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UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO



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A RE-STUDY OF THE PROVINCE OF TIGUEX -
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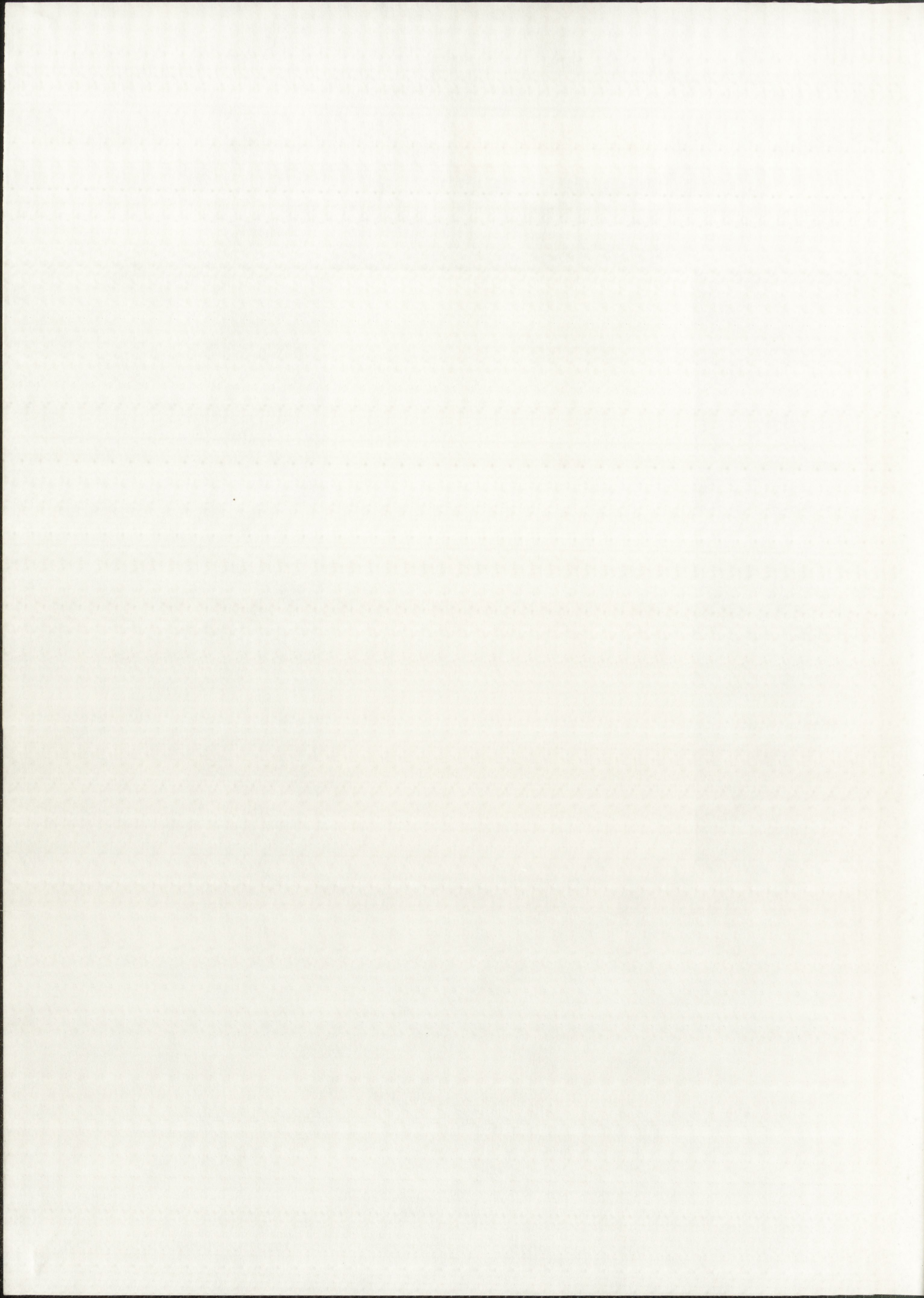
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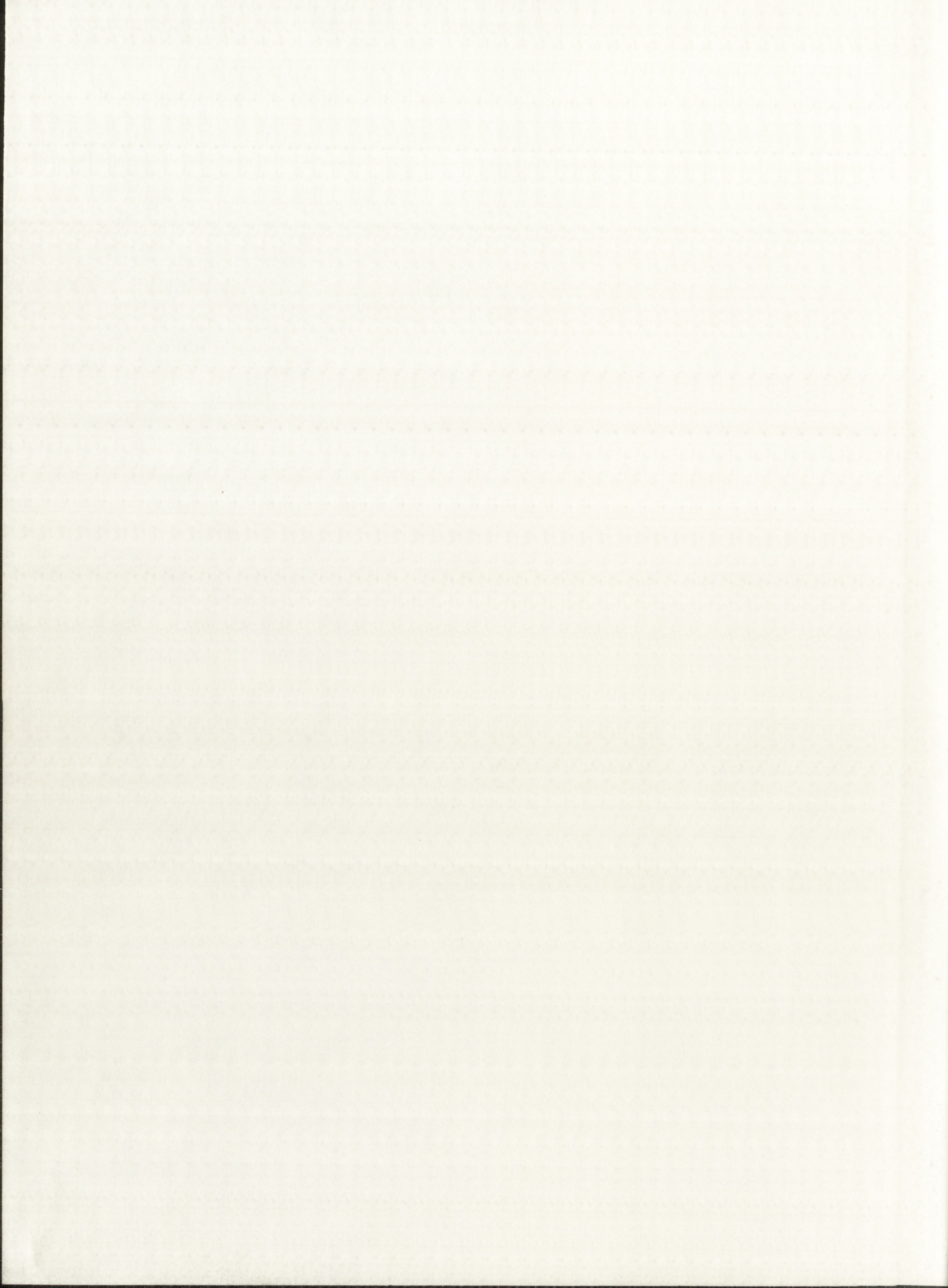
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A RE-STUDY OF THE PROVINCE OF TIGUEX

By

Gordon Vivian

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A Thesis Submitted for the Degree
of
Master of Arts

The University of New Mexico

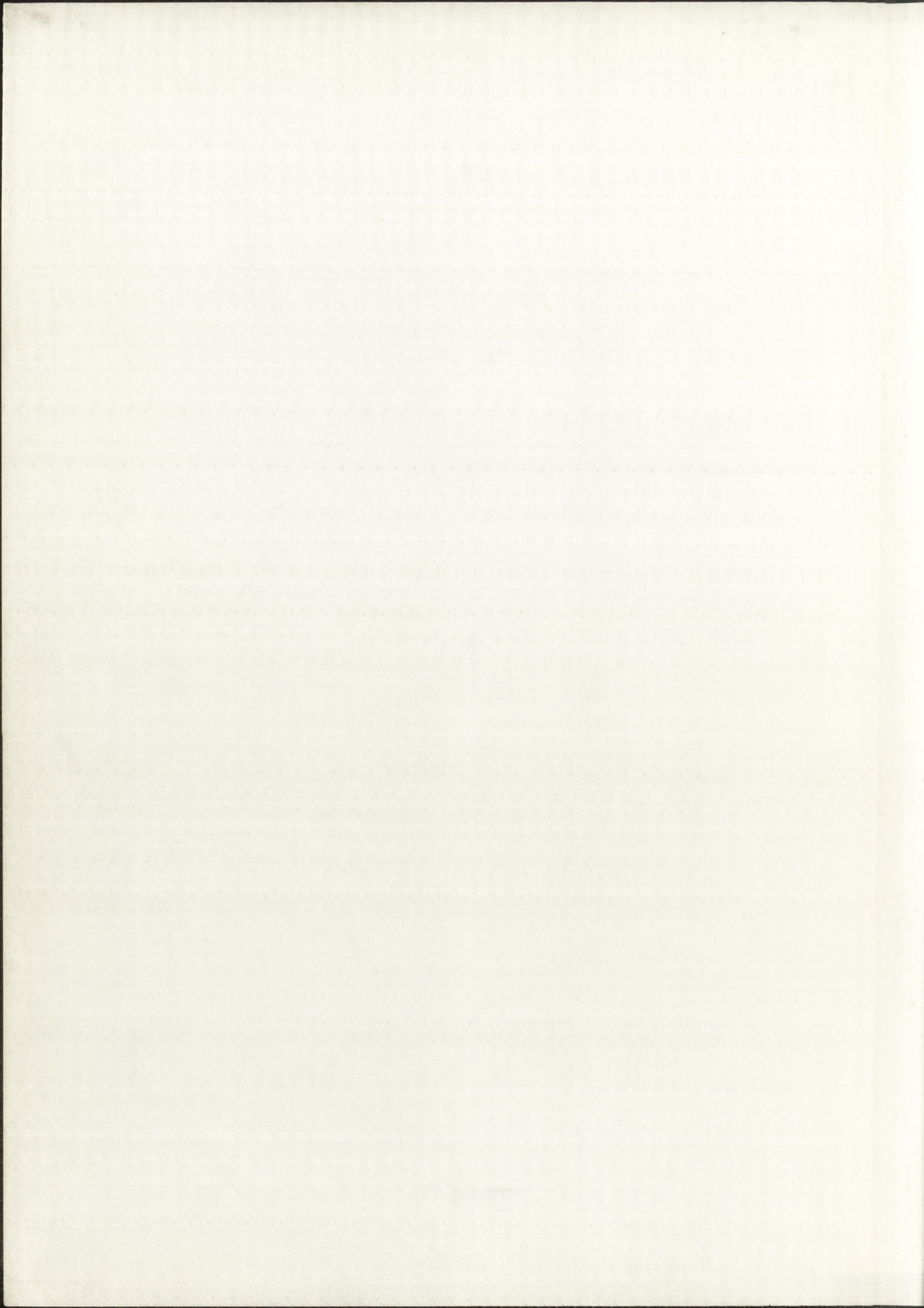
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Introduction	1
Chapter I. The Expeditions to Tiguex . . .	6
A. Coronado	6
B. Rodríguez	16
C. Espejo	20
D. De Sosa and Humaña	22
E. Oñate	23
Chapter II. 1598 and After	25
A. Missions in Tiguex	27
B. Tiguex in Pueblo Revolt	31
C. Reconquest of Otermín	34
D. De Vargas	36
Chapter III. Locations of the Sites	39
A. The Sites Below Isleta	39
B. Isleta	44
C. Isleta to Alameda	47
D. Alameda	50
E. Puaray	55
F. San Mattheo	60
G. Sandía	63
H. Remaining Sites of Rodríguez in 1580	67
Chapter IV. Summary	74

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is undertaken in order to clear up, as far as is possible, the tangled threads of the history of the old Spanish province of Tiguex. It aims to correlate the written history of the various sites with the archaeological evidence to be found in the field today.

This province lies within the Rio Grande valley and is roughly limited on the north and south by the town of Bernalillo and the Tiwa pueblo of Isleta. It has been incorporated as a single unit in the Archaeological Survey of the Pueblo Plateau, as Santa Fe Sub-Quadrangle A.¹ It is hoped that this study will in a way fill out the work begun by the Survey and so bring together all the available data on a section where it is impractical to carry on extensive research by excavation.

1. Fisher, R. G. Second Report of the Archaeological Survey of the Pueblo Plateau.

INTRODUCTION

This report is the first of a series of papers dealing with the prehistoric and historic archaeology of the Rio Grande Valley. It is intended to serve as a general introduction to the subject and to provide a basis for the more detailed studies which will follow. The purpose of this report is to present a summary of the available data on the prehistoric and historic archaeology of the Rio Grande Valley and to discuss the methods and techniques used in the study of this area. It is hoped that this study will be of value to the general public and to the professional archaeologist alike.

From the discovery of the mainland the Spanish pushed eagerly on to explore the northern continent both by sea and land. By 1525 the continued search for the strait and efforts to settle on the mainland had carried Spanish explorers nearly the whole length of the north Atlantic coast.¹ They were motivated in this by the desires for fabulous wealth, always just beyond their grasp, and for converts to Christianity. It is difficult to say which was the stronger incentive to the far flung searches. When one failed, the other was there to bolster it up, and they traveled hand in hand throughout the Southwest.

Ever eager to penetrate the unknown the Spaniard gave credence to countless absurd tales of wealth and appropriated and changed for his use stories current in Europe before the discovery of America. In those moving times he managed always to see in them the goal to which his desires led. Small discoveries were magnified until they could be clothed in the garments of the fabulous stories which most nearly approximated them. In those days of exploration the three best known of these tales of marvelous things to be dis-

1. Bolton and Marshall. Colonization of North America, p.25.

covered were: that of the Amazons, the Seven Cities, and the Strait of Anián.¹ The Seven Cities found a home in New Mexico; the others still glimmer as fantastic memories.

The earliest knowledge of lands to the north came to the Spaniards through the Indians of Mexico though it is doubtful if they had positive information. Many of the tribes had notions, more or less vague, of a former home in the distant north. Among those speaking the Nahuatl language this notion assumed the form of the Seven Caves.²

The story of the Seven Cities was first told to Beltrán Guzmán in Sinaloa in 1530. This seems to be the first report coming to the Spanish of what was to be New Mexico and its sedentary Indians. The earliest mention in writing was given in 1540 by Fray Toribio Benavente in his Historia de los Indios de la Nueva Espana. In this first written version the reference is to the Seven Caves and all Indian writers in Mexico between 1560 and 1600, refer to the tale of the Seven Caves as an ancient legend and locate them in New

1. Bandelier, A. F. Historical Introduction to Studies Among the Sedentary Indians of New Mexico, p.1.

2. Ibid.

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Mexico.¹ It is most likely that the original legend was one of the Seven Caves and that in contact with the treasure hunting Spaniard it quickly became the Seven Cities. Traveling northward with Fray Marcos in 1539 to the Zuñi village of Hawikuh² or Caquima³ it lodged there and the Zuñi town became the first of the Seven Cities to which the name of Cibola for the province was now added.

It is impossible to determine to what extent the legend of the Seven Cities or any other legend influenced northward expansion into New Mexico. However it was firmly implanted in the Spanish mind and bore fruit with the fresh impetus given to northward exploration by the return of Cabeza de Vaca and his party, 1536.

While it is certain that de Vaca did not enter New Mexico⁴ it is true that he returned with the first authentic accounts of its villages, cotton, and turquoise⁵ which led the viceroy Mendoza to send Marcos of

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1. Bandelier, A. F. Historical Introduction to Studies Among the Sedentary Indians of New Mexico, p.3-4.
 2. Hodge, F. W. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, Part I, p.539.
 3. Bandelier, A. F. The Discovery of New Mexico by Fray Marcos of Niza, p.43.
 4. Hodge, F. W. Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, p.104, note 1.
 5. Bandelier, A. F. The Journey of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Introduction, p.6.

Niza and the slave Estevanico Dorantes on the northward search. In this first penetration of New Mexico Estevanico lost his life, and Marcos, in well founded fear of his, viewed the Zuñi Pueblo only from a distant hill. The report carried back, for the most part a true representation, led to the Coronado expedition, the first European contact with the pueblo area and the province under discussion.

CHAPTER I

EXPEDITIONS TO TIGUEX

For the first recorded contact of Europeans with the Rio Grande pueblos we have to rely in the main on Castañeda, Chronicler of the Coronado expedition and in part on the smaller, more fragmentary accounts of some of the expedition's members. These latter are of importance in checking upon the Castañeda narrative and in the matter of smaller details.

Previous to the Coronado expedition there is one positive statement in writing that concerns the Rio Grande pueblos or one of the tribes composing their number and it may be well to note this before considering the Coronado expedition. The reference is to Acoma, the most westerly of the Queres, and was made by Marcos of Niza while in search of the Seven Cities. He met in the vicinity of Southern Arizona an Indian who claimed to have escaped from Cibola (Zuñi) who gave him much information about the region and who said that there was another province very great which

was called Acus.¹ Bandelier believes this to be the Indians' name for the village of Acoma. There has been some confusion on this point of the Indian names of Acoma and the Zuñi pueblos but Bandelier clears the situation with his statement that Ahacus with aspiration is the name of the ruined Zuñi pueblo of HawicuH and Acus is Acoma called Hacu in the Zuñi language.² If this is true the first information on the Rio Grande stocks was in 1539.

To return to Coronado. In the year 1540, guided by Fray Marcos of Niza, his expedition left Culiacán in Sinaloa and moved northward to Cibola. After a short skirmish the first of the Zuñi towns was taken and the advance guard encamped there.³ In the summer of 1540 the Spaniards were visited by a delegation from the pueblo of Cicuyé (Pecos), seventy leagues to the east. Among their number was the Cacique Bigotes, who is prominent throughout the march to Tiguex and Cicuyé. They asked the friendship of the Spanish and made them presents of hides, shields, and helmets,

1. Bandelier, A. F. Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos, p.305.

2. Ibid.

3. Hodge, F. W. Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, p.300.

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1. Henshaw, A. J. Documentary History of the

2. Ibid.

3. Henshaw, F. J. Spanish Explorers in the Southwest

United States, 1850

giving them also information about the buffaloes.¹ Due to the friendly disposition of the Pecos Indians the General ordered Alvarado and twenty men eastward in their company with a commission for eighty days. When his commission expired he was to return with an account of the country and its inhabitants.²

Our knowledge of the reconnoissance by Alvarado is based upon: the original report (first used by Mota Padilla), of which only the first part is available; on Castañeda, though he was not with Alvarado; and a notice in an anonymous document as well as through the contemporary statement preserved by Fray Toribio de Benavente.³

The direct report on the journey does not state the number of days taken for the march but Castañeda gives it as five days to Acoma.⁴ After stopping there Alvarado continued on to Tiguex on the Rio Grande. In the words of his report, "From here we went to a very

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1. Bandelier, A. F. Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos, p.306.
 2. Hodge, F. W. Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, p.311.
Winship, G. P. The Journey of Coronado, p.38.
Davis, W. W. H. The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico, p.177.
 3. Bandelier, A. F. Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos, p.308.
 4. Winship, G. P. The Journey of Coronado, p.38.

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Granite
4. Winnipeg

good lagoon with trees like those of Castille and from there to a river which we named 'of our Lady' because we reached it on vespers, Her day, in the month of September."¹ This river was the Rio Grande and the lagoon was one near the present site of the Pueblo Laguna which did not then exist, it being founded in 1699.² Castañeda again gives the time of march, saying that it was three days' journey from Acoma to Tiguex³ while Alvarado is silent on the matter. Both narratives speak of there being twelve pueblos and describe the people and their culture but are indefinite as to the exact location of the towns. However we should not judge the Spaniards too harshly on this account for they were in a strange land and there were along the Rio Grande few outstanding features by which sites could be definitely located. Castañeda says of the location, "Tiguex is a province with twelve villages on the banks of a river, some on one side and some on the other."⁴ Of Tiguex Alvarado's report states, "There are twelve villages. The houses are of earth and are two storied . . . In this province are seven villages

1. Bandelier, A. F. (Relación de Hernando de Alvarado) Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos, p.309.

2. Ibid., note 1.

3. Winship, G. P. The Journey of Coronado, p.37.

4. Ibid., p.96.

more, abandoned and destroyed by the Indians with painted eyes."¹

Of the location of the twelve villages more will be said later but it is well to establish first that they were on the Rio Grande. Early writers of New Mexico history were prone to locate the province of Tiguex on the Rio Puerco.² However the only cluster of so many pueblos situated on or near an important river in that territory would be near the present site of Bernalillo on the Rio Grande and this view is now accepted by present day authorities.³

Of other reports on Alvarado's journey the oldest is the "Relación del Suceso" written in New Mexico in 1541 or 1542, its author unknown.⁴ Of the start of this journey it says, "Thirty leagues from Cibola was found a rock with a village on it, the strangest thing

1. Bandelier, A. F. Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos, p.310.

2. Prince, L. B. Historical Sketches of New Mexico, p.128.

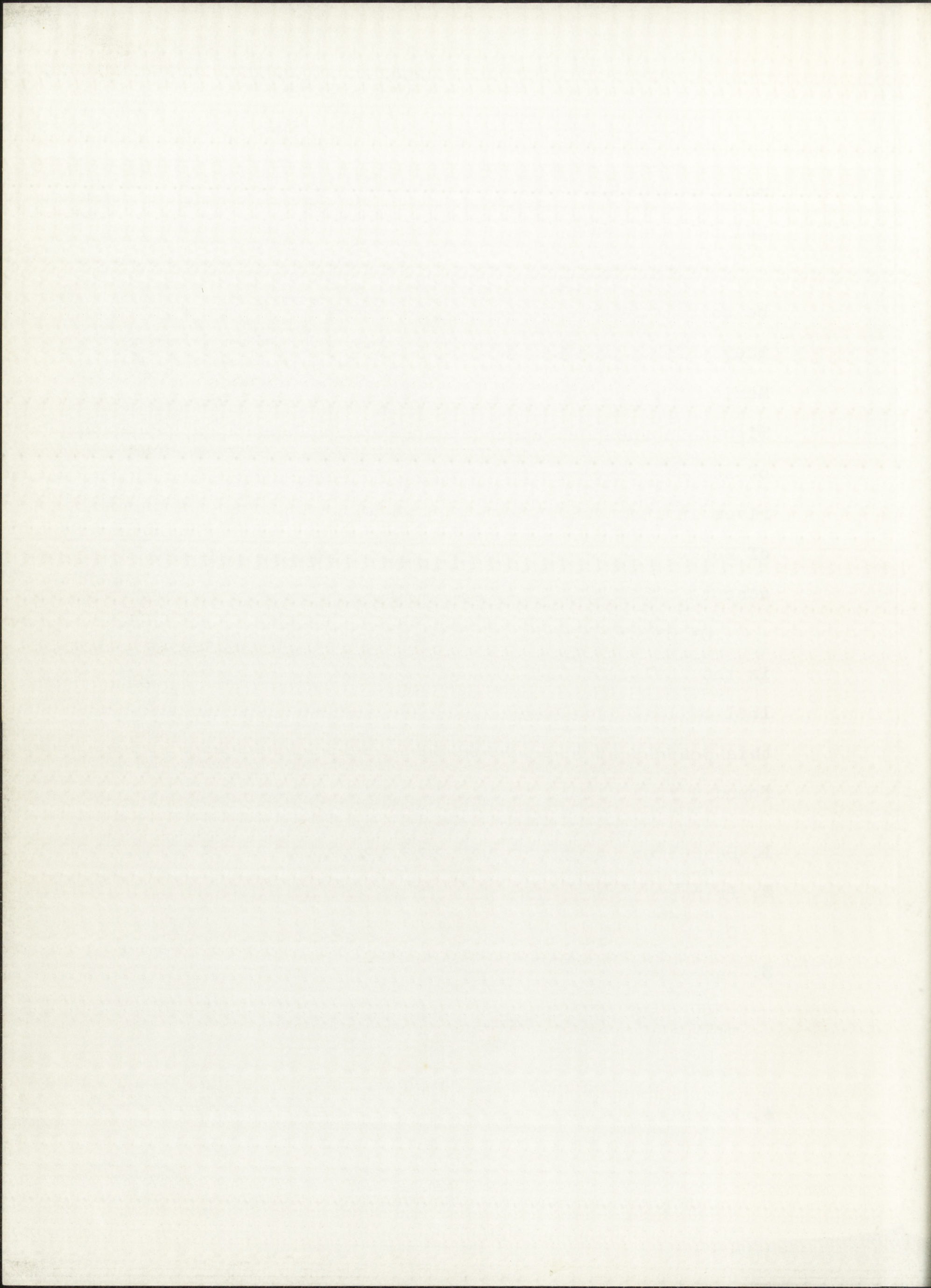
Davis, W. W. H. The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico, p.185, note 1.

3. Bandelier, A. F. Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos, p.310.
History of New Mexico, Illustrated, p.6.

Winship, G. P. The Journey of Coronado, p.40, note 1.

Coan, C. F. A Shorter History of New Mexico, v.I, p.41.

4. Bandelier, A. F. Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos, p.313.



seen in the world which in their language they call Acuco and Father Fray Marcos called it the kingdom of Hacus."¹ This is one of the earliest identifications of Hacus with Acuco. The Suceso continues the narrative of the journey relating that twenty leagues east of Acoma they came to a large river flowing from north to south, the shores of which were well settled. Here we are given the first composite picture of the Rio Grande valley as a whole. "There may be in all of it seventy villages, large and small, more or less. . . . 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."²

Another source concerning the Alvarado expedition is the "Relación Postrera de Cíbola" in one of the manuscripts on the history of the Mexican Indians by Fray Toribio de Benavente. It affords strong confirmation of Alvarado's report.³

The Spanish on their arrival at Tiguex were well received and met with demonstrations of peace and friendship, no doubt partly due to the fact that they

1. Bandelier, A. F. Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos, p.313.

2. Ibid., p.314.

3. Ibid., p.318.

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1. Bandelier, A. F. ...
2. Ibid. p. 314.
3. Ibid. p. 318.

were accompanied by the Pecos Cacique Bigotes. Impressed with the province as the most likely seen thus far Alvarado returned messengers to Coronado advising him to winter at Tiguex. Alvarado then continued on to Cicuyé. Returning from that town on the Pecos he found Cárdenas at Tiguex preparing winter quarters for the army. This preparation consisted of the eviction of the inhabitants of a pueblo. As Castañeda gives it, "As it was necessary that the natives should give the Spanish lodging places the people in one village had to abandon it and go to others belonging to their friends and they took with them nothing but themselves and the clothes they had on."¹

Cárdenas was soon followed by Coronado with part of the army. He was led by guides from Zuñi who, after taking him through rough country where at one time they were without water two and a half days, brought him out at a pueblo named Tutahaco on the Rio Grande. This was probably in the vicinity of Isleta² or it may have been farther downstream, in the Piro country.³

1. Winship, G. P. The Journey of Coronado, p.41.

2. Ibid., p.42.

3. Bandelier, A. F. Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos, p.326.

Though the invaders had been well and hospitably received by the natives this friendly spirit was soon broken by their own unreasoning acts. When it was decided to spend the winter of 1540-1541 in Tiguex the Spanish demanded about three hundred or more pieces of cloth or blankets from the inhabitants.¹ Men were sent to collect the cloth without giving the natives time to consult on the matter. They went to the pueblos along both sides of the river and the confiscation was undertaken with little warning. It was accomplished roughly, the Spaniards even stripping the cloaks and blankets from the Indians' backs.² A short time later the natives avenged this and other outrages by running off the Spanish horse herd of which they killed a large number and then fortified themselves in one of the large pueblos. This the Spaniards attacked and after exchanging signs of peace the Indians put down their arms and were pardoned. Nevertheless through some misunderstanding the Spaniards prepared to burn at the stake two hundred captives about half of whom were shot down in an attempt to escape.³

1. Coan, C. F. A Shorter History of New Mexico, v.I, p.159.

Winship, C. P. The Journey of Coronado, p.47.

2. Coan, C. F. A Shorter History of New Mexico, v.I, p.159.

3. Ibid.

The report of Espejo on his journey to New Mexico in 1582-1583 confirms the reports at the time of the Coronado expedition and shows how well the events were remembered by the natives. His report reads, "We found another province which calls itself the Tiguas which are sixteen villages one of them being called Paula (misprint for Puaray) where we found a very truthful statement that Francisco Vázquez Coronado had been there and they killed nine of his soldiers and forty horses and that for that reason he destroyed the people of one pueblo of this province."¹ It is well established that Espejo passed Puaray and went north into the Queres region. The ruins of Puaray are close by Bernalillo and so it is certain that the hostilities took place in that immediate region.

After this attempt to burn the Indians at the stake there was a great fall of snow and for two months no military operations were possible. All efforts of Coronado to treat with the Tiguas were fruitless.²

Up to this time Tiguex had been spoken of in all the chronicles as a province or tribal range. Then

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1. Bandelier, A. F. Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos, p.325.
 2. Hodge, F. W. Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, p.320.

Castañeda in referring to further troubles with the Tiguas says that Cárdenas, "One day started out with thirty companions and went to the village of Tiguex."¹ Here instead of the ill defined tribal range Tiguex appears as a definite village. Resistance was shown at this and another village and Coronado resolved to "put siege to Tiguex."² In the statement concerning this blockade or siege indications are found concerning the situation. The Chronicler Cárdenas states that when the Indians had been routed on the level they fled to the heights. This seems to indicate that the villages were on the west bank where the rim of a lava capped mesa approaches the Rio Grande whereas on the east bank an extensive plain extends to the base of the Sandías. That it was near the river we know because the fugitives were driven into it and many of the wounded were later found on the opposite bank.³

The troubles with the Tiguas were now at an end and the spring of 1541 saw Coronado depart on his luckless expedition to the plains east of Pecos. The second fall found him again at Tiguex preparing for his

1. Winship, G. P. The Journey of Coronado, p.52.

2. Eandelier, A. F. New Mexico Historical Review, v.5, p.40.

3. Winship, G. P. The Journey of Coronado, p.57.

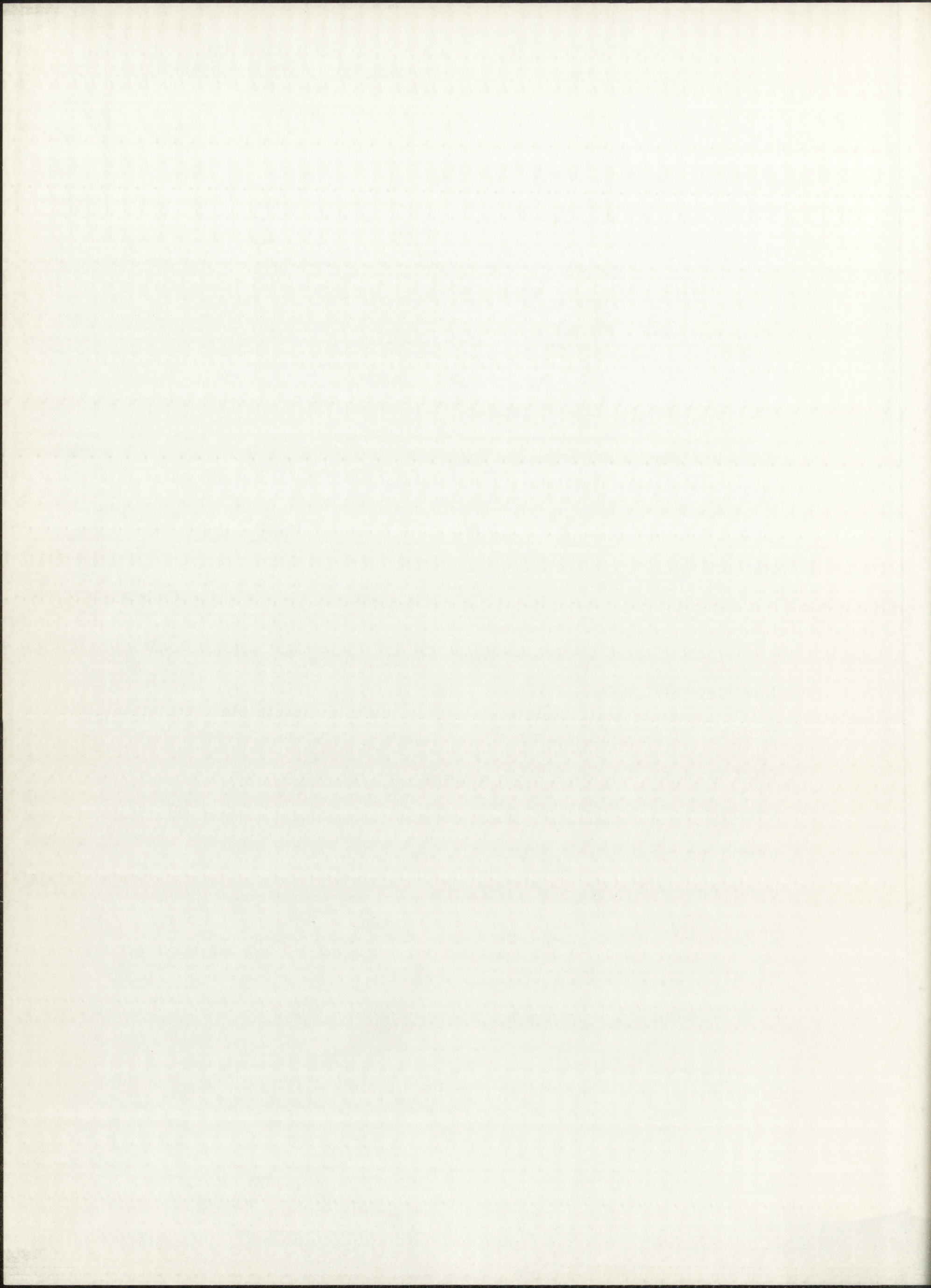
second winter there. Parties were sent exploring and foraging and in all probability Jemez, Taos, and the Piro pueblos to the south were visited.

With the next spring, 1542, Coronado abandoned the country and the hope of rich cities and began the long trek back to the frontier of Mexico. He left behind, it is certain, at least two friars, Friar Juan de Padilla in Quivira, and Friar Luís at Cicuyé, a Portuguese, and a number of Mexican Indians.¹ With this expedition we are now at an end until the consideration of the sites.

After the poor outcome of the Coronado expedition New Mexico was not again visited by white men for forty years. The failure of this entrada and the growing importance of the mining regions of Zacatecas and Durango tended to lessen interest in the unknown North.² However, as the mines along the northern frontier developed further they practically exterminated the native population and it became necessary to search farther afield for slave labor. Expeditions for taking slaves were conducted northward beyond the frontier of settle-

1. Winship, G. P. The Journey of Coronado, p.126.

2. Mecham, J. L. The Second Spanish Expedition to New Mexico, p.265.



ment in the northern provinces of Nueva Vizcaya and Nuevo León. On these raids, some of them extending beyond the Rio Grande, the slavers heard of a country still farther north where the people wore cotton garments, irrigated their fields, and lived in large, well-built "cities." Thus from these slave raids came reawakened interest in New Mexico.

It fired the missionary zeal of the Franciscan friar Agustín Rodríguez, stationed in the frontier town of San Bartolomé in Nueva Vizcaya. With a lay associate, known as Francisco Chamuscado, he planned the expedition that was to result seventeen years later in the Spanish occupation of the Upper Rio Grande Valley. The viceroy granted Rodríguez a license in 1580 to take a band of missionaries beyond Santa Bárbara "for the purpose of preaching the Holy Gospel."¹ There were nine soldiers in the party, under the captaincy of Chamuscado, for the protection of the friars. Of these religious leaders there were three, Rodríguez, Francisco López, and Juan de Santa María. Besides the Spaniards there were nineteen Indian servants, and a number of horses, cows, goats, sheep, and hogs.

1. Mecham, J. L. The Second Spanish Expedition to New Mexico, p.267.

With arrangements complete the party left Santa Bárbara in June, 1581. They followed the Conchos to its junction with the Rio Grande and thence up that river through various tribes until they came to the first Piro pueblo near San Marcial.¹ They were well received and continued northward peacefully through the Piro range.

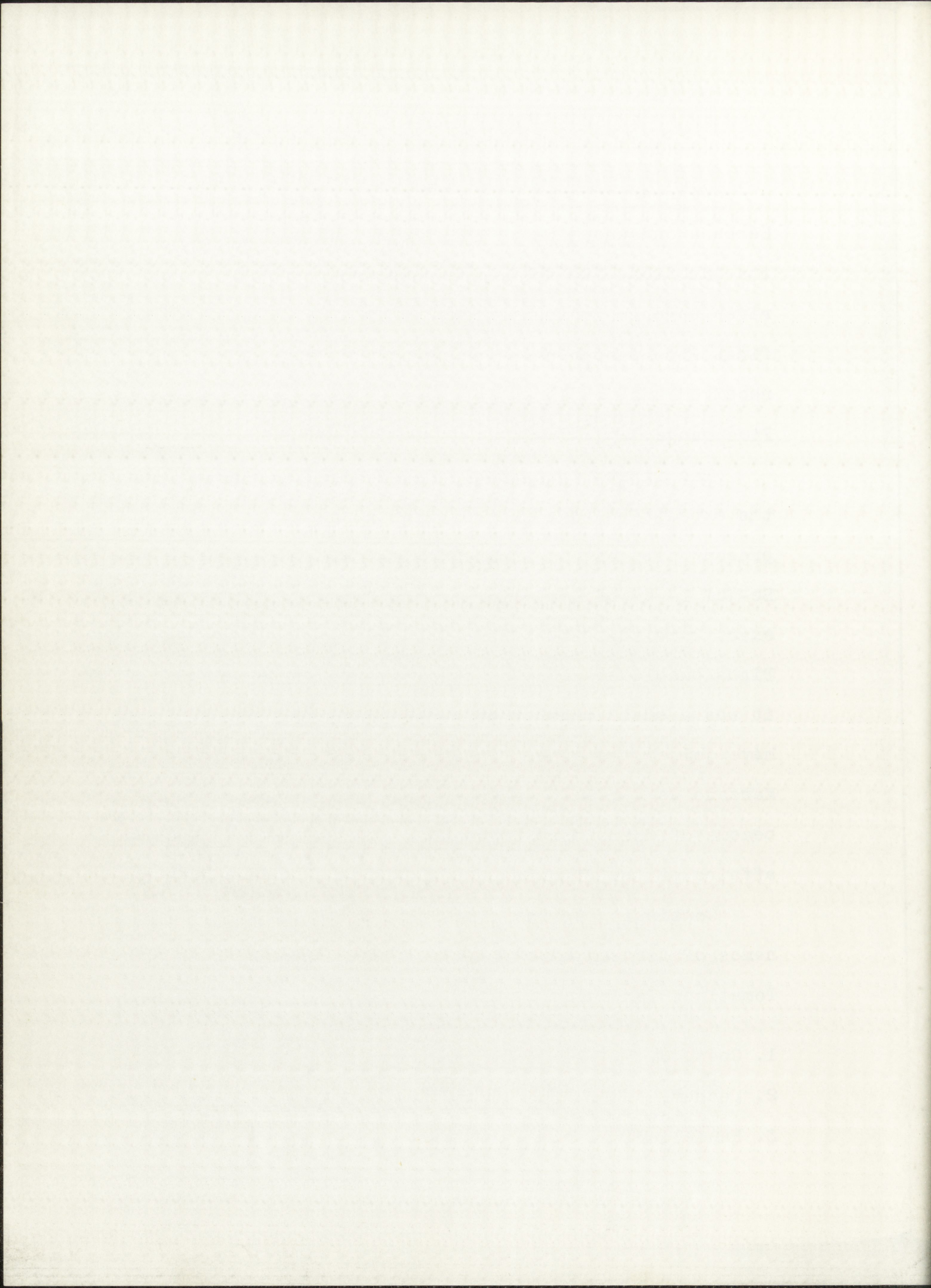
The first Tigua pueblo discovered, as given by the expedition, was that of Piguina-Quatengo on the present site of Los Lunas.² This corresponds with the Be-jui Tu-ay of Bandelier or San Clemente.³ Little exact knowledge is to be had about this southernmost Tigua pueblo or group of pueblos. In all probability it was a small cluster of outlying pueblos that may have joined the other Tiguas along with those from Manzano as a result of Apache raids. Whatever may have become of them, they figure very little in the further affairs of the Tiguas.

Continuing up the Rio Grande they recorded the names of fifteen more Tigua pueblos: Mexicaltingo, Tomatlan, Taxomulco, Santa Catalina, San Mateo, Puaray,

1. Coan, C. F. A Shorter History of New Mexico, v.I, p.48.

2. Mecham, J. L. The Second Spanish Expedition to New Mexico, p.276.

3. Bandelier, A. F. Final Report, p.233.



San Pedro, Cempoalla, Añalco, Culiacan, Villarassa, La Palma, Nompe, Malpais, and Caceres.¹

Up the Jemez River to the northwest they visited the Zias and there turned back to the Rio Grande and the Keres group. While in the vicinity of Zia they doubtless heard of Jemez but did not visit it.² After their return to the Rio Grande the party continued east some thirty leagues to the plains in search of buffaloes. Returning to Tiguex they learned of the death of Friar Santa María, who had started out, against the advice of the rest of the party, for Santa Bárbara to report the discoveries. He had been killed east of the Manzano range.

Following reports of the natives the small party next visited the Zuñi pueblos, returning as before to the Tigua province. Continuing the exploration they again turned east, this time to the salines beyond the Manzanos. Here they encountered a number of pueblos and heard reports of more.

It seems most probable that the expeditions up the Jemez, to the east, and to Zuñi were made by the soldiers, leaving the friars and part of the equipment

1. Mecham, J. L. The Second Spanish Expedition to New Mexico, p.277-8.

2. Coan, C. F. A Shorter History of New Mexico, v.I, p.48.

with the Tiguas.¹

Upon the return from the salines the soldiers prepared for the return to Nueva Vizcaya. The friars, with their Indian servants from Santa Bárbara, decided to remain and continue the conversion of the natives.²

Upon the arrival of the soldiers in Santa Bárbara the Franciscans began to fear for the safety of the two friars, Rodríguez and López. A relief party was hastily organized under the friar Bernardino Beltrán with fourteen soldiers. Of these Antonio de Espejo was the leader. On November 10, 1582 the expedition set out for the succor of the two friars. As the Rodríguez party had done, they followed the Conchos to the Rio Grande and followed that river northward into the Piro country and hence into Tigux. While among the Piro pueblos the party received the first news that López and Rodríguez were dead. Continuing on they reached a Tigua pueblo called by them, "Paula of the Martyrs,"

1. Mecham, J. L. The Second Spanish Expedition to New Mexico, p.287.

2. Coan, C. F. A Shorter History of New Mexico, v.I, p.48-9.

Davis, W. W. F. The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico, p.234-9.

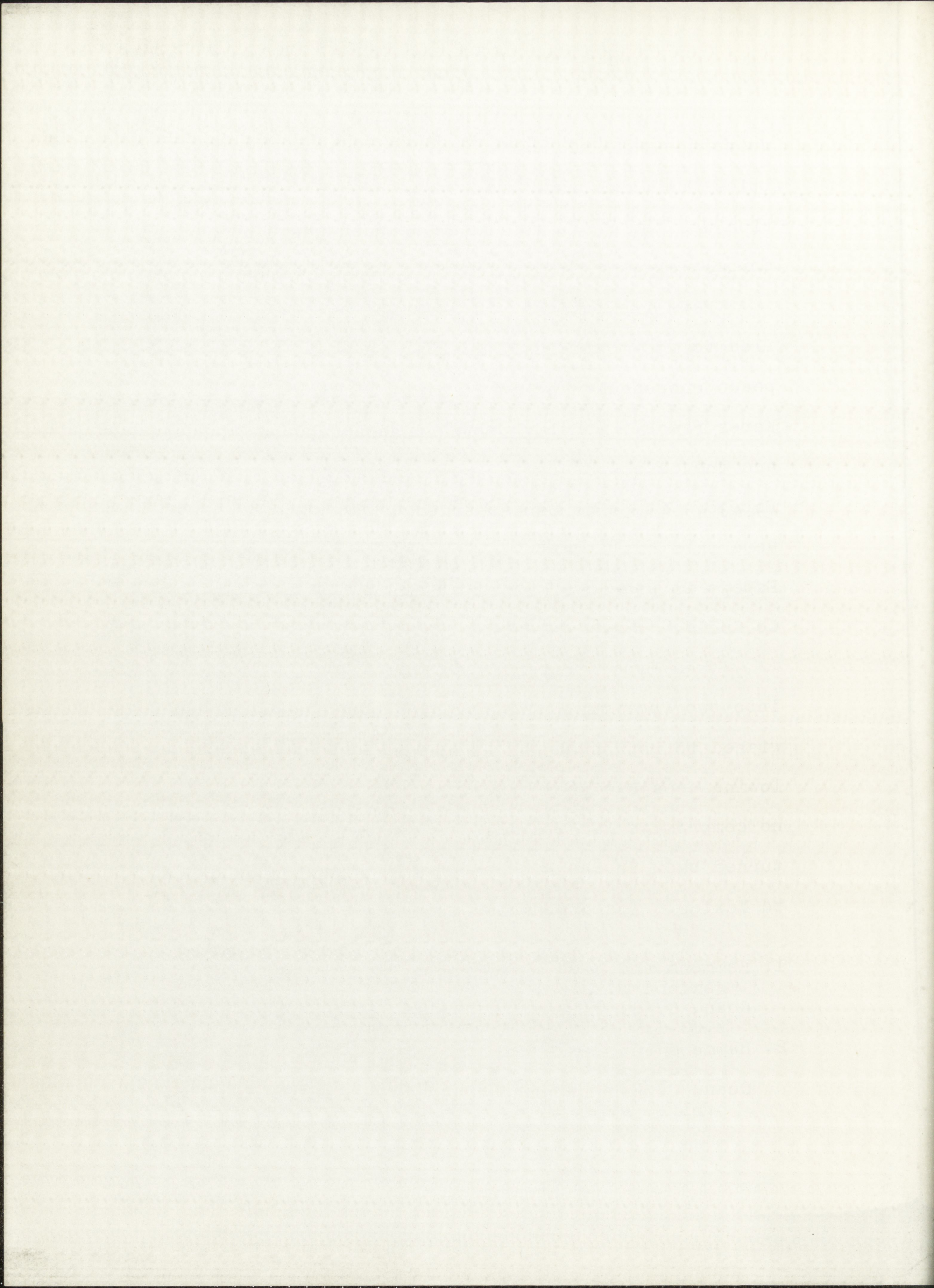
Prince, L. B. Historical Sketches of New Mexico, p.148-52.

where the two friars had been murdered.¹ All authorities now agree that this Paula of the Espejo expedition was the Puaray of the Rodríguez party and later chroniclers.²

Here the Indians had deserted their pueblos and fled to the mountains. As they refused to listen to peace proposals the Espejo party continued on into the Keres range. Turning westward here they visited Zia and thence southward to Acoma and Zuñi. From Zuñi Espejo, with nine men, left to visit the Hopi towns. Here this small party split, four going westward with Espejo in search of mines and the other five returning to Zuñi.

When Espejo returned to Zuñi the party divided into two factions. One division with Father Beltrán wished to return to Mexico immediately; the other following Espejo wished to search further for mines. As no compromise was possible Espejo, with eight men, turned back to the Rio Grande and the others returned to Mexico. The chronicler Luxán went with Espejo so

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1. Hammond and Rey. The Espejo Expedition into New Mexico, p.28-34.
Coan, C. F. A Shorter History of New Mexico, v.I, p.50-1.
 2. Hammond and Rey. The Espejo Expedition into New Mexico, p.76, note 60.
Coan, C. F. A Shorter History of New Mexico, v.I, p.51.



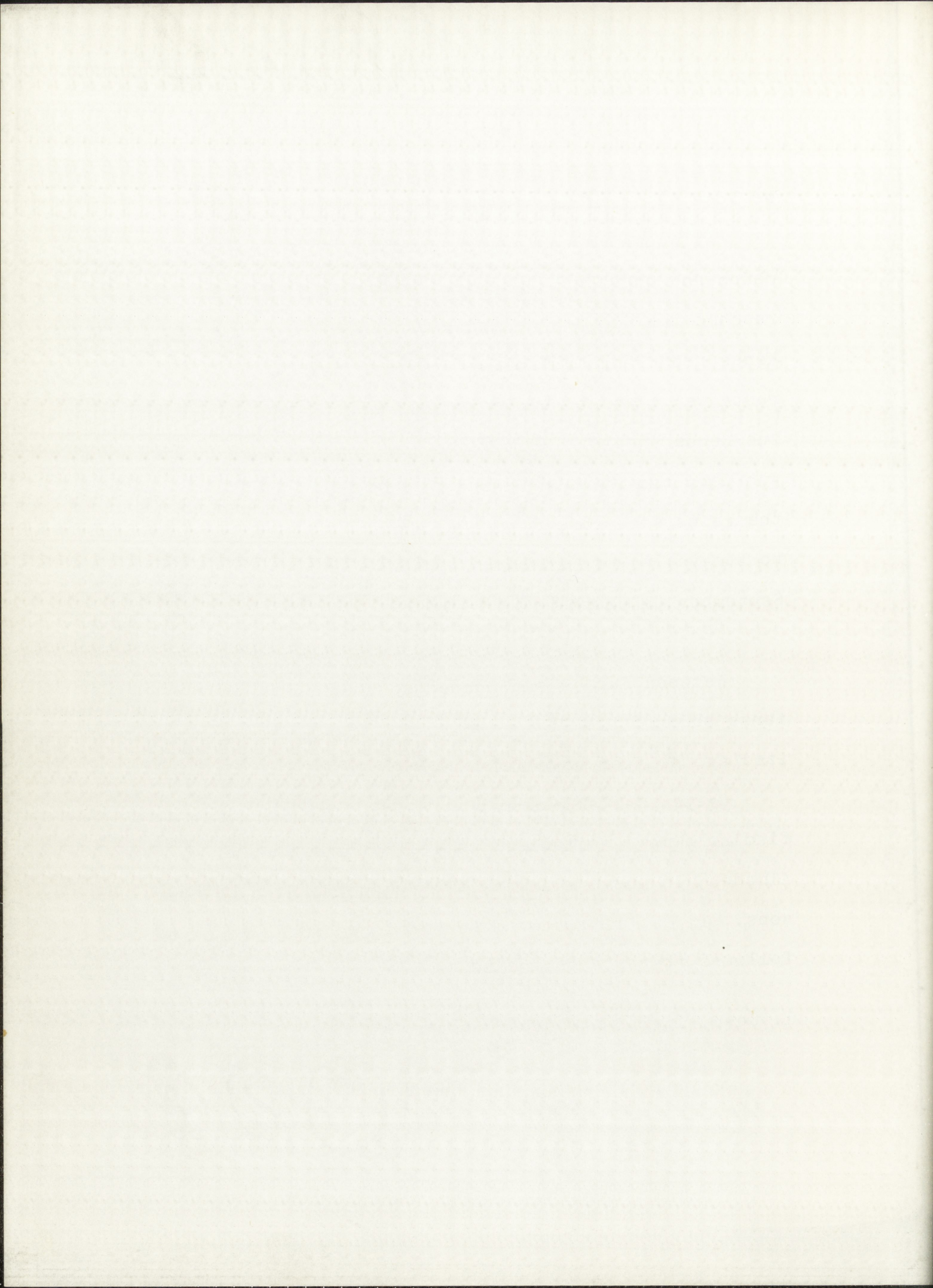
we lose sight of Beltrán and his followers.

At Acoma Espejo's party had trouble with the Acomeños and they lost a servant belonging to Luxán. They reached the Rio Grande and passed northward through the Keres group and continuing on north and eastward by a route which cannot be definitely established, reached the Pecos Pueblo. From Pecos the journey home was begun down the river. In the Jumano territory they left the Pecos and crossed to the Conchos, thence westward to the valley of San Bartolomé where they arrived in September, 1583.¹

Between Espejo and Oñate two more parties of Spaniards touched the Tiguex province. Both were unauthorized and neither have left us records of any value.

Gaspar Castaño de Sosa, in 1590, on the pretext of finding a more suitable location for the town of Almadén, in Nueva Vizcaya, started north with 170 persons. In due time they discovered the lower Pecos and followed it north to the Pecos Pueblo. From there they

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1. Coan, C. F. A Shorter History of New Mexico, v.I, p.51-2.
 - Hammond and Rey. The Espejo Expedition into New Mexico, p.35-9.
 - Prince, L. B. Historical Sketches of New Mexico, p.152-60.



turned to the Rio Grande and established headquarters at Santa Domingo. They visited Tiguex but the natives fled as they had done on the approach of Espejo. In January, 1591 Capt. Juan Morlete arrived in Santo Domingo and under orders from the viceroy arrested De Sosa and his companions, returning them to Mexico City to face charges of illegal entry.

About 1593 Francisco Leyva de Bonilla and Juan Gutierrez led another unauthorized expedition into New Mexico. Very little is known of this expedition but it appears that they spent about a year among the pueblos of the Rio Grande and then moved on into the present state of Kansas where both leaders died. The only known survivor of this entrada was Jusepe Gutierrez, a Mexican servant of Humaña.¹

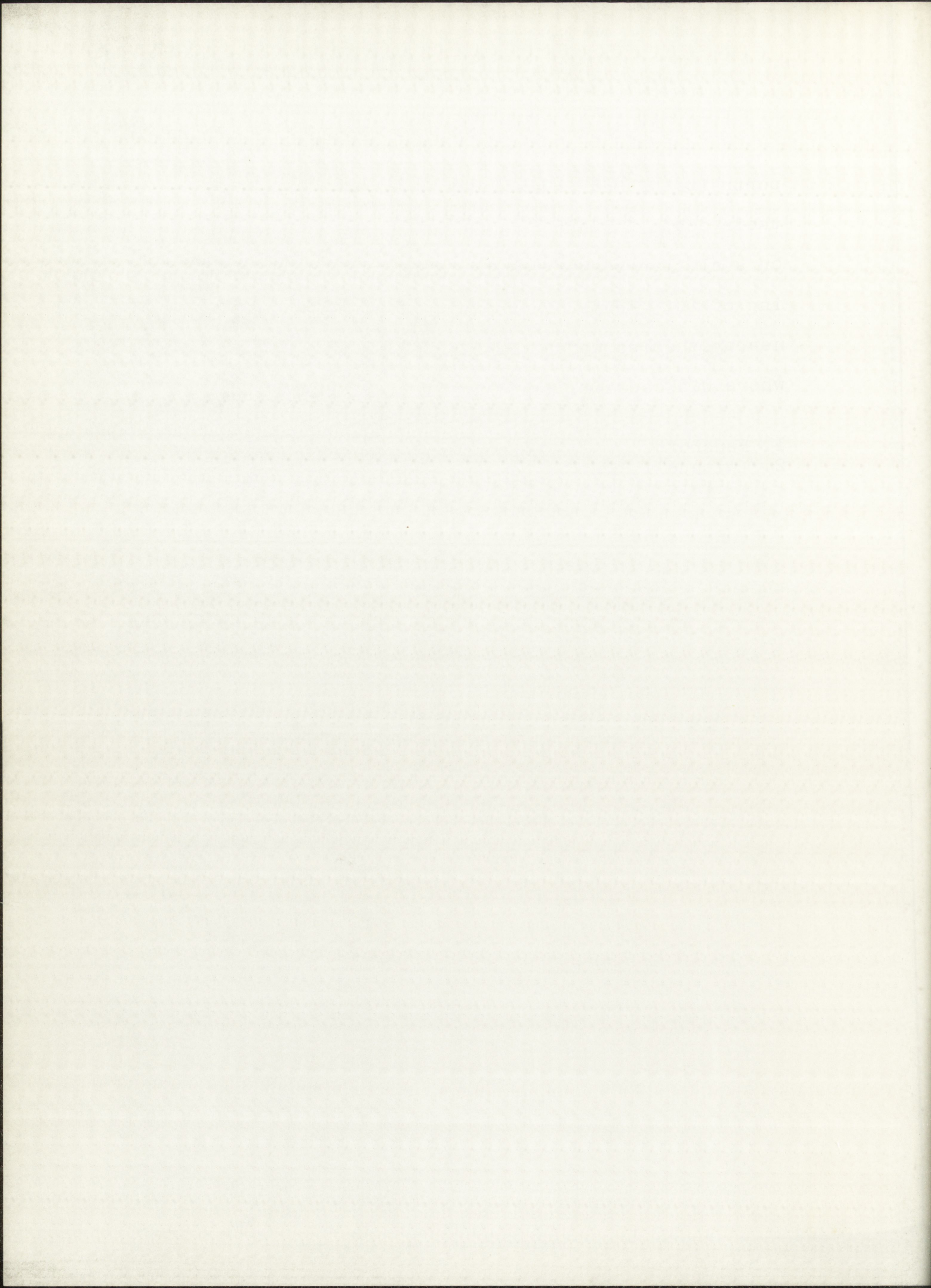
Though Oñate colonized New Mexico in 1598 the account dealing with his journey up the Rio Grande is of slight value in dealing with Tiguex.

We know only that after leaving the Piros he came to Puaray after a journey of sixteen leagues. There he stayed overnight and found on the walls of his room

1. Coan, C. F. A Shorter History of New Mexico, v.I, p.56.

portraits of Rodríguez and López¹ or scenes depicting their death.² Espejo while at Puaray also noted this or a similar scene³ but the chronicler Luxán says nothing of it. From this point he visited several of the nearby pueblos before continuing northward to San Juan where his capital, San Gabriel, was established.⁴

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1. Bancroft, H. H. Arizona and New Mexico, p.130.
 2. Twitchell, R. E. Leading Facts of New Mexican History, v.I, p.312.



CHAPTER II

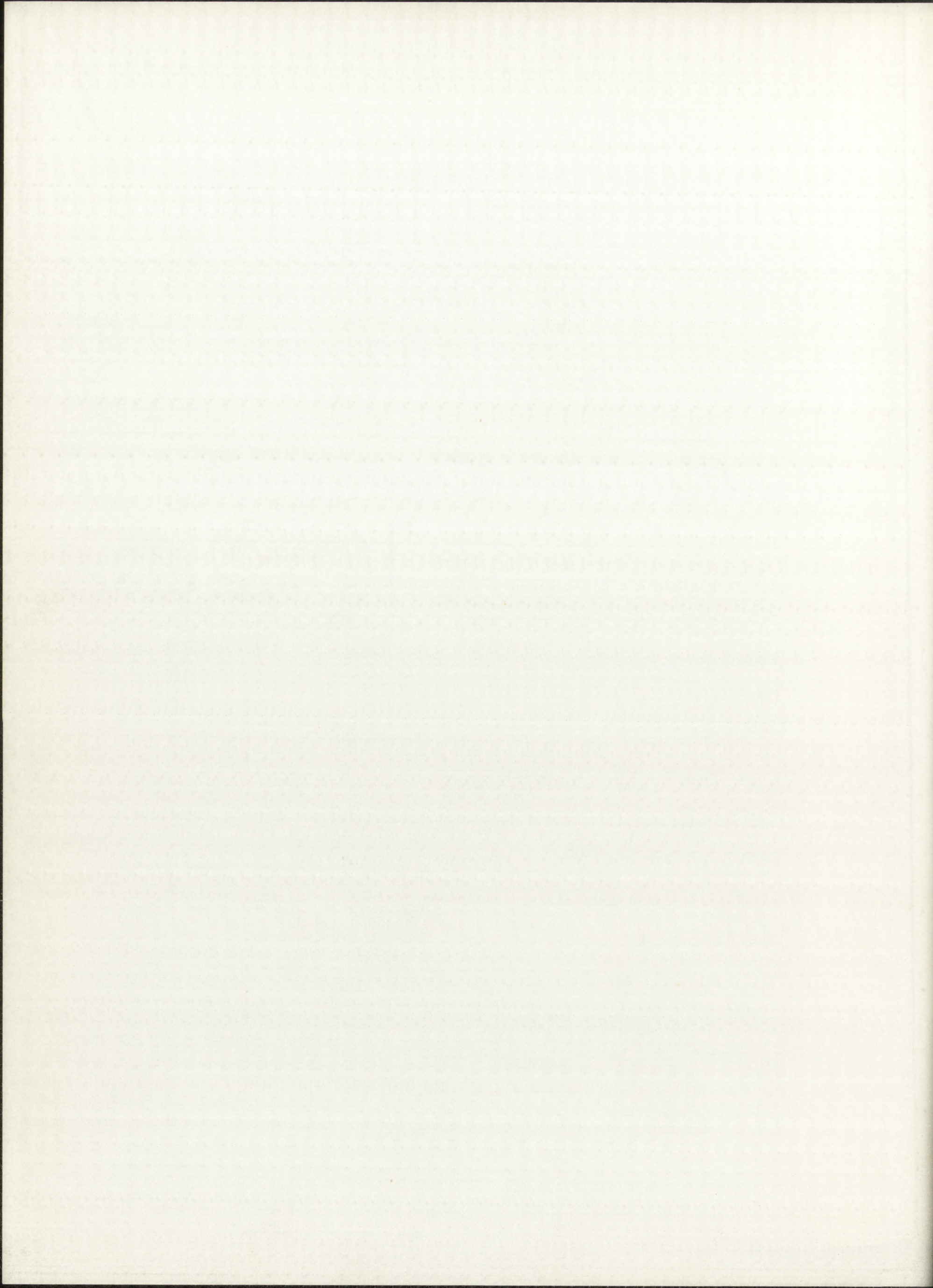
1598 AND AFTER

Excepting the interlude of 1680-92 New Mexico had now become permanently settled. The events from the year 1599 to 1680 will probably never be known completely for lack of data. Home archives were destroyed in the revolt and historians have had to depend on such fragments as found their way out before that time.¹ Perhaps future work in Mexican and Spanish archives will to some extent remedy this loss.

From the first, Oñate considered New Mexico as a base for further exploration and discovery and his crying need was for stronger resources and more men. Later governors found the same situation; the need was ever for more supplies, more soldiers, and more missionaries.

Activities for the time were concentrated in the northern area and Tiguex was free to go its own way. In 1599 or 1600 Oñate received a reinforcement of sol-

1. Bancroft, H. H. Arizona and New Mexico, p.146.



diers and six or eight friars. Accounts of the missions of this period are very indefinite and hard to follow. One account states that in 1617 there were eleven churches and that 14,000 natives had been converted. The location of none of these churches is given. In 1620 Benavides, the custodio, is represented as bringing twenty-seven friars with him.

What reports are available on this period cannot be accepted without reservations. They vary greatly and the number of converts they claim is certainly exaggerated.¹

In the province of Tiguex it seems certain that no missions were founded prior to 1628, though Friar Juan Claros was assigned to the Tiguas and Piros soon after the founding of San Gabriel.² In 1628 thirty additional friars arrived from Santo Evangelio in Mexico.³ The founding of the mission of San Antonio at Isleta in 1628 is attributed to Juan de Salas.⁴ While most authorities agree on this date or simply state that it was founded prior to 1629, the exact date or founder

1. Bancroft, H. H. Arizona and New Mexico, p.147-61.

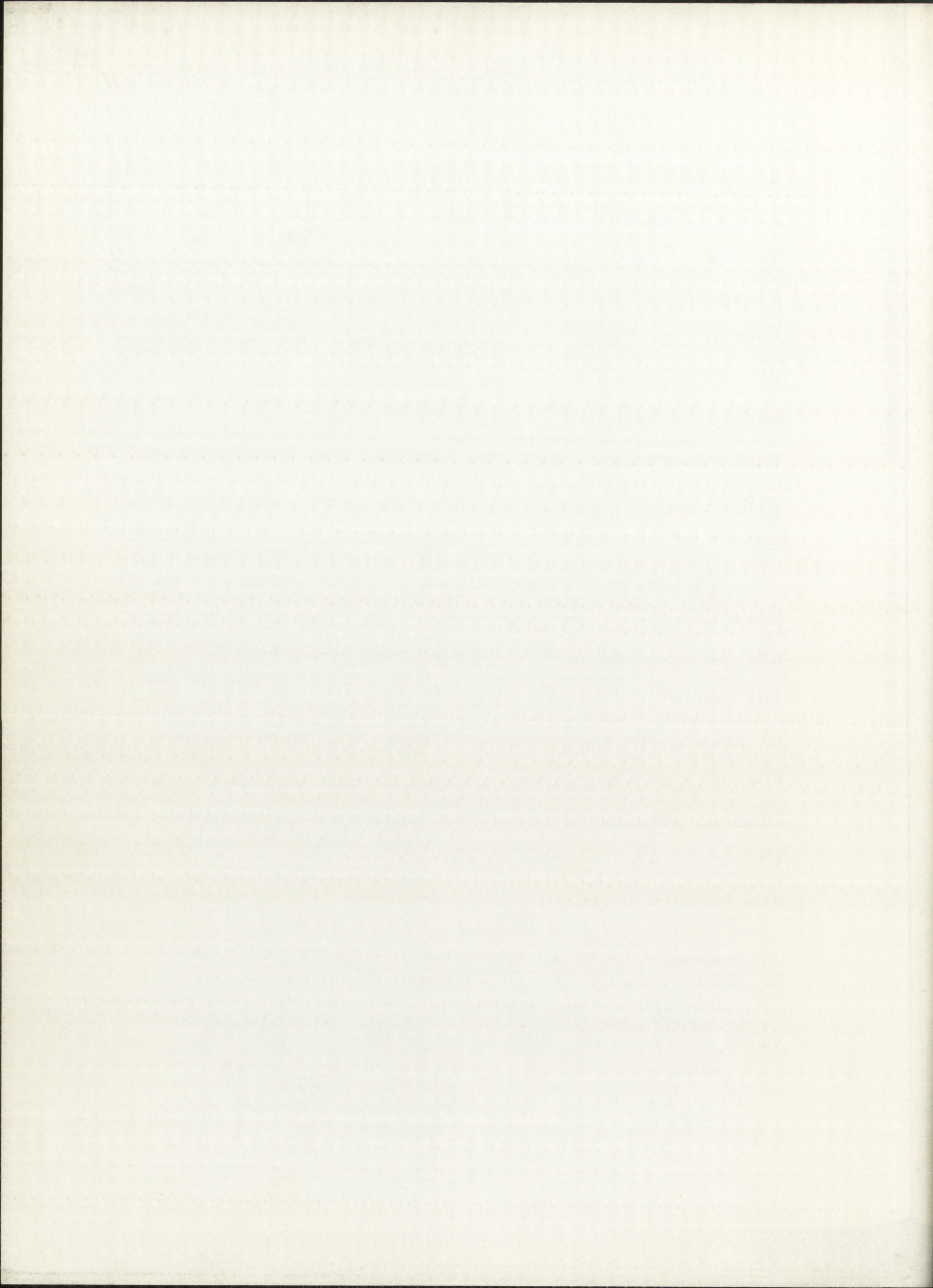
2. Prince, L. E. Spanish Mission Churches of New Mexico, p.42.

3. Bancroft, H. H. Arizona and New Mexico, p.161.

4. Hallenbeck, C. Spanish Missions in the Old Southwest, p.32.

Bandelier, A. F. Final Report, p.233.

Twitchell, R. E. Leading Facts in New Mexican History, v.I, p.375, note 382.



will perhaps remain in obscurity.

The mission at Sandía dedicated to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores is even more obscure in its beginnings. The first notice of it is in the report by Benavides in 1630.¹ It is most probable that it was erected between 1628, when the new friars arrived, and 1630.

In the fifty years between 1630 and 1680 a great shrinkage in the number of pueblos in Tiguex took place. This was primarily the work of the Franciscan missionaries who found it much easier to tend their charges when they were concentrated in a few pueblos. This concentration tendency was furthered in the years just prior to the rebellion by Apache raids.² Benavides the custodio, who journeyed to Spain in 1630, reported that in the whole of New Mexico there were about fifty friars for ninety pueblos grouped into twenty-five mission districts or conventos.³ At this time Tiguex consisted of fifteen or sixteen pueblos containing 7,000 Indians.⁴ The two missions as before noted were at Isleta and Sandia.

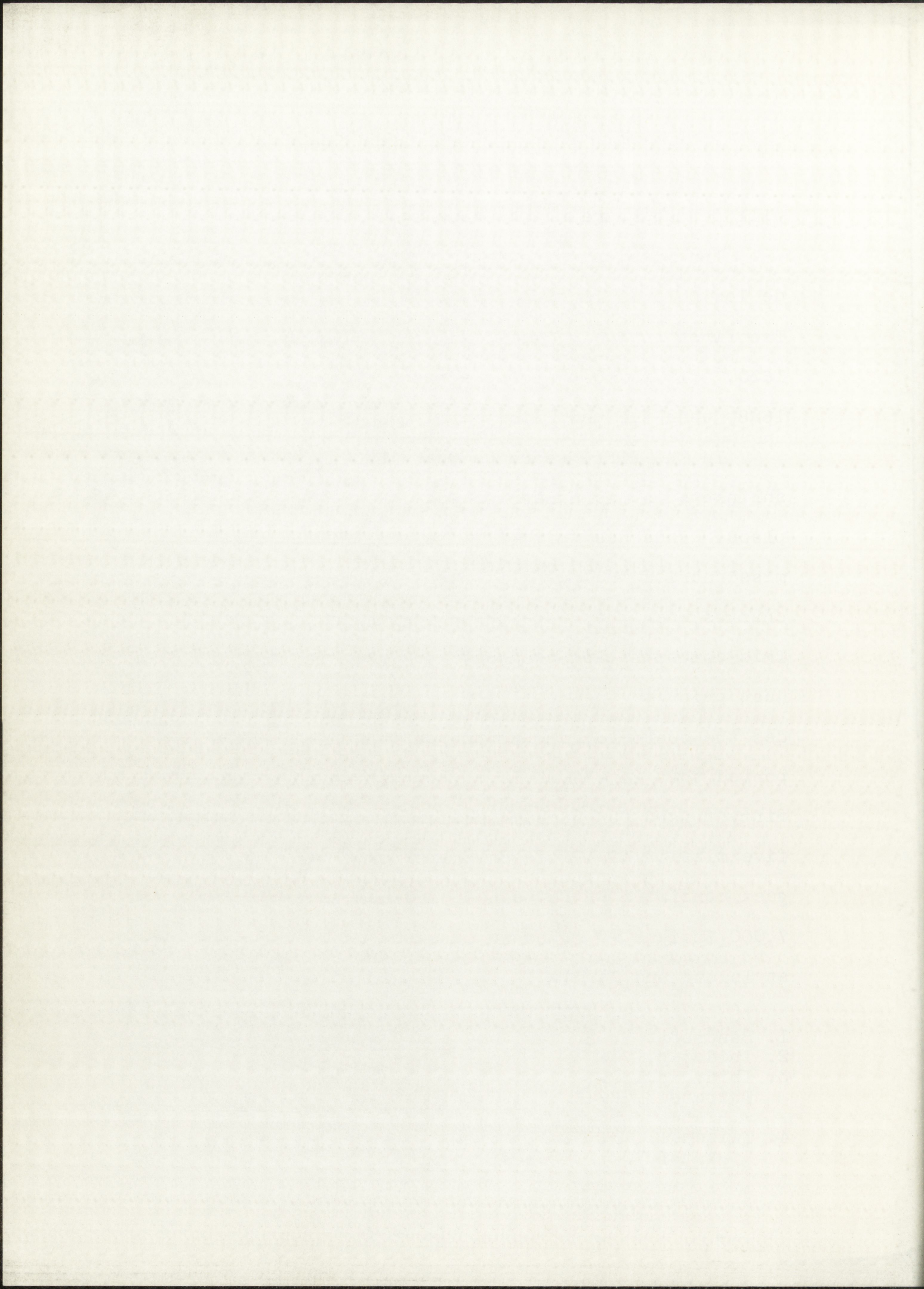
1. Bancroft, H. H. Arizona and New Mexico, p.162.

2. Ibid., p.170.

3. Ibid., p.162.

Twitchell, R. E. Leading Facts of New Mexican History, v.I, p.340.

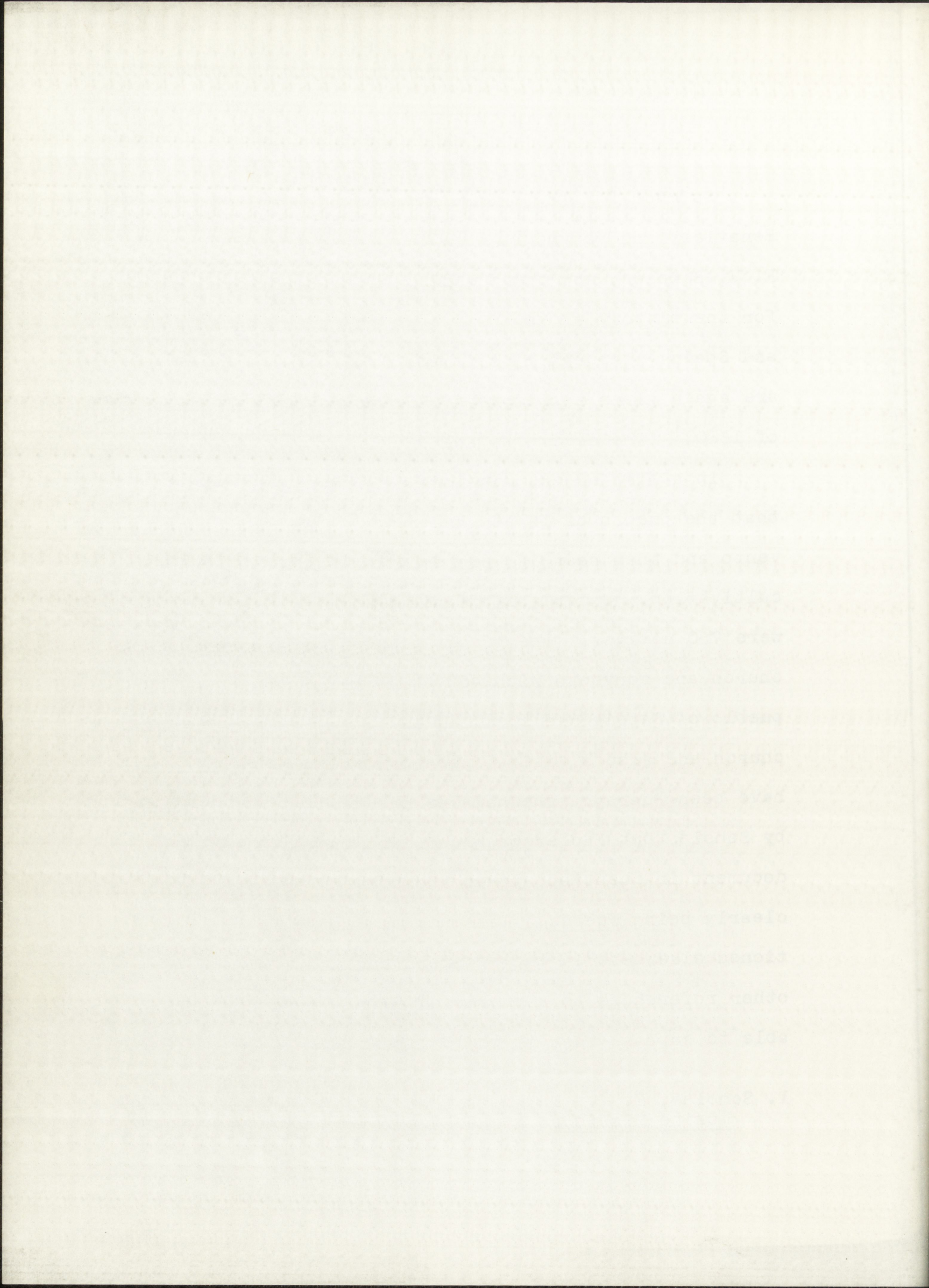
4. Twitchell, R. E. Leading Facts of New Mexican History, v.I, p.163, note 43.



So much for 1630. The main sources of historians, Benavides and Vetancurt were augmented in 1927-28 by F. V. Scholes, who found a mass of documentary material for the history of New Mexico in the archives of Mexico and Spain. Through these, made available in 1929, we are again given a glimpse of Tiguex before the disaster of 1680.¹ The documents are for the year 1664.

In a list of the missions, visitas, etc. we find that the pueblo of Isleta had a fine church and convento and that near it were fourteen estancias under cultivation. Under the administration of the pueblo were 750 natives. The pueblo of Alameda also had a church and convento with 400 souls under its care. The pueblo of Sandía was credited as having an excellent church and also a visita, perhaps two, one of which may have been Puaray. The name of the visita is not given by Scholes but Professor Bloom, who has examined the document in question, gives the name of the visita as clearly being Pueras. Inasmuch as Puaray is not mentioned elsewhere in the document and there are nowhere other references to a pueblo of Pueras it seems reasonable to suppose that it would likely have been a visita

1. Scholes, F. V. Documents For The History Of The New Mexico Missions in the Seventeenth Century, p.45.



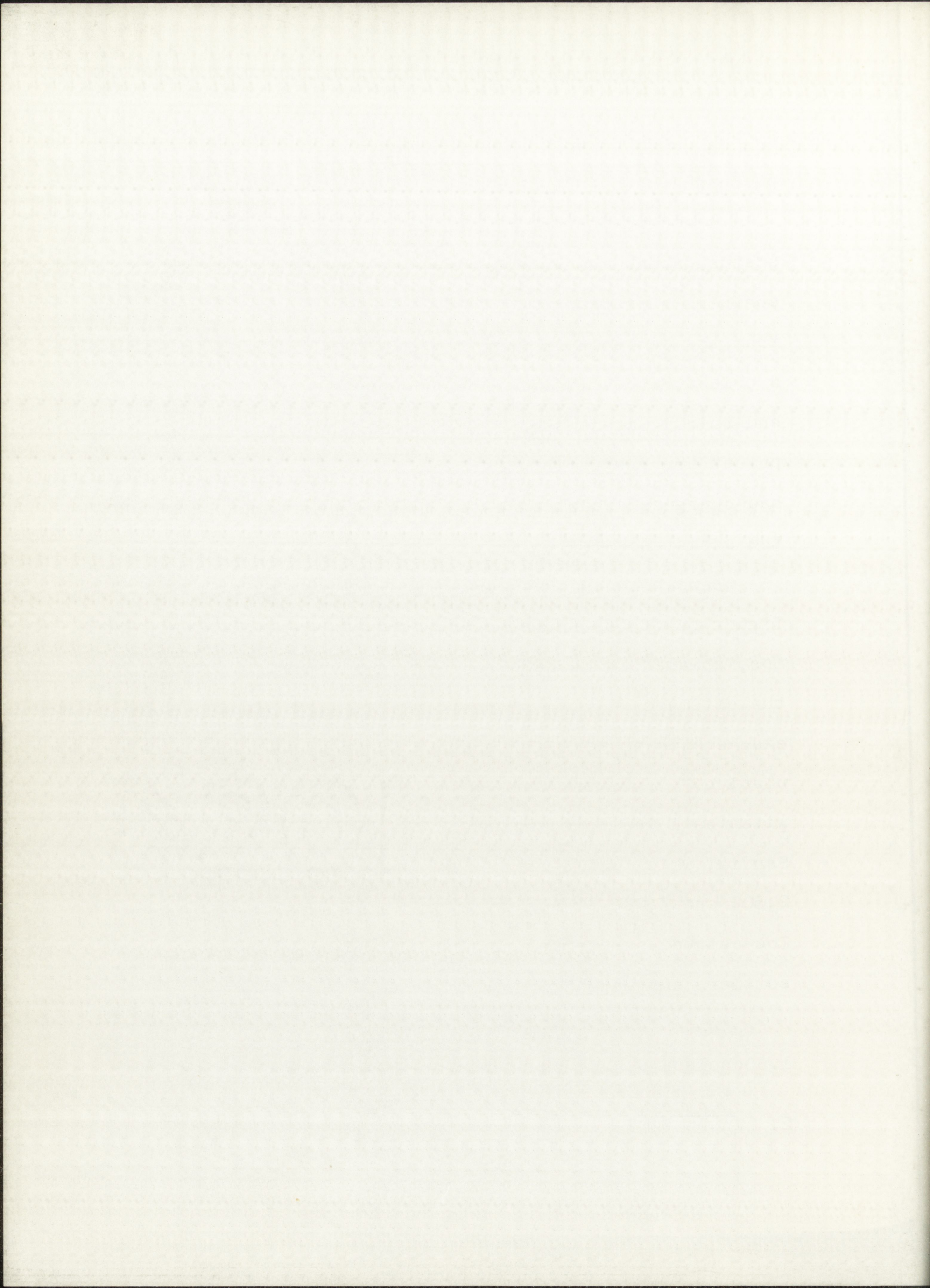
of Sandía.

A second document given by Scholes describes the status of the missions during the years 1663-66 and contains a statement of future needs.¹ Here we find that the convento of Sandía has two friars, one of them a priest, who administers to the pueblo, two visitas, and thirty estancias. The convento of Isleta had one priest for the administration of the mission. He also had charge of fourteen estancias and for this reason the assistance of two priests was asked.

Here between the years 1663 and 1666 we find the Tiguex province, formerly of fifteen or sixteen pueblos, apparently reduced to five. It would seem that the estimate of 7,000 inhabitants in 1630 was greatly exaggerated as were all Spanish estimates of the population.² From the data of 1666 we see the population given as 1,790, not including the two visitas of Sandía, which would bring the population to between 2,500 and 3,000, which would be more nearly correct. The estancias referred to were the holdings of Spanish settlers corresponding to our ranches. Within this

1. Scholes, F. V. Documents for the History of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century, p.51-5.

2. Bancroft, H. H. Arizona and New Mexico, p.147-61.



jurisdiction then there were surely not more than 3,000 Tiguas in five pueblos and approximately forty-five Spanish ranches.

For the province as a whole the years from 1598 to 1680 were marred by quarrels between the ecclesiastical authorities and the civil officers and the rising discontent of the natives. The friars were fairly well established by 1630 and from this time on the discontent of the natives grew rapidly. They were interfered with in their economic and religious activities in an attempt to force them to conform with the Catholic faith and at the same time to contribute in a large way to the support of the church and civil officials. They plotted a means of how they might throw off the oppressors and between 1645 and 1675 there were several attempts at rebellion. All of these were easily suppressed and the natives came to realize that to be successful there must be united action.

By 1675 the situation had become serious. Reinforcements were badly needed. The custodio Francisco

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Ayeta was on his way to Mexico for supplies and more soldiers. In the same year Governor Treviño determined to stamp out once and for all the superstitious practices of the medicine men. Having captured about forty-seven of them, he hanged three and inflicted severe punishment on the others as a warning. Among those punished was Popé, who after his release plotted the rebellion of 1680.¹

The date set for this general uprising was August 11, 1680. The secret leaked out and on August 9 the first news of it was made known to the Spaniards at Santa Fe. This necessitated a quick change in the Indians' plans and it was determined to strike the next day, August 10.² Though premature, the uprising was successful in that it ridded the country of the Spanish for the time being.

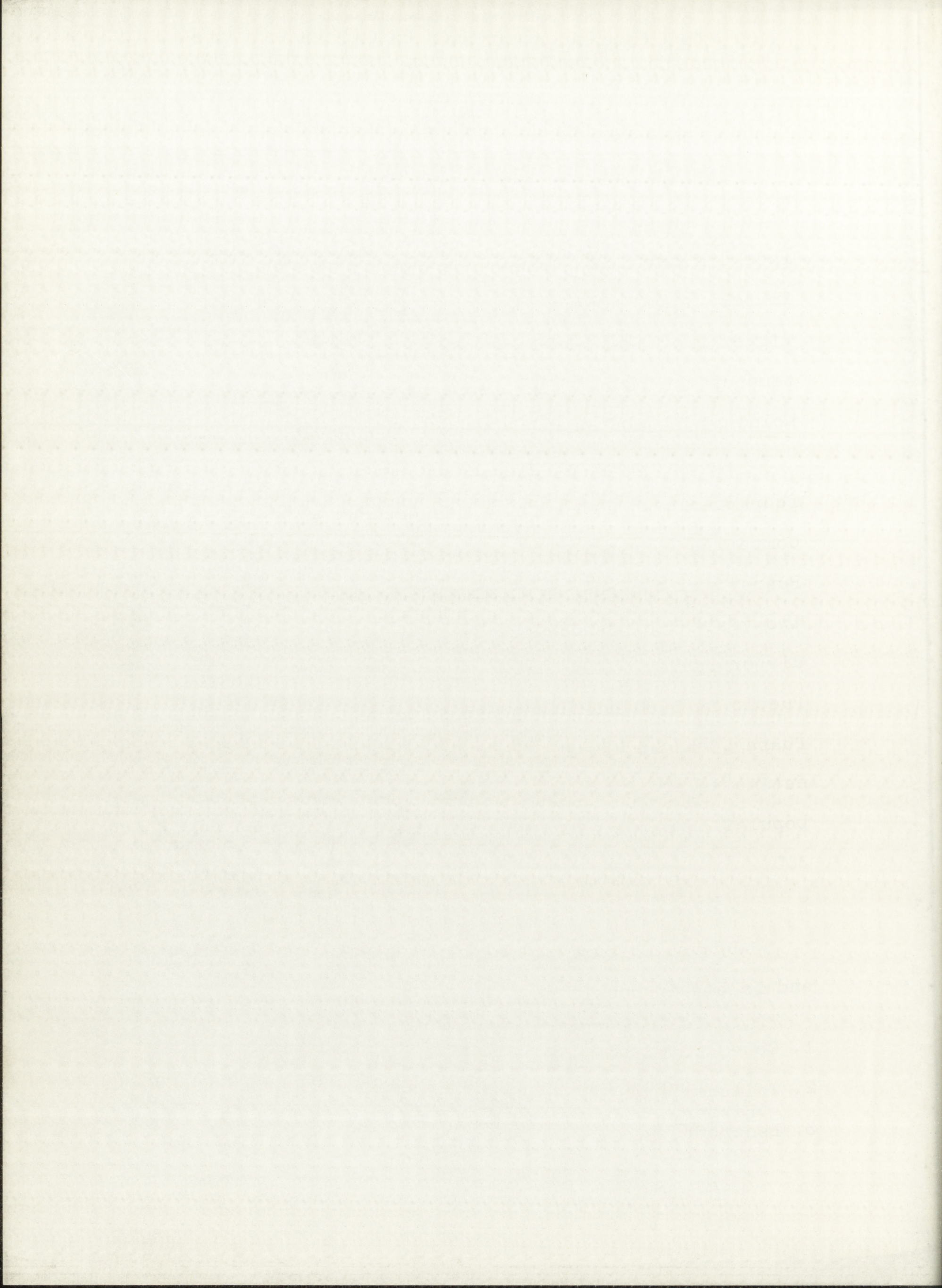
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1. Coan, C. F. A Shorter History of New Mexico, v.I, p.75-6.
 Hackett, C. W. The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1680, p.99.
 Twitchell, R. E. Leading Facts of New Mexican History, v.I, p.343-60.
 Bancroft, H. H. Arizona and New Mexico, p.166-71.
 2. Bancroft, H. H. Arizona and New Mexico, p.174-6.
 Hackett, C. W. The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1680, p.103-6.
 Coan, C. F. A Shorter History of New Mexico, v.I, p.76-7.
 Twitchell, R. E. Leading Facts of New Mexican History, v.I, p.343-64.

All the advantage lay with the natives, could they agree on a policy. The Spanish settlers in the province did not number more than 2,500.¹ Of these approximately 1,600 were living in the Rio Abajo about the Tiguex province. Another report states that at the time of the revolt there were nineteen Spanish ranch holdings in the vicinity where Albuquerque now stands.²

The province of Tiguex had now been reduced to four pueblos: Isleta, Alameda, Puaray, and Sandía. Comparing this with the account in 1666 we surmise that Puaray was the Pueras of that time and that one of the two visitas of Sandía has been merged either into Sandía or Puaray. More likely it was Sandia since that Pueblo in 1680 had a population given as 3,000 while Puaray, on the decline, had only 200 souls. These estimates are given by Vetancurt³ and for Isleta the population was 2,000 while that of Alameda reached only 300.

August 10 found all the pueblos except the Piros and Isleta in rebellion, bent on the total extermina-

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1. Coan, C. F. A Shorter History of New Mexico, v.I, p.77.
 2. Twitchell, R. E. Leading Facts in New Mexican History, v.I. p.364, note 323.
 3. Bancroft, H. H. Arizona and New Mexico, p.172, note 71.



tion of the Spaniards.

The three other pueblos of Tiguex, Alameda, Sandía, and Puaray joined the rebellion in the afternoon of August 10. One hundred and twenty people on the ranches or settlements along the river were killed and the buildings plundered. Many of those in this district were able to escape and they turned southward, congregating at Isleta, where the number of refugees reached 1,500. Among those escaping were seven friars. Lieutenant Governor Alonso García was among those in Tiguex. He resided on a ranch near Alameda. Attempting to communicate with Otermín at Santa Fe he found that they were cut off and on August 12 he, with his six sons, retreated to Isleta.

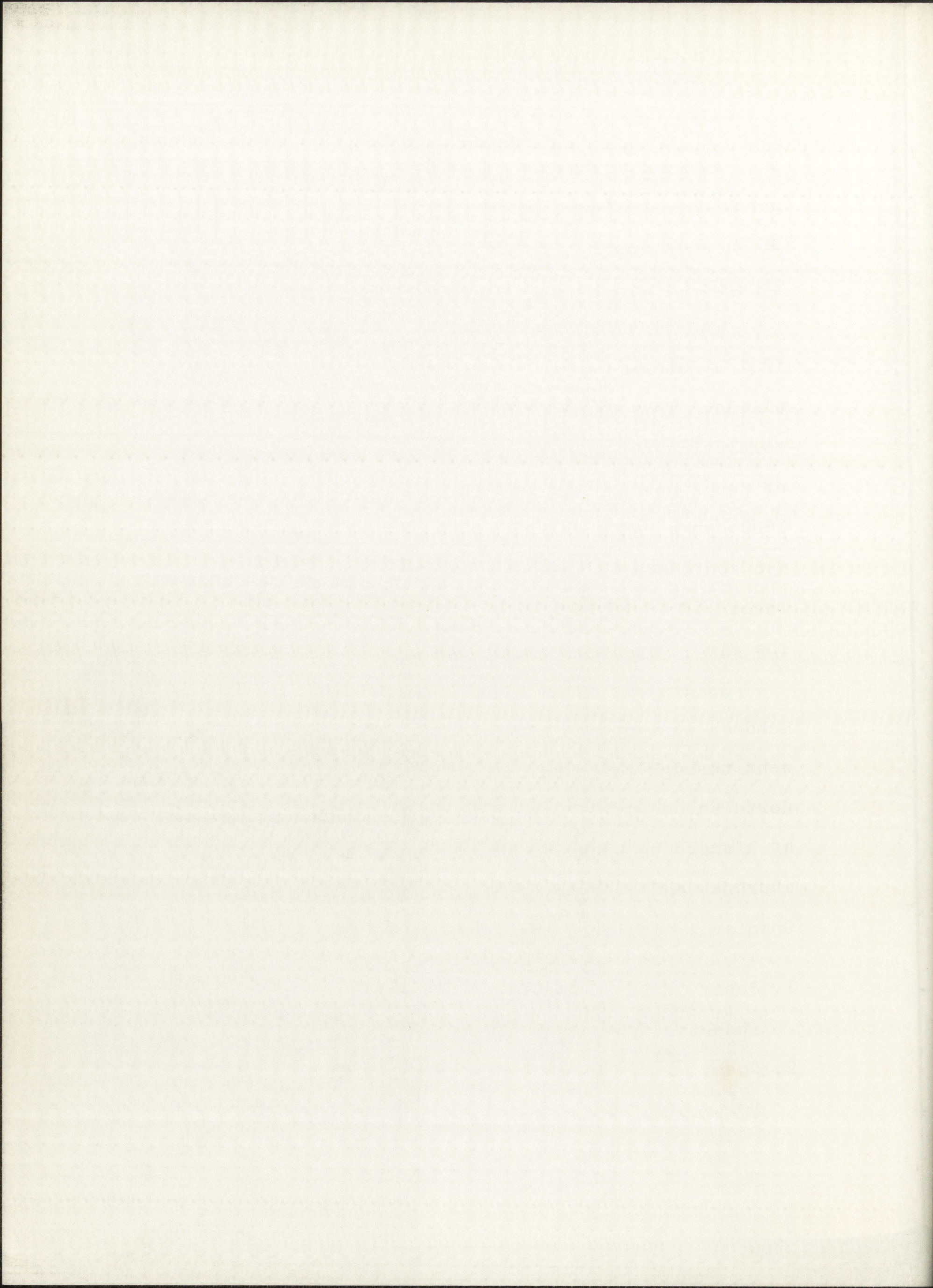
Here the refugees found themselves in a serious plight. They were without supplies, they were ill armed and the Isleta Indians were restless as they were threatened by the revolting pueblos. A council of the principal men among the refugees determined to abandon Isleta. It was left on August 14, the destitute band moving slowly on account of the lack of food and equipment. Nearly a month later at Fray Cristóbal, below Socorro, they were overtaken by Governor Otermín with

the refugees from the siege of Santa Fe.¹ The entire party now continued down the Rio Grande to the vicinity of El Paso where they established the camp of San Lorenzo.

The first of the attempts at reconquest was in 1681 by Otermín with 130 soldiers and a few Indian allies. They passed through the deserted Piro country, completing the destruction of the four pueblos. Some of the Piros had accompanied the Spaniards south in 1680; some had joined the rebellious Indians and others had confederated with the peaceful Indians at Isleta. Those left were exterminated by the rebellious pueblos. The Piro towns were never reoccupied.²

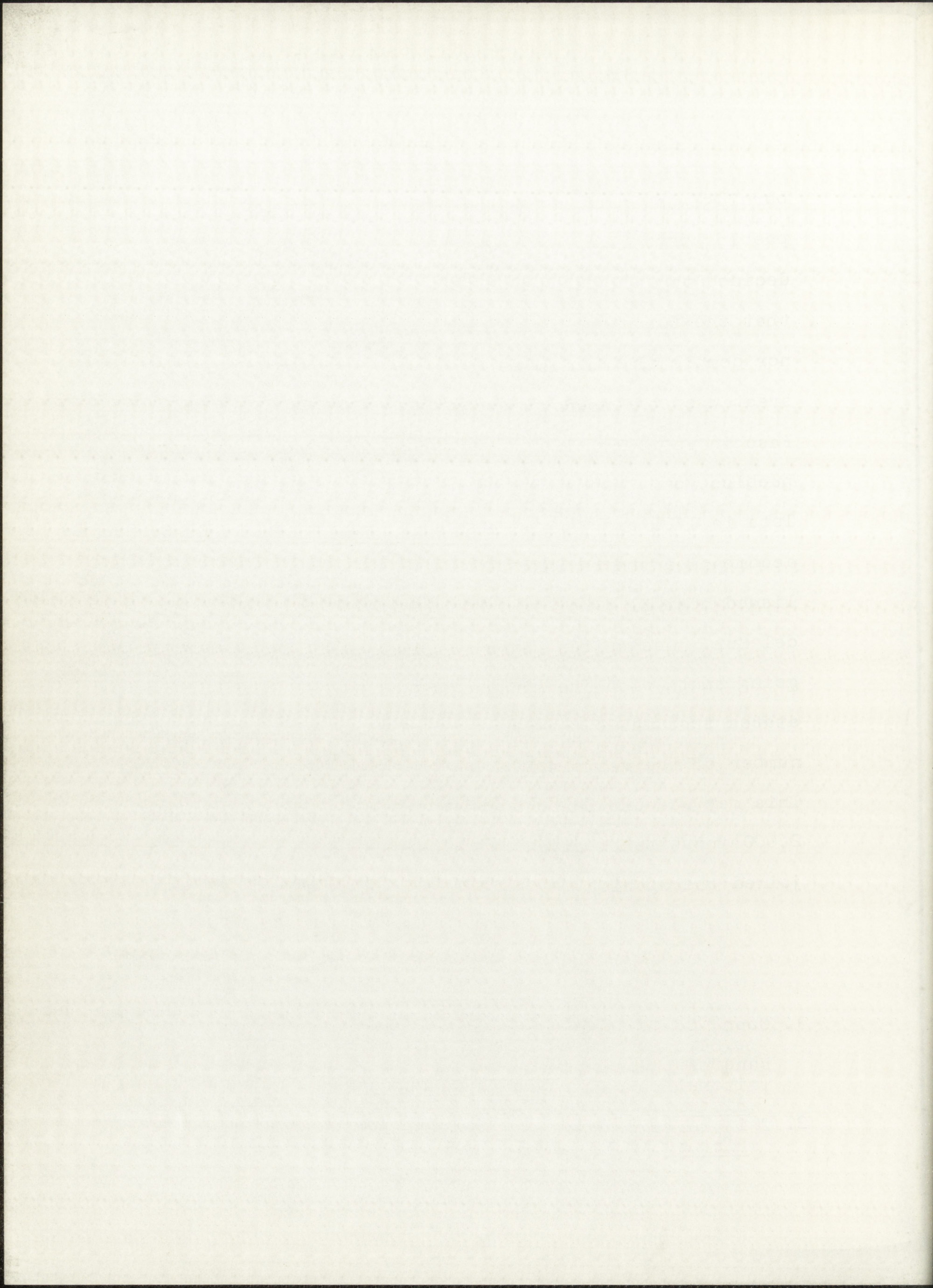
Isleta was taken without opposition and from there Mendoza went up the river to reconnoiter. His party went through the pueblos, all of them abandoned, as far north as Cochití. Here they turned back and were met at Alameda by Otermín. The Pueblos had destroyed the churches and everything Spanish in the villages and the Spaniards completed the destruction by destroying and

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1. Coan, C. F. A Shorter History of New Mexico, v.I, p.78-9.
Hackett, C. W. The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1680, p.127-9.
 2. Coan, C. F. A Shorter History of New Mexico, v.I, p.82.
Twitchell, R. E. Leading Facts of New Mexican History, v.I, p.373.



burning what remained in the Tiguex province. The pueblos beyond were not badly damaged. Otermín now decided to fall back on Isleta. There it was decided that the force could neither hold the province longer nor completely subdue the northern Indians, so the retreat was continued. They reached the vicinity of El Paso in February, 1682. The expedition burned eight pueblos, only two of which were later reoccupied, Isleta in 1709 and Sandía in 1748.¹ The Isleta Indians accompanied the retreating Spaniards and were established near El Paso, the village being known as Isleta del Sur. One writer gives the number of Isleta Indians going south with Otermín as 385 and another reference states that while the Spaniards were at Isleta a large number of the natives fled and joined the hostiles.² This may account for the great difference between the 2,000 inhabitants given by Vetancurt and the 385 who joined the Spanish.

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1. Coan, C. F. A Shorter History of New Mexico, v.I, p.84.
 Bancroft, H. H. Arizona and New Mexico, p.189-90.
 Twitchell, R. E. Leading Facts of New Mexican History, v.I, p.375-6.
 2. Twitchell, R. E. Leading Facts of New Mexican History, v.I, p.375-6.



Before the first De Vargas entrada there were two more minor expeditions against the rebellious pueblos, both starting from the camp of refugees at San Lorenzo. The first of these expeditions was commanded by Pedro de Posada in 1688, the second by Domingo Cruzate in 1689. Both seem to have gotten as far as Zia and after minor engagements returned.¹

The first entrada of De Vargas in 1692 nominally secured the allegiance of all the pueblos and his second in 1693 refounded New Mexico. Accounts of both these entradas fail to mention the state of affairs in Tiguex and for good reason. Tiguex was practically deserted except for occasional moving bands. Its four pueblos were in ruins. The people from Isleta had gone south or joined the hostiles and those from Sandia had migrated westward to the Hopi country.²

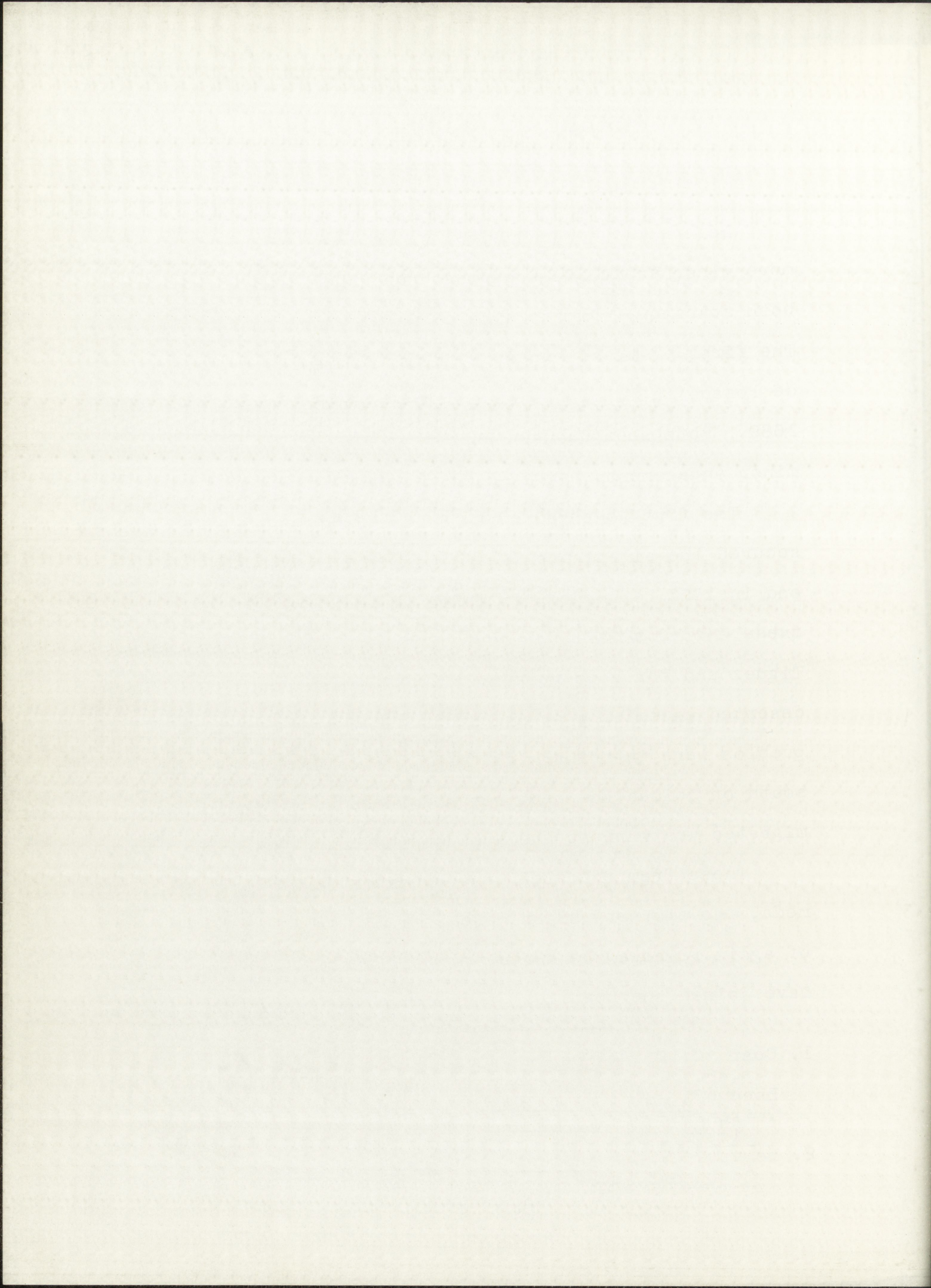
Those from the declining towns of Puaray and Alameda, who did not number more than 500, are not heard of again. There are three possibilities: they may have joined the hostiles; they may have fled to the

1. Coan, C. F. A Shorter History of New Mexico, v.I, p.86.

Bancroft, H. H. Arizona and New Mexico, p.194.

Twitchell, R. E. Leading Facts of New Mexican History, v.1, p.377-79.

2. Hewett, E. L. Ancient Life in the American Southwest, p.89.



Hopi country with the people from Sandía; or they may have later gone south and joined Isleta del Sur.¹

Twitchell refers to Tiguas who returned to Isleta in 1718 from the Hopis, to whom he says the majority of the tribe had fled.² These may well have been both former inhabitants of Isleta and those from Puaray and Alameda.

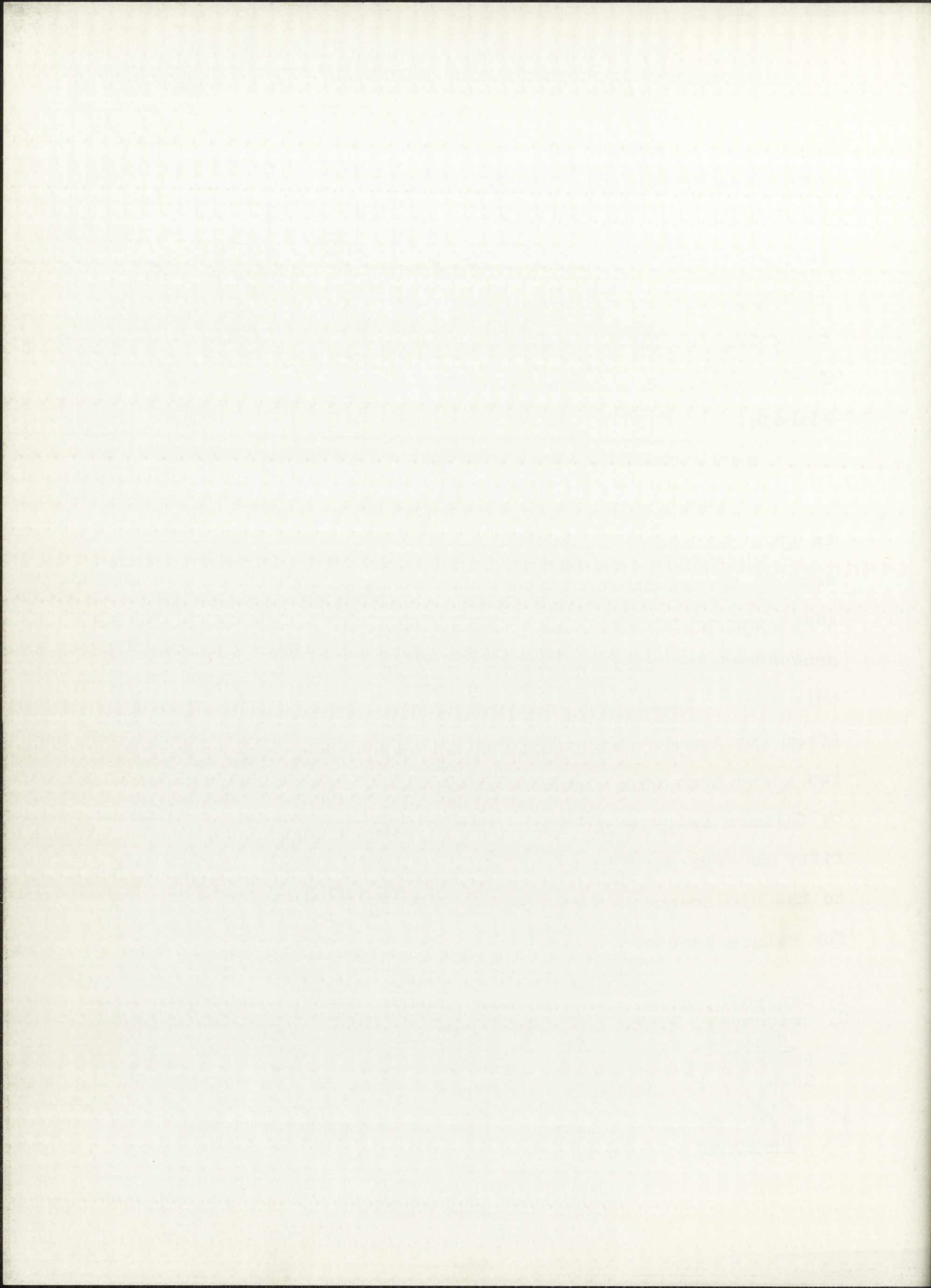
For twenty-nine years Tiguex saw no pueblos. Then in 1709 the custodio, Padre Juan de la Peña, collected some of the scattered Tiguas and refounded Isleta.³ Additions to it continued until it once again became a prosperous and thriving community, which it remains to this day.⁴ Sandía was uninhabited for a longer period. After the Sandía people had been with the Hopi forty-two years they were induced to return to their old home by fathers Delgado and Pino. Some three hundred and fifty to four hundred are reported to have started back to the Rio Grande. Some however must have turned back, for Father Menchero twenty-six years later, 1748, re-

1. Bancroft, H. H. Arizona and New Mexico, p.191.

2. Twitchell, R. E. Leading Facts in New Mexican History, v.I, p.376, note 383.

3. Bancroft, H. H. Arizona and New Mexico, p.230.
Coan, C. F. A Shorter History of New Mexico, v.I, p.84.

4. Hewett, E. L. Ancient Life in the American Southwest, p.90.



ported that he had converted three hundred and fifty of them and had persuaded them to return to Sandía.¹

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1. Hewett, E. L. Ancient Life in the American Southwest, p.89.
Applegate. Sandía the Tragic, (Southwest Review,
v.15, p.314.)
Hodge, F. W. E.A.E., Bull.30, p.429.

CHAPTER III

LOCATION OF THE SITES

In the Tiguex province proper there have been found approximately thirty sites of former pueblos.¹ Many of these were abandoned in pre-Spanish times, fifteen or sixteen were inhabited in 1598, four were in existence in 1680, and as we have seen, two--Isleta and Sandia--today occupy the approximate locations that they did in pre-Spanish times. Within the province there are doubtless other small sites, for the most part of pre-Spanish abandonment, that will in time be added to the already large list or will become entirely obliterated, due to cultivation and erosion.

Below the accepted limits of Coronado's Tiguex was a small cluster of Tigua pueblos as far south as Los Lunas. What may be the first mention of this group is by Castañeda when he speaks of Tutahaco, the pueblo at which Coronado himself reached the Rio Grande.² Bande-

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1. Fisher, R. G. Second Report of the Archaeological Survey of the Pueblo Plateau.
 2. Winship, G. P. The Journey of Coronado, p.42-3.

lier speaks of Tutahaco as near Isleta,¹ adding that evidence for this assertion is not very clear. However, from Castañeda's account it seems evident that Tutahaco must have been farther south than Isleta.

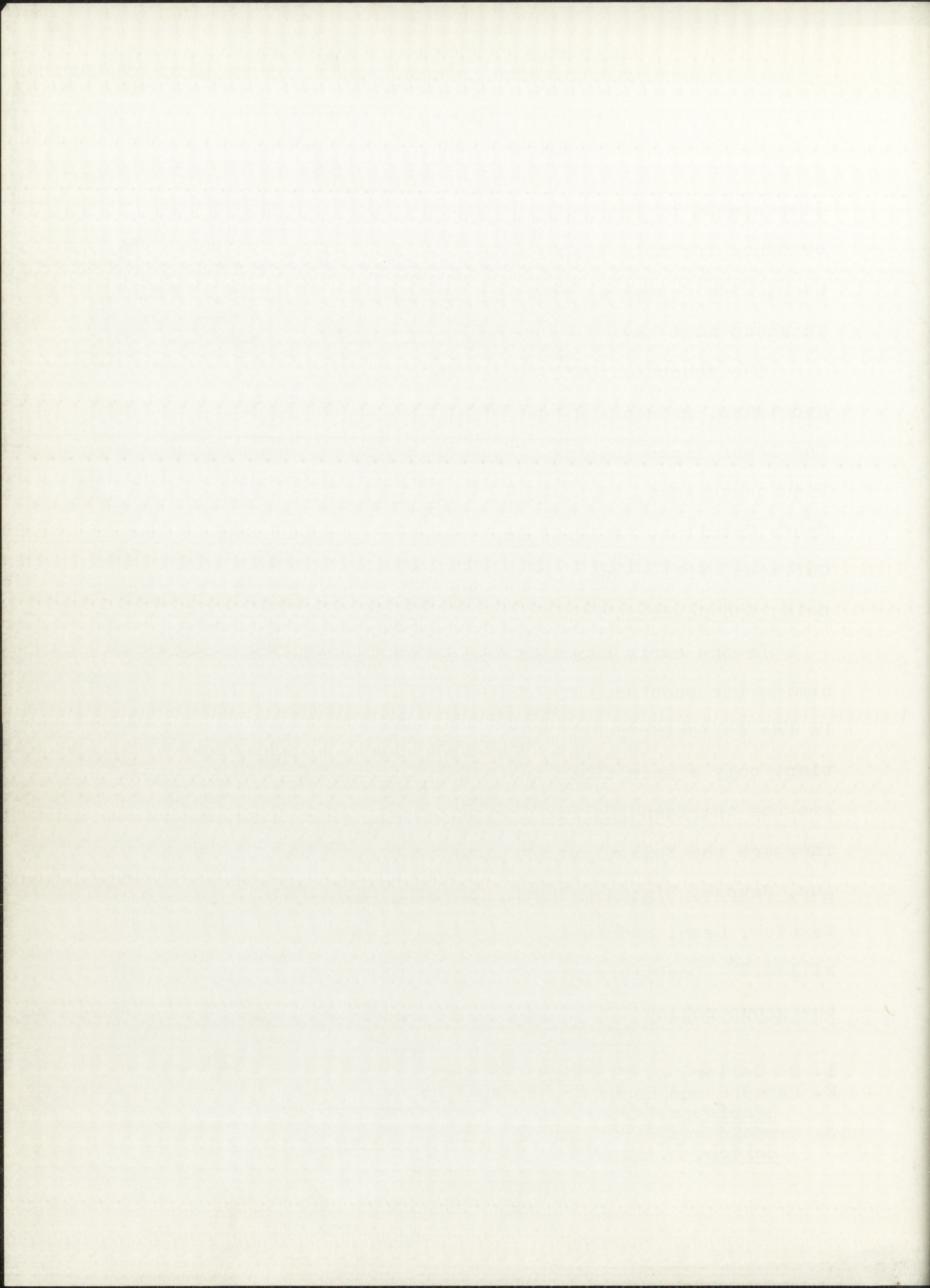
The second expedition to New Mexico, that of Rodríguez, presents a bewildering array of names for the Lower Tigua Pueblos. They are in order: Caxtole, Piquinaguatengo, Mexicalcingo, Tomatlan, Taxumulco, Santa Catalina, San Mattheo, Puaray, San Pedro, Añalco, Culiacan, Villarrasa, La Palma, Zenoala, Nompe, Malpais, and Caseres.²

In the early accounts there is no uniformity in naming the pueblos. The lower Tiguas were to be found in the following pueblos given by the Espejo expedition, only a year after the Rodríguez entrada. "These are the thirteen pueblos where the friars were killed. They are the following: Pogwana, Comise, Achine, Gagua, Gagose, Simassa, Suyte, Nocoche, Hacala, Tiara, Taycios, Casa, and Puala, where the friars had been killed."³ Doubtless some of these pueblos comprised the group called "Los Despoblados" by Espejo when he

1. Bandelier, A. F. Final Report II, p.234.

2. Hammond and Rey. The Gallegos Relation of the Rodríguez Expedition, p.46-7.

3. Hammond and Rey. The Espejo Expedition into New Mexico, p.115.



first entered the Tigua region.¹ Except in the case of Puaray it is impossible to interrelate any of these locations.

The pueblos of the Rodríguez party were given in order as the party moved up the river. The Luxán report of the Espejo expedition gives the list noted above and two other pueblos or groups not noted in the list but given as the party entered the Tigua province. They are Los Despoblados and Los Guajolotes and neither are below Isleta.

Thus of the Tigua pueblos below Isleta we have definite notice only from the Rodríguez entrada of 1581-82. As they play no part in the future of Tigux and are not mentioned again they will be disposed of first.

Between Isleta and Los Lunas there are the sites of four or five pueblos. The first of these named by the Rodríguez party was Caxtole, on the east side of the river opposite the present site of Los Lunas.² This corresponds with one of the archaeological sites. About a mile north of the center of Los Lunas on the east side of the river are the remains of a former

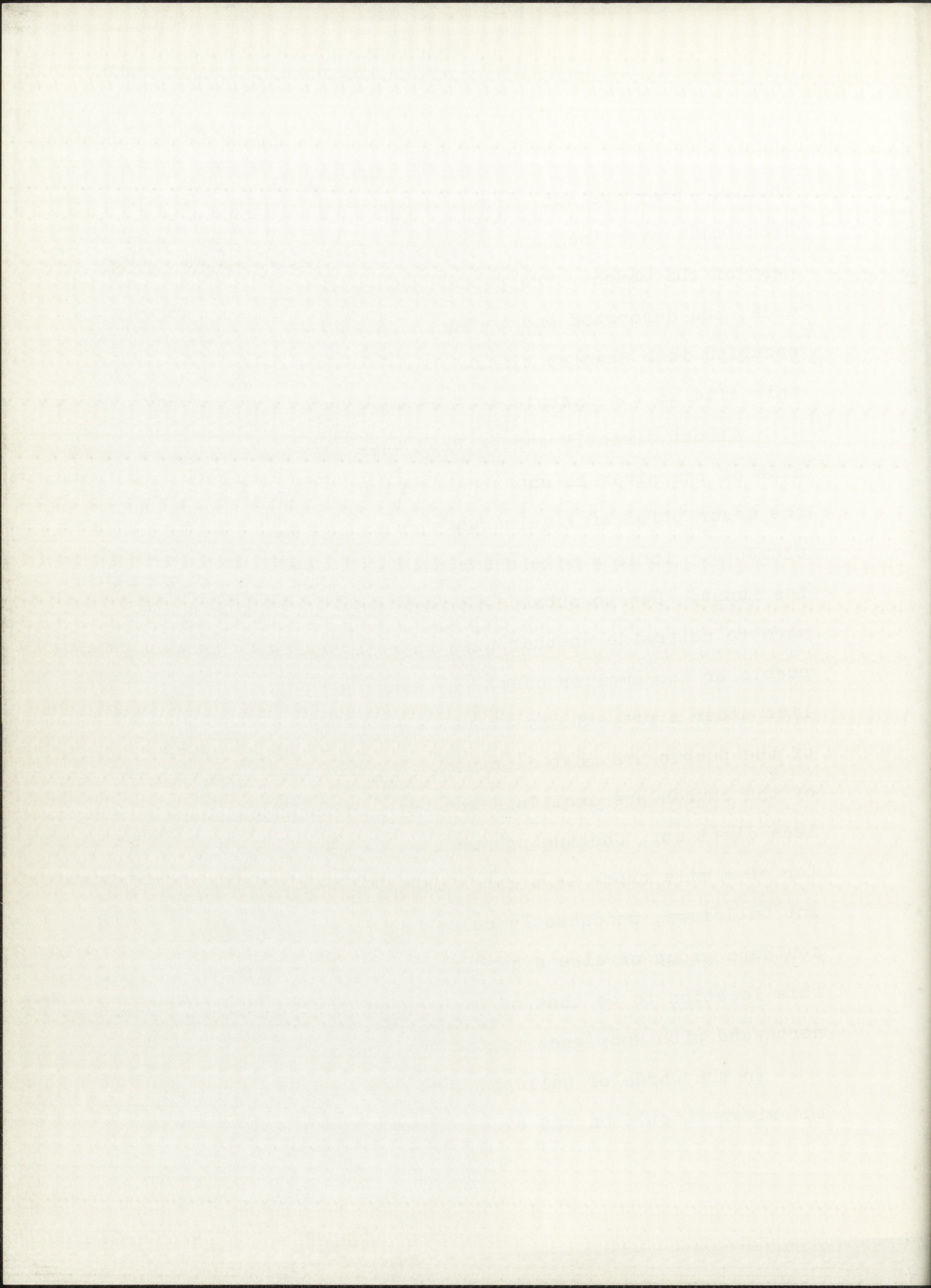
1. Hammond and Rey. The Espejo Expedition into New Mexico, p.79.

2. Mecham, J. L. The Second Spanish Expedition into New Mexico, p.276.

pueblo. They are not conspicuous because a church has been built over them and the cemetery also occupies part of the mound. The pottery is plentiful, well made, and decorated and indicates that the site was occupied into Spanish times. We will then designate this site as the Caxtole of Rodríguez.

Almost directly across from this site on the west side of the river is another location which well fits the description of Piquinaguatengo or the later San Clemente. It is a mile and a half north of the present Los Lunas. Due to subsequent buildings there, it is hard to determine whether this site is one very large pueblo or two smaller ones. The most southerly portion lies under a present day church and here the evidences of the pueblo are most distinct. To the north and east of the church are dwellings and here the evidences are less distinct. Continuing north approximately a quarter of a mile there is a large mound, also under present buildings, undoubtedly belonging to the more southern group or else a separate pueblo. Considering this location to be that of Piquinaguatengo, we move northward with Rodríguez to the next pueblo.

In the words of Gallegos, "On the opposite bank of the river (east), on the side of the Sierra Morena,



there is another pueblo of forty houses two stories high. It was named Mexicalcingo."¹ This site is to be found today in the village of Peralta. It lies on the north side of the present church there and like the other locations has been covered by subsequent buildings. Yet the extent of the shards and mounds indicates that it was once a fairly large pueblo. The pottery is much the same as the above mentioned locations.

Up the river we find two more pueblos named by Rodríguez, Tomatlan and Taxumulco, one of which, Taxumulco, is identified with the present Isleta.² The pueblo Tomatlan was on the east bank of the river fronting Taxumulco or Isleta.

Directly across from Isleta the sand hills run down directly to the river, forming a low bluff there. Here there are no traces whatsoever of a pueblo. Just south of Isleta, still across the river, the mesa recedes and there is considerable bottom land. No definite traces of the pueblo Tomatlan can be found in this area, as the greater part of it is under cultivation.

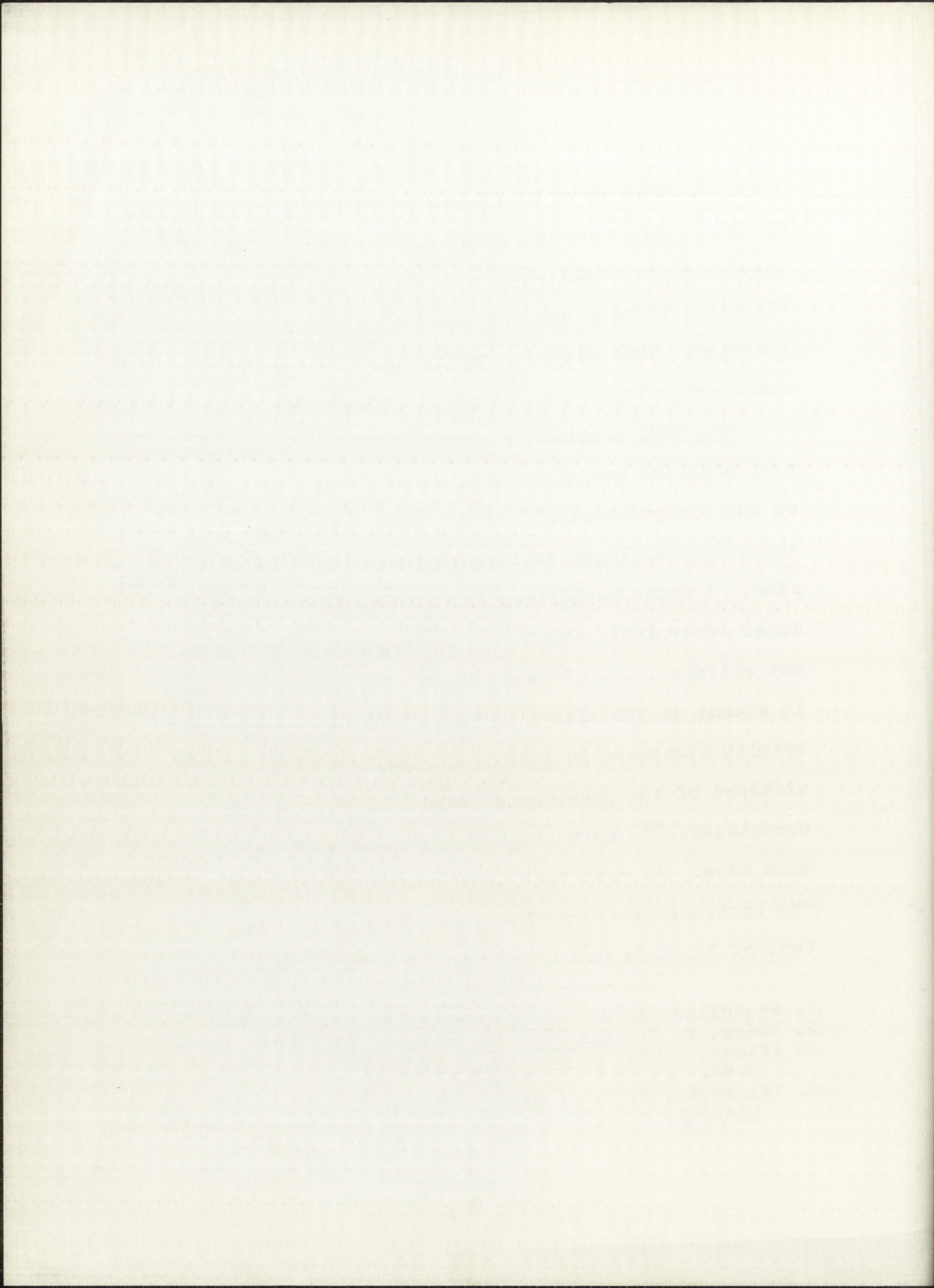
1. Hammond and Rey. The Gallegos Relation of the Rodríguez Expedition, p.46.

2. Mecham, J. L. The Second Spanish Expedition into New Mexico, p.276.

However, about half to three quarters of a mile south of Isleta one can find occasional shards in the cultivated fields. This would indicate a small site in the vicinity, perhaps one part of the two divisions of Tomatlan. This disposes of the group below Isleta, mentioned only in the entrada of Rodríguez.

The next problem is that of Isleta. It is generally accepted now that the present Isleta is located on the old pre-historic site. Archaeological evidence shows that at least it is situated on some pre-historic site. I quote Bandelier, "Old Isleta, the one abandoned after 1681, stood very near the site of the present village . . . ,"¹ and Hodge, "According to Lummis it stands on the site it occupied at the time of the Spanish discovery in 1540, when it formed one of the villages of the province of Tiguex of Coronado's Chroniclers."² Both Prince³ and Twitchell⁴ support this view. So much for the viewpoint of historians. The archaeological remains point equally as well to the fact of Isleta's occupying the old site. In the vicin-

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1. Bandelier, A. F. Final Report II, p.234.
 2. Hodge, F. W. Handbook of American Indians I, p.622.
 3. Prince, L. B. A Concise History of New Mexico, p.82.
 4. Twitchell, R. E. Leading Facts of New Mexican History, v.I, p.364, note 373.



ity of Isleta there are no sites of former villages except those on and about the foot of the Mesa de Los Padillas. None of these are large enough to have been the original Isleta, though their inhabitants, if any at the time, were probably consolidated there after the founding of the mission. In the southern and western portion of the present Isleta are ancient refuse heaps, now partly covered by buildings and corrals, where the ancient glazed pottery may still be found.¹

It would seem, from these considerations and the fact that there are no large ruins elsewhere in the vicinity, that Isleta occupies the site of Rodríguez's Taxumulco and perhaps one of the "Los Despoblados" of Espejo. To this site came inhabitants of one or more of the small clusters about the Mesa de Los Padillas and also some of the Tiguas from the Manzanos,² so that by 1680 it had grown to be a large and important community.

The name Isleta is not mentioned before 1629. In that year it is noted in connection with the mission

1. Fisher, R. G. Second Report of the Archaeological Survey of the Pueblo Plateau.

2. Bandelier, A. F. Final Report II, p.234.

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there, but nothing was said of the location.¹ From that time on it was a well known pueblo. The one difficulty in locating the early Isleta appears in this period up to 1680. One report states that Isleta was located where a small stream with the Rio Grande inclosed a small tract with seven Spanish ranches.² Other chroniclers refer to the small stream as a mountain torrent.³ This is very puzzling. Nowhere along the Rio Grande except in one place does it appear that a stream of any size has reached the Rio Grande. This is the Tijeras arroyo, about seven miles north of Isleta on the east side. There are no indications whatsoever of a former pueblo in this vicinity. In the Manzano range, to the east, there are no large canyons from which could issue a stream large enough to be of consequence after crossing ten to twelve miles of dry mesa. Moving the site slightly up or down the valley would not help matters. To the west the prospects for a stream or torrent are even poorer. Here there is only a low desert divide. Perhaps this stream or tor-

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1. Twitchell, R. E. Leading Facts of New Mexican History, v.I, p.267, note 283.
Bandelier, A. F. Final Report II, p.233.
 2. Bancroft, H. H. Arizona and New Mexico, p.172, note 71.
 3. Hodge, F. W. Handbook of American Indians I, p.622.

There is a small stream
about a mile or so
from the house. It is
called the Little
Creek. It is a very
small stream, but it
is very clear. The
water is very pure
and the banks are
very green. There
are many trees and
shrubs along the
banks. The stream
is very beautiful
and it is a very
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rent was a large arroyo flowing only a part of the year or even a division of the Rio Grande itself. For the year 1681, Hackett, translating newly found documents on the Otermín attempt at reconquest, makes out an irrefutable case for the location of Isleta on the west bank at the present site.¹ There is no mention in this of any stream other than the Rio Grande.

North of Isleta in the region of the present Padillas is a cluster of three pueblo ruins known to the Archaeological Survey as sites two, three, and twenty-eight.² Site two is located on the Mesa de los Padillas. It is now reduced to a low mound, covered with basalt building blocks and shards. From the quantity and type they indicate a historical ruin. This site is known to the Isleta Indians as Pure Tu-ay³ and is identified by Mecham as the Los Guajolotes of the Espejo expedition.⁴ In the words of Luxán, chronicler of the Espejo expedition, this does not seem possible. "We named this place Los Guajolotes. We left this

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1. Hackett, C. W. The Location of the Tigua Pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandía, p.388-91.
 2. Fisher, R. G. Second Report of the Archaeological Survey of the Pueblo Plateau.
 3. Bandelier, A. F. Final Report II, p.232.
 4. Mecham, J. L. The Second Spanish Expedition into New Mexico, p.79-80. & P. 276

place on the seventeenth of the month and marched two leagues. Within one league we found thirteen large settlements. We stopped by the said river close to the pueblo of Puala (Puaray), where they had murdered Fray Agustín and his companion and the servants who had remained with him."¹ Thus by Luxán's word Los Guajolotes was about two leagues south of the cluster of Tigua pueblos in the Alameda-Bernalillo region. The ruin on the Mesa de los Padillas would fall approximately twelve miles, or four and a half leagues too far south to meet the requirements. Mecham erred through following Bandelier's statement that there were no ruins between the Mesa de los Padillas and Albuquerque.² As will be seen, there is a site which well fits the description of Los Guajolotes.

On a low knoll about a mile and a half north of the Mesa de los Padillas and a mile west of the settlement of Padillas are the ruins of site number three.³ Site number twenty-eight is on the valley floor about two miles north of Padillas. It is covered by sub-

1. Hammond and Rey. The Espejo Expedition into New Mexico, p.79-80.

2. Bandelier, A. F. Final Report II, p.231.

3. Fisher, R. G. Second Report of the Archaeological Survey of the Pueblo Plateau.

sequent Mexican buildings. These two sites, with perhaps that on the Mesa de los Padillas, are those mentioned by Luxán of the Espejo expedition as being below Los Guajolotes which, will be seen, was farther north.

"We traveled four leagues and stopped between two pueblos whose people had fled to the sierra. We named this place Los Despoblados because we found them deserted, as well as another pueblo situated along the way. We set out from this place on the sixteenth of the month and marched five leagues. We found on the way a pueblo of the ones that had taken part in the murder of the friars (Tiguas). We stopped at the said river near a pueblo of the same league. . . . We named this place Los Guajolotes."

Isleta, as noted, was not singled out by the Espejo Expedition. It was one of these "Los Despoblados." The ruin on the Mesa de los Padillas becomes the other of the "Despoblados" and either site three or twenty-eight is the other pueblo visited on the way to Los Guajolotes. This cluster north of Isleta is not identified in the Rodríguez expedition of the year before, and neither can it be identified in later accounts.

Continuing northward we encounter two more sites on the west side of the river. The first of these is site four of the Archaeological Survey² and is undoubt-

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1. Hammond and Rey. The Espejo Expedition into New Mexico, p.79.
 2. Fisher, R. G. Second Report of the Archaeological Survey of the Pueblo Plateau.

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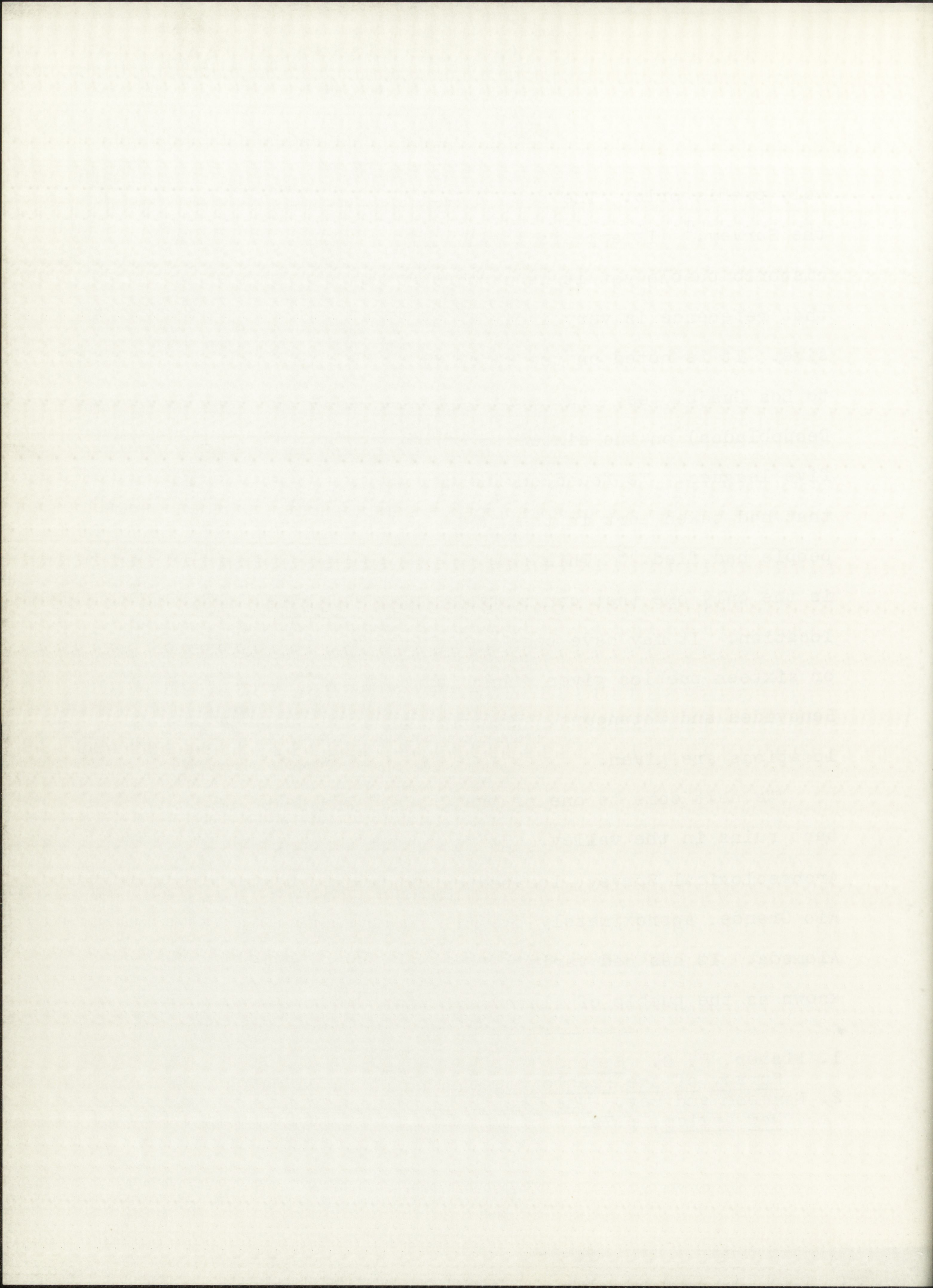
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edly prehistoric. The second is known as site five of the Survey.¹ It appears to all indications to be a historic pueblo yet it is mentioned only by Espejo and that reference is very indirect and not at all conclusive. It is noted on the march from Los Despoblados to Los Guajolotes. "We set out from this place (Los Despoblados) on the sixteenth of the month and marched five leagues. We found on the way a pueblo of the ones that had taken part in the murder of the friars. The people had fled."² This brief reference and no other is the only one that can be found to a pueblo in this location. It may have been among the group of fifteen or sixteen pueblos given among later reports such as Benavides and Vetancurt. However, in these reports, few locations are given.

We next come to one of the largest and most important ruins in the valley. It is number seven of the Archaeological Survey, located on the west bank of the Rio Grande, approximately two miles below the town of Alameda. It has had various names and is probably best known as the pueblo of Alameda of 1680.

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1. Fisher, R. G. Second Report of the Archaeological Survey of the Pueblo Plateau.
 2. Hammond and Key. The Espejo Expedition into New Mexico, p.79.



It was undoubtedly one of the twelve Tiguex pueblos of Coronado, though it was not definitely named or located by that expedition. The second Spanish expedition, that of Rodríguez, called it Santa Catalina. "Up the river, above the pueblo of Taxumulco (Isleta), there was discovered another pueblo containing one hundred houses of two and three stories. It was named Santa Catalina. Up the opposite side of the river, toward the Sierra Morena, another pueblo containing fifty two-story houses was found."¹ This description fits site seven better than it does any other. It is above Isleta on the same side of the river, and slightly above it are the first historic sites on the opposite (east) side. To the third Spanish expedition, that of Espejo, this was the pueblo of Los Guajolotes. It can be very definitely located from the Luxán account of that entrada. "We set out from this place (Los Despoblados, in the vicinity of Isleta) on the sixteenth of the month and marched five leagues. . . . We stopped at the said river near a pueblo of the same league as those that had fled. . . . We named this place Los Guajolotes. We left this place

1. Hammond and Rey. The Gallegos Relation of the Rodríguez Expedition to New Mexico, p.46.

on the seventeenth of the month and marched two leagues. Within one league we found thirteen large settlements."¹

Going northward from the Mesa de los Padillas we find that five leagues brings us to this site number seven without more than a half a league error. Continuing on two leagues we find that we are in the heart of the most thickly populated region, the Puaray group. So considering the location from the distances both north and south, we are certain that site seven, the Santa Catalina of 1580, is the Los Guajolotes of 1581, later to be Alameda in 1680.

In 1680 Alameda was one of the four remaining southern Tigua pueblos.² In 1681 it was visited by Otermín in his attempt at reconquest. Destroyed at this time, it was never rebuilt. From Otermín's account we are able to add proof of Alameda's being here at site seven.

After Otermín had captured Isleta, which we have seen was on the west side of the river, he sent Mendoza northward with a small party of men. They first stopped at Mendoza's own hacienda, three leagues below

1. Hammond and Rey, The Espejo Expedition into New Mexico, p.79-80.

2. Bancroft, H. H. Arizona and New Mexico, p.188.

Alameda in the jurisdiction of Atrisco. Atrisco is on the west side of the river. Here they remained overnight and the next morning went to Alameda where only two old Indians were found. From Alameda they saw signal smokes in the vicinity of Puaray. Presently a mounted Indian appeared across the river and asked the chaplain and five companions to join him. This obliged them to cross the river but while they were doing so the Indian fled and the Spaniards, once across, continued on to Puaray. Hence it would appear that Alameda was on the same side of the river as Isleta as no mention is made of their having crossed the river to reach Alameda, while the positive statement is made that to reach Puaray from Alameda it was necessary to cross the river.

Otermín followed Mendoza shortly with the wagon train. The wagons were in Isleta. They proceeded upriver to the Estancia of Juan Domínguez and thence to Alameda. No mention of crossing the river is made. The distance given was seven and a half leagues from Isleta to Alameda. In an air line this is an error of only about one mile. Otermín set fire to Alameda and with the loaded wagons forded the river on the way to Puaray. The place where they landed after crossing the

The first of these is the fact that the river is not a straight line, but a series of curves. This is due to the fact that the river has been cut by the action of the wind and the waves. The second is the fact that the river is not a single line, but a series of lines. This is due to the fact that the river has been cut by the action of the wind and the waves. The third is the fact that the river is not a single line, but a series of lines. This is due to the fact that the river has been cut by the action of the wind and the waves. The fourth is the fact that the river is not a single line, but a series of lines. This is due to the fact that the river has been cut by the action of the wind and the waves. The fifth is the fact that the river is not a single line, but a series of lines. This is due to the fact that the river has been cut by the action of the wind and the waves. The sixth is the fact that the river is not a single line, but a series of lines. This is due to the fact that the river has been cut by the action of the wind and the waves. The seventh is the fact that the river is not a single line, but a series of lines. This is due to the fact that the river has been cut by the action of the wind and the waves. The eighth is the fact that the river is not a single line, but a series of lines. This is due to the fact that the river has been cut by the action of the wind and the waves. The ninth is the fact that the river is not a single line, but a series of lines. This is due to the fact that the river has been cut by the action of the wind and the waves. The tenth is the fact that the river is not a single line, but a series of lines. This is due to the fact that the river has been cut by the action of the wind and the waves.

river was described as being opposite the pueblo of Alameda and one league from Puaray.¹

The one seeming misstatement made in connection with Alameda and Puaray is that the Indian whom Mendoza talked to was on the hills opposite Alameda. What surely must have been meant was that the Indian was not on the hills but on the opposite river bank. The hills across from the Alameda side of the river are three miles distant. Farther upstream this distance narrows to three quarters of a mile. This is still too great a distance for carrying on a conversation and the chronicler must have meant that Mendoza and the Indian carried on their conversation from one bank of the river to the other. In some places even this would have been difficult.

Having established that site seven on the west bank of the river approximately two miles below Alameda was the Santa Catalina of 1580, the Los Guajolotes of 1581, and the Alameda of 1680, we continue a short distance northward to two minor sites, thirty-six and nine.²

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1. Hackett, C. W. The Location of the Tigua Pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia, p. 383-8
 2. Fisher, R. G. Second Report of the Archaeological Survey of the Pueblo Plateau.

Both these sites are a short distance south of the bridge at Alameda. The southernmost, thirty-six, is now covered by the ruin of a Spanish hacienda and the other, number nine, is reduced to a low mound. Both were perhaps pre-historic or were reduced shortly after the coming of the Spaniards. At any rate, they do not figure in the history of the province. From here we cross the river to two of the most important sites in the province, Puaray and Sandía.

Of Puaray Bandelier rightly said, "The correct location of Puaray is not devoid of importance since it is not only an historical pueblo in the general sense, but a site around which cluster historical reminiscences of an almost romantic character."¹ However, in the light of research subsequent to his writing, he was in error in his location of it.

That Puaray existed in 1540 we may safely assume, though its name is not recorded from that time. However, as we have seen in the historical resume, it is conspicuous in 1580. It was here or in the close vicinity that Padres López and Rodríguez were killed after the return of the soldiers to Santa Bárbara. The next year it was visited by Espejo, who found on the

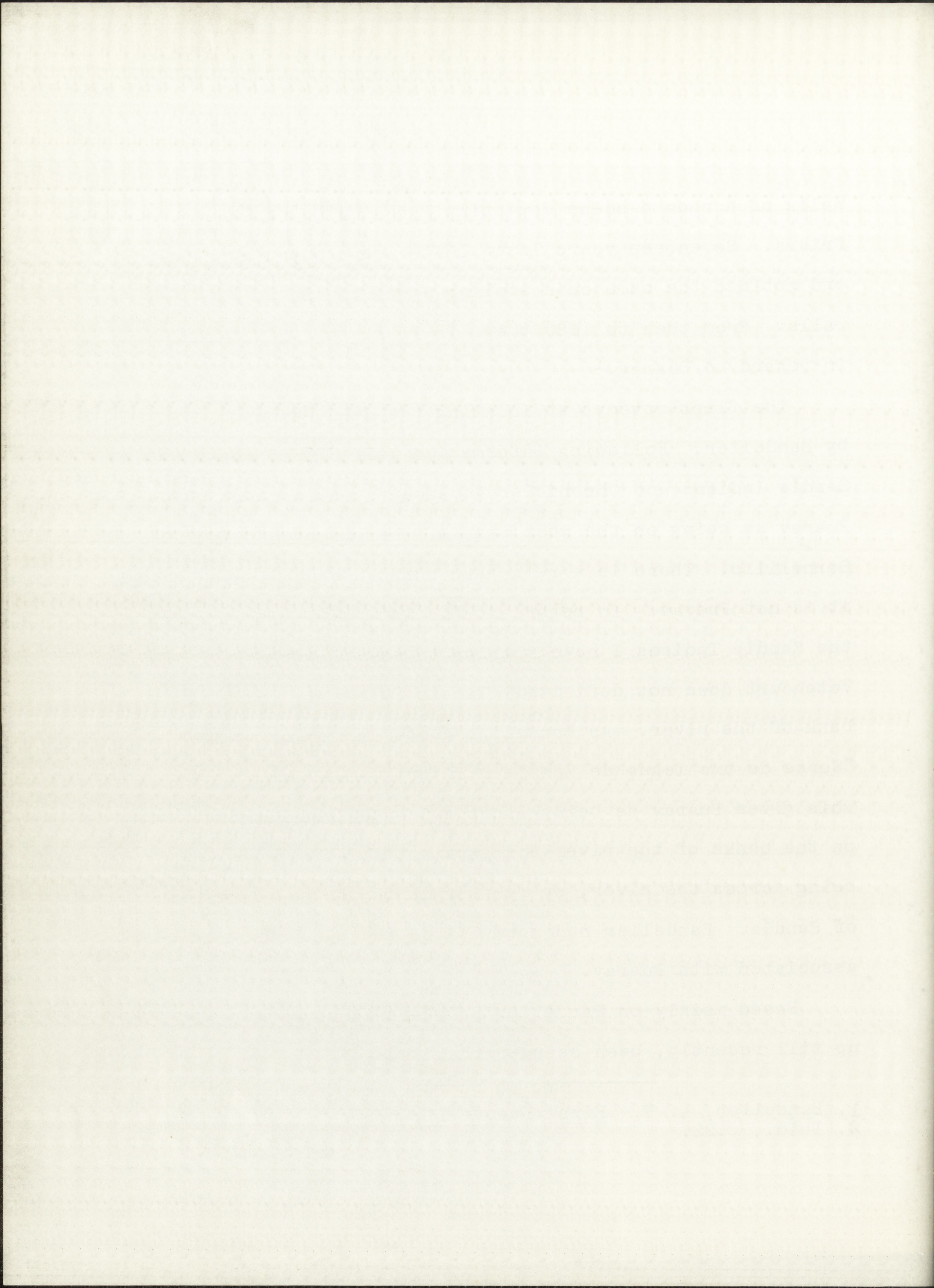
1. Bandelier, A. F. Final Report II, p.227.

walls of a room a scene depicting the killing of the friars. Seventeen years later Oñate too stopped here and noticed the same or a similar scene on one of the walls. From then to 1680 there is little of importance in regard to Puaray.¹

The first attempt at locating the site was made by Bandelier. Following information gained from the Sandía Indians and Chronicler Vetancurt, he locates Puaray as being on the west bank of the river opposite Bernalillo. There is a ruin here but as we shall see it is not Puaray. In regard to the information from the Sandía Indians I have nothing to say. However, Vetancurt does not definitely locate Puaray on the west bank of the river. As Bandelier quotes him, Puaray is "Cerca de una legua de Zandia a la orilla del rio."² This gives Puaray as being about a league from Sandía on the banks of the river and says nothing about its being across the river, or whether it is north or south of Sandía. Bandelier had not visited the site now associated with Puaray.

Based mainly on Bandelier's interpretation it has, up till recently, been assumed that Puaray was the

1. Bandelier, A. F. Final Report II, p.228-30.
2. Ibid., p.22.



northernmost of the four southern Tigua Pueblos in 1680. The Spanish chronicler, Vetancurt, in his Crónica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico, in attempting to locate the existing pueblos in 1680, makes a bunglesome job in regard to Puaray. In naming the pueblos along the Rio Grande in a south to north direction each pueblo is located with reference to the one nearest it to the south. He locates Alameda eight leagues above Isleta. After Alameda, the next pueblo he mentions is Puaray, which would be correct. However, he does not locate it with reference to Alameda, but says that it is "about a league from Sandía on the bank of the river."¹

The supposition that he meant to say that Puaray was one league above Alameda is strengthened by his statement concerning Sandía. Sandía, he locates as being one league above Puaray.² This seems rather senseless, to locate Puaray one league from Sandía, and Sandía one league from Puaray. It would fit the archaeological facts better to have Puaray one league above Alameda and then Sandía one league above Puaray.

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1. Bandelier, A. F. Final Report II, p.227.
Bancroft, H. H. Arizona and New Mexico, p.172.
 2. Hackett, C. W. The Location of the Tigua Pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandía, p.381, note 2.
Bancroft, H. H. Arizona and New Mexico, p.172.

Returning to the expeditions that visited Puaray after Coronado, we find that the Rodríguez expedition gives the next pueblo above Alameda and on the east bank of the river as being San Mattheo. Then the chronicler Gallegos continues, "Likewise, above the pueblo of San Mattheo, another pueblo of one hundred and twenty-three houses of two and three stories was encountered. It was named Puaray."¹ Of Puaray, Luxán, with Espejo a year later, says only, "Within one league we found thirteen large settlements. We stopped by the said river close to the pueblo of Paula . . . The pueblo of Paula has four hundred houses, most of them two stories high."²

In subsequent annals there is nothing helpful to the location of Puaray until, as already noted, Vetancurt's chronicles for the year 1680, and the very valuable documentary results of Otermín's entrada of 1681.

On the east bank of the river in the area between the ruined pueblo of Alameda and the vicinity of the present Sandía there are the ruins of three large pueblos. The first of these is on the site of the present

1. Hammond and Rey. The Rodríguez Expedition to New Mexico, p.46.

2. Hammond and Rey. The Espejo Expedition into New Mexico, p.80.

village of Alameda. It is known as site ten of the Archaeological Survey.¹ Very little now remains. The only evidences of its once being an important site are the shards to be found in what is now an alfalfa field. In location it is about a league north of the pueblo Alameda.

Not quite a league north of here is another ruined site, number thirteen of the Survey.² Most of it is in a fair state of preservation; the main mound is approximately six feet high and is quite extensive, considering the location in a cultivated area. Shards are plentiful in the fields bordering the mounds, indicating that they were formerly much more extensive than at present. In addition to this the back part of the site is right at the mouth of a large arroyo and any indications of buildings there would have long been silted over. Considering all aspects of the site, it appears that this was once a large and important pueblo. The site is rich in pottery indicating a post-Spanish abandonment. Furthermore, there have been recovered a few shards of undoubted Mexican manufacture, such as the olive oil or wine jug coated on the inside with a green

1. Fisher, R. G. Second Report of the Archaeological Survey of the Pueblo Plateau.

2. Ibid.

glaze. Two pieces of ironwork that may possibly be of Spanish manufacture were also recovered on the surface. However, they have not been definitely identified. It is my intention to show that this site was the Puaray of Rodríguez and continued as Puaray down to 1681, when it was destroyed.

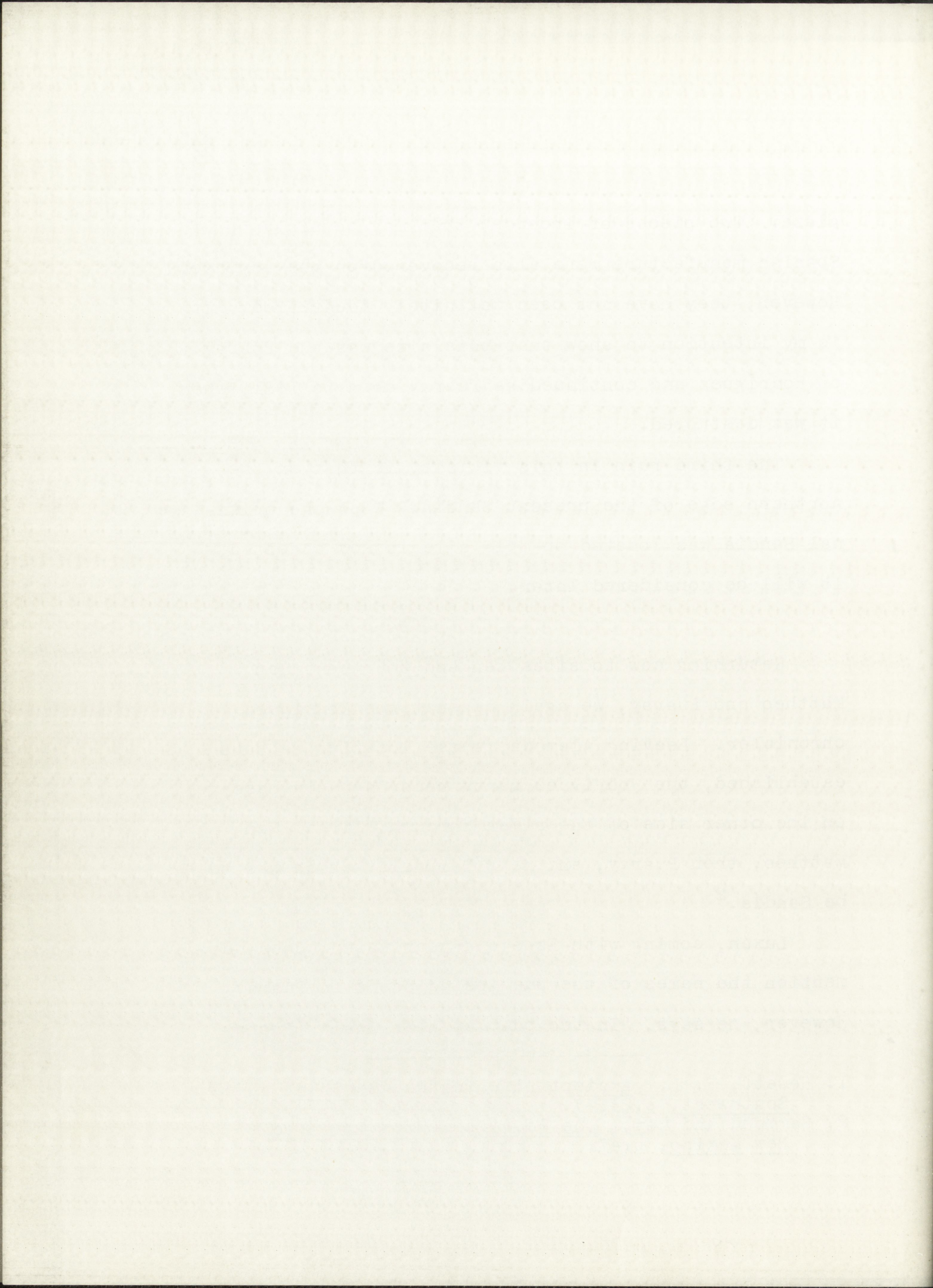
The third ruin in this vicinity is that on the northern edge of the present Sandía. That the original Sandía was located on this site is now accepted.¹ It will be considered later.

Returning now to sites ten and thirteen, San Mattheo and Puaray, we again consult the Rodríguez chronicler. Leaving Alameda, whose location we have established, the Rodríguez party records their passage, on the other side of the river through, first, San Mattheo, then Puaray, and next Sempoala, which was to be Sandía.²

Luxán, coming with Espejo a year later, does not mention the names of the pueblos adjacent to Puaray. However, he says, "In two pueblos near Puala (Puaray)

1. Hewett, E. L. Ancient Life in the American Southwest, p.246-7.

2. Hammond and Rey. The Rodríguez Expedition to New Mexico, p.47.

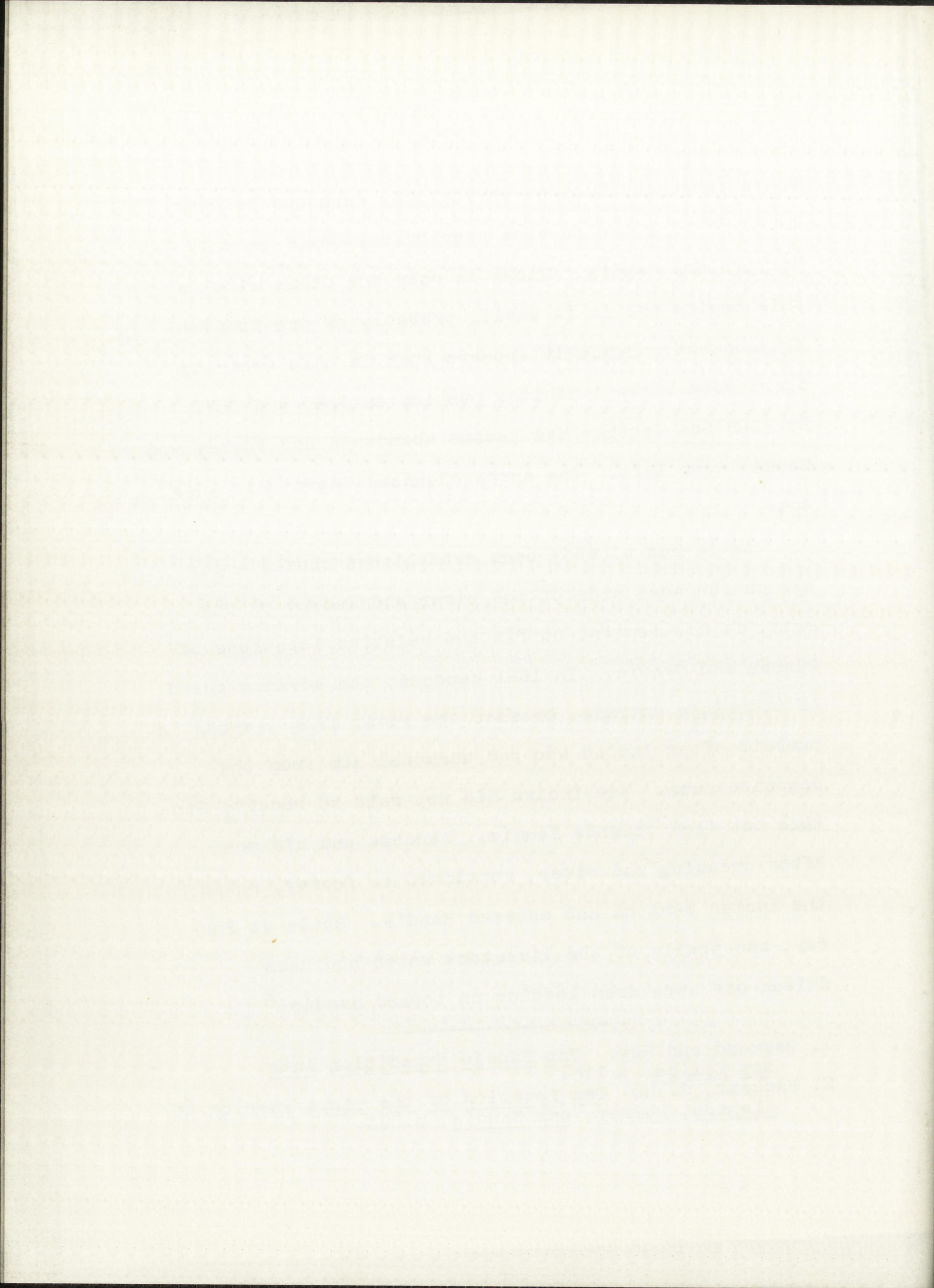


there were many Indians saying they were our friends . . . "1 The two pueblos near Puaray could be only San Mattheo and Sandía. There is only one other site in this region and it is small, probably of pre-Spanish abandonment. Hence it appears that in this vicinity there were three inhabited pueblos in 1580 and 1581. By 1680 San Mattheo had become abandoned and Puaray and Sandía were left. The archaeological facts bear this out.

As it has already been established that Alameda was on the west side of the river and Puaray on the east, it now remains to fix the relative locations of Puaray and Sandía. In 1681 Mendoza, the advance guard of Otermín's entrada, crossed the river from Alameda in pursuit of an Indian who had summoned him from the opposite bank. The Indian did not wait to receive Mendoza but fled towards Sandía. Mendoza and his men, after crossing the river, continued to Puaray, while the Indian went on and entered Sandía. While at Puaray, the trails of the livestock which had been driven off were seen leading on toward Sandía.²

1. Hammond and Rey. The Espejo Expedition into New Mexico, p.116.

2. Hackett, C. W. The Location of the Tigua Pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandía, p.385.

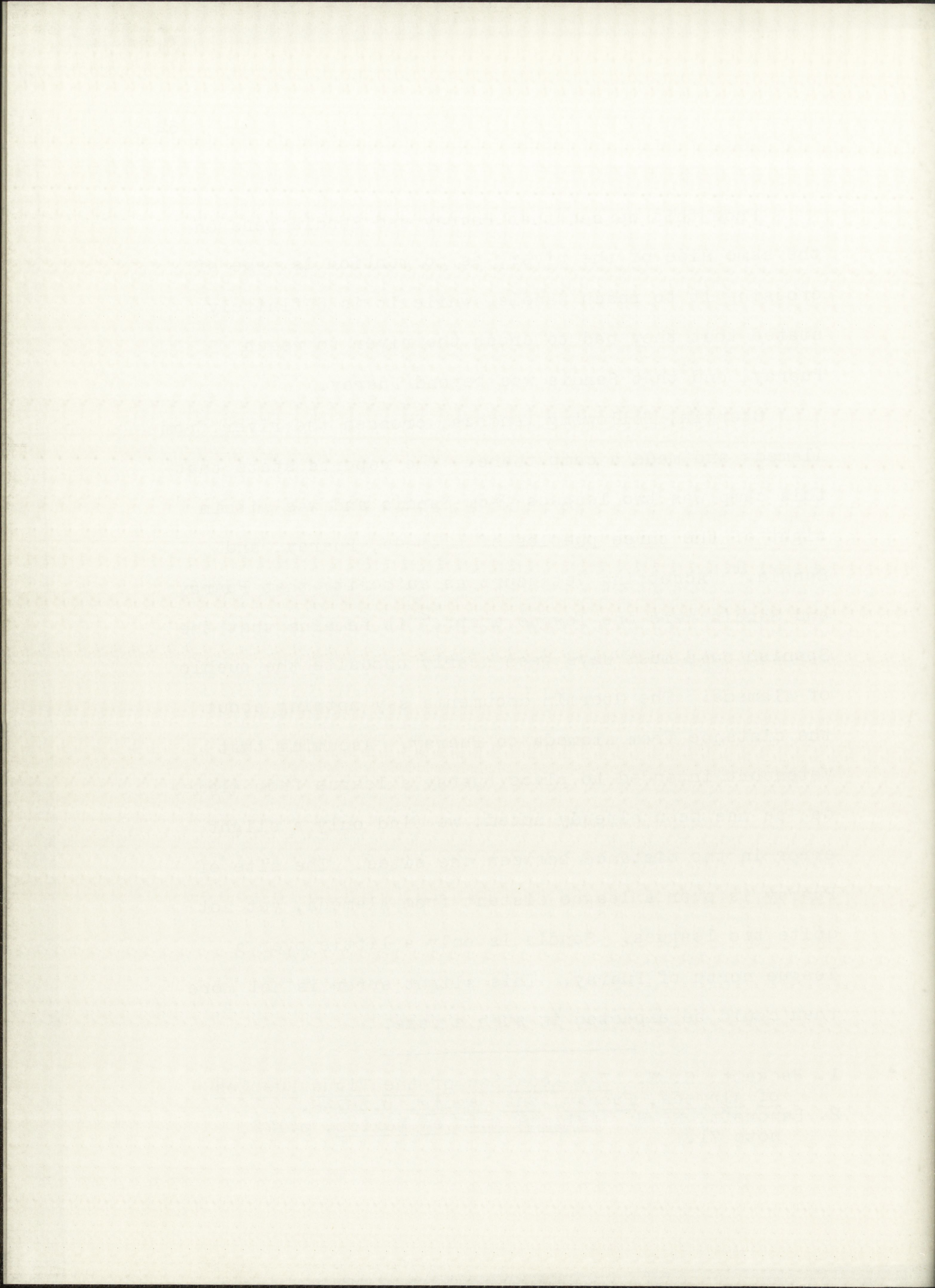


From this we see that Puaray and Sandía were on the same side of the river, as no mention is made of crossing it to reach Sandía, while it is definitely stated that they had to cross the river to reach Puaray, and that Sandía was beyond Puaray.

Otermin, following Mendoza, crossed the river from Alameda and made a camp there. The reports state that this camp was two leagues from Sandía and was within sight of the three pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandía.¹ Accepting Vetancurt as authority that Puaray and Sandía were one league apart,² it remains that the Spanish camp must have been nearly opposite the pueblo of Alameda. The Otermin documents say nothing about the distance from Alameda to Puaray. Assuming that Vetancurt intended to place Puaray a league from Alameda, as has been already noted, we find only a slight error in the distance between the sites. The site of Puaray is over a league distant from Alameda, yet not quite two leagues. Sandía is only a little over a league north of Puaray. This slight error is not more than could be expected in such a case.

1. Hackett, C. W. The Location of the Tigua Pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandía, p.387-8.

2. Bancroft, H. H. Arizona and New Mexico, p.172, note 71.



With San Matteo established as site ten, abandoned before 1680, and Puaray located on site thirteen of the Survey, we turn to Sandía.

The history of Sandía has already been recounted and it is generally accepted that it today occupies the old site.¹ However, some writers believe that site number ~~seventeen~~^{SIXTEEN}, that on the northern edge of Sandía, is the Puaray of 1680. I can find no grounds for this assertion except Mecham's conclusion, which he arrived at without knowledge of the site where Puaray stood, approximately a league south of Sandía. We have established that in 1680 Sandía was north of Puaray. Were Puaray at the Sandía site, Sandía would be pushed northward into Bernalillo, which in turn would crowd out the pueblos there and project these Tigua towns into Queres territory.

Hence we find Sandía as surely being in existence in Coronado's time.² To the second Spanish expedition

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1. Hewett, E. L. Ancient Life in the American Southwest, p.246-7.
 - Hodge, F. W. Handbook of American Indians II, p.429.
 - Bandelier, A. F. Final Report II, p.220.
 2. Hewett, E. L. Ancient Life in the American Southwest, p.89.

it was Sempoala, while in the chronicles of the third Spanish expedition, that of Espejo, it is not definitely recognizable. The only reference to what is probably Sandía was made at Puaray. There Luxán speaks of two pueblos that were very close to Puaray. One of these must have been San Mattheo and the other Sandía. As before noted, Luxán, aside from Los Despoblados, Los Guajolotes, and Paula, which can be located, did not name the pueblos in any given order, nor did he locate them. They are given as Pogwana, Comise, Achine, Guagua, Gagose, Simassa, Suyte, Nocoche, Hacala, Tiara, Taycios, and Cassa.¹ They do not agree with any of the names in the province, either before or after Espejo's time. The Otermín documents referred to above establish Sandía one league above Puaray in 1681. This is also its present location and shows conclusively that it was to the old site that Fathers Delgado and Pino and later Menchero returned their charges prior to 1748.²

1. Hammond and Rey. The Espejo Expedition into New Mexico, p.115.

2. Hewett, E. L. Ancient Life in the American Southwest, p.89.

Applegate, F. Sandía the Tragic, Southwest Review, v.15, p.314.

Hodge, F. W. E. A. E. Bull. 30, p.429.

There now remain in the area above the Alameda pueblo on the west and Sandía on the east, exclusive of sites thirty-six and nine, mentioned in connection with Alameda, the ruins of eight unquestioned post-Spanish sites. These are sites twelve, fourteen, seventeen, eighteen, and twenty on the west bank and nineteen, twenty-two, and forty on the east bank, so located by the Archaeological Survey.¹ These eight sites, with those of Sandía, Puaray, San Mattheo, and Alameda, account for twelve of the thirteen towns seen in this region by Espejo. The thirteenth town of Espejo was either site nine or thirty-six. They also check perfectly with the list and locations furnished by the Gallegos report of the Rodríguez expedition.

These upper towns, comprising the most thickly settled portion of the Rio Grande, were in existence in 1540 and by 1664 all had been abandoned except possibly one which was a visita of Sandia.² They were referred to by the chroniclers of Coronado, though from these

1. Fisher, R. G. Second Report of the Archaeological Survey of the Pueblo Plateau.

2. Scholes, F. V. Documents for the History of the New Mexico Missions in the Seventeenth Century, p. 45.

writings only one or two can be identified. The expedition of Rodríguez in 1580 furnishes the best list of names with locations. Espejo is practically valueless for the identification of these sites, as are still later writers. For them it is necessary to rely on the Coronado chroniclers and on the Gallegos Relation of the Rodríguez Expedition.

Sites nine and thirty-six having been taken up, the next above Alameda pueblo is number twelve. It cannot be identified from the Coronado chronicles but it is the pueblo San Pedro of the Rodríguez entrada. After locating Puaray the chronicler Gallegos states, "On the other bank of the river there was found another pueblo containing (there is a blank) of two and three stories. It was named San Pedro. This pueblo is above Santa Catalina (Alameda)."¹ This location fits perfectly. San Pedro is nearly opposite Puaray and the next large site above the Alameda pueblo. It is situated on the river bottoms and is now only a low mound badly eroded.

The next site north on the west bank is number

1. Hammond and Rey. The Rodríguez Expedition to New Mexico, p.47.

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fourteen of the Archaeological Survey. Like San Pedro, it cannot be definitely found in the annals of 1540. It is the Añalco of Rodríguez, 1580. "Above the pueblo of San Pedro another pueblo of forty houses two and three stories high was discovered. It was named Añalco."¹ Añalco at present is reduced to a mound about ten feet in height, on which stand present day buildings.

Next in order is site number seventeen, the one identified by Bandelier prior to 1886 as Puaray. However, it appears impossible to have Puaray in this location and the writer will continue to regard Puaray as located on the east side of the river at site thirteen.

Further, it appears most logical that this site was the one at which Coronado wintered in 1540. It will be remembered that Coronado destroyed one of the pueblos in the winter of 1540. Of this matter we have Bandelier's statement, "Which of the numerous villages was the one destroyed by the Spaniards in the winter of 1540 is not ascertained but it certainly was not Puaray."² For "Puaray" we here substitute site

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1. Hammond and Rey. The Rodríguez Expedition to New Mexico, p.47.
 2. Bandelier, A. F. Final Report II, p.222.

seventeen.

When the trouble began with the Tiguas Coronado resolved to besiege Tiguex. Tiguex was both the name of the province and of a certain pueblo in that province. The names of no other pueblos were mentioned by the Coronado chroniclers except the reference to Tutahaco, which was some way to the south.

In addition to the siege of Tiguex, the Spaniards at the same time besieged a second village spoken of as being near Tiguex.¹ The only aid in locating these villages is found in the chronicles of Cárdenas, who relates that when the natives were driven from the village they fled to the heights.² Thus it appears that these villages were on the west bank of the river and necessarily south of the Mesa del Cangelón.

Leaving site seventeen for the moment, we find north of it three more sites. Two of these are small, thirty-eight, which did not survive into the time of Rodríguez, and eighteen, which was known in 1580 as Villarrasa. Above the two smaller sites is the third, number twenty, the La Palma of Rodríguez. Site twenty is given by Eandelier as formerly being one of the

1. Winship, G. P. The Journey of Coronado, p.52-8.

2. Ibid., p.57.

largest pueblos in New Mexico. When visited by him its extent was only slightly less than that of Pueblo Bonita.¹

Of the two smaller pueblos we cannot be certain during Coronado's time. Castañeda states that most of the natives in the province congregated in two large pueblos.² From the size one would judge that the inhabitants of both pueblos fled and that one, number eighteen, was reinhabited after the cessation of hostilities.

With the inhabitants congregated in two towns we identify one as site twenty, but the other remains unknown. It was surely not one of the smaller sites and must have been one of those below number seventeen, perhaps either Añalco or San Pedro. Site twenty seems to be the most logical choice for the pueblo known to Coronado as Tigüex. Being the largest in the vicinity, it would naturally be a place of refuge. Also, being large, it would well withstand a siege so that it could later be inhabited again. From the chronicles it does not appear that the efforts of the Spaniards in besieging the pueblo would cause it much damage. It is the

1. Bandelier, A. F. Final Report II, p.225.

2. Winship, G. P. The Journey of Coronado, p.54.

last pueblo before the heights of the Mesa de Cangelón are reached, to which the natives fled when routed on the plain.

While it must be admitted that these are not conclusive proofs of the location of the Coronado pueblos, it must also appear that the sites given most likely fit the requirements.

Gallegos, the chronicler of 1580-81, is more concise on the matter of these sites, seventeen, eighteen, and twenty. Still enumerating the pueblos on the west bank, he says of the last three above Añalco, "Above the said pueblo of Añalco another pueblo with eighty-four two and three story houses was found. It was named Culiacán. Above the said pueblo of Culiacán there is another pueblo containing one hundred houses two and three stories high. It was named Villarrasa.

"Likewise, above the pueblo of Villarrasa is another pueblo of one hundred and thirty-four two and three story houses. It was named La Palma."¹ This, La Palma or site twenty, is the last Tigua pueblo on the west bank of the Rio Grande. For the province of

1. Hammond and Rey. The Rodríguez Expedition to New Mexico, p.47.

Tiguex I have considered that it terminates, both on the east and west banks, at the junction of the Rio Jemez with the Rio Grande. Locations above are considered either as being pre-historic or of Queres origin.

All three of these pueblos, Culiacán, Villarrasa, and La Palma, are situated on the edge of the mesa above the Rio Grande, not on the lowlands as are the others. Culiacán, mistakenly identified by Bandelier as Puaray, has not been known by any other name. Neither has Villarrasa. Site twenty, the La Palma of Rodríguez may, as has been noted, have been the pueblo of Tiguex of Coronado. In addition to this it is also known by the Spanish name of Torreón.¹ The Indians of Sandía have also designated this ruin as Kuaua, though Bandelier says that it seems to designate the location and not the site.²

Across on the east bank of the river we find between Sandía and the northern limits of the province

1. Fisher, R. G. Second Report of the Archaeological Survey.

Bandelier, A. F. Final Report II, p.226.

2. Bandelier, A. F. Final Report II, p.225.

Harrington, J. P. Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians, (E. A. E., 29th An. Rep., 1907, p.522.)

three more locations. As before noted, they are the sites numbered nineteen, twenty-two and forty. It is in no way possible to identify these among the chronicles of the Coronado expedition. Gallegos of the second Spanish expedition speaks of them as follows, "Above this pueblo of Sempoala (Sandía) there was another pueblo that contained seventy-seven houses of two and three stories. It was named Nompe.

On the same side, up the said river another pueblo of one hundred and twenty-three two and three story houses was found. It was named Malpais. It was given this name because it is close to a malpais (possibly the lava-capped mesas across the river).

Likewise above this pueblo of Malpais, up the river there was found another pueblo which had one hundred and forty-five houses of two and three stories. It was named Caseres."¹

Nompe, number nineteen, was located in Bernalillo. The buildings of the Catholic church and school, in the north end of the town now stand on this site.

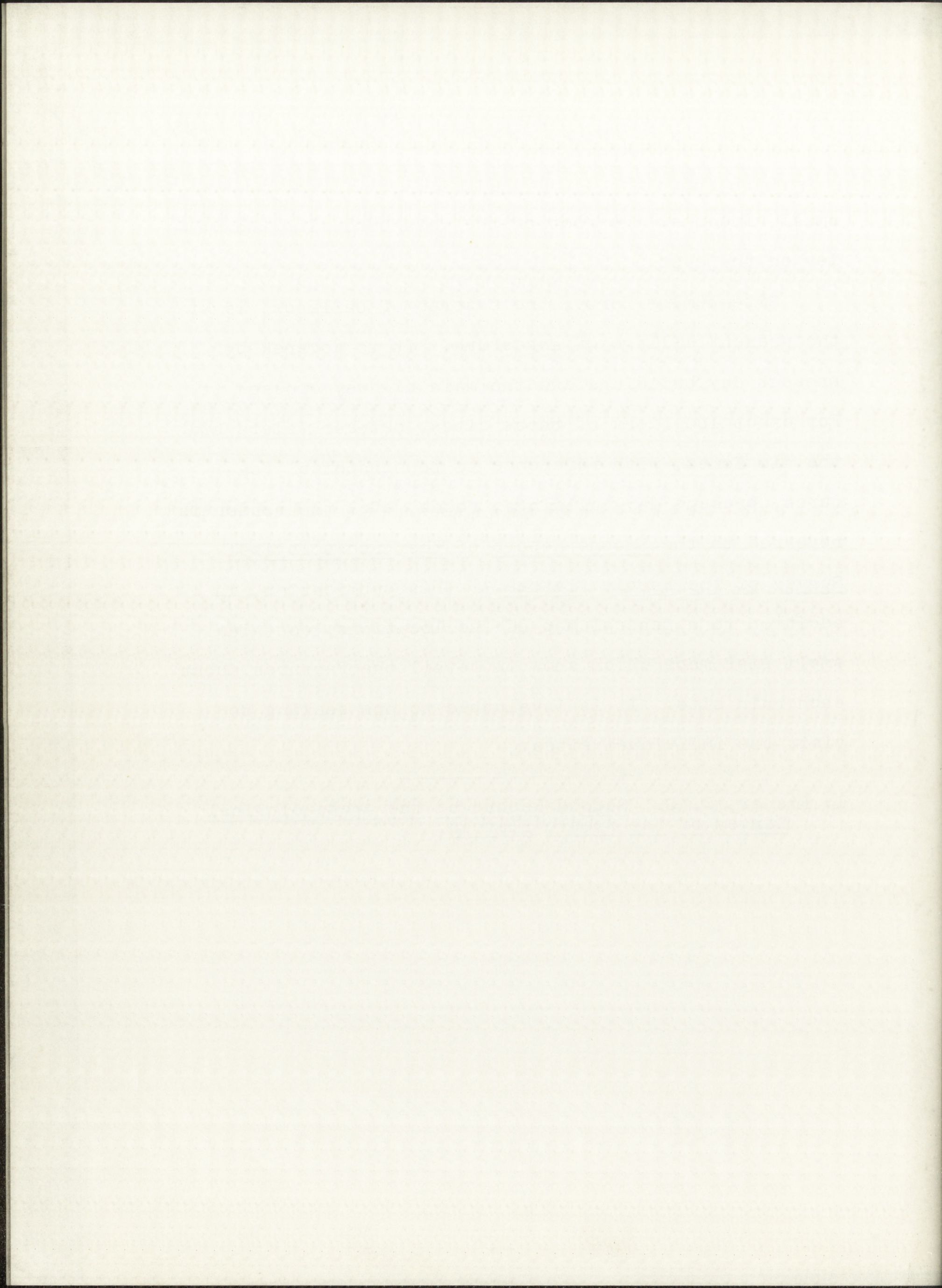
Malpais, number twenty-two, is just south of the present village of Angostura. It is situated in a

1. Hammond and Rey. The Rodríguez Expedition to New Mexico, p.47.

small rincon at the foot of the mesa bordering the valley on the east.

Site number forty, the Caseres of Gallegos, is at the present village of Angostura. It is covered by present day buildings and the main highway crosses it. For exact locations of these sites, between Isleta and the Rio Jemez, with reference to topographical features, present day buildings, roads, etc. the reader is referred to the Second Report of the Archaeological Survey of the Pueblo Plateau.¹ This publication, in addition to a general map of the locations, contains small plat maps which show in detail the features about each ruin site. It is invaluable to one seeking to visit the individual sites.

1. Fisher, R. G. Second Report of the Archaeological Survey of the Pueblo Plateau.



CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY

For the purpose of a brief summing up, the findings in this thesis will be divided into three parts. First, those ruins between Isleta and Los Lunas will be briefly considered. Second, the late historic pueblos of Isleta, Alameda, Puaray, and Sandía will be summarized. Lastly, the other sites between Isleta and the Rio Jemez will be given in rapid resume.

While the ruins below Isleta do not correctly belong to Coronado's Tiguex, they do belong to the southern Tigua group and so have been included in this study. The locations of these sites have not been published and are not found in the reports of the Archaeological Survey. Briefly, they are: Caxtole, on the east side of the river, nearly opposite Los Lunas; Piquinagatengo, or San Clemente, on the north edge of Los Lunas; Mexicalcingo, at the present Peralta; and Tomatlan, a completely destroyed site on the west bank

of the river just below Isleta.

Isleta, a pre-Spanish pueblo, was known in the time of Rodríguez as Taxumulco. To Espejo it was one of the cluster known as Los Despoblados. The name Isleta was given to the pueblo by the Spanish settlers between the founding of New Mexico and 1629. It was abandoned in 1681 and remained uninhabited for eighteen years. Since its refounding it has prospered and is today one of the most well known pueblos.

The pueblo of Alameda, site seven, was known as Santa Catalina to the Rodríguez party. To the next expedition, that of Espejo, it was Los Guajolotes. Between the founding of New Mexico and 1664 it became known as Alameda. It was destroyed in 1681 never to be reoccupied.

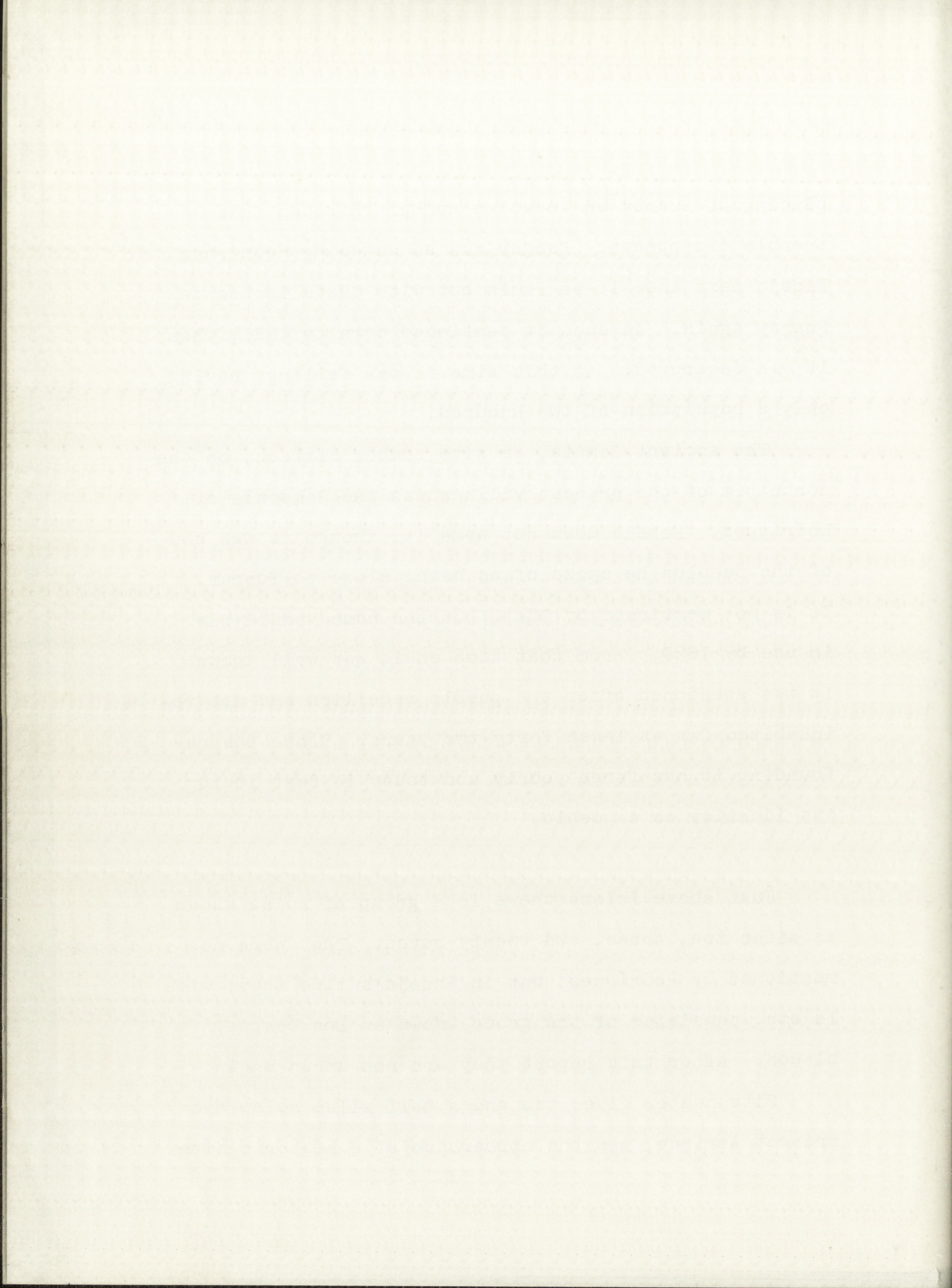
The historic pueblo of Puaray has been located at various places but never before at site thirteen of the Archaeological Survey. Historians who have located it at San Mattheo, Sandía, and Culiacán have been seemingly unaware of the existence of site thirteen. Later historians who attempted to place it either at San Mattheo or Sandía ran into difficulties in trying to place three pueblos on two sites. With the logical

placing of Puaray on location number thirteen this trouble disappears. Puaray was so named by Rodríguez. Espejo next knew it as Paula but with Oñate it became Puaray again. As such it continued down to 1681, when it was destroyed. At this time it was failing, having only a population of two hundred.

The ancient Sandía, or site number sixteen, on the north rim of the present village was the Sempoala of Rodríguez. Espejo does not name it, though it was one of the pueblos he spoke of as being close to Puaray. It is not mentioned by Oñate, but the name Sandía was in use by 1629. From that time on it was well known. It was abandoned after the pueblo rebellion and not re-inhabited for at least forty-two years. Since its re-founding it has fared poorly and today is fast losing its identity as a pueblo.

Just above Isleta there is a group of ruins known as sites two, three, and twenty-seven. They were not mentioned by Rodríguez, but in Espejo's time they, with Isleta, consisted of the group known as Los Despo-blados. After this report they are not known again.

Site number five, two and a half miles below the present Atrisco, has the appearance of a historic site

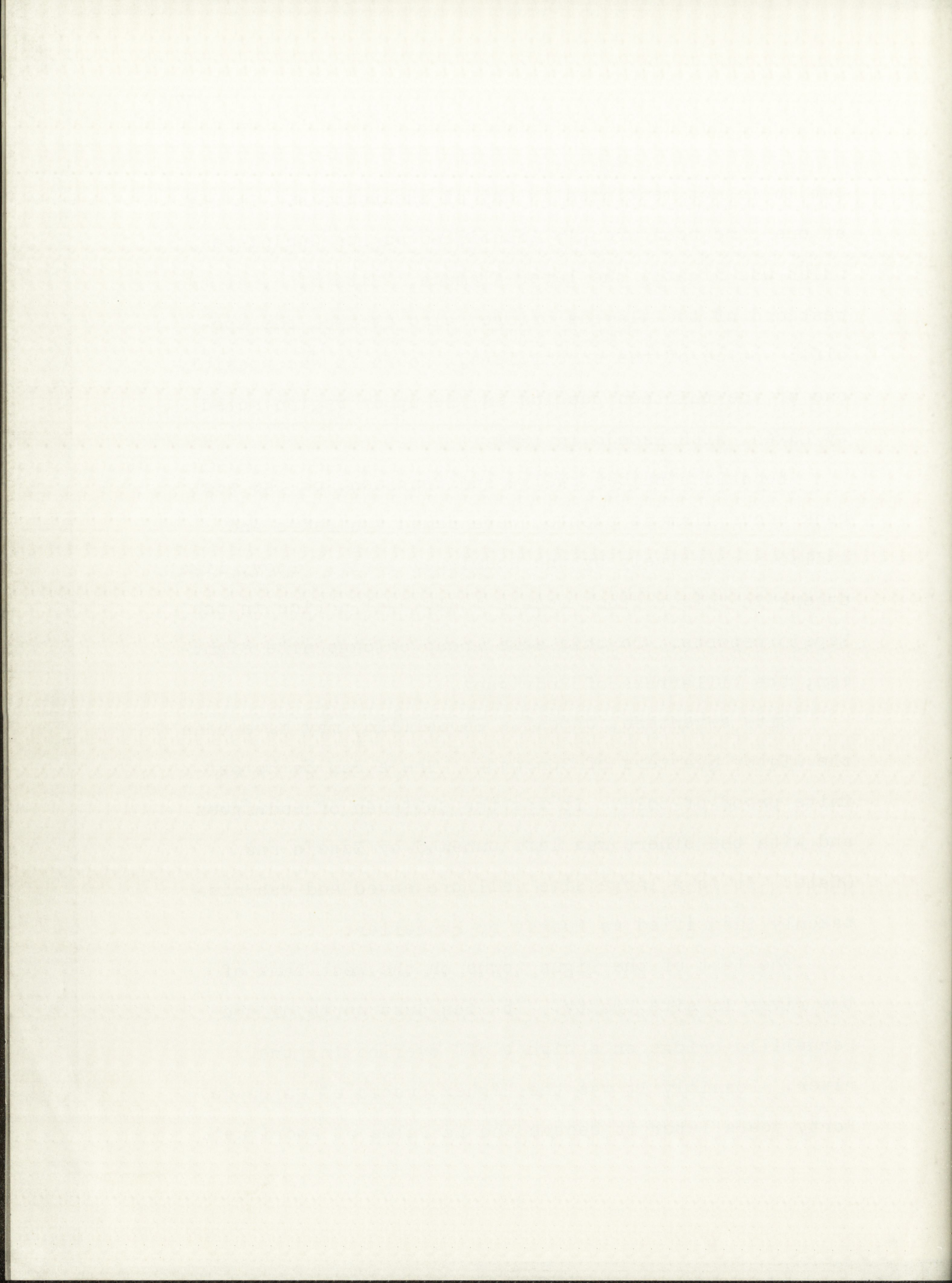


but it is not mentioned in any of the reports. It has at one time been wrongly identified as Los Guajolotes, which was rightly the later Alameda. Site nine, at the west end of the Alameda bridge, also escapes the specific notice of the chroniclers, though it was possibly one of the thirteen pueblos in the upper region noted by Luxán, with Espejo in 1582.

Locations number twelve and fourteen, on the west bank above Alameda pueblo, were named San Pedro and Análco respectively by the Rodríguez party. They, like others in this region, escape individual notice in the Espejo reports. To this same group belongs site eighteen, the Villarrasa of Rodríguez.

Site seventeen, opposite Bernalillo, may have been the winter quarters of Coronado. There can be no definite proof of this. It was the Culiacán of Rodríguez and with the others was left unnamed by Espejo and Oñate. It is a large site well preserved and was mistakenly identified as Puaray by Bandelier.

The last of the Tigua towns on the west bank of the river is site twenty. It lies just north of the Bernalillo bridge on a high bluff overlooking the river. Possibly it was the Tigüex pueblo of Coronado. Forty years later it became the La Palma of Rodríguez.

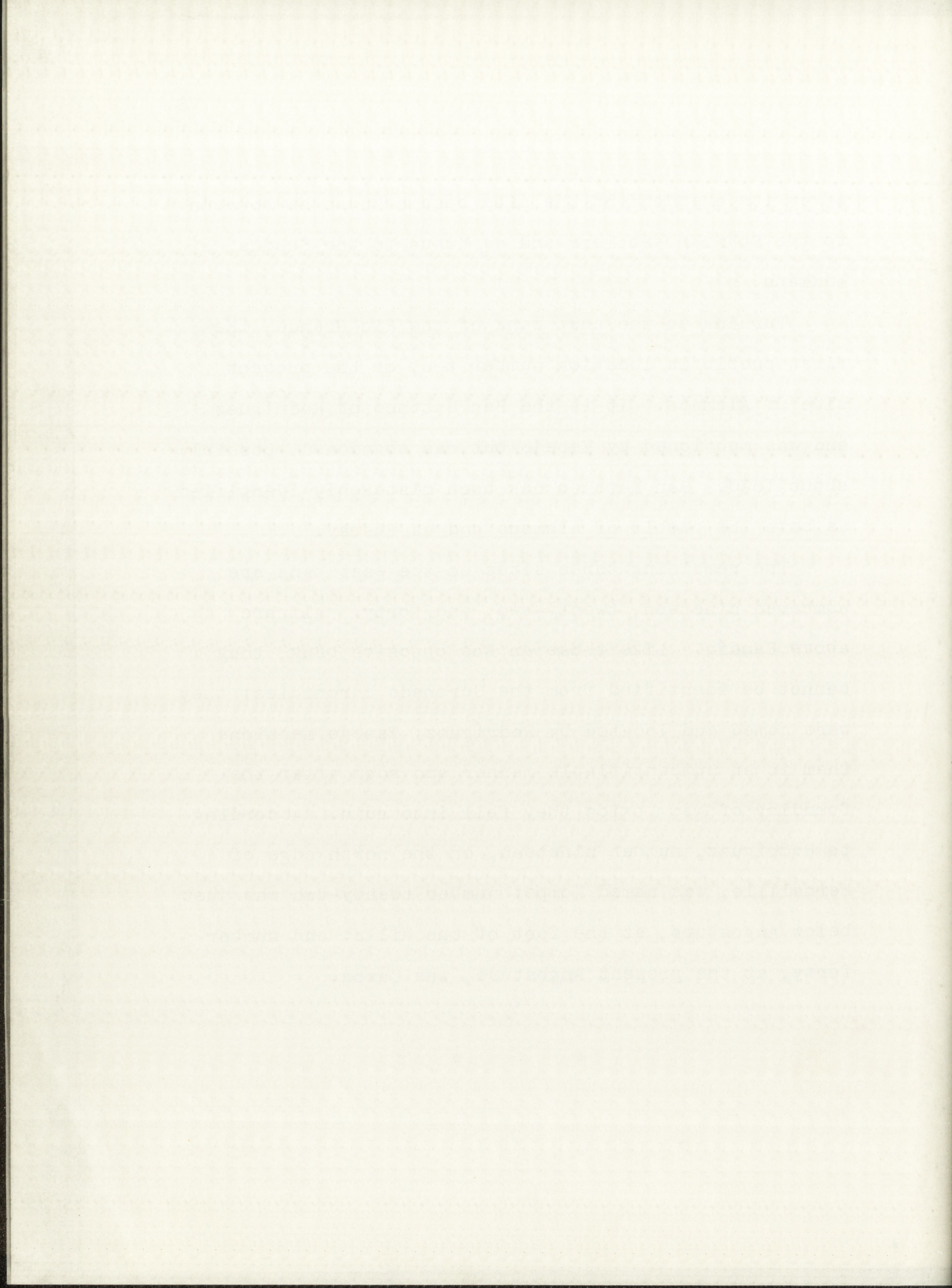


After its abandonment the site became known as Torreón to the Spanish settlers and as Kuaua to the Sandía Indians.

Turning to the east bank of the Rio Grande, the first pueblo is location number ten, or the present site of Alameda. It is the San Mattheo of Rodríguez and was mentioned by Espejo but was abandoned, possibly about 1630. San Mattheo has been mistakenly identified as both the pueblo of Alameda and as Puaray.

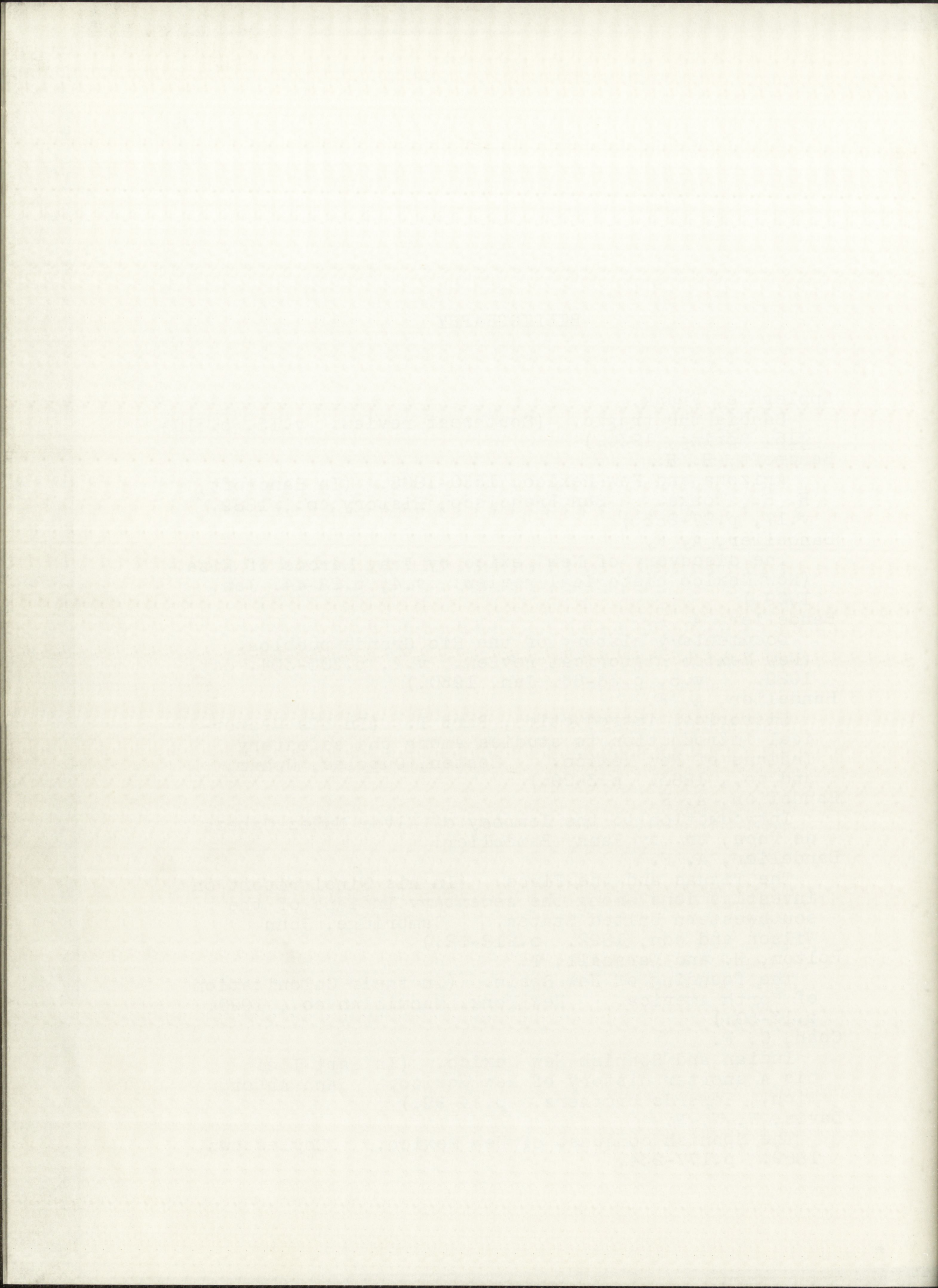
The remaining three sites on the east bank are numbered nineteen, twenty-two, and forty. All are above Sandía. Like those on the opposite bank, they cannot be identified from the Coronado chronicles; they were named and located by Rodríguez; Espejo mentions them in an unidentifiable manner and soon after the founding of New Mexico they fell into ruin. According to Rodríguez, number nineteen, on the north edge of Bernalillo, was named Nompe; number twenty-two was just below Angostura, at the foot of the hills; and number forty, at the present Angostura, was Cassa.

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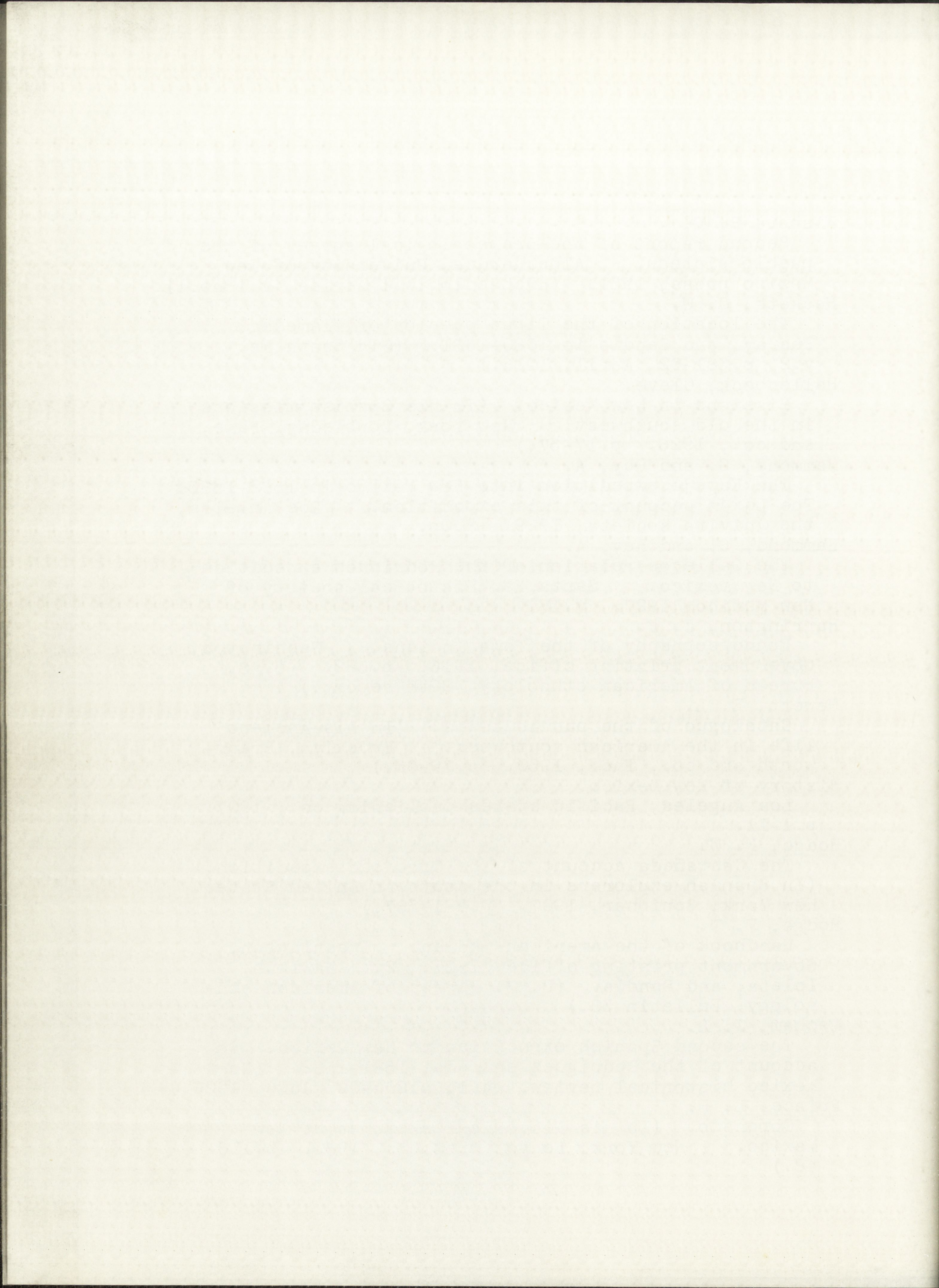
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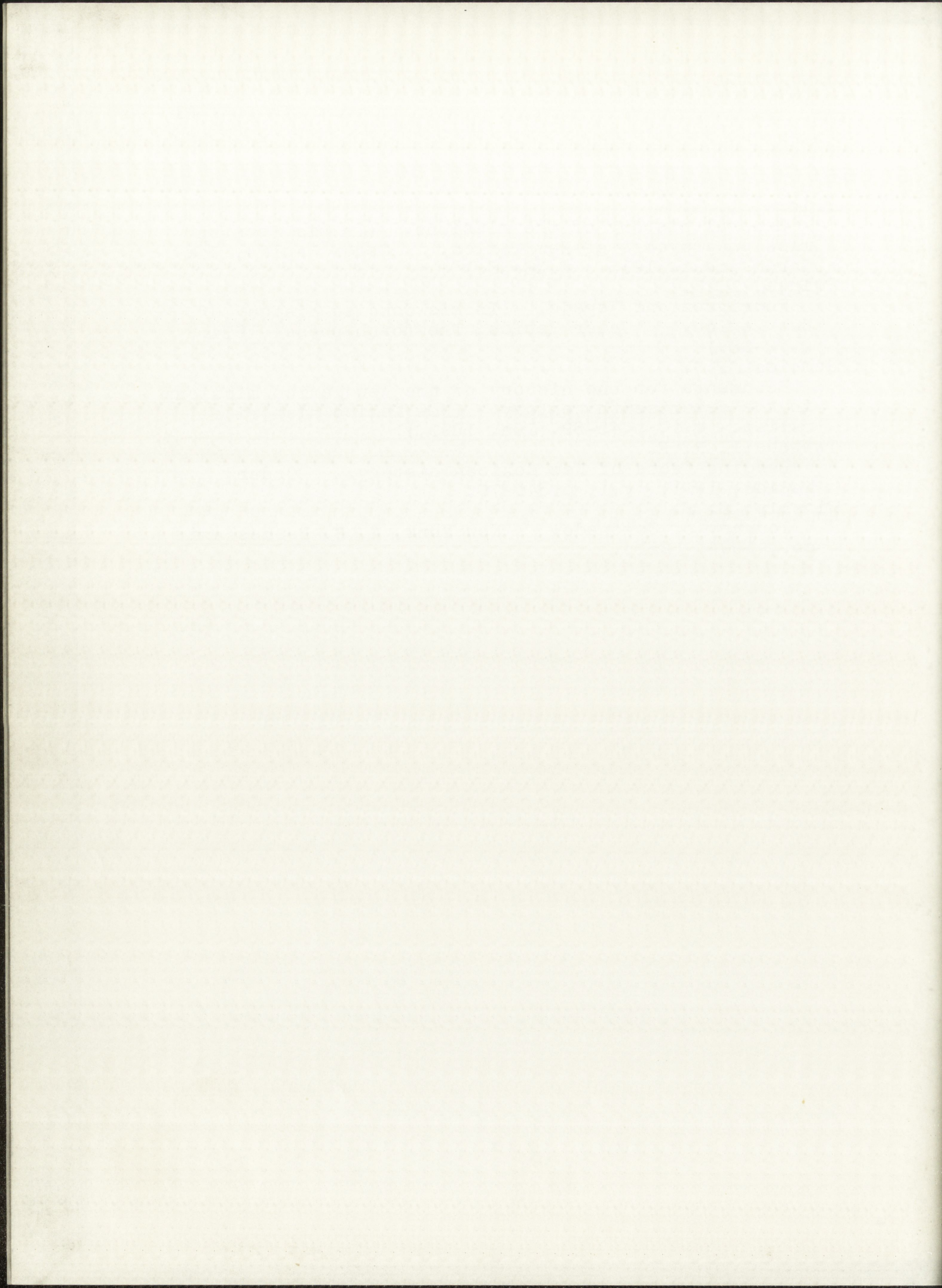
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