or six leagues from the site where it was originally founded, is already stated in: *Primera Relación anónima de la Jornada que hizo Nuño de Guzman*, from the sixteenth century (*Documentos para la historia de Mexico*, ut supra vol. 2, p. 292) "cinco leguas arriba de donde agora está." *Segunda Relación anónima*" (p. 304) "Solia estar esta villa cinco leguas mas arriba."

9. See my "Documentary History of the Zuñi tribe" in *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, III (1892); Pedro de Castañeda, *Relación de la Jornada de Cibola*, (in vol. 14, part 1, of *Ethnological reports*, p. 430, but especially cap. 11, page 428): "que ellos diesen noticia a sus amigos y uecinos como eran benidos a su tierra cristianos y que no querian otra cosa salbo ser sus amigos y aber noticia de buenas tierras que poblar y que los biniesen aber y comunicar y ansi lo hicieron luego saber en aquellas partes que se comunicaban y trataban con ellos." The subsequent visit of the Pecos Indians to the Zuñis may have been brought on by a call of the Zuñis, although Pecos is quite distant from the latter's tribal range.

body."¹⁰ These people from Cicuyé were, as we shall hereafter see, from the now abandoned pueblo of *Pecos* east of the Rio Grande and they were the first people from the Rio Grande region seen by whites. It is known that the Pecos Indians spoke the language of "*Jemez*." From this brief notice we also learn that the Pueblo Indians used shields, leather caps as helmets¹¹ (as was indeed the case), and that they occasionally painted their bodies.

The "cows" were of course the buffaloes and of these animals the Spaniards had already learned through Cabeza de Vaca and Fray Marcos; still, the sight of the shaggy or woolly coats surprised them greatly, and more so yet when given to understand that the animals were "cows."

Profiting by the friendly disposition of the Pecos, Coronado determined upon sending a reconnoitering party with them, to explore the east. For that purpose he selected one of his officers, Hernando de Alvarado, and twenty men; and Fray Juan de Padilla, a Franciscan monk, accompanied them.¹² The party set out, in company with the Pecos, on August 29th (old style, or on September 8th according to our actual calendar), from "Granada," which was the name given by the Spaniards to the pueblo of Hauicu where they had quartered themselves.¹³ The description of the recon-

10. Castañeda, *Relación de Cibola*, (cap. 12 page. 430). I shall always quote Castañeda from the invaluable publication of his original text by Mr. George Parker Winship referred to in the note preceding. It is well known that "bigote" is the Spanish for moustache. In order not to lengthen unduly the numerous notes accompanying my text I shall give the full quotations only when necessary. The student will, therefore, look for the full text of the quotations in the originals indicated.

11. The original has "capacetes," which may also be simply a headpiece or cap.

12. Castañeda, *Cibola*, (cap. 5 part 1, p. 421) mentions Alvarado as captain of the artillery and "cauallero montañes." Fray Juan de Padilla was a native of Andalusia, and had been the first guardian of the convent of Tulancingo, whence he went to Jalisco, became guardian of Tzapotlan, and gave up that post to join Coronado. He had been a soldier. His short biography is found in many Martyrologies and in Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica Indiana*, in Toquemada, and Vetancurt, *Menologio franciscano* (edition of 1871, p. 386). The statement that he had been a soldier is found in Castañeda, *Cibola*, (I. cap. 11, p. 428). He states: "Fray Juan de Padilla frayle francisco que en su mosedad auia sido hombre belicoso"—This does not necessarily imply that he had been a literary man, although it is not unlikely.

13. Hauicu had been christened "Granada" by the Spaniards after its occupation by them.

noissance by Alvarado is based upon an original report (possibly by Father Padilla) of which however only the first part is accessible thus far, through the notice of it given by Castañeda (who did not participate in the expedition) and a similar notice in an anonymous document from the time, as well as through the contemporary statements preserved by Fray Toribio de Paredes, surnamed Motolinia.¹⁴ It is plain and bears every mark of reasonable truthfulness. I purposely dwell on these points, as a high authority from the eighteenth century, the celebrated Spanish historiographer, Juan Bautista Muñoz, has attacked the reliability of this report.¹⁵

Marching past several ruined villages known to the Indians (who still preserve their names); he arrived at another ruin where the trail divided, one branch of it leading to "Chia" (Cia) and the other to "Coco" (Acuco or Ácoma). Both trails were still visible in 1888 and I have traveled over parts of them on foot. It shows that, previous to the time of Coronado, there was intercourse (even

14. The copy of this fragment, as published in the *Documentos de Indias* (Vol. 3. pp. 511 to 513) is entirely faulty and utterly misleading. It reads: *Relación de lo que Hernando de Alvarado y Fray Juan de Padilla descubrieron en demanda de la mar del Sur.* —In the Index the additional mistake is made of substituting "de Soto" for Alvarado. The manuscript from which this copy was made is itself a copy from the eighteenth century and has the same errors except that, in the title, "Alvarado" is mentioned. The manuscript copy is at the Lenox branch of the New York Public Library. The statements preserved by Father Motolinia are in the manuscript entitled "*Libro de Oro o Tesoro Indice*" which belonged to Don Joaquin García Yzcabalceta and has been published since his death by his son. Years ago, Don Joaquin sent me a copy of the *Relación postrera de Sivola* from the *Libro de Oro* and I have used it frequently in my books published before 1893. Mr. Winship was the first to publish it in this country, in vol. 14. Part 1, of the *Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology*, (pp. 566 to 568, with an English translation on pp. 595 and 596). The name of Alvarado is not mentioned, but part of the information undoubtedly came through him. *The Relación del Suceso de la Jornada que Francisco Vazquez hizo en el Descubrimiento de Cibola (Doc. de Indias, vol. 14)* states on page 322. "Luego como Francisco Vazquez despacho a D. García López a este descubrimiento, desde allí a cuatro dias despacho a Hernando de Alvarado a descubrir la via de Velante" (should be "Levante," sunrise or the East) el cual partió. . . ." More detailed than any (except the original report or fragment of it) is Castañeda *Cibola* (cap. 12, p. 430) "ordenó el general que fuese con ellos hernando de alvarado con ueinte compañeros y ochenta dias de comiçion y quien boluiese a dar relación de lo que halauan este capitan alvarado prosiguio su jornada. . . ."

15. The strictures are found in a footnote, in the manuscript as well as in vol. III, page 513, of the *Documentos de Indias*. Muñoz was never in America and could not judge of the correctness of the report.

if irregular) between some of the Rio Grande pueblos and Zuñi, as already mentioned. The direct report on the Journey does not state the number of days used in reaching "Coco" or "Ácoma," but Castañeda, while not on the expedition himself, says that it took five days¹⁶ to make the trip, which is quite likely. The report states: "We arrived at the said place, which is one of the strongest things ever seen, because the city stands on a very high rock. Ascent to it is so bad that we repented having ascended to the place. The houses are of three or four stories, the people are of the same sort as those of Cibola; they have an abundance of food: maize, beans, and fowl after the manner of those of New Spain."

"From here we went to a very good lagune with trees like those of Castille, and from there to a river which we named 'of our Lady' because we reached it on vespers (afternoon before) Her day, in the month of September.¹⁷ The "day of our Lady" was then and is to-day the 8th of September.¹⁸ The river was the *Rio Grande*, the lagune being the one near the actual pueblo of *Laguna* which then did not yet exist.¹⁹ So the entire trip from Zuñi to the river lasted nine days, including the stay at Ácoma.

Of the Rio Grande and the valley through which it flows the report says: "This river of Our Lady runs through a very broad valley [meadow properly] dotted with corn-fields. There are some lanes [groves] of trees. There are twelve villages. The houses are of earth and two-storied. The people appear to be good, and land-tillers rather than war-like; they have much food in the shape of maize, beans and melons [squash] and fowl in great abundance. They

16. *Relación de lo que Hernando de Alvarado y Fray Joan de Padilla descubrieron etc.* (p. 511). *Cibola*, (p. 430): "y a cinco jornadas llegaron a un pueblo que estaba sobre un peñol decíase acuco era de obra de dogientos hombres de guerra, salteadores temidos por toda la tierra y comarca." Nine days is a very likely statement.

17. *Relación de lo que Hernando de Alvarado etc.* (p. 511)

18. This is one of the feast days, the date of which was not changed when the correction of the calendar was made.

19. Laguna was founded in 1699, July 4th, by the Governor Pedro Rodriguez Cubero. See my *Final Report* (vol. II, p. 299, text and note 1:)

dress in cotton, cowhides, and mantles of fowls-feathers; their hair is cut. Those among them who exercise the greatest authority are the old men; we hold them to be sorcerers, for they say they rise to heaven and other such matters of the kind. In this province are seven villages more, abandoned, and destroyed by the Indians with painted eyes, of whom the guide gave notice to Your Grace; they say these confine with the cows and have houses of straw, and maize".²⁰

Since the river of "Our Lady" was the Rio Grande, the group of twelve villages can only have been the abode of the Tigua Indians of New Mexico.²¹ It was the only cluster of so many pueblos, situated on or near an important stream in that territory, and Alvarado must have struck that group somewhere between the Mesa "del Cangelón" in the north and Belen in the south, or, more precisely, about the present site of Bernalillo according to testimony produced further on.

It must not be lost sight of that the Spaniards had not yet had time to become acquainted with the languages of the pueblos, that of Zuñi perhaps excepted, and that there is no mention made of any Indians from Zuñi accompanying Alvarado.²² Hence, a correct understanding of what the Pecos, and afterward the Tiguas, attempted to tell them was almost impossible. This is important in regard to the "painted Indians" and the hostilities they are said to have committed towards the Pueblos. The personal description of these Indians may or may not have been correctly understood, and such is also the case with the tale about the destruction of Tigua villages, which destruction would be a

20. Alvarado, *Relación*, p. 512. In regard to the seven villages stated to have been destroyed, the painted Indians, and the fact that the villages mentioned were possibly not of the Tiguas, see notes following.

21. Aside from other and numerous evidence, the name "Tiguex" is sufficient to identify the tribe with the Tiguas. I have heard, and more than once, Tigua Indians pronounce "Tiguex." It must be borne in mind that "x" was and is today in Mexico, Central America and Yucatan, pronounced "sh".

22. They would have been superfluous, even perhaps, useless, as guides, since the Pecos accompanied and led Alvarado.

piece of Pueblo History from previous to the year 1540. The "Jumanos" are, later on, alluded to as painted or rather "striated" people,²³ but other prairie tribes also decorated with paint. From the vague indications accessible in regard to the Jumanos we may surmise that a branch of them dwelt east of the Salines of the Manzano, hence not far from the Tigua villages of Cuaray, etc. There are ruins in that neighborhood, of which it is not known yet whether they were Tigua or Piro settlements. A definite conclusion cannot be reached, especially since we are in doubt about the correct reporting of what the Indians meant. At all events it is well to keep the above quoted passage in mind when investigating the tradition of the Rio Grande Tiguas.

The meeting of Alvarado with the Tiguas took place as follows: "We sent across to the village through a guide and the next day there came, from twelve villages, principal men and people, in good order, those of one village after another. They marched around the tent playing a flute and one of the old men talking, and in this order they entered the tent and presented me with food, mantles, and hides which they [had] brought. And I gave them a few trinkets, and with this they went back." This appears to be the first description of a ceremonial performed by Rio Grande Pueblo Indians in the presence of Europeans.²⁴

23. Further on I shall refer more in detail to this story about the destruction of villages by Indians from the plains. It is barely possible these may have been Jumanos; but the Indian tradition of the "Texas" destroying pueblos about 1525 is not to be overlooked. These pueblos lay a short distance from the Rio Grande on the east and may have been *Tanos*. That the Jumanos either painted or tattooed their faces is often stated, and that some of their number occasionally drifted to the Rio Grande and got among the Tiguas is already noticed by Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 444, "en esta jornada a la yda se hundio (should probably be "huyó") una india labrada . . . en tiguex donde se ubo. era esclava . . ." The term "labrada" means tatt ed, in distinction from "pintada." The Jumanos were also called "rayados" or striated. The documents referring to the Jumaño tribe will be considered later. See the very valuable monograph on the subject by my friend F. W. Hodge, "*The Jumaño Tribe*," from *Proceedings of the America Antiquarian Society*, (April, 1910).

24. Alvarado, *Relación* etc. (p. 512) The description of these ceremonials has the merit of being the only one thus far known, hence I give it in the original: "y otro dia vinieron, de doce pueblos, principales y gente en ordenanza, los de un pueblo tras de otro, y dieron una vuelta a la tienda, tañendo con una flauta y un viejo hablando; y desta manera entraron en la tienda y me presentaron la comida, y mantas y cueros que traian, é yo les di algunas cosillas, y con esto se volvieron."

The report alludes to still another ceremonial act of the Pueblos which the Spaniards witnessed: "In the places where crosses were put up we showed them how to worship these, and they offered their powders and plumes and some left the mantles in which they are dressed, and with such eagerness that they climbed over each other in order to reach the arms of the crosses in order to place feathers and roses, while others brought ladders and, others holding these, they ascended to tie strings to fasten the roses and plumes."²⁵ Leaving the "roses" out of the question, we gather information of two well-known Pueblo ceremonials, namely: the use of sacrificial meal and plume-sticks. These objects were placed on the crosses by the Indians, either with a view of propitiating the cross which they may have regarded as a good fetich, or as a charm against possible evil which they may have feared from the erection of the Christian symbol. In the mind of the Indian, who very probably looked upon the cross with doubt and even misgivings, both may be possible.

Alvarado obtained information about more villages; some to the south along the Rio Grande (which villages he understood were small, only two of them containing as many as 200 souls), and a much larger number of settlements to the north of the Tigua range.²⁶ The former must have been the villages of the *Piros*. Among the latter he mentions one "which is located between some shores. It has twenty wards. The houses are with three stories of mudwalls and

25. Alvarado, *Relación* (p. 513.) He says "*sus polvos y plumas*." This indicates that the Spaniards had noticed the use of such objects already on other occasions.

26. This information, while probably from Alvarado, is found in the *Relación postrera* (p. 588.) "El que esto dice vió doce pueblos en cierto compás del río; otras vieron más; dicen el río arriba; abajo todos son pueblos pequeños, salvo dos que ternán á ducientas casas; . . ." Alvarado, *Relación*, (p. 512) attributes, to what afterwards became known as Tiguex, twelve pueblos, and adds: "Aquí vinieron á darme la paz los de las provincias comarcaranas, que son las que V. Mrd. verá por esa memoria, en que habrá ochenta pueblos de la calidad que tengo dicho." The mention of a visit from "contiguous provinces" may indicate that Alvarado did not see these himself. The number of the pueblos is larger than that furnished by Coronado, but it is merely an approximation. See further on.

three more of small boards, and in the three stories (built) of mud are three gangways. It seemed to us that in that village there were as many as fifteen thousand people. The country is very cold; they raise neither fowl nor cotton, and worship the sun and water. We found, outside of the place, heaps of earth where they bury."²⁷ This village was one of eighty "in the surrounding Provinces."²⁸ It is not asserted that the Spaniards saw it, it appears rather that the mention is from hearsay, hence subject to caution. If the description should be truthful it might indicate that, at Coronado's time, the clans lived still in separate quarters, hence the term "barrios" or wards. The statement that the Pueblos worshipped both the sun and water, while not correct in the exclusive sense here given, is still not absolutely false, and alludes to further ceremonial data. As to the heaps of earth outside of the village, these may have been burials, rubbish-mounds, or the small heaps of stones erected on the outskirts of Pueblos in former times for purposes of prayer.²⁹

The report on Alvarado's excursion, although unfortunately truncated in its actual condition, proves, from the above, to be truthful and even ethnologically valuable. The other documents treating of the expedition must now be compared with it. The oldest one of these is the "Relación del Suceso" which was written in New Mexico in 1541 or in the year following. Its author is not known. It says:

"Forthwith, as Francisco Vazquez had despatched D. Garcia Lopez to this discovery [of the Colorado river], after four days he sent off Hernando de Alvarado to discover towards the rising sun; who left, and thirty leagues

27. The heaps of stones are mentioned by Benavides. See later.

28. See note 26. The estimate of fifteen thousand souls is, of course, greatly exaggerated. Whether the village meant is Pecos or Taos is not quite clear. It may be either. The text however makes it clear that Alvarado wrote from hearsay.

29. The heaps or mounds in question are called in Tehua "Tapu." It corresponds to the custom of the South American "Apachetas." Fray Alonso de Benavides, *Memorial que Fray Juan de Santander de la Orden de San Francisco, Comissario General de Indias, presenta a la Magestad Catolica del Rey Don Felipé quarto nuestro Señor.* (1630, p. 39).

from Cibola found a rock with a village on it, the strongest thing seen in the world, which in their language they call Acuco and Father Fray Marcos called it the kingdom of Hacus. They received us peaceably although they might have avoided it and stayed on their rock where we could not have bothered them. They gave us mantles of cotton, hides of deer and of cows, turquoises and fowl and their other food, which is the same as at Cibola."³⁰ This is one of the earliest identifications of Hacus with Acuco, and the second time that the full Zuñi name for Ácoma, "*Hacu kue*," appears in documents.³¹ (The earliest mention seems to be by Coronado, in his letter to the Viceroy, dated 3d of August, 1540).

Twenty leagues east of Ácoma, continues the document, they came to a river that flowed from north to south, and the shores of which were well settled. "There may be in all, on it, seventy villages, large and small, more or less. Their manner is like that of Cibola, except that nearly all are with mudwalls well made; the food is also the same. These people raise cotton namely, those near the river, the others not. Here there was much corn. The people have no markets.³² This settled part extends for fifty leagues from north to south along the river, and on either side as far as fifteen or twenty leagues from it are some villages. The river rises in the north of the settled country and of the slopes of these (sic) mountains, where there is another Pueblo different from the others and large. It is called Yuraba. It is in the following shape: it has eighteen wards, each one of the extent of two house lots, the houses very close together, of five and six stories; three of which are built of mud and two or three of planking. The (building)

30. *Relación del Suceso*, p. 322.

31. It does not appear in the accounts of later chroniclers, the Queres name "Ácoma" having become prevalent. The abbreviation "Coco" however, is found, though rarely.

32. The Spaniards were accustomed to the "Tianquiztli" of the Indians of Mexico, which were held sometimes every day, and which, in fact, played the part of our "stores" of today, the wares being offered in the open air.

grows narrower toward the top, and on the upper stories of the mud-walls, without, projects on each, one little corridor above the other, of timber, all around. It being situated in the mountains they have no cotton nor do they raise fowl, but dress in hides of deer and of cows. That village contains more people than any other of all that country; we judged it to contain fifteen thousand souls. Of the other kind of pueblos, there is one, larger than all, very strong, called *Cicuique* and with four or five stories, eight large courts each with its corridor, and it contains good buildings. Those (people) also do not raise cotton, nor have they any fowl, because it lies fifteen leagues east from the river, near the plains where the cows roam."

While this description confirms the one contained in the fragment emanating from Alvarado (at least officially) it embodies much more detail. We learn that the large village in the North is called *Yuraba* (a name as yet difficult to identify); we are told (and quite correctly) of the extent of the entire Pueblo range. We are informed of the existence of a large village some distance from the Rio Grande, east, which is called *Cicuique* and lies near the great eastern plains. "Cicuique" is a modification (resulting from the difference in languages and the changes in pronunciation so common among Indians) of the Pecos for their pueblo. It is also pronounced "Tshiquique" instead of "Tshiquitue." We have, therefore, through this document, the names of two Indian villages, which, at the same time, are given as the most populous of all the pueblos. Pecos is easily identified (as Cicuique) but Yuraba not. The name as yet gives no clue, but the geographical indications point to *Taos*, as probably the one called Yuraba. Ever since New Mexico became known, Taos was the most northerly Pueblo settlement (if we except the temporary village founded by the Picuries at the "Cuartelejo" which however was only occupied for a few years and then abandoned). Its appearance is striking and is indicated in the document by its tapering form. It lies on the shore of a small stream, is

quite tall, and the country is elevated, so that cotton will not grow. The Taos of today is not exactly on the site where the tribe originally settled, the older village having been situated (so it is said) in the mountains, which does not conflict with the description. Whether the actual Taos, or an older settlement of that tribe in the sierra, there is much reason to suspect that Yuraba was the abode of the Taos cluster in 1540, and that Cicuique was the well-known Pueblo of Pecos, abandoned since the first half of the nineteenth century.

Not without interest is the mention of buffalo-hides frequently used for dress. They appear to have been much more abundant among the Pueblos in the sixteenth century than, for instance, in the nineteenth. Whether this is merely apparent or so in fact, I cannot decide, but it is noteworthy that in none of the documents contemporaneous with Coronado is any mention made of the periodic buffalo hunts on the plains which, certainly as late as 1880, were undertaken by Pueblos as a communal affair, and also as trading expeditions to the plains Indians.³³ On the other hand, it is stated that the nomads came (even regularly) to Pecos, to dispose of buffalo and other hides.³⁴ If the abundance of the latter is true, at Coronado's time, then there would have been a more lively intercourse between the sedentary Indians and the nomads than was the case in subsequent times. Such commercial relations did not, of course, interfere with occasional warfare.

When Alvarado left the Zuñi region his commander had allowed him eighty days for the whole duration of his absence. The fragment we have investigated covers but a short period of this leave of absence. The "Relación del Suceso" finishes, though briefly, the tale. The writer of this document is unknown to us, his opportunities for re-

33. I witnessed one of the last meetings held for the organization of an expedition of the kind, and acted as scribe on the occasion, in 1880, at the Pueblo of Santo Domingo on the Rio Grande.

34. Reference to this will be found further on.

liable information we cannot determine, beyond that he was a member of the expedition and in the Southwest at the time. From the fragmentary original report I have surmised that Alvarado did perhaps not see anything beyond the Rio Grande valley; according to the second document it would appear that he even penetrated as far east as the great plains.

"After Alvarado had reported to Francisco Vazquez about this river," continues the document, "he went to those plains, and in the beginning met a small river that runs to the southeast, and four journeys further he found the cows which are the most monstrous things among animals that were ever seen or heard of."³⁵ These data are supplemented by details on the buffalo, obtained on Coronado's journey to Quivira in the summer of 1541, showing that the "Relación del Suceso" was written during or after the fall of that year. Alvarado is said to have followed the small stream for a distance of one hundred leagues, a rather doubtful statement. The stream was evidently the Pecos, and the fragment of a report to Coronado is very probably a part of the above mentioned report to the commander, sent before Alvarado set out for the great plains. Alvarado returned from the plains in safety, and "to the river which is called, of Tiguex", where he found the Maestro de Campo Garcia Lopez de Cardenas already established, preparing quarters for the whole little army.³⁶ But events connected

35. *Relación del Suceso*, p. 324: "Después de haber Alvarado hecho relación a Francisco Vazquez deste rio, pasó adelante á estos llanos, é al principio dellos halló un rio pequeño que corre á el Sueste . . ." That he did not visit other villages outside of the Rio Grande valley than Pecos (and saw a few pueblos between the Tiguas and Pecos) is indicated by the *Relación del Suceso*, (p. 324): "Vuelto Hernando de Alvarado de estos llanos al rio que se llama de Tiguex." Previous to going to the plains he had not had time for visiting any other tribes but the Tiguas and the Pecos. Castañeda, *Cibola* (p. 431) says that Alvarado sent word to Coronado from "Tiguex. . . para que se biniese a inbarnar aquella tierra."

36. *Relación del Suceso*, (p. 324): "Vuelto Hernando de Alvarado. halló al maestre de campo D. Garcia Lopez de Cardenas, haciendo el aposento para todo el campo que venia allí". Castañeda, *Relación de Cibola*, p: 431: "y quando hernando de aluarado llegó a tiguex de buelta de cicuye halló a don garcia lopes de cardenas. . . ."

with this must be reserved for later on, and I now turn to another source concerning the Alvarado expedition, the "Relación postrera de Cibola" contained in one of the several manuscripts on the history of the Mexican Indians by the celebrated Franciscan missionary Fray Toribio de Paredes, surnamed by the Indians *Motolinia*. The document is called the "*Libro de oro*" also "Thesor o indice" and bases upon letters written by one or several of the priests who accompanied Coronado, and in the year 1541. It contains several data that seem to have been taken from the fragment of the original report. So for instance: the mention of the Rio Grande appears to be almost textually copied. The "Relación postrera" affords strong confirmation of the report of Alvarado.³⁷ More explicit than any of the sources preceding are the writings of Pedro Castañeda of Najera. He wrote, however, some twenty years after the occurrences, and from memory. But he had been a participant in the expedition and his recollections, although not above adverse criticism in more than one instance, are remarkably detailed and very important. He mentions the reconnoissance by Alvarado in detail, although he does not seem to have taken part in it. His statements require careful investigation. Thus he states:

"The general ordered the captain, Hernando de Alvarado to take twenty men with him, to accompany these Indians (from Pecos) and to return in twenty days to give an account of what he might have seen. Alvarado therefore left with them." (I again call attention to the fact that no mention is made of Indians from Zuñi having gone along.) The point of departure was Hauicu. "Five days later they reached a village called Acuco which is built on a rock. Its inhabitants, who can put on foot about two

37. It is possible, however, that the *Relación postrera* may have been written previous to the *Relación del Suceso*. The former treating of Coronado's dash to Quivira says: "no se sabe si es vuelto, etc." In that case it would be the earliest source mentioning "Acuco," earlier than the *Relación del Suceso*. Hence it was written after the middle of July and previous to October 20th, 1541.

hundred warriors, are dreaded in the whole province as bandits. This village was very strong since there was but one trail leading up to it which rose on a rock that was cut sheer on all other sides and so tall, that a bullet from a harkbuss could scarcely attain the summit. It could be reached only by a staircase cut by the hand of man, commencing at the lower end of the rock and leading to the village. This staircase was reasonably wide along the first two hundred steps, then came a hundred more much more narrow, and when the height was reached there were yet to climb three fathoms, by placing the foot in holes dug into the rock. It was hardly possible to insert the toes into them, so that it was necessary to hold on with the hands. On the top was a large heap of big stones that could, without being seen, be hurled on those that would ascend, so that no army, however strong, would have been able to force its way up. There was, above, sufficient ground for sowing and storing a large quantity of maize, and there were also cisterns to gather water and snow."³⁸ This description, from one who did not accompany the troop of Alvarado but saw Ácoma afterwards, is but an amplification of the report, or rather fragment, written in 1540 and agrees very well with the scanty notice contained in it. The estimate of the population agrees, not with the estimate by Vetancurt, more than a century later, but with the numbers of the Ácoma tribe of today. The staircase made by hand is an error in part, there are only here and there traces of artificial steps, but the general description of the difficult ascent is quite good. Here I may observe that the "Relación

38. *Relación de Cibola*, p. 430. The passage: "tenía una sola subida de escalera hecha a mano" is not correct; the vertiginous paths are natural in the main. I cannot positively determine which of the actual trails leading to the top of the rock may be meant. When I first went to Ácoma (1882) and remained there for a month, there were three trails in use, one of which is most vertiginous, although the Indians made frequent use of it. It is also, to say the least, doubtful that there was "sufficient ground for the cultivation of maize."

postrera" allows for Acuco "two hundred houses,"³⁹ adding that the language there is distinct from that of Zuñi. It is well known that the Ácomas belong to the Queres and speak the Queres idiom, with some dialectical variation.

What follows is in direct opposition to the statements of other documents which all assert that the Spaniards were received in a peaceful manner. According to Castañeda, on the contrary, the Ácomas came down to the foot of their rock, traced lines in the sandy soil, giving to understand that these lines should not be crossed. But when they saw that the whites were making ready to attack they gave in, begging for mercy. So the Spaniards interpreted their gestures. Castañeda describes the ceremony which he says they observe when making peace: "they approach the horse take of their sweat, and rub their own bodies with it. Afterwards they make crosses with the fingers of their hands." The idea underlying this ceremony is unclear to me, provided always that the Spanish interpretation of it (as a symbol of peace) is right. To pledge friendship, they cross the two hands, in which case the pact cannot be violated any more. They presented to their visitors many fowl, bread (the so-called tortillas of today), tanned hides of deer, pinion-nuts, meal and maize.⁴⁰

Three days later, says Castañeda, Tiguex was reached where, the Pecos chief "Bigotes" being in their company, the strangers were met with demonstrations of peace and friendship which are ascribed to the fact that "Bigotes" was much feared in the country, possibly as a powerful shaman. Thence Alvarado sent a messenger to Coronado,

39. Two hundred "households" would correspond to about as many warriors, as Castañeda estimates: "doscientos hombres de guerra." *Relación de Cibola*, p. 430. The proportion of adults to the whole population among sedentary Indians I have invariably found, in former times at least, to be 1 to 3.5. so that Ácoma could be credited with 800 inhabitants. Vetancurt, *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, (reprint of 1871), p. 319: "Vivian mil y quinientos personas."

40. *Cibola*, p. 431.

giving a favorable impression of what he had seen and inviting his chief to spend the winter at Tiguex.⁴¹

At five days' distance from there Alvarado reached Cicuyé.⁴² Its inhabitants received him with many demonstrations of joy. They escorted him to their village to the sound of their "drums" and of flutes which are compared to fifes. Of these instruments it is said the Indians had many.⁴³ The Pecos gave Alvarado cloth and many turquoises. Owing to the proximity of Pecos to Cerrillos the statement that there were "many" turquoises in that region is not surprising, but we are not told whether they were obtained directly or through barter. At any rate it shows that the Cerrillos locality was made use of previous to the coming of the Spaniards.⁴⁴

It was while the Spaniards rested at Cicuyé-Pecos for a few days that they came in contact with an Indian, said by Castañeda to have come from the plains and to have been a native "of the country situated towards Florida and and of which Hernando de Soto has newly explored the interior."⁴⁵ The allusion to Soto shows the late time of Castañeda's writing; while the presence of an Indian, possibly from the Mississippi valley, among the Pueblos is quite an interesting fact. The whites took him to be a slave. He certainly was outside of the clans, else he could not have been anything but a member of the tribe, and as

41. *Ibidem*.

42. *Ibidem*, "de allí a cinco jornadas llegó a cicuyé."

43. *Cibola*, p. 431: "y lo metieron en el pueblo con atambores y gaitas que allí ay muchos a manera de pifanos." — "Gaita" means a bagpipe, "pifano", a fife.

44. *Ibidem*. "y le hicieron grande presente de ropa y turquesas que las ay en aquella tierra en cantidad." The turquoise locality lay in the range held by the Tanos Indians, but it does not seem that these claimed the exclusive right to the blue and green stones.

45. *Idem*, p. 431: "Tomaron lengua de un indie esclavo natural de la tierra de aquella parte que ba hacia la florida ques la parte que don ferdo de soto descubrió en lo ultimo la tierra adentro." This is positive and establishes that the Indian was not from Florida, but from west of the Mississippi.

such, not in slavery.⁴⁶ The presence of this man at Pecos proves that, already in primitive times, Indians occasionally strayed far away from their homes and that in this manner, if not accurate knowledge, at least dim notions of the outside world penetrated to the distant and isolated Pueblos. Such notions were woven into lore in the course of time, and became an element well worthy of attention in the study of Indian rites and traditions. This Indian tried to make the Spaniards understand many things about his native country, and he afterwards exercised much influence on the fate of Coronado and his enterprise. His representations, whether or not properly understood, induced Alvarado to take him as guide to the "province of the cows." Castañeda also asserts that (probably on the journey) the guide made such glowing descriptions of the metallic wealth of his native land that the Spaniards did no longer care to see the buffaloes but returned, after having perceived a few of these animals. Their Indian guide they called the "Turk" on account of his real or fancied resemblance to the type of that Nation.⁴⁷

Castañeda asserts that Alvarado, after returning to Tiguex, did not proceed to any other reconnoissance.⁴⁸ This establishes that the statements concerning more northerly villages, in particular the one of unusually large size, are

46. The Pueblos had no slaves. Foreigners were tolerated and fed. Their number was necessarily small, and it is natural that in compensation for long continued hospitality, they performed some service, but it was not obligatory. Prisoners were rare and, in case of captives from one or another pueblo, they could easily be adopted in some clan, since the same clan or of the same name recurs not unfrequently in several tribes speaking distinct languages. For Indians from the plains, for instance, it was not so easy to become adopted in a clan, and prisoners of the kind were probably not often secured, as the Pueblos could not be very aggressive towards people who constantly shifted their abode. I know of no instance of the capture, alive, of any nomad by Pueblo Indians, women excepted, who were then aggregated to some household.

47. *Cibola*, p. 431: "no curaron de buscar las uacas mas de quanto bieron algunas pocas luego bolbieron por dar a el general la rica noticia . . ." *The Relacion del Suceso*, (Doc de Indias, vol. 14, p. 324) asserts on the contrary that Alvarado saw many buffaloes, but it also states that he followed the Pecos stream for one hundred leagues, which is hardly credible considering the time he had at his disposal. Hence I prefer the version of Castañeda.

48. *Cibola*, p. 431: "y quando hernando de aluarado llego a tiguex de buelta de cicuyé hallo a don garcia lopes de cardenas y fue necesario que no pasase adelante."

from hearsay, hence to be looked upon with mistrust. Neither does Castañeda refer to it. Garcia Lopez de Cardenas had, in the meantime, reached Tiguex with another detachment and (Castañeda says) "forcibly" quartered himself in one of the Tigua villages.⁴⁹

The exploration of Alvarado furnishes, as has been shown, much and valuable information, geographical and ethnological, and has been unduly neglected until at present. There is hardly an important feature about the Pueblos on which it has not given at least some information, and it is much to be deplored that we do not possess the complete text. As it is, we remain in doubt, for instance, concerning the extent of the visit to the plains, Castañeda stating that it did not extend far, whereas the "Relación del Suceso" makes it appear that it was extensive. Considering the time allowed Alvarado, either is possible.

The Licentiate Matias de la Mota Padilla, although writing at least two centuries after the time of Coronado, claims to have consulted original documents by Pedro de Tovar, one of Coronado's principal officers.⁵⁰ I therefore refer to him also. He mentions the exploration by Alvarado and says that the latter found a village of more than five thousand inhabitants. He also speaks of the buffalo, and particularly of the "Turk" and his tales about great wealth, which excited the imagination of the Spaniards to a high degree.⁵¹

49. *Ibidem*: "fue les forçado desamparar un pueblo y recogerse ellos a los otros de sus amigos y no llebaron más que sus personas y ropas."

50. Matias de la Mota Padilla, *Historia de la Conquista de la Provincia de la Nueva Galicia*, (written in 1742, published in 1870, Cap. XXXIII, p. 168): "y en algunos papeles que dejó escritos D. Pedro de Tovar en la villa de Culiacán se dice que los indios habian salido á matar á este bendito padre (Fray Juan de Padilla), por robar los ornamentos. . . ."

51. *Idem*. (cap. XXXII, p. 160) El tercer capitán era Hernando de Alvarado, deudo del Adelantado, quien dijo haber visto muchas vacas, de las que mató algunas, y que en el camino vió un pueblo de mas de cinco mil vecinos, y por su buen asiento, le llamó Valladolid. . ." It will hereafter be seen that the name "Valladolid" was given to Taos, not in 1540 by Alvarado, but in 1541 by Barrionuevo. Mota Padilla is therefore in error, but it would be interesting to search for the source from which he derived the name. Could he have been acquainted with the report of Castañeda? Mota Padilla was born at the city of Guadalajara (Mexico) October 2d, 1688, and died there in July 1766. He never was in Spain.

We must now turn to what happened on the Rio Grande after Alvarado's return to Tiguex. It is not certain that the occupation of a Tigua village by the force under Cardenas irritated the Indians. It may have been the result of a mutual agreement, because the Pueblo Indian is much less attached to his abode than to the soil he cultivates.⁵² At any rate there was no immediate clash. Of what followed, however, the "Relación del Suceso" gives us one account; "Although all [the people of] our settlement had come out peaceably to [receive] Hernando de Alvarado, when all the people had come, a part of them arose, which were twelve pueblos that were close together, and one night they killed forty of our horses and mules that were running free in the field. They fortified themselves in their villages, and the first one, Garci-Lopez de Cardenas took and did justice [executed] to many of them. The others, seeing this, abandoned the pueblos, except two, one of which, the strongest, was besieged by our force for two months, and notwithstanding that, as soon as we attacked, we took part of a roof, we had to leave it again, on account of the many wounded [we had] and because it was so dangerous to remain. And although we stormed it a second time, nothing could be gained, so that it [the village] was surrounded all that time, and we took it through thirst [lack of water]. They held out so long because, when they were about to surrender, it snowed twice. Finally we took it and many were killed because they fled in the night."⁵³

These occurrences were the first and most important hostilities between Indians of the Rio Grande and the force

52. This I have noticed several times. Once, on the Rio Grande, I was conversing with some of my Indian friends, in the house of one of whom I have lived for a long time. It had been raining heavily and the river was rising fast. When I expressed fears that it might eventually wash out the bluff on which the pueblo (Cochiti) was (and is) built, they said textually: "Never mind the house, provided the fields are not damaged; the houses we can build again and anywhere, but the land we could not replace."

53. I translate as literally as possible, without regard to the style. (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. 14, p. 325.) When I quote the *Relación del Suceso* it is always from the *Colección de Documentos del Archivo de Indias*.

of Coronado. Already in the above brief notice, we find material for approximately indicating the site where this action took place. Comparing it with the statement contained in the report of Antonio de Espejo on his journey to New Mexico in 1582 and 1583 it will be noticed that he says: "we found another province which calls itself of the Tiguas which are sixteen villages, one of them being called *Puala*, where we found a very truthful statement that Francisco Vazquez Coronado had been there and they killed nine of his soldiers and forty horses, and that, for that reason, he had destroyed the people of one pueblo of this province." *Puala* is a misprint for *Puaray* (also *Puara*), the ruins of which are well known and stand nearly opposite the present town of Bernalillo on the Rio Grande.^{53a} Espejo, as is well established, travelled up that river to *Puaray* and as far north of it as the *Queres*. It is therefore almost certain (provided Espejo did not completely misunderstand the Tiguas), that the hostilities took place near the actual settlement of Bernalillo.⁵⁴

The "Relación postrera" although containing some details about Tiguex which I shall refer to subsequently, is silent on the subject of hostilities. The same is the case with the Relation of the Captain Juan Jaramillo, of which more anon.

In default of the letter dated Tiguex, April 20th, 1541,

53a. Bernalillo lies east of the Rio Grande and old *Puaray* was on the same side, as has been shown by Hackett (*Old Santa Fe*, II, 381-391).—L. B. B.

54. The statement by Espejo is conclusive. The original report is published in *Documentos de Indias*, volume 15. It bears the general title: *Expediente y relación del viaje que hizo Antonio de Espejo con catorce soldados y un religioso de la orden de San Francisco, llamado Fray Agustín Rodríguez; el cual debía de entender en la predicación de aquella gente.* (see page 175.) "hallamos otra provincia que se llama de los Tiguas, que son diez y seis pueblos que el uno dellos se llama *Puala* a donde hallamos relación muy verdadera: que estubo en esta provincia Francisco Vazquez Coronado y el mataron en ella nueve soldados y cuarenta caballos, y que por este respeto habia asolado la gente de un pueblo desta provincia." This document is certified to by a notary (p. 191). The recollections of the Tiguas as found forty-one years after the events, were quite exact.

written by Coronado to the Emperor,^{54a} the source next in order to be examined is Castañeda. Leaving aside for the present his ample descriptions of the land and its people, I must take into consideration the movements of Coronado and his forces while Alvarado was on his reconnoissance. Castañeda, being at Zuñi during that time, was eye-witness to nearly everything transpiring there and he is reasonably detailed. After the departure of Alvarado for the east, Coronado still remained at Zuñi (Hauicu) for some time, in friendly relations with its Indians. The main body of his men had, as well known, remained behind at Culiacán under the orders of Tristan de Arellano, but Coronado only waited for its coming as he had directed, and then set out, in the beginning of the winter of 1540, for the Rio Grande.⁵⁵ He took with him "good guides," manifestly from Zuñi. He did not follow the route of Alvarado; his guides led him into arid country.⁵⁶ Two days and a half the Spaniards were without any water for man or beast. Then in search of water they deflected towards, and got into, a mountain chain where they found at least snow and where they suffered much from cold.⁵⁷ Eight days afterwards they reached the Rio Grande at a place called "Tutahaco" by Castañeda.⁵⁸ Tutahaco would, therefore, appear as having been one of the Piros pueblos, below where is now the town of Belen, for it is mentioned as being lower down the river than Tiguex. What leads to the inference that the place where Coronado reached the Rio Grande was held by Piros is, among others, the mention of that region as a "province" by itself whereas,

54a. Bandelier refers to a lost letter, cited in *Coronado to the King, Oct. 20, 1541*. (*Col. de Doc. Inéd.*, iii, 363; B. of Am. Ethn., 14th Annual Report, I, 580) — L. E. B.

55. Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 433.

56. *Idem*, p. 432: "y así siguió su camino donde le aconteció que desde un día que salieron de un aposento hasta tercero día a medio día que bieron una sierfa nebada donde fueron a buscar agua no la bebieron ellos ni sus caballos ni el servicio pudo soportarla por el gran frio."

57. *Ibidem*.

58. It is noteworthy that, in the title to cap. XI (part I, like all the previous quotations, page 428). Castañeda calls the Moqui group of villages: "tusayán o tutahaco."

had it been settled by Tiguas, that fact certainly would have been noticed. The Piros, as late as the end of the sixteenth century, extended as far south as San Marcial, along the Rio Grande.⁵⁹ Jaramillo identifies Tutahaco with Ácoma.⁶⁰ Mota Padilla asserts that Ácoma was named "Atlachaco" by the Spaniards or, probably, by the Indians from Mexico they had taken along.⁶¹ At all events, Castañeda is positive and explicit in his description of the region and that description conforms with the Piro villages.

It appears therefore that Coronado with his thirty horsemen, while starting with the intention of going to Tiguex, was led to a point far below the Tigua range, although situated on the same river. It took him much longer to get there than it had taken Alvarado to reach Tiguex and he was led by his "good guides" into a very difficult country where his party and their animals suffered a great deal from thirst and afterwards from cold. The case looks somewhat suspicious for the "good guides." It has not unfrequently happened that the Indians, in order to rid

59. From "Tutahaco" Coronado went up the river to Tiguex. (*Cibola*, p. 432). The identification of the site of San Marcial with the southern limit of the pueblos will be found later on. It is possible that Coronado was led to the villages about Socorro, of which there were several. The snowy mountains might have been the Sierra Magdalena, but I hold it very unsafe to attempt a location. Had it been the San Mateo, Coronado would have been on almost a direct route to the Tiguas, whereas from the Sierra Magdalena it was not difficult to reach Socorro, the Piro pueblo of "Pilabo" or "Pilopue" and its neighbors. But this is merely conjectural and the only point to be considered as probable, is that Coronado was led astray to a group of the Piro villages; certainly not to San Marcial, since he was informed "que aquel rio abaxo avia otros pueblos."

60. *Relación hecha por el capitán Juan Jaramillo, de la Jornada que habia hecha a la Tierra nueva en Nueva España y al Descubrimiento de Cibola, yéndo por General Francisco Vazquez Coronado, in Doc. de Indias, vol. 14, page 309*). "a nueve jornadas de las que nosotros hacíamos desde esta población de Cibola, hasta el rio de Tiguex, esta en el medio, no se si una jornada mas o menos, un pueblo en un puerto muy fuerte de tierra, y pena taxada que se dice Tutahaco."—Jaramillo was a man of some importance. He was a companion of Cortes and married the famous Marina or Malinche, the Indian woman that rendered such great services as interpreter during the conquest of Mexico. He was made an "alcalde ordinario" in 1539. P. Andres Cave, S. J., *Los tres Siglos de Mejico*, (published 1870), page 87.

61. Mota Padilla, *Historia de Nueva Galicia*, p. 159: "al que sé le puso por nombre Atlachaco." Hence it was not another aboriginal name for Ácoma in some Pueblo idiom.

themselves of unwelcome visitors, led these into parts where it was hoped privations of all sorts might result in their destruction. It is impossible to *prove* this in the present instance, but suspicion is not unmotivated. Alvarado had induced his chief to join him at the Tiguas, the Indians led to an entirely distinct group of pueblos, exposing him on the way to perish from thirst and from cold. When these elements did not destroy the whites, the latter were led to a distant tribe and in this manner, in place of being united as Coronado wanted, divided into three bodies, far apart from one another. At all events Coronado extricated himself from the precarious situation created and successfully rejoined Garcia Lopez de Cardenas and Alvarado among the Tiguas, not, however, before he had reconnoitered portions of the Piro range. Castañeda states that the houses of the villages were of mud like those of Tiguex and that the inhabitants were dressed like the Tiguas.⁶² Going up the river he found his forerunners, under the two captains mentioned, fairly quartered and with them the notorious "Turk" who, through signs, gave him to understand the fancied wealth and glory of lands further east. What gave some color to the representations of that individual was, that he clearly discriminated between gold, silver and copper.⁶³ Nevertheless, an incident soon should have disabused the Spaniards and shown them that either they had misunderstood their informant or the latter was not worthy of confidence.

The "Turk" pretended that when he fell in with ("was made a prisoner by") the people of Cicuyé, the latter had taken from his person golden armbands which he had worn. Alvarado was sent to Cicuyé to claim them, and the people

62. *Relación de Cibola*, p. 432: "son pueblos de terrados como los de Tiguex y del mismo traje." Also *Relación postrera*, p. 567.

63. *Cibola*, p. 432: "y porque le enseñaron joyas de alaton y oliolo y decia que no era oro y el oro y la plata cognoçia muy bien y de los otros metales no hacia caso dellos." The "Turk" called gold "Acochias." If this is true and not a misunderstanding, it might, possibly, be worth while to look for such a word among the idioms of the Mississippi valley.

of Pecos declared they had no knowledge of such objects, hence could not give them up and that the "Turk" was lying and misleading the whites. Alvarado preferred to believe the Indian from the east and, seeing no other way, seized the chief called "Bigotes" to hold him as hostage until the golden ornaments were produced. This irritated the Pecos so that they showered a volley of arrows upon the whites and broke off all intercourse with them. The effect of this action of Alvarado was highly unfavorable. Until then, the Pueblos had no complaints against the whites but henceforth mistrust and aversion set in that soon culminated in war. Castañeda is the only contemporaneous author known that relates this incident.⁶⁴

It is well known that no metal of any kind was found in use among the Pueblos. They attached no value to it; still less did they distinguish the metals called precious from the others. Color and lustre might possibly have tempted them to covet a golden ornament, but no trace was found of it, and it is therefore very unlikely that the claims of the Turk were otherwise than malicious fabrications; provided, always, that his representations were properly understood and did not perhaps mean something entirely different.

No precise dates are given of the trip of Coronado and his arrival at Tiguex. It is only said that the main body, commanded by Arellano, remained behind at Hauicu for twenty days after the general had left, and then set out to rejoin the advance parties on the Rio Grande. On the first day they reached the village of Matzaqui of the Zuñi group, which village they describe as the largest of Cibola. There it began to snow;⁶⁵ hence, (as snow is mentioned here for the first time) the departure took place at the beginning of winter, quite an indefinite indication, since the first snows fall in November or December, according to the char-

64. *Cibola*, p. 432.

65. *Cibola*, p. 433.

acter of the season. Castañeda however states that it was the beginning of December and that it snowed for ten consecutive days, covering the ground to a depth of several feet.⁶⁶ Castañeda was manifestly among those who had remained under Arellano and his description of the march appears to be from experience. He tells that they passed by Ácoma, the people of which received them well. Many of the Spaniards ascended to the village on the rock, encountering the difficulties already spoken of. Thence they reached Tiguex, where their own people received and lodged them well, and where the news obtained from the "Turk" filled them with high glee, although "we found the whole province in full revolt, as the day before the Spaniards had destroyed one of the Tigua villages by fire."⁶⁷

The Captain Juan Jaramillo also went with Arellano. This is established by his own statement: "From this first pueblo of Cibola (Hauicu) we went to another one of the same (group) at a distance of a short journey and on the road to Tiheux." He also gives the number of days employed by the force to reach "the river of Tiguex," namely, nine days, which proves that Coronado, who spent more than eleven days to attain the Rio Grande further south, had indeed been led astray by his "good guides."⁶⁸ Jaramillo, and this is singular on the part of a superior officer as he was, does not breathe a word of the hostilities that had commenced already previous to his arrival among the Tiguas. On the other hand Mota Padilla (as we shall hereafter see) refers to them (from the papers in his power) with much detail. But I must first exhaust the information preserved by Castañeda.

After Coronado's arrival at Tiguex and the ill-advised action of Alvarado at Cicuyé, when the chief of that village

⁶⁶. *Cibola*, p. 433. It snowed every afternoon and almost every night: "en diez días que tardó el campo no dexó de nebar sobre tarde y casi todas las noches." It was a dry snow and as deep as "medio estado" at times.

⁶⁷. *Ibidem*, "y auian ya los nros. quemado un pueblo un día antes que el campo llegase."

⁶⁸. *Relación hecha*, p. 309.

(Pecos) had been made and held a prisoner in the Spanish camp, as well as the "Cacique of the village, who was an aged man," Coronado directly incensed the Tiguas by exacting from them a quantity of cloth for the use of his own men. The kidnapping of this aged "Cacique" was a very grave act, for it is apparent that functionary was really the chief medicineman of the Pecos Indians, hence head of their tribe in religious matters.⁶⁹ Pecos was too far from the Tigua range for its people to have followed the kidnapers forthwith, and there was no disposition afterwards to combine with the Tiguas against the whites, a fact significant for the segregation of New Mexico tribes from one another.⁷⁰

To collect the cloth required, Coronado took the following measures: he called for one of the principal Indians of Tiguex, whom the Spaniards used to designate as "Juan Aleman", and demanded three hundred pieces of cloth wherewith to protect the bodies of his soldiers. The reply of the Indian to this demand is important to note; he said "that it was not to him but to the caciques chiefs, (principal men) that the request should be made, that first a council should be held, the apportionment made among the different villages and each village be applied to by itself." For the first time the tribal council is here mentioned and the autonomy of the villages acknowledged.⁷¹ Coronado recognized the justice of the answer and gave corresponding or-

69. I infer this from the solicitude which the Pecos displayed concerning the aged man, and especially from the fact that Castañeda calls him "el gobernador." The office of "governor" as it is today, was not known until 1621 and by "el gobernador" somebody superior to the "Caciques" was certainly meant. That superior authority could only be what today, though erroneously, is the chief Penitent or Cacique. I borrow the word "Cacique" from Ternaux-Compans' sometimes faulty translation, but do it purposely.

70. The attitude of the Pecos in this matter is very characteristic of the intertribal relations between the Pueblos and shows that there was no solidarity.

71. Mota Padilla, *Historia*, p. 161, makes no mention of the demand by Coronado, but subsequently he notices the "principal cacique que se llamaba D. Juan Loman, aunque no estaba bautizado." Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 434, gives the reply as follows: "que aquello no era a el hacer lo sino a los gobernadores y que sobre ello era menester entrar en consulta y repartirse por los pueblos y que era menester pedir lo particularmente a cada pueblo por sí"

ders. But the execution of these orders was unfortunately carried out. The Spaniards must, of course, have been in great straits for clothing, but this does not excuse the manner in which they sought to obtain it. Not losing sight of the fact that Castañeda is generally a pessimist and more inclined to harp on evil than dwell on good, there must still have been, in the manner of collecting the cloth, unjustifiable harshness. "There were twelve villages; to reach these it was necessary to follow both banks of the stream. As if it had been the simplest thing in the world, without allowing the Indians time to consult themselves and to make the needed arrangements, our people required the immediate surrender of what they asked, in order to be able to proceed further at once. The natives therefore had no other choice than to take off their own garments and to give them to us to complete the number demanded. When the soldiers accompanying the collectors felt dissatisfied with the dress given them and met an Indian who wore a better one, they compelled him to exchange for theirs on the spot, without regard to the rank or condition of him whom they despoiled. This irritated the Indians greatly."

If these details and if the number of pieces of cloth required are correctly stated by Castañeda it follows first: that the action was indeed reprehensible; second, that the textile industry among the Pueblos was not practiced on an extensive scale. That three hundred pieces of cloth, none of them larger than an ordinary blanket, should more than exhaust the supply of twelve villages, or twenty-five pieces per village on an average, shows that the Pueblos were not very extensively engaged in weaving.

Castañeda is the only contemporaneous source as yet known that treats of these occurrences, and he further states that a Spanish officer attempted to outrage the wife of an Indian or committed the crime. Coronado received the husband's complaint and at once ordered an investigation, with the intention of punishing the guilty party. The Indian, however, failed to identify the man or even his horse,

although he was allowed freely to investigate everywhere. so the case had to be dropped, and this incensed the rancor of the aborigines. We learn from these happenings that a crime of the sort was greatly resented by the Pueblos at that time. Indeed, the following morning, the Tiguas fell upon the Mexican Indians guarding the herd of horses of the Spaniards, killed one of them and were driving the animals to their own village when the alarm was given to the Spaniards, through one of the Mexican natives escaping from pursuit. Some of the horses were retaken, but a number, and seven mules, were lost. There is quite an agreement between the statement of Castañeda about this affair and other sources.⁷² On this occasion it may be in order to call attention to the fact, that the Pueblo Indians do not seem to have had, in the very beginning of their intercourse with the whites, the same superstitious dread of the horse as more southern Indian stocks. Witness the ceremony described by Castañeda as having taken place at Ácoma, where they touched these animals without any show of fear. This may have been due to the knowledge the Pueblos had, of quadrupeds as tall as the equine and more formidably provided for harm than the latter namely; the buffalo and the elk.⁷³ Of both of these animals the Mexican Indians had no

72. *Cibola*, p. 434.

73. *Ibidem*. In view of the good translation of Castañeda by Mr. Winship, and the report in which it is published, I can dispense with quoting the original at length. An instance of the kind of that charged to the Spanish officer would, of course, have greatly aroused the Pueblos, as coming from one outside the tribe and being possibly an act of violence, not committed with the consent of the woman. Gaspar Perez de Villagrà, *Historia de la Nueva Mexico*, (1610, Canto XV, fol. 135 and 136,) writes as follows:

"Y tienen una cosa aquestas gentes,
 "Que en saliendo las mozas de donzellas
 "Son a todos comunes sin escusa,
 "Con tal que se lo paguen, y sin paga,
 "Es vna vil bageza, tal delito,
 "Mas luego que se casan viuen castas,
 "Contenta cada qual con su marido."

He adds however:

"Juntaron muchas mantas bien pintadas,
 "Para alcançar las damas castellanas,
 "Que mucho apetecieron y quisieron."

Villagrà or Villagrán was officer in the little army of Juan de Oñate and came to New Mexico in 1597, remaining there several years. He had excellent opportunities to see, observe and know the Pueblos.

knowledge previous to the information imparted after the arrival of Spaniards in the Mexican north. But the Pueblo Indians were also quick to perceive how essential the horse was to their visitors, and further on I shall find occasion to allude to their attempts to cripple the Spaniards by depriving them of the horses, before attacking.

(To be continued)