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DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE RIO GRANDE PUEBLOS, NEW MEXICO

Part III—1581 to 1584

By ADOLPH F. BANDELIER

THE royal ordinances of July 13th, 1573, prescribed: "the discoverers by sea or by land, shall keep a daily commentary or memorial of all that they may see or find in the countries they discover, and of what happens to them, and shall write it in a book, and it shall be read in public every day, to those who participate in the said discovery, so that more may be ascertained of what takes place and the truth of it may be established. It shall be signed by some of the leading men. That book shall be kept with great care, and, when they return, it can be presented before the Audiencia, under whose authorization they went out."¹ We have, about the exploration of Francisco Chamuscado, positive knowledge that such a Journal was kept, and it may be that it still exists in archives, but I am as yet limited for material concerning the events of the year 1581 to reports lacking the minuteness of a dairy. The same was already the case with Coronado. That commander was employing a

1. *Ordenanzas de Su Magestad*, p. 149: "Los Descubridores por mar o por tierra, hagan comentario e memoria por dias, de todo lo que vieren y hallaren y les aconteciere en las tierras que descubrieren; I todo lo vayan asentando en un libro, y despues de asentado, se lea en público cada dia, delante los que fueran al dicho descubrimiento, porque se averigue mas lo que pasare y pueda constar de la verdad de todello, firmándolo de algunos de los principales, el cual libro se guardará a mucho recaudo para que cuando vuelvan le traigan y presenten ante la Audencia con cuya licencia hobieren ido."

special chronicler for his expedition, Pedro de Sotomayor, but where the writings of that scribe have gone to is unknown to me.²

On the journey of Father Augustin Rodriguez and his ecclesiastic companions, escorted by eight men at arms under the leadership of Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado, only legal testimony, brief relations, and a few corollary hints are so far known. The "brief and truthful account" bears date October 26th, 1583,³ and the depositions of three eyewitnesses at the City of Mexico are (as already told in Part. II) respectively from May 16th and October 20th of the preceding year. The latter therefore have precedence in point of date and, perhaps also, in point of freshness of recollection, although the difference in time is comparatively slight. The three deponents confirm each other, and the first one examined, Bustamante, states in the main.⁴

After leaving Santa Barbara on June 16th, 1582, and entering "the valley of San Gregorio," they followed that valley downward to a large river to which they gave the name "Guadalquivir." That river can only have been the Rio Grande.⁵ They followed it for twenty days, and always upstream, for a distance estimated by them at "eighty leagues," through an uninhabited country (there is no description of its features) at the end of which⁶ they reached a settlement which they named "the province of Sant Felipe," and there found a regular village with houses of

2. Castañeda, *Cíbola*, p. 430: "por que auia ydo con don garci lopes un pedro de sotomayor que yba por coronista de el campo."

3. *Relación breve y verdadera del descubrimiento del Nueva Mexico* (Doc. de Indias, vol. 15, p. 146 and 150.)

4. *Testimonio dado en Mexico sobre el descubrimiento de doscientas leguas adelante, de las minas de Santa Bárbara*, p. 80 to 97. Bustamante's name was "Pedro."

5. *Testimonio dado*, p. 83: "e yendo por el rio abajo, fueron a dar en otro rio que le pusieron por nombre el rio de Guadalquivir, por ser grande y caudaloso." The first river, which they met at the end of the valley of San Gregorio was the Concho, and it seems they followed its downward courses to its confluence with the Rio Grande: "y fusron por el propio Valle, abajo, hasta dar en el rio que llaman de Concha. . . ."

6. *Ibidem*. "Y asi fueron adelante por el propio rio, arriba, y caminaron veinte jornadas de hasta ochenta leguas de despoblado, y llegaron a una población. . . ."

two stories and well designed, built of mud, and white inside; and the people were dressed in cotton mantles and shirts of the same, and they obtained information that on both sides apart from the river there were many other villages of Indians of the same nation, who received them peaceably and gave them of what they had, which was maize, squash and beans, and fowl, and other things upon which they lived. Taking information, if there were other settlements, the natives answered through signs and in the affirmative. In consequence of that notice they ascended further up the same stream and found other pueblos along the road they were traveling as well as on the sides, as was seen from the way. They arrived at another nation of Indians of another language and dress.

Comparing the above with what we know through the expedition of Coronado, and bearing in mind the "great river" along which the adventurous men ascended, it is easy to recognize that they struck the southern limits of the Rio Grande pueblos, meeting there the Piros.⁸

The "nation" next met by them, always up that river, can only have been the *Tiguas*, "where they were also received peaceably and with joy, the natives kissing the hands of the friars." Of the *Tiguas* it is stated that they also went

7. *Ibidem*. "que le pusieron por nombre la provincia de Sant Felipe, y allí hallaron pueblo formado con casas de dos altos y de buena traza, hechas de tapia y blancas por dentro, y la gente vestida de mantas de algodón y camisas de lo propio; y tubieron noticias que a los lados fuera del rio, habia otros muchos pueblos de indios de la misma nacion, los cuales los recibieron de paz y les dieron de lo que tenian, que hera maiz, calabazas y frisoles y gallinas y otras cosas, que es de lo ellos se sustentan; y tomando lengua si habia mas poblaciones de gentes, por señas respondieron los naturales, que sí; y con esta noticia pasaron adelante por el mismo rio arriba, y hallaron otros muchos pueblos, asi por el camino que llevaban como a los lados que desde el camino se vian; y llegaron a otra nacion de indios de diferente lengua y trage. . ."

8. Compare, in regard to the location of the Piros, Fray Alonzo de Benavides, *Memorial*, p. 14, 1630: "Llegado a este rio por esta parte [after passing the "Jornada del Muerto"] comiençan las primeras poblaciones, por la Prouincia y nacion Pira."

9. *Testimonio*, p. 84: "Donde . . . fueron recibidos de paz y con alegria de los Indios besando la mano a los religiosos." What the Spaniards took for a hand-kiss was the Indian (Pueblo) custom of breathing on the hand in salute. At all events it denotes an amicable reception.

clothed, and had houses of three stories, whitewashed and painted within and without. They noticed many fields of maize, beans and squashes, and the people had many fowls.

They continued to the northward, always along the river, to "another nation." Of these the witnesses speak with much praise, calling them "the noblest people of all they have yet seen on the same river." The villages of these Indians and the houses were better than any they had yet seen on their journey, and here they were better entertained than even before. The witnesses says that the houses were "four and five stories high, with their corridors (galleries, balconies), and halls twenty-four feet long and thirteen wide, whitewashed and painted. They keep their squares well, and from one to the other, are streets, through which they go from one to the other in good order."¹⁰ The villages were from two to three leagues apart, and at the same distance from the river were other villages, of about three and four hundred houses each, like those mentioned. The people also dressed in cotton.

I call attention to the agreement in general of this sketch of the Rio Grande pueblos with the descriptions by the chroniclers of the time of Coronado, for the last named group of housedwelling natives were manifestly the Queres.¹¹ Here was the end of the journey along the Rio

10. *Ibidem*: "los cuales tambien andan vestidos y tienen casas de tres altos y encaladas y pintadas por dentro, y hacen muchas sementeras de maiz y frisol y calabaza, y crían muchas gallinas."

Of the Queres the witness says: "y de allí pasaron adelante a otra nacion de gente que hay por el mismo rio arriba, que es la mas noble gente de la que atrás habran viste, y de mejores pueblos y casas, y los que mejor tratamiento les hizo, dándoles de mejor voluntad de todo lo que tenian; y las casas tienen, de buenos edificios, de cuatro y cinco altos con sus corredores y salas de veinte y cuatro pies de largo y trece de ancho, encaladas y pintadas; y tienen sus plazas muy buenas, y de una a otra hay calles por donde pasan a ellas con buena orden, tienen muchos bastimentos como los de otras (may be "atras"); y de dos o tres leguas, hay otros pueblos de su nacion de a trecientas y cuatrocientas casas, por la propia orden queste; visten de algodón como las naciones de atras."

11. The distance between the Queres pueblos indicated, two or three leagues, is indeed approximately correct in the case of San Felipe and Santo Domingo, also between San Felipe and Santa Ana. The Queres were (and are today) the immediate neighbors of the Tiguas in the North, along the Rio Grande. See Part I.

Grande, since the formidable cañon which terminates a short distance above Cochití arrested their progress, compelling them to deviate either to the east or to the west. They chose the eastern direction where the plateau to the base of the "Sierra de Santa Fe" was more inviting than the much broken country forming the foothills of what is called the "Sierra del Valle." Proceeding in the direction indicated they saw, after a day's journey, a large village of four or five hundred houses and noticed that its houses were of four and five stories and were also informed that ten journeynings further north there was a very large Indian population. Owing to the dilapidated condition of their clothing and the lack of shoeing for the horses they dared not proceed further northward, which would indeed have been a hard undertaking for man and beast.¹²

The large village, with buildings four and five stories high, appears to have been Pecos (which may be reached from near the Rio Grande in a hard day's journey), from where they went back to the river at the Queres villages, one of which they named "Castildavid."¹³ From it they crossed the river to the west and went to see three pueblos, two of which had about two hundred houses each and the third about seventy.¹⁴ The crossing was effected at the junction of a small stream with the Rio Grande, but it is not said whether this affluent was on the east or on the west side.

12. *Idem*, p 85: "y que hasta aqui fueron caminando siempre hacia el Norte; y saliendo del rio, una jornada, siguiendo el Norte, vieron un pueblo grande de cuatrocientas a quinientas casas, pocas mas o menos; que llegado a el, vieron las casas de los indios de a cuatro e cinco altos, que le pusieron por nombre Tlascala, por ser tan grande; y alli fueron recibidos de paz, como en los demas; y de alli fueron tomando lengua de los mesmos naturales, que habia a diez jornadas de alli muy grande poblacion de indios en la misma derecera del Norte por donde iban caminando; y que por falta de herrage para los caballos, y de ropa el y la demas gente, no osaron pasar adelante. ." Here the term "norte" is taken, successively, in the sense of the "Sea of the North" and of real north.

13. *Ibidem*. [See note at end.—Editor.]

14. "Pasaron el rio hacia el Sur, por un rio pequeño que se juntaba con el otro; fueron a ver tres pueblos de que les dieron noticia, los cuales pueblos primeros tenian hasta doscientas casas, los dos, y el otro hasta setenta." No mention is made of a change in language, it might therefore be supposed that the three villages were inhabited by Queres also.

It is not stated whether the three villages were near the river or not. They may have been the Queres pueblos of Cochiti, Santa Ana, and (further west) Cia; in which case another group of which they heard (but did not see it), of eleven pueblos, would have been those of the Jemez, and perhaps two yet pertaining to Cia. Leaving this point unsettled and only noting that the eleven were situated "up the river and of another language and nation,"¹⁵ it is stated that from there (the three villages mentioned) they turned their steps to the east again in order to see "the cows," that is, the buffaloes, "thirty leagues" off. They saw the great quadrupeds and killed some, and also met roving Indians on the plains, with dogs that carry their belongings.¹⁶ From the plains they went back to the village whence they started (and which may have been near the river) and from it descending along the Rio Grande, to a pueblo named "Puaráy," (on the river) where the three missionaries afterwards determined to remain.¹⁷

with
The ruins of the Pueblo of Puaráy, a former settlement of the Tiguas, lie nearly opposite the modern town of Bernalillo, on the west side of the Rio Grande. I made a detailed ground plan of these ruins in the summer of the year 1882. That plan showed that the village might have harbored as many as 800 people at one time. It was built of adobe. How many stories the houses had, could not be determined on the surface, whereas the tracing of the pueblo was distinct.¹⁸ Puaráy has since 1581 become a well established historical site, and it is likely that in 1541 it played a part in the hostilities between Coronado and the

15. *Ibidem*. "en el cual se tuvo nueva de once pueblos que habia, adelante el rio arriba, de diferente nacion y lengua de estotros. . ."

16. *Idem*, p. 86: "y llevaban su bastimento de maiz y datil, en perros cargados que por este efecto crían." "Datil" (date) is the name given today, by Mexicans and Indians in New Mexico, to the fruit of the *Yucca bacata*.

17. "y quedaron en el dicho pueblo los religiosos con los indios de servicio que avian llevado." It is not clear, whether the missionaries remained at Puaráy then or later, but I incline to the belief that the friars accompanied Chamuscado on all his subsequent excursions. My reasons will be given further on. See footnote 25.

18. *Final Report*, II, p. 226.

Tigua tribe.¹⁹ Through its identification by the expedition of Chamuscado and, more so even, through the tragic fate of two of the friars whom Chamuscado and his men escorted, it has been made a landmark in the History and, to a certain extent, of the Geography of the Rio Grande pueblos.

The three missionaries decided upon accompanying their escort as far as possible through New Mexico. The duty of their escort was not only to accompany the friars but, (according to the often cited Ordinances) to investigate the country.²⁰

At Puaráy, they were informed "of a certain valley and Indian settlement of a different language," which they call the valley of "Cami" and which lies on the side of the south (that is, west)."²¹ They reached the said valley and found it to contain "six villages of thirty, forty and as many as a hundred houses each, with many Indians dressed like the others and the houses of two and three stories, of stone." Here they were told of the valley of Asay, in which there were five large pueblos with much people and, "from the signs the Indians made, they understood that two of these pueblos were very large, and that in all of them more cotton was raised than anywhere else they had seen."²²

19. Compare Part I. Puaráy, as far as known, was not a large pueblo. At the time of the Indian uprising of 1680, according to Vetancurt, *Crónica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio*, p. 312, it had 200 inhabitants; and among these were "labradores españoles."

20. *Ordenanzas*, p. 148: "Si vieron que la gente es doméstica y que con seguridad puede quedar algun religioso entrellos, y hobiere alguno que huelgue de quedar para los doctrinar y poner en buena pulicia, lo dejen."

"Los descubridores no se detengan en la tierra, ni esperen en su viage equellas bituallas se les acaben en ninguna manera ni por alguna capsas, sino que habiendo gastado la mitad de la provision con que hobieren salido, den la vuelta a dar razon de lo que hobieren hallado y descubierto y alcanzado a entender, asi de las gentes con quien hobieren tratado, como de otras comarcas de quien puedan haber noticia."

21. *Testimonio*, p. 86: "hasta llegar a un pueblo que se llama Puaráy, en el cual tuvieron noticia de cierto valle y poblacion de diferente lengua que llaman el Valle de Cami, que esta a la banda del Sur, de donde con esta nueva, salieron y llegaron a el dicho Valle." See note 23, below.

22. "a donde hallaron seis pueblos de a treinta, cuarenta y hasta cien casas, con muchos indios vestidos al modo de los demas, y las casas de dos y tres altos de piedra." Coronado in *Letter to the Viceroy* (August 3d, 1540) mentions the smallness

"Cami" from the direction in which it lay from the Rio Grande appears to have been the Zuñi cluster,²³ and Asay the Moquis. Asay or Osay is indeed the Tigua name for the Moquis, as I have been informed by Tigua Indians, if they told me the truth.²⁴

While at "Cami," further progress to the west became arrested by a snowfall. So they returned to Puaráy where they heard of salines fourteen leagues off, which they also went to see. They found them "behind a mountain range, which they named Sierra Morena" and estimated the salt marshes to be "five leagues" long and: "adjoining these salines many other pueblos were seen and visited, which were like the others, and the natives figured three more, near the salines and said to be very large." Returning thence to Puaráy again, they took leave of the ecclesiastics. The latter remained there with the Indian servants,²⁵ among these one mestizo. Chamuscado and his men started for New Spain again. They desired to take with them some

of the villages of the Zuñis. "y estando alli, les dieron nueva del Valle de Asay, y que en él habia cinco pueblos grandes de mucha gente, y segun las señas que los indios dieron, entendieron que los dos de los dichos pueblos eran muy grandes; y que en todos ellos se criaba mucha cantidad de algodón más que en otra parte ninguna de las que abian visto." (*Testimonio dado*, p. 86.)

23. "Cami" is identified with Zuñi in a document from the close of the 16th century. *Testimonio de la entrada que hizo al Nuevo Mexico Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado con ocho soldados y tres frailes, año de ochenta y uno*, (incorporated in *Memorial sobre el Descubrimiento del Nuevo Mexico y sus acontecimientos*, in *Doc. de Indias*, vol. 16, p. 206.) "Descubrieron la provincia de Zuñi o Sumi, como le nombra Chamuscado con los seis postreros pueblos de su relacion"—"Cami" appears therefore a misprint or error in copying.

24. I heard the name also from a Zuñi Indian, as a Tigua word for Moqui.

25. *Testimonio*, p 87: "y de aqui se volvieron al dicho pueblo de Puaráy, donde avian dejado los religiosos y caballos, y demas cosas que tenian."—When the friars remained there cannot be defined. Whether it was already on the occasion of the trip to the west or only when they (the escort) went to the salines is not clear. It strikes me as more probable that the missionaries went to Zuñi also. The number of servants is given later, in the deposition relative to the murder of the monks. Bustamante says: "y quedaron en el dicho pueblo los religiosos con los indios de servicio que avian llevado, y entre ellos un mestizo." The "Sierra morena" is the Sierra del Manzano. Had they gone around the Sandia they would have seen, and mentioned, the Tanos. Besides, the salines lie due east of the Manzano range. Bustamante testifies: "y junto á estas salinas se vieron otros muchos pueblos y estuvieron en ellos, los cuales tenian la traza que los demás; y les dieron nuevas de otros tres pueblos

Tigua Indians, but none of them would go of their own free will and they made no attempt at compulsion. Returning to Santa Barbara, Chamuscado did not regard the journey as ended until he had personally given account of it to the Viceroy at Mexico. So he, Pedro Bustamante, and Hernando Gallegos went on, but, thirty leagues south of Santa Barbara, Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado died "of disease."²⁶

The next witness, Hernando Gallegos, makes an almost identical deposition, the variations being of no importance. The third, Hernando Barrado, is very brief on the subject of the journey, but he adds information about occurrences at Puaráy that happened after Chamuscado had left. Of these I will have to treat further on.²⁷

The "Brief and truthful report" was written seventeen months after the first depositions were taken and is signed

que bigurficaban los naturales; están cerea de las dichas salinas y ser muy grandes." The discovery, not of the salines but of the Tigua and Piro settlements near them, is therefore due to Chamuscado. Oñate, in 1598, mentions the villages of the salines but the list thereof which is given in the "*Obediencia y vasallaje a Su Magestad por los Indios del Pueblo de San Juan Baptista*, September 9th, 1598, (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. 16, p. 113) names 18 villages besides "los tres pueblos grandes de Xumanos orrayados."—In 1630, Benavides, *Memorial*, p 23, says that there were 14 or 15 pueblos: "comiënça la nacion Tompira por su primer pueblo de Chililí . . ."; with six convents. The number of the parishes is probably not overstated, since I know of six ruined villages with old churches, around the salines: Chililí, Tajique, Cuaráy, Abó, Tenabó, and Tabirá on the Medano. Besides, I know of the existence of at least six pueblo ruins, on the so-called "Medano" and near Abó. More are said to exist in the same region and from the statements quoted, from the years 1581, 1598 and 1630, respectively, it would seem that most of these had been occupied as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century. The statement of Benavides indicates three linguistic stocks represented around the salines: Teguas or Tanos, Tiguas, and Piros or "Tompiros." The Jumanos do not seem to have lived in pueblo style.

26. The return journey was made on the same route they took in coming: (*Testimonio*, p. 87) "y del dicho pueblo se vinieron por la misma derrota que avian llevado." In regard to the death of Chamuscado, Bustamante states: "y que el caudillo que traian, llamado Francisco Chamuscado, murió, treinta leguas de Santa Barbola, viniendo para aca, con este declarante y Hernan Gallegos su compañero a dar noticia de lo que avian visto."

27. It seems that Gallegos kept a book, according to the prescriptions of the royal Ordinances, but whether that journal still exists, I do not know. He affirms, *Testimonio*, p 95: "y que este declarante tiene hecho un libro, escripto de su mano, donde hace relacion de todo este viaje que ha hecho; el cual tiene entregado a Su Excelencia que todo lo en el, contenido, es verdad; porque lo fue escribiendo como lo iba viendo y pasando por ello.—" If this "book" were found it might be of considerable importance. It exists, perhaps, still at Seville.

(only by) two of the eyewitnesses, Bustamante and Barrado. It is not as full as the testimony in the first two interrogatories, but contains details lacking in them. These details concern principally the Pueblos first met on the Rio Grande, the Piros. It also gives a not uninteresting account of how information was secured about the sedentary Indians, while yet south of their ranges, and from roaming tribes. The report contains indications on dates not alluded to by the witnesses in their testimonies. After stating that the departure from Santa Barbara took place on June 5th,²⁸ (1582) it is told that for thirty-one days they traveled among Indians that were "naked," that is, very poorly clad; "Chichimecs" or wild people, roving, and who had only roots and "tunas" to eat. Thence,²⁹ for nineteen days not a human soul was seen,³⁰ at the end of which time they at last met an Indian on the eve of the day of "Our Lady of August" (15th).³¹ They inquired (by signs) of that Indian where there might be maize, and he gave them to understand "that at a journey from there, we should find maize in quantity, and it was through showing him two or three grains, and he made signs that (the people) wore a dress of the color of our shirts, and that they had houses, and all this (he gave to understand) by means of signs and tracings in the soil."³²

28. The "*Relacion breve y verdadera*" (p. 150) was copied from the original October 26th, 1583.

29. *Idem*, p. 146. The term "Chichimecatl" is used for roving and also for warlike, people. The nomads were always the most dangerous enemies for sedentary aborigines, because of the kind of warfare they waged; a war of ambush and surprise, against which the villagers had difficulty to guard. A successful warrior, was, therefore, in Mexico, often qualified as a "Chichimecatl." On the possible origin of the word many speculations have been published.

30. *Idem*, p. 147: "y caminamos diez y nueve dias sin poder ver ninguna gente ni cosa viva."

31. *Ibidem*. "y al fin déllos, fue Nuestro Señor servido, de nos deparar un Indio desnudo, vispera de Nuestra Señora de Agosto."

32. *Ibidem*. "que por sanas, le preguntamos, donde habia mayz, y el nos rrespondió, que una jornada de alli, hallariamos mays en cantidad, y esto fue por dos o tres granos que le enseñamos; y que habia mucho, y nos señaló, que andavan bestidos de la color de nuestras camisas, y que tenian casas, y todo esto por señas y señales que hacia en la tierra."

They found that what that Indian had signified to them was true (except the distance, which Indians mostly under-rate) for, after the Indian had guided them for three days, "on the twenty-first day of the month of August, we discovered a village that contained forty-five houses of two and three stories, and we also discovered big fields of maize, beans and squashes."³³ They entered the village, prepared for resistance in case an attack were made upon them, and the three friars, with crosses in their hands and on their necks, in the middle; but the village had been abandoned. The fright of the Indians is attributed to the fact of the horses being armored. This is possible as when the southern Piros were visited by a party of Coronado's men, the armor of their horses may have been used up by exposure, wear and tear, for nearly two years; repair or replacing having been impossible.

Advancing half a league, they saw five villages on a level where they pitched their camp and where, two days later, a chief came to see them with three Indians. Very friendly relations were soon established and maintained thereafter.³⁴ It is further narrated that they proceeded up the river for fifty leagues and counted sixty-one villages which they saw and claim to have visited. The aggregate population of these is estimated at 130,000 souls.³⁵ No other

33. *Ibidem*. "porque a veinte e un dias del mes de Agosto, descubrimos un pueblo que tenia quarenta y cinco casas de dos y tres altos; y asi mismo descubrimos, grandes simenteras de maiz, frisoles y calabaza."

34. *Ibidem*. "y asi entramos en el dicho pueblo, todos nosotros, bien aderezados, apuesto de guerra para si fuese menester aunque della no llevabamos proposito, sino con paz y amor, y en medio de nosotros llevamos tres religiosos con tres cruces en las manos y al cuello; y asi entramos en el dicho pueblo, y no hallamos persona alguna, porque no nos osaron aguardar por no saber que cosa fuesemos por nos haver ir en los caballos armados; y visto esto, nos salimos luego del dicho pueblo y caminamos entre milpas, cerca de media legua; y luego hallamos y descubrimos otros cinco pueblos, y en un raso, asentamos nuestro real. . . . y acabo de dos dias, vino un cacique con tres Indios a reconocer que gente heramos, y por señas nos saludamos los unos a los otros, y se llegaron a nosotros, y les dimos hierro y cascabeles y naipes y otros juguetes, y asi los hicimos amigos. . . ."

35. *Idem*, p 148: "caminamos cincuenta leguas el rio arriba donde en él y á los lados, como á una jornada, desecubrimos y bimos y paseamos sessenta y un pueblos, . . . muy en buen lugar, . . . y las casas, juntas, con sus plazas y calles, todo por

details of any importance are mentioned and, on the whole, the "Brief report" is rather too brief in comparison of the verbal depositions of the same parties who signed it.

There is, generally speaking, a remarkable agreement between these descriptions and the picture of the pueblos gathered from the chroniclers of Coronado's explorations. This expedition came from the west and, reaching the Rio Grande, then, in excursions by smaller parties, deflected to the south.³⁶ It is therefore a case of a "rule that works both ways." Ascending along the Rio Grande, the party of Chamuscado met successively the Piros, the Tiguas, and the Queres. Reflecting to the east, they found Pecos and afterwards the plains with the buffaloes. Going west from Puaráy, they saw Zuñi, Coronado's "Cíbola," and heard of the Moquis. They did neither see Ácoma nor, probably, hear of it. After returning to the Rio Grande again, Chamuscado saw the salt marshes and not only discovered but visited the Tigua and Piro pueblos about the salines of the Manzano, which Coronado's forces had not seen and not even heard of; as little as Chamuscado paid attention to the Tanos. Neither did he go north of the Pecos. He avoided as much as possible routes of difficult travel and on which he might have been exposed to dangerous aggression; a very natural precaution, considering the small number of his men and the special object of his enterprise; of safely leading the missionaries into their proposed field of labor and leaving them there, at the same time ascertaining as much

muy buen orden; tienen gallinas de la tierra, que crían; paració nos á todos, que nos los sesenta y un pueblos que vimos y estuvimos, habria mas de ciento treinta mil ánimas, toda gente vestida:" I note that Hernán Gallegos, the one who kept the journal of the expedition, is not one of the signers of this "*Relación*." In the *Testimonio de la entrada que hizo al Nuevo Mexico Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado*, etc., p. 204, it is stated: "que desde donde salieron que fue el Valle de Sant Gregorio, termino de las minas de Sancta Barbara, hasta ver las vacas, caminaron como cuarenta leguas." "Que en estas cuarenta leguas, hay sesenta pueblos, con seis mil ciento e cuarenta e ocho casas, de dos hasta siete altos, . . ." This statement cannot have been taken from any of the depositions, nor from the "*Relacion*." I suspect, as it is in an official document, that it was taken from the journal kept by Gallegos.

36. Compare Part I.

about the country and people as could be done, without exposing his party to being lost with the information it had gathered, which also would have jeopardized the lives of the friars. Chamuscado was manifestly as cautious as well as a sagacious and energetic leader and it is to be regretted that more is not known concerning him. He strictly obeyed the Ordinances of 1573 and his success shows how wisely the latter had been framed.

In regard to the Pueblo Indians and their customs nothing really new is developed by these explorations except the existence of the pueblos of the salines. But it is noteworthy how peaceably Chamuscado seems to have been received by and in the pueblos in general; with what apparent ease and security he could go to them everywhere, and travel without impediment considerable distances even through settled countries.

It has been shown that, although forty years had elapsed since Coronado carried on war with the Tiguas, details even of that warfare were distinctly remembered by those Indians. And yet the Tigua tribe received Chamuscado with demonstrations of amity! It seemed as if they harbored no resentment against the whites. They certainly understood that their last visitors were countrymen of the first. The Pueblos are not a meek nor a weak people. Even the roving tribes of the plains treated Coronado in a friendly manner, and they did not molest the party of Chamuscado. It may be that the presence of the Franciscans made a strong impression upon the Tiguas, creating misgivings of a religious nature. The Indians may have felt no apprehension at the sight of a few armed men only, who, as they soon understood, did not intend to remain; or, again, remembering the successive appearance of the Spaniards, first in small numbers (Alvarado and Lopez de Cardenas) followed later by more formidable bodies, they may have concluded to expect and wait, to see whether there was a stronger force yet coming. Many are the explanations that

can be imagined. In the absence of any knowledge of Indian traditions, beyond that gathered later on by Espejo and which does not touch the question, it is well to note the conduct of the Pueblos and chiefly of the Tiguas without venturing explanatory and perhaps very misleading suggestions. It is a common error to substitute opinion for fact.

The three friars remained at Puaráy with one Concho Indian baptized Geronimo, two others called respectively Francisco and Andrés, a mestizo, and some Indian boys. The witness mentioned as Hernando Barrado has preserved the names and also the following information, "that, being the deponent in the convent of the said village (of Santa Barbola), about three months ago (previous to October 20th, 1582) he saw, in that pueblo, the said Francisco, one of the Indians who had remained with the said ecclesiastics, and that, surprised by it, he spoke to him and asked how he came to be there, and had returned from the new country in which he left him."³⁷ The Indian then told him that the Indians of that land of Puaráy had killed Father Francisco López "the Guardian", and that he saw him burned, and that when he brought the news to Father Agustín, his companion, they became alarmed and, without waiting to see what might succeed, he and the other Indians, Andrés and Gerónimo, left for the country of the Concho by a circuitous route, nearly by the same road by which they had come, and when leaving, they heard great shouting and much noise in the pueblo, from which they believed that they had killed the other ecclesiastics and the Indian boys that remained, being unable to come with them, "and that one of his companions, called Andrés, had been killed by certain Indians in some settlements which they met between the Concho nation and the Tatarabueyes, so that only the Indian Geró-

37. *Testimonio dado*, p 96: "podrá haber tres meses, poco mas o menos, que vio en el, al dicho Francisco, uno de los indios que se habian quedado, con los dichos religiosos, y maravillándose dello, le hablo y pregunto, como estaba allí y se habia vuelto de la tierra nueva donde le habia dejado."

nimo, whom this deponent had raised, escaped." Gerónimo he afterwards met when on the road to the mines of Zacatecas and he told him the same story the Indian called Francisco had related.³⁸

The tragic death of the missionaries is beyond all doubt, although the above is the only narrative known, as yet, due to eyewitnesses of the event. When, in 1598, Juan de Oñate effected the permanent occupation of New Mexico, his forces passed through Puaráy, camping there for several days. The missionaries accompanying were lodged by the Tiguas in one of the buildings of the village which had just been whitewashed inside. It had been done so recently that the whitewash was not yet dry and came off in places. There appeared beneath the superficial coating an Indian daub clearly representing three Franciscan monks that were being killed with clubs, stones, and by blows. In these figures, which the Indians proposed to conceal from the Spaniards by a heavy whitewash, the friars murdered in the

38. *Testimonio*, p 97: "el cual le dijo, que los indios de aquella tierra de Puaráy, habian muerto a Fray Francisco Lopez, Guardian, y lo habia visto enterrar; y dando la nueva dello a Fray Agustin su compañero, se alborotaron, y sin aguardar a ver otro suceso, el y los otros dos indios, Andres y Gerónimo se vinieron a salir por la tierra de concho, haciendo sus rodeos casi por el mismo camino que habian ido, y que cuando salieron, oyeron muchas voces y alborotos en el pueblo por donde creian que habian muerto a los demas religiosos e indios muchachos, que se quedaron, que no pudieron venir con ellos; y que el uno de sus compañeros, llamado Andres, lo habian muerto ciertos Indios que toparon entre los de la nacion a conejo los Tatarabueyos." The "Tatarabueyos" were the Jumanos, so that the Indians by whom Andrés was killed were, either the "Pazaguates" or the "Tobosos." The latter were, afterwards, always mentioned as particularly hostile. As to the burial of Father López, there is subsequent information. In the manuscript of Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón, *Relaciones de todas las cosas, &ca* (National Archives of Mexico, 1626, Par. II) it is stated: "El cuerpo del Santo Fr. Juan Lopez estuvo oculto mas de 33 años, al cavo de los quales un Yndio del Pueblo de Puaray, testigo de vista de su muerte y sepultura, lo descubrio al P. Fr. Estevan de Perea, siendo comicario de equellas provincias, y gran ministro entre equellos naturales, al qual cuerpo, o por mejor decir huesos se llevaron con toda veneracion y respeto los religiosos revestidos. Y a pie hasta colocarlos en la Yglesia do Candia, una buena legua, &ca." The procession took place in February. Vetancurt, *Cronica*, p. 312, says that in the church of "Zandia" the skull of Father Rodriguez was preserved as a relic: "señalado con el golpe de la macana." While I do not doubt the finding of the remains of one of the martyrs and its solemn translation to Sandia, I do not venture to assert to whom of the two ecclesiastics they belonged, although I incline to the belief that they were those of Father López as Zárate Salmerón affirms.

year 1582 were recognized by their brethren. So states Gaspar Pérez de Villagrán, one of the principal officers of Oñate and a reliable witness.³⁹ Besides, the results of the explorations of Antonio de Espejo in the year following proved that the missionaries were murdered by the Tiguas in New Mexico.⁴⁰

I purposely refrain from stating that Puaráy was the place where *all three* met with death. On this point there is a discrepancy between the statements of the eyewitnesses of the murders, and other sources. The Indians who were at Puaráy at the time mention *more than one* missionary remaining there after the slaughter of Fray Francisco López. They speak of "the ecclesiastics," not of Father Rodriguez alone.⁴¹ Other sources of a reliable character inform us differently. Antonio de Espejo asserts, first—that at

39. *Historia de la Nueva Mexico*, Canto XV, fol. 137.

"Y haziendo jornada en vn buen pueblo,
 "Que Puarai llamauan sus vezinos,
 "En el a todos bien nos recibieron,
 "Y en vnos corredores jaluegados,
 "Con vn blanco jaluegue recien puesto,
 "Barridos y regados con limpieça,
 "Lleuaron a los Padres, y alli juntos,
 "Fueron muy buen seruidos, y otro dia,
 "Por auerse el jaluegue ya secado,
 "Dios que a su santa Iglesia siempre muestra,
 "Los Santos que por ella padezieron,
 "Hizo se trasluziesse la pintura,
 "Mudo Predicador, aqui encubrieron,
 "Con el blanco barniz, porque no viessen,
 "La fuerça del martirio que passaron,
 "Aquellos Santos Padres Religiosos,
 "Fray Agustin, Fray Juan, y Fray Francisco,
 "Cuios illustres cuerpos retratados,
 "Los baruaros tenian tan al vivo,
 "Que porque vuestra gente no los viesse,
 "Quisieronlos borrar con aquel blanco,
 "Cuiã pureza grande luego quiso,
 "Mostrar con evidencia manifiesta,
 "Que a puro azote, palo, y piedra fueron,
 "Los tres Santos varones consumidos."

40. Záratte Salmerón, *Relaciones* (MSS: -par. 8) varies in his account of the death of Father Agustín, but only in the designation of the Tigua village where he was murdered.

41. *Testimonio*, p 97.

Puaráy: "we found the Indians of this province had killed Fray Francisco López and Fray Agustín Ruiz; three youngsters, and a mestizo."⁴² Further on he narrates that among the Indians he calls "Maguas" and who (as will be hereafter shown) were the Tanos, "we found they had killed one of the ecclesiastics who came with Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado, called Fray Jhoan de Santa Maria whom they killed, before the said Francisco Chamuscado returned to peaceful lands and we made them friendly, not saying anything to them about these murders."⁴³

The statement of Espejo bears every mark of truth. It shows that Father Santa Maria had separated from his companions before Chamuscado reached Santa Barbara, and that the Tanos murdered him, though after Chamuscado had left the Pueblo country. While the fact that the Indian witnesses do not mention the fate of that monk (probably the youngest of the three) separately is not surprising of what they *actually saw*, it is a matter of surprise that they do not allude to the *separation* of the young monk from his companions, a fact which they very probably witnessed also. Still, the testimony of Espejo is positive and I cannot refuse to believe that it is correct. Unlike the case of Fray Juan de la Cruz, the testimony is contemporaneous, and the facts were gathered from the Tanos themselves, although probably, in an indirect way. Espejo's narrative has probably been the basis for what, with greater detail, ecclesiastic sources have told of the event and which has greater weight than what the same sources state in the question of Father de la Cruz.⁴⁴

42. *Relación del Viage*, Doc. de Indias, p. 112: "que es edonde hallamos haber muerto los indios de esta provincia a Fray Francisco Lopez y a Fray Agustin Ruiz."

43. Espejo, *Relación*, p. 114: "y hallamos que aqui habian muerto uno de los religiosos que entraron con Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado, que se llamaba Fray Jhoan de Santa Maria . . . el cual mataron, antes que el dicho Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado saliese a la tierra de paz, y los trujimos de paz, sin tratarles nada destas muertes;"

44. Whereas ecclesiastic sources are certainly of great value, but the silence of eyewitnesses in the case of Father de la Cruz, outweighs (unless further information be obtained from a time nearer to the event than 1587 or, not unlikely, 1588

Unable to go further back in ecclesiastic literature on the subject than the year 1587, I merely allude to Gonzaga as mentioning Father Santa Maria under date of June the ninth.⁴⁵ The source from which even Gonzaga might, possibly, have derived his knowledge is, however, Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta.

Mendieta affirms: "Seeing the copious crop that God had placed in their hands and that the Indian infidels showed no disposition to resist the Preaching of the Gospel, and finding themselves alone, they (the three friars) deliberated on the manner in which they might obtain more laborers, by sending word to their superiors. To this end, Fray Juan de Santa Maria offered to go Fr. Juan had a natural inclination for Astrology (Astronomy) and was therefore called, by everybody, the Astrologer. Relying upon his knowledge of the stars, he took a road distinct from the one on which they had come, in order to return. Hardly had he gone three days, when the heathenish Indians killed him in a cruel manner lying down along the path, to rest, the Indians threw a very large block of stone upon his head, that suffocated him" (literally, "that took his life, so that he could not breathe")⁴⁶

when Mendieta sent to the General of the Franciscan order his material), the statements of writers who wrote 31 or 45 years after the event and none of whom ever were in New Mexico. Hence I leave the matter open, hoping for more material in the future.

45. *De Origine Seraphicae Religionis*. (see Vetancurt, *Menologio Franciscano*, p. 185.)

46. *Historia ecclesiastical Indiana*, p 763: "Vista la copiosa mies que el Señor les ponía en las manos, y que en los Indios infieles no hallaban dificultad para resistir a la predicacion evangelica, como se veian solos trataban del modo que tendrian para dar noticia a sus prelados de la gran necesidad que habia de enviar mas obreros. A esto se efrecio Fr. Juan de Santa Maria, mozo dispuesto para todo trabajo, y aparejado en la voluntad. . . Era Fr. Juan naturalmente inclinado y aficionado a saber cosas de astrologia, a cuya causa, comunmente era llamado de todos el Astrologo. Fundado en este conocimiento que tenia de las estrellas, tomo otro camino para volver, diverso del que habian llevado, para ver lo que por alli hallaria de nuevo. Apenas habia andado tres jornadas, cuando lo mataron los indios infieles con un genaro de muerte muy cruel. Y fue, que acostandose a dormir de cansado junto al camino, le echaron una muy grande galga encima de la cabeza, que le quito la vida sin poder respirar."

Torquemada copies almost literally.⁴⁷ In 1626 Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón, who resided in New Mexico, writes: "and he sallied to the rear of the Sierra of Puarai (now Sierra de Sandia), in order to cross (the country) by the salines, and thence to cut across to the pass of the Rio del Norte . . . but his good intentions he could not realize, for on the third day after he had taken leave of his brethren and companions, while resting beneath a tree, the Tigua Indians of San Pablo, as the village is now called, killed him and burnt his body."⁴⁸ Zárate's commentator from the year 1729, the Jesuit Amando Niel, changes the name of the village to San Pedro.⁴⁹ Father Niel is a quite unreliable guide in matters concerning New Mexico, still, in the present instance, his statement concerning the pueblo near which Father Santa Maria was murdered merits attention. In the rear of the Sandia chain lived the Tanos. The settlements of the Tiguas, apart from the Rio Grande, were about on the edge of the salines, and the best known of them and most northerly was Tajique. I have been unable to find any ancient pueblo in all the clusters around the salines, with the advocacy of Saint Paul. But there stood, at the eastern base of the Sandia mountains and at a distance of about three journeys from the Rio Grande, the village of "Paaco," with a church that once had been dedicated to Saint Peter.⁵⁰ I have therefore regarded it as possible that the murder of Fray Juan de Santa Maria took place in that vicinity and by

47. *Monarchia indiana*, vol. II, p 626. Also Vetancurt, *Menologio*, p 185.

48. *Relaciones de todas las Cosas* (MSS. par. 8): "Ofreciose a esta Jornada el P. Fr. Juan de Santa Maria, el qual era grande Astrologo, y demarcando la tierra, hallo por su cuenta como habia camino mas breve, y derecho, y assi salio por detras de la Sierra de Puaráy, para atravesar por los salinas, y de alli cortar derecho al paso del Rio del Norte, 100 leguas mas aca del Nuevo Mexico; mas no llego a colmo su buen intento. Por que al tercero dia que se despidio de sus compañeros hermanos, llegando a sestar debajo de un arbol, los Yndios Tiguas del pueblo que ahora se llama S. Pablo lo mataron, y quemaron sus huesos."

49. *Apuntamientos que sobre el terreno hizo el padre Juan Amando Niel de la Compañia de Jesús, 1729* (MSS: National Archives of Mexico.)

50. See, on the Pueblo ruins east of the Sandia chain, my *Final Report*, pp. 106 to 124.

(1629)

v. 7. 354

(1629)

Tanos, not by Tigua, Indians. At all events, I must regard the attempted return of that priest to New Spain in the course of 1582, and his tragic death in the country of the Tanos (and probably by their hands), as at least highly probable, if not positively certain.

The ecclesiastic sources are more detailed on the death of Father López and of Father Rodríguez. Mendieta narrates: "Fr. Francisco López and Fr. Agustín Rodríguez remained in the pueblo where they had taken up their abode, endeavoring to learn the language of the Indians in order to become able to preach with greater clearness the law of God, while they had, yet, to teach it only by signs and tokens. While occupied in this good work, it happened that there came one day, to the village where they were, enemies of those who gave them hospitality—with the intention of killing them (possibly because they had taken the ecclesiastics into their company and were supporting them.) Father Francisco went out to chide them for the evil they were doing and to persuade them to drop their discords and contentions, . . . The barbarians then turned upon him, and not listening to anything, killed him with arrows Fr. Agustín remained among those infidels with the five Mexican Indians, Christians, whom he had taken with him in order to have their assistance in the teaching and doctrine of the idolaters. Being alone, and unable to stand the sins and abominations publicly performed, he would reprimand them, sometimes gently; sometimes with Christian freedom, regardless of the death suffered by his companions, he would become bitter and threaten with the punishment of God and the eternal torment of hell. Unable to stand this, they did away with him in a few days, and afterwards, with the Christian Indians (also) that nobody might remain to tell the tale."⁵¹ The text of Mendieta is almost literally followed

51. *Historia ecclesiastica*, p. 764: ". . . Entendiendo ellos en esta buena obra, sucedió que vinieron un día a aquel pueblo donde estaban, ciertos Indios de la comarca enemigos de los de su hospedaje, con mano armada para los matar (por ventura

by other ecclesiastic writers. Torquemada, however, adds: that when Father López met the strange Indians outside of the village he asked them why they came. To this they gave no reply, but looking at each other, said among themselves: "Who is this crier who thus comes out to shout at us what we do not care to hear?" How this could become known is not easy to find out, but it would be truly Indian. Torquemada also asserts that those who killed Father López were of the same "district" as Puaráy, hence Tiguas.⁵² The sources whence these details were obtained not being given; I remain in doubt about them.

porque habian acogido a los religiosos en su compania y los sustentaban.) Salio Fr. Francisco a reprenderlos de lo mal que hacian a persuadirles que se dejasen de discordias y rencores, y tuviesen paz con sus vecinos, pues todos eran unos." He adds that they killed him by arrowshots: "lo flecharon y dieron con el muerto en tierra." If such was the manner of his death then, it is not likely that the skull exhibited at Sandia was the skull of Father López, as Zárate Salmerón states. More of it in a subsequent note.

52. *Monarchia*, vol. II, p. 627: "Mirabanse vnos a otros, y decian: Quien es este Pregonero, que asi nos sale a pregonar lo que no queremos oir? Y bolviendo contra el su ira, no le aguardaron mas raçones, y lo flecharon a vna, todos, y dieron con el muerto en tierra." The talk attributed by Torquemada to these Indians from another village, sounds very natural, for Indians, and I must also call attention to the allusion of hostilities among the Tiguas themselves. But there is another version of the killing of Father López, though of later date, that deserves considerable attention. It is that given by Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón in 1626. *Relaciones de todas las Cosas &c.* (Par. 8.) He states that, after selecting Puaráy as the place where the missionaries were to reside, all three of them visited the Tanos village of Galisteo and that from there Fray Juan de Santa Maria started on his fatal journey: "entraron a los Yndios Tanos del pueblo de Galisteo los tres religiosos. . ." After the departure of Father Santa Maria, the two other friars returned to Puaráy. "estando el pio Fr. Francisco López rezando, apartado del pueblo poco mas de un tiro de Arcabuz, le mato un indio de dos macanazos que le dio en las Sienes, como se ven las señales en su calavera, y los Yndios de aquel pueblo lo confiesan, por que todavia hay muchos Yndios testigos de su muerte, y ellos descubrieron donde el cuerpo estaba enterrado." Father Zárate appears to have obtained these data from *Indian eyewitnesses* of the murder. He says nothing of hostile natives of another Tigua village. His affirmations have the same importance as ocular testimony. He continues: "El Pe. Fr. Agustin Ruiz lo amortajo, y enterro a nuestro modo dentro del pueblo." We may doubt if the Indians would have permitted such a burial "inside the village." It is further stated: "El capitan del pueblo dio muestras de sentimiento por el muerte del Religioso y por que no sucediese lo mismo con el Religioso Lego que quedaba, se lo llevo consigo al pueblo que se llama Santiago, legua y media el Rio arriba en descuidandose hicieron lo mismo, y mataronle tambien, y echaron su cuerpo en el Rio que iba crecida," I have not incorporated this important statement in the text, but call special attention to it. It lacks confirmation, as far as I know at present, but may yet prove true.

If the statement of Fray Zárate Salmerón that the body of Santa Maria was burnt is true, if the informants of Espejo told the truth, it is quite significant. It may and probably would indicate that they considered the priest as a *sorcerer*. It will be remembered, however, that Mota Padilla describes a regular cremation and among the Tiguas.⁵³ If it was an unusual ceremony and meant that the body of the monk was disposed of like that of an evil shaman, the fact is interesting for the relations between the priests and the aborigines. The priest is looked upon as a "charmer" of some kind, and respected as a direct intermediary between man and "the powers above."⁵⁴

The *pueblos*, in particular the Rio Grande Tiguas, had for a second time gotten rid of their white guests; of the escort by their voluntary removal, of the priests and their attendants through slaughter. While on the occasion of Coronado's evacuation of New Mexico they probably felt secure from any disturbance of the kind in the future, the sudden reappearance of the Spaniards and the priests opened their eyes to the fact that they were, though distant, neighbors, and might reach their country at their pleasure. It may be, therefore, that aside from other reasons unknown the killing of the missionaries may have been, in part, the result of a hope that forcible removal of beings whom they looked upon as "medicine-men of the whites" would deprive the latter of charms under the protection of which they were able to visit the *pueblos* again. But if the *pueblos* entertained such a hope, they were soon to be disappointed.

53. *Historia de Nueva Galicia*, p 160.

54. It must be remembered that the Tanos had not, so far, had any intercourse with ecclesiastics and besides, that many of the actions of the father may have looked quite suspicious to them, particularly his scanning of the skies, by day as well as by night. It must not be overlooked that he was "astrologer," hence given to star-gazing, which the Indians might have interpreted as sorcery or magic. I could relate more than one experience of the sort, chiefly among the Aymara Indians of Bolivia, where our perfectly harmless and often casual, scanning of the heavens, were interpreted as suspicious performances.

Already, before the news of the murder of the missionaries reached Mexico, a certain uneasiness was felt in regard to their safety. The viceroy himself communicated with Rodrigo del Rio de Losa, lieutenant captain-general of New Galicia, about sending a party "to find out about the friars and to investigate all the country."⁵⁵ The reply of that officer was affirmative and accompanied by detailed propositions.⁵⁶ Before that reply reached Mexico the news of the slaughter of the friars came in and hesitation was impossible. It is, however, noteworthy that the thought (which would have been only natural) to avenge the murders did not predominate.⁵⁷

Rodrigo de Losa still admits a doubt in regard to the fate of the missionaries and therefore suggests that an expedition be sent of about three hundred men, well armed, and prepared to investigate, return, and report. An impression, however, existed among some, notwithstanding the tales that were beginning to circulate of large settlements of Indians in the newly visited countries, that its population was inconsiderable.⁵⁸ While these negotiations were going

55. Conde de Coruña, *Carta al Rey*, p 96: "y habiendose hayado aquí, a esta sazón, Rodrigo del Rio de Losa, Teniente de Capitan General en la provincia de la Nueva Galicia, hombre plático y de mucha experiencia de entradas, porque se halló en la Florida con Don Tristán de Arellano y en la Nueva Vizcaya con Francisco de Ibarra, comunique con el lo que parecia menester, para enviar gente a saber de los Frayles y procurar tomar noticia de toda la tierra, en particular." In the meantime the news of the death of the friars had reached the viceroy.

56. Rodrigo de Rio de Losa, *Parecer* (*Doc. de Indias*, 15, pp. 137 to 146.)

57. The expressed intention of the viceroy is, to secure the lives of the missionaries and afterwards, when information of their death had been received, to investigate the country. It is also the opinion of Rodrigo de Losa, *Parecer*, p 138: "porque siempre me parece se ha de procurar y estorbar, venir en rompimiento," still he adds: "aunque me parece sera forzoso hacer algun castigo en los que mataron a los rreligiosos, especialmente en los movedores de este delito, para que sea fiero el castigo hecho en ellos, para que otros no se atrevan a hacer otro tanto; este castigo me parece sera forzoso hacelle," No punishment was, however, given to the Tiguas, although these Indians expected it, as will be seen.

58. *Parecer*, p 139: "Para este efeto que Vuestra Excelencia ha dicho, converná, vayan por lo menos, trescientos hombres de á caballo, bien aderezados y armados;" Francisco Diaz de Vargas, *Expediente sobre el Ofrecimiento que hace &ca*, p. 144: "y sea Vuestra Excelencia servido de advertir, que á mi entender, lo hasta agora descubierto, no debe ser mucha la gente que se ha visto, viven, ni en aquel parage entiendo la debe haber." He founds his belief on the outcome of Coronado's expedition principally.

on, a well-to-do colonist at Mexico intervened suddenly, to facilitate the designs of the authorities.

Antonio de Espejo was a native of the city of Córdoba in Spain. He was wealthy, for the time.⁵⁹ It appears from his own statements that when it became known that the three missionaries had remained isolated among the Indians at Puaráy, and before the news of their tragic fate had been received, the superiors of the order of Saint Francis already were attempting to find somebody who would go to the assistance of the friars. A Franciscan from the convent at Durango, Fray Bernardino Beltrán, offered himself for the purpose and they desired to furnish him the proper escort.⁶⁰ Espejo was then in the province of New Biscay and so: "I offered to accompany the said cleric, spending a part of my means in bearing the expense, and taking along some soldiers, as well for my own protection, as for that of the ecclesiastics whom I was to bring back and defend, provided the royal authorities, in the name of His Majesty, would give or send me the proper license for it."⁶¹ That license was obtained through the "Alcade mayor of the settlements called 'the four Ciénegas,' " in New Biscay, situated seventy leagues east of Santa Barbara, Father Bel-

59. Espejo was then about fifty years old, as he states, and a native of Cordoba. *Relación del viage*, p. 102. That he was a man of means is shown by the fact that he bore nearly the entire expense of his expedition. (p. 103) "y de gastar parte de mi hacienda en hacerle la costa;" further on he adds: "a los cuales o a la mayor parte socorro con armas caballos, municiones y bastimentos y otras cosas necesarias para tan largo y nuevo viage."

60. *Relación*, p. 102. After mentioning the three friars, as having remained at Puaráy alone, he states: "de lo cual recibio notable pena la orden de San Francisco; teniendo por cierto, que los Indios habian de matar a los dichos religiosos, y a los que con ellos quedaron, y con este temor procuraban y deseaban que hubiese quien entrase en la dicha tierra a sacarlos y favorecerlos. y para este efeto, se ofrecio de hacer la jornada otro religioso de la misma orden, llamado Fray Bernardino Beltran, morador del convento de la Villa de Durango, cabecera de la Nueva Vizcaya, con licencia y permiso de su Superior."

61. *Ibidem*: "y como en aquella zason, yo me hallase en aquella Governacion y tuviese noticia del justo y piadoso deseo del dicho religioso y de toda la orden, . . . yo me ofreci a acompañar al dicho religioso, y de gastar parte de mi hacienda en hacerle la costa."

trán having taken the necessary steps for it.⁶² The proposal of Espejo therefore cut short the measures contemplated by the viceroy, relieving, at the same time, the royal exchequer from all outlay. Considering the distance and the requisite formalities, the matter was settled quite promptly, for, already, on the tenth of November of the year 1582 or ten days after the Count of Coruña had written to the king, Espejo set out from Santa Barbara with Father Beltrán and an escort of fourteen soldiers, most of whom Espejo had armed and equipped at his expense. He also took along servants and 115 horses and mules.⁶³ The viceroy appears not to have been informed, else he would have mentioned it in his already referred to letter to the monarch. Yet, when advised of what Espejo had undertaken, he made no opposition, passing over the affair in silence, as it seems.⁶⁴ It may be that owing to the character of the undertaking, promoted by the church and organized in a manner similar to that of Chamuscada and, principally, because it entailed no cost whatever for the crown, the Count of Coruña was satisfied to ratify later on the authorization dispatched by his subordinates, or that he regarded it as an affair which at the time when he wrote to the king had not yet taken a tangible shape. Certain it is that, acting upon the viceroy's letter, the king, under date of March 29th, 1583, directed, "that a decree should be issued to the viceroy of New Spain to capitulate with a party appearing to him convenient to make the journey according to the Ordinances concerning the matter, and without any cost to His Majesty's exchequer, and, the capitulation effected, before anything is done, it shall be remitted to the Council [of the Indies] in

62. *Idem*, p 103: "y asi habiendo entendido el santo Zelo del dicho religioso y mi intento, el capitan Joan de Ontiveros, Alcalde mayor por su Magestad en los pueblos que llaman las quatro Cienegas. . . . a instancia del dicho Fray Bernardino, dio se mandamiento y comision, para que yo, con algunos soldados entrase la dicha tierra nueva.

63. *Ibidem*: "Y asi, en virtud de dicho mandamiento y comision, junte catorse soldados." He gives the names of all fourteen.

64. *Testimonio dado*, p 99.

order that, having taken cognizance of it, that Council might provide what may be most convenient."⁶⁵ Had Espejo been less expeditious and energetic, it might have taken years to consider and years to prepare. Fortunately Espejo had the church as principal promoter of the enterprise.

Two texts of the report made by Espejo after his return bear an official character, and both are of the same date; end of October, 1583. They appear to be duplicates.⁶⁶ Hackluyt published a Spanish version of the report (with an English translation) but, thirty years ago, I called attention to the defective character of that publication, and Woodbury Lowery later qualified it as little else than spurious.⁶⁷ This qualification I most emphatically support. Nobody can conscientiously quote it in a work of a serious nature. Following therefore the two texts that can be regarded as genuine, it must still be stated that both are tainted, occasionally with misprints of Indian names, but usually one of the copies corrects the other, so that both must constantly be present to the investigator. According to these texts the journey of Espejo presents the following picture.

The march from Santa Barbara to where the first New Mexican pueblos were met (as far as may be gathered from the not always positive statements) consumed fifty-two days. It will be noticed that this agrees fairly well with the number of days given by the companions of Chamuscado for the same trip (they followed, in general, the same

65. *Ut Supra*, Carta al Rey, p. 100. On the cover is written the following: "Dese con los papeles a un relator.—Dese cedula dirigida al Virroy de Nueva España o a la persona que en su lugar tubiere el Cobierno, para que cerca del descubrimiento contenido en esta carta, y informacion y relaciones que con ella envia, capitule alla con la persona que para ello le paresca que conviene, conforme a las ordenanzas que sobre ello hablan, para que se haga la jornada, sin que en ella se gaste cosa alguna de la hacienda de Su Magestad; y hecha la capitulacion, antes que se haga cosa alguna de lo que por ella capitulare, le envie al Consejo para que vista se provea lo que mas convenga."

66. Both are printed in vol. 15 of the *Documentos ineditos de Indias*.

67. I first called attention to some of the numberless errors in Hackluyt in my *Historical Introduction to Studies among the sedentary Indians of New Mexico*. (see p. 16).

route). I merely mention here the Indian tribes encountered, having to refer to them again. First the Conchos, then the Pazaguates, then the Tobozos (the other copy has "jobosos"), the Jumanos ("Xumarias"), then tribes of which no name is given, part of which lived on the banks of the Rio Grande (then called "Rio del Norte"). Between the last stated clusters and the Jumanos lay a desert which it took fifteen days to cross, which is the same where Chamuscado spent twenty days passing through it.⁶⁸ There is a certain agreement between the two sources which can hardly be due to connivance, and speaks in favor of the reliability of both, as well as of the data furnished more than forty years previous by chroniclers and eyewitnesses of Coronado's march.

Reserving the matter of customs of the Pueblos for later consideration, I shall pass the happenings of Espejo's tour rapidly in review. But, be it said here, Espejo was an *Andalusian*. Andalusians have brilliant qualities, among which an extraordinarily vivid imagination is not the least. This is said not in disparagement but as explanatory of some statements in his report.

From what has been developed previously it results that the first cluster of villages found by Espejo on the lower New Mexican Rio Grande pertained to the group of the Piros. It is somewhat curious that that *tribal name* is not mentioned in any known document from the sixteenth century. Espejo saw ten of their villages along the banks, in two days, as well as other ones apart from the river, at a certain distance. After spending four days in marching through the Piros' country, Espejo feels able to guess at a total population of "more than 12,000 souls."⁶⁹

68. Both Bustamante and Gallegos testify that the desert was "veinte jornadas." *Testimonio*, pp. 83 and 90. *Relación breve*, p. 147, has "diez y nueva dias." I do not quote from the text in regard to the rest of the country traversed, until the "desert" was reached; it is too well known, even through the defective version of Hackluyt.

69. The earliest mention of a name that might recall the word "Piros," and that is, perhaps, an error of the copyist, I find in Juan de Oñate, *Copia de Carta escripta al Virroy Conde de Monterrey*, March 2d, 1599. It is in Volume 16 of *Doc. de Indias*,

From these Indians they reached, half a league up the river, a group of sixteen settlements, the inhabitants of which were "Tiguas."⁷⁰ Arriving at a pueblo called by one document "Pualas," by the other "Puala," they found that Father Francisco and Father Rodriguez had been killed there by the Indians, and also that a tolerably exact tradition had been preserved of Coronado and the killing of nine of his men and forty horses, as already narrated in Part I.⁷¹ The Indians gave them to understand that the white men had, in consequence of it, destroyed one village.⁷² The natives signified that they apprehended the newcomers intended to chastise them for the murder of the missionaries, and therefore most of the people had removed to a mountain range two leagues away and could not be induced to come back.⁷³

Such of the Tiguas as still loitered about their homes also gave the Spaniards to understand that there were more pueblos further east and near by; so, after some hesitation due to the attitude of the Tiguas, who seemed to be hostile, Espejo left his main body and the friar at Puaráy, and

p. 306: "La provincia de los Piguís, ques la Provincia dellas, viniendo desa Nueva España." Espejo says (*Relación*, p. 109): "en dos días hayamos diez pueblos poblados, riveras de esto río, y de una y otra banda junto a el, de mas de otros pueblos que parecían desviados, en que pasando por ellos parecia haber mas de doce mil ánimas hombres y mugeres y niños."

70. *Idem*, p. 122: "y a media legua del distrito della, hallamos otra que se llama la provincia de los Tiguas, que son diez y seis pueblos." It may be remembered that most of the chroniclers of Coronado assign to "Tiguex" twelve villages, with the exception of Jaramillo, *Relación hecha* (p. 309) who says: "hay por el, en distancia, como veinte leguas, quince pueblos." The *Relación postrera de Sivola* (I copy from the MSS) states: "El que esto dice vió doze pueblos en cierto compás del río; otros vieron más, dicen, el río arriba." In 1630 Benavides, *Memorial* (p. 83) gives to the "Tioas" 15 to 16 pueblos.

71. *Relación*, p. 112. See also Part I.

72. *Ibidem*. "y que por este respeto habia asolado la gente de un pueblo desta provincia; y desto nos dieron razon los naturales destos pueblos, por señas que entendimos." The village which Coronado took and destroyed may therefore, not have been Puaráy.

73. *Idem*, p. 113: "esta gente, entendiendo que ibamos alli, por haber muerto a los frailes y a castigarlos; antes que llegasemos a la provincia, se fueron a una sierra que esta dos leguas del río, y procuramos de traerlos de paz, haciendo para ello muchas diligencias, y no quisieron venir."

went with only two companions in search of those easterly settlements.⁷⁴ He found them, in a country which he describes as follows: "Here they neither have nor obtain brooks with running water, or any springs they use and this province confines with the cows that are called⁷⁵ of Cibola⁷⁶ (the text of Hackluyt has, "the province of Cibola"). He calls the inhabitants "Maguas."⁷⁷ The reference to the waterless conditions, the proximity to Puaráy in an easterly direction, and the near neighborhood of the buffaloes, hence of the plains, identify sufficiently the country of the Maguas and that tribe with the tribe and country of the *Tanos*. Espejo attributes to the *Tanos* a population of 40,000 souls, in eleven villages.

They also found out that in this district Fray Juan de Santa Maria had been murdered, as before related. Thence they returned to their camp among the Tiguas, and heard of another cluster, two days away, its people being called "Quires." The name speaks for the identity with the "Quirix" or "Quires" of Coronado's time, and the location confirms it further; "one journey up the river del Norte, six leagues from where we had encamped." The "Quires dwelt in five villages; and it seemed to us there were fifteen thousand souls."⁷⁷ The whites were informed of another Pueblo group two days distant to the west, which they also started to see. It proved to be the tribe of Cia (Espejo calls it "Siay") with "five pueblos, the largest of which [Cia] was very large. It is settled on a middle-sized river that comes from the north, emptying into the Rio del Norte re-

74. *Idem*, p 114.

75. *Ibidem*. The short description is characteristic for the region: "aqui no alcanzan ni tienen arroyos que corren, y fuentes de que se sirvan." "y esta provincia confina con las vacas que llaman de Civola."

76. *Ibidem*.

77. *Idem*, p. 115: "Llegado al real, tubimos, noticia de otra provincia que se llama los Quires, el rio del Norte arriba, una jornada, como seis leguas de alli donde teniamos el real." He says the distance separating the Tiguas from the Queres was one league and, "antes que llegasemos a ella, una legua, nos salieron o recebir mucha cantidad de Indios de paz." The distance between the two tribes was indeed greater than one league, as it is today.

ferred to. The inhabitants are credited with the liberal number of twenty thousand."⁷⁸

"Having marched a day toward the northwest and about six leagues, we found another province called the Province of the Emáges (Emáxes) where there are a large number of people, apparently thirty thousand. One of those settlements was so large that the friar and some of the soldiers feared to go there, owing to the description made of it by the Indians." This village may have been in the well-known Jemez Cañon, or on one of the gigantic mesas overlooking it.⁷⁹

From the Jemez or "Emmes" they proceeded to Ácoma, three days' march, at five leagues each day. While acknowledging that that pueblo was alone and isolated, Espejo allows it 6,000 inhabitants.⁸⁰ The description of the remarkable rock agrees well with those from the time of Coronado. Espejo (very naturally) extolls the formidable situation of Ácoma, on the upper surface of a rock, inexpugnable according to the military resources of the time, and he adds: "this people have their fields two leagues from the said village, on a stream of moderate size, where they gather the water to irrigate, as they water crops, with many channels

78. One of the texts has "Punames," which is correct. (p. 176). It also has "Sia" instead of "Siay" (p. 115),—otherwise both texts agree. The river is the Jemez: "rio mediano que viene del Norte y entra en el dicho rio del Norte referido; y junto a una sierra en esta provincia, a lo que parecio, hay cantidad de gente, mas de veinte mil animas."

79. The *Relación del Viage* (p. 116) has "Emexes"; the *Carta* (p. 179) "Emeges." It is easy to recognize in both words, the Queres word for "Jemez" which is "Haemish," the "x" to be pronounced as "sh". See Part I. About these Espejo says: "Habiendo andado una jornada hacia el Norueste, como seis leguas, hallamos una provincia con siete pueblos que se llama la provincia de los Emeges, donde hay gran cantidad de gente, que al parecer, seran como treinta mil animas; en uno destos pueblos, porque los naturales significaban era muy grande y estaba en la serrania, el padre Fray Bernardino Beltran y algunos de los soldados, les parecio que era poca fuerza le qua llavabamos para tan gran pueblo; y asi no lo vimos, por no dividiarnos en dos partes."

80. *Relación*, p. 116: "Salimos de la provincia dicha, hacia el Poniente, tres jornadas, como quinze leguas, y hallamos un pueblo que se llama Ácoma. donde nos parecia habia mas de seis mil animas."

close to that stream."⁸¹ The whites understood there was much ore in the mountains of that neighborhood, but did not investigate: "the people there being numerous and warlike. The mountaineers come to the settlements to assist and are called, by the villagers, 'Querechos.' They have intercourse and commerce with those of the settlements."⁸²

It was fall when Espejo reached Ácoma, and the so-called "Summer Pueblo" was still occupied. Whether this was on the site of the actual "Acomita" (or not) cannot be decided, although some of the features alluded to (the little stream, the distance, and the marshy ground) might lead one to believe it.

For the first time the name "Ácoma," as given in the Queres idiom of the inhabitants, is mentioned in documents. Espejo (or some one of his companions) must have had a good ear for Pueblo words, for more than one term is quite correctly rendered. Such is, for instance, the case with the tribe of Cia. He calls them "Punames" (the other text has "Pumames") which is the Queres word for the west, in which direction from the Rio Grande Queres Cia is indeed located.⁸³ Here the Hackluyt text makes the singular blunder of substituting "Cuames." "Cuame" happens to be also

81. *Ibidem*: "el cual estaba sentado sobre una peña alta, que tiene mas de cinquenta estados en alto, y en la propia peña, tiene hecha una escalera por donde suben y baxan al pueblo, que es cosa muy fuerte, y tienen cisternas de agua, arriba," (p. 117) "esta gente tiene sus sementeras, dos leguas del dicho pueblo, en un rio mediano, donde atajan el agua para regar como riegan las sementeras, con muchos repartimientos de agua junto a este rio, en una cienega; cerca de las dichas sementeras hallamos muchos rrosales de Castilla con rosas, y tambien hallamos cevollas de Castilla, que se crián en la tierra, sin sembrallas ni beneficiallas."

82. *Ibidem*: "por ser la gente de alli mucha y belicosa; los serranos acuden a servir a los de las poblaciones, y llaman a estos; querechos; tratan y contratan con los de las poblaciones, llevandoles sal y caza, venados, conejos y liebres, y gamuzas aderezadas, y otros generos de cosas, a trueque de mantas, de algodón y otras cosas. . ." This is, so far, the first notice I have found, in early documents, of the Navajos! This powerful tribe, related to the Apaches, occupied the regions north and northwest of Ácoma, and it is noteworthy that the Queres of Ácoma called them by the same name as given to the Apaches of the plains at the time of Coronado.

83. *Idem*, p. 115 and 178. See Note 78. "Puname" is the West in the Queres language; at least, on the Rio Grande, where Espejo heard it.

a correct Queres term, but it means the south.⁸⁴ Happily for historic truth, those who have attempted to write on the pueblos have had no knowledge of the Queres language, so that the error that might result from that of Hackluyt's scribe has not been seriously propagated.

From Ácoma the explorers went, twenty-four leagues traveled in four days, to a cluster of six villages called, in one of the genuine texts, "*Zuñy, and by another name Cibola;*"⁸⁵ the other has "Amei."⁸⁶ "Where they learned that Francisco Vazquez Coronado and his captains had been, and that, from there, Don Pedro de Tobar, hearing of a great lagune where the natives said were many settlements and gold, and that they wore clothes, attempted to reach it,"⁸⁷ that lagoon was said to be "sixty journeys" from Zuñi. At one of the Zuñi villages they "found out that Francisco Vazquez Coronado had been there with some of his captains and in this province we found, close to the pueblos, crosses, and here we met three Christian Indians that had themselves called Andrés of Cuyuocan and Gaspar of Mexico [and] Anton of Guadalajara, who said they had come with the said Governor Francisco Vazquez Coronado and, improving their practice in the Mexican language which they had almost forgotten, we learned that the said Francisco Vazquez Coronado and his captains had arrived there, and that from here Don Pedro de Tobar had gone inland. . ." This state-

84. "Cuame" is the South, "Tityame" the North, and "Haname" the East, in Queres. By designating the Cia group with the word "Puname," the Rio Grande Queres indeed pointed out the exact direction in which Cia lies from the main river whereas, by using Cuame, they would have pointed to the Tiguas, from which tribe Espejo reached the Queres.

85. *Carta*, p 180: "que son seis pueblos, que la provincia llaman Zuñi, y por otro nombre Cibola." The *Relación* (p. 117) has "Ame." Hackluyt committed the error of corrupting this text in the following manner: "y la llamaban los Españoles Cibola." (*The third and last Volume of the Voyage &c.*, pp. 457 to 464).

86. The word "Amei" recalls the "Cami" of Chamuscado.

87. *Relación*, p 117: "donde supimos, haber estado Francisco Vazquez Coronado y algunos capitanes de los que llevó consigo; y en esta provincia, hallamos puestas junto á los pueblos, cruces, . . . (p. 118) y que habia entrado allí Don Pedro de Tobar, teniendo noticia de una laguna grande, de donde decian estos naturales hay muchas poblaciones; y nos dijeron habia en aquella tierra, oro, y que era gente vestida. . . . y que la gente del dicho Coronado habia ido dose jornadas adelante destat provincia, y que de allí se habian vuelto, por no haber hallado agua, y se les habia acabado el

ment is positive, since Espejo asserts to have conversed with the said three Mexican Indians.⁸⁸

Espejo was tempted to go in search of the great lagoon, but Father Beltrán and some of the men demurred, declaring their intention to return to New Biscay. This took place at a pueblo Espejo calls "Aquico," which is the "Hauicu" of today; in ruins since about 1680. Espejo was left with only six men and some servants.⁸⁹ The population of the Zuñi cluster he estimates at more than 20,000.⁹⁰

Nothing daunted by the secession of nearly half of his men and of the friar, Espejo, having been told of a group of five villages "four journeys of seven leagues each" distant and called "Mohoce," he started to visit these also.⁹¹ "Mohoce" or, properly "Mootza," is the name given to the Hopi or Moqui by the Queres Indians of the Rio Grande. One hundred and fifty Indians from Zuñi and the three from Mexico accompanied him.⁹² They reached a pueblo called "Auguato," which clearly is the "Aguátobi" of later Spanish sources, and the "Awatchi" of American writers; although it may not stand on the same site, exactly, as at the time of

agua que llavaban." The information given to Espejo by the Zuñis concerning the two excursions which Coronado had made to the west was quite correct. The first was commanded by Tobar and resulted in the visit to the Moquis, the other by Garcia Lopez de Cardenas and went as far as the great Cañon of the Colorado river. Castañeda, *Cíbola*, Part I, cap. XI, pp. 428 to 430. The latter suffered from lack of water: "y como andubiesen otras quatro jornadas las guias dixeron que no era posible pasar adelante porque no auia agua en tres ni en quatro jornadas. . . ."

88. Espejo, *Relación*, p. 118: "hallamos puestas junto a los pueblos, cruces, y aqui allamos tres Indios cristianos, que se dijeron llamar Andres de Cuyuocan y Gaspar de Mexico Anton de Guadalajara, que dijeron haber entrado con el dicho Gobernador Francisco Vazquez Coronado, y reformandoles en la lengua Mexicana que ya casi la tenian olvidada, destos supimos que habia llegado alli el dicho Gobernador Francisco Vazquez Coronado y sus capitanes."

89. Espejo, *Relación*, p. 118: "dixeron que se querian volver a la Nueva Vizcaya, a donde habiamos salido, porque habian hayado, que Francisco Vázquez Coronado, no habia hallado oro ni plata, y se habia vuelto."

90. *Idem*, p. 117: "en la cual hay mucha cantidad de Indios, que parecio habia mas de veinte mil indios."

91. *Idem*, p. 119.

92. *Ibidem*: "fuimos a la dicha provincia de Mohoce, y llevamos ciento e cinquenta Indios de la provincia de donde salimos; e los dichos tres Indios, Mexicanos."

Espejo.⁹³ As everywhere else (at Puaráy excepted), the whites were treated in the most hospitable manner. Having heard (or rather, having understood through signs, though not clearly) about a big river very far off, the banks of which were densely populated, and seeing no possibility of going so far, Espejo turned back to the Zuñis.⁹⁴ It must be stated that there is a confusion in the statement of Espejo about the number of men who left and of those who remained with him. Six are said to have deserted him at Hauiku (besides the monk).⁹⁵ At the Hopi villages he despatched five back to Zuñi and proceeded with four "directly to the west forty-five leagues,"⁹⁶ to look for some mines (ore deposits) which he found to be very rich and contained much silver. While he gives the names of six soldiers remaining with Father Beltrán at Hauicú, he enumerates nine going with him to Moqui. At the starting of his expedition he gives the names of fourteen soldiers, in conformity with the number he indicates; at Hauicú the names of six, and of nine who accompanied him.⁹⁷ In general, Espejo is not very scrupulous with numbers except when indicating the leagues daily traveled. The population of the Hopi villages is given, for instance, at 50,000.⁹⁸

On returning to Hauicú, he found Father Beltrán still there with the men. The Zuñis had treated them well.⁹⁹

93. *Ibidem*, p. 122.

94. *Ibidem*. Espejo still made a trip to the west "cuarenta y cinco leguas," in search of ore. The Moquis gave him to understand: "por señas, que detras de aquellas serranias, que no pudimos entender bien, que tanto ostaria de alli, corria un rio muy grande, que segun las señas que daban, era de ancho, de mas de ocho leguas, y que corria hacia la mar del Norte;" Without, of course, venturing to speculate upon the question, what river may have been meant or (taking into consideration the great extent attributed to it) whether it was perhaps an allusion to the great Salt Lake, I point out the fact that the Moquis appear to have had some knowledge of the regions north of their own range. How they obtained it is, of course, not stated.

95. *Idem*, p. 118. Besides, there was a woman, the wife of one of the soldiers.

96. *Idem*, p. 120.

97. Pp. 118 and 119.

98. P. 119.

99. P. 122: "a todos los cuales, los indios de aquella provincia, habian dado lo que para su sustento habian menester."

The year of 1583 had already commenced. So the friar left with his people, and Espejo with "eight companions" soon followed as far as the Queres, whence he intended to proceed farther north, along the Rio Grande.¹⁰⁰ He crossed the river to the east and after "two journeys of six leagues each" met five pueblos belonging to the "Ubates," to which he assigns the generous number of 20,000 souls.¹⁰¹ The Ubates were the northern Tano and perhaps some of the villages of the southern Tehuas, as the distance indicated might lead one to infer.¹⁰² The country around Santa Fe and possibly as far north as Tesuque and Cuyamungē may be included, as the Spaniards could not discriminate between the Tano dialect of the Tewa language and the Tewa proper. This surmise may find some support in the other statement of Espejo: "hearing that, a day's journey from the said province, there was another, we went thither, and there were three very large villages that appeared to us to contain more than forty thousand inhabitants. It is called the province of the Tamos. There they would not give us anything to eat or admit us;"¹⁰³ therefore, and "because some

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100. *Ibidem*: "yo con ocho soldados, volvi con determinacion de ir corriendo el rio del Norte arriba, por donde habiamos entrado;" this indicates that he returned by the same route he went "y despues de haber andado diez jornadas, como sesenta leguas, a la provincia de los Quieres."

101. *Ibidem*: "alli caminamos hacia Oriente, dos jornadas de a seis leguas, donde hallamos una provincia de Indios que se llama Ubates, con cinco pueblos. . . . la gente destos pueblos es cantidad, y nos parecio habria como veinte mil animas."

102. East of the Rio Grande Queres were the Tanos, from east of San Felipe to east of Cochití. It is doubtful if Espejo crossed the river as far north as the latter village, for he would have met Tanos villages (at least two of them, "Tzenata" or the "Bajada," and "Tziguma" or the "Cienega") much nearer than two days' travel. The Tanos are the only Pueblo stock whose location corresponds to Espejo's description. From the place where Santa Fe now stands Cuya-mung-ge and Tezuque could easily be reached.

103. P. 123: "Teniendo noticia que a una jornada de la dicha provincia, habia otra, fuimos a ella, que con tres pueblos muy grandes que nos parecio tendrian mas de cuarenta mil animas, que se llama la provincia de los Tamos; aqui no nos quisieron dar de comer ni admitirnos." It is likely that "Tamos" is a misunderstanding for "Tanos." Of the three pueblos alluded to, only one, that of "Tshiquite" or Pecos" is distinctly identified; as the name given to it, "Cicuique," indicates. Whether the other two were of the few that are claimed by the Pecos as having been settlements of their people, or whether they were Tanos villages included through defective understanding, I do not attempt to decide. It seems certain, however, that at Coronado's

of my companions were sick, and the people numerous," he determined to turn back to New Biscay, taking with him as a guide an Indian from the last named tribe.¹⁰⁴ Half a league from one of the pueblos which he calls Ciquique they struck a stream which they named "Rio de las Vacas" because they met "a great number" of buffaloes along its course.¹⁰⁵

The mention of Ciquique points to Pecos without a doubt. It is interesting to note that that word which, as I have stated before, (in Part I) is the name for Pecos in the language of its tribe, was given to Espejo on the tribal range proper, which range, however, he ascribes to the "Tamos." The latter were manifestly the "Tanos," for the Pecos at that time occupied only one large village, the one called "Tshiquite" or "Tshiquique"—see Part I. It is not impossible that the Spaniards, coming from the Tano region and hearing that name from its inhabitants (the Tanos were, at my time, by no means reticent about their own tribal name), applied it to the Pecos village also, as that pueblo was the last one visited by them.¹⁰⁶

It was now the beginning of the month of July, 1583, and the homeward march was executed as swiftly as feasible. They manifestly followed the Pecos river, and, at the

time the Pecos Indians occupied but one village. See, on the Pecos region, my *Final Report* (II, Part III.) From the Pecos I obtained the names of three ruined pueblos in their former range: "Tshiquite" or the undoubtedly historic one, "Kuang-uala" near the railroad station of Rowe, and "Se-yu-pa" at "Fulton." As well as the ruin called by the same Indians "Pom-o Jo-ua" at San Antonio, they are claimed by the Pecos, but I could not ascertain if they had been occupied in the sixteenth century.

104. P. 123.

105. "y media legua de un pueblo de la dicha provincia, llamado Ciquique, hallamos un rio al cual nombramos de las Vacas; respeto que caminando por el, seis jornadas, como treinta leguas, hallamos gran cantidad de vacas de aquella tierra." Hence he followed the Pecos down its course, but did not notice any villages below the large one of Pecos proper. This may be significant.

106. My information about the real name of Pecos was obtained at Jemez, but from one of the survivors of the Pecos tribe, an aged man who had, when already of age, dwelt at the old pueblo. The confirmation of the information as well by the chroniclers of Coronado as now by Espejo, is not without its value.

end of a stretch of 120 leagues, met three Jumanos Indians that were hunting. From these they ascertained that they were twelve days' march from the Concho river (forty leagues). Crossing over to that stream they met, about "the many brooks and swamps there, a greater number of Jumanos who fed them with fishes of many kind."¹⁰⁷ Their journey finally ended at Santa Barbara, where Father Beltrán had turned up "many days previous" with his escort and where Espejo himself arrived September 20th, 1583.¹⁰⁸

From this sketch of the parts and places which Antonio de Espejo visited, it appears that the distribution and location of the Pueblos was the same in 1582 and 1583 as it had been in 1540 and 1542, and also in 1581. It fully confirms the identification of the Pueblo stocks as accepted some time ago, and shows that on these points Espejo was reliable and his statements are trustworthy. As already indicated, however, he is not so reliable on numbers. His estimates of the population of pueblos are enormous exaggerations. The resources of the country (in view of the primitive means for land-tilling to which the sedentary mode of life of the inhabitants was confined) would, alone, preclude the possibility of such a large population. The appearance and size of the ruins disprove it. Espejo was, on that subject, "a resolute opponent of the truth." It may be that his exaggera-

107. *Ibidem*: "y porque algunos de mis compañeros estaban enfermos, y que la gente era mucha, y no nos podíamos sustentar, determinamos de ir saliendo; y á principio de Julio de ochenta y tres años, tomamos un indio de este dicho pueblo para guia por otro camino del que habíamos llevado cuando fuimos entrando . . . y caminando por dicho río, ciento y veinte leguas hacia la parte del Oriente, al cabo de las cuales hallamos tres Indios que andaban á caza; heran de nacion jumana, de las cuales, por lengua de los intérpretes que traíamos, supimos que estábamos doze jornadas del río de Conchas . . . y atravesamos al dicho río de Conchas, con muchos aguages de arroyos y cienegas que por allí habia, adonde hallamos muchos Indios cumanos de nacion, y nos trayan mucho pescado de muchas maneras." It is clear that the river "de las Vacas" was the Pecos as its proximity to the old Pecos pueblo proves, hence they followed that stream to near the Rio Grande, thence crossing over to the Jumanos they had already met in coming. The *Relación* has "cumanos," the *Carta* "Jumanos."

108. P. 126: "Habiendo llegado al Valle de San Bartolome, ques de la dicha jurisdiccion [of Santa Barbara], a veinte de Setiembre de dicho año [of 1583]." About Father Beltran, see p. 124.

tions were partly intentional, for in a document written by him (of the year 1584) he states that he had twenty parties whom he induced to join him in an enterprise for colonizing the country; hence a commercial and industrial enterprise, for which he had to work up an enthusiasm, which the results of Coronado's expedition had failed to excite.¹⁰⁹ But there may also be another explanation. An Indian pueblo always seems larger, at first sight, than it really is. Besides, as often as the whites came to a pueblo, not only its inhabitants but neighbors (for the coming of a strange people became known always beforehand) gathered, out of curiosity as well as from mistrust, and in case several villages lay within a short distance of each other the same people that had flocked to the first congregated to others to see the foreigners again and, possibly also, to be on hand in case of a conflict. This is suggested as a merely possible explanation. But in the case of Ácoma, which was completely isolated and a long distance from any other village, this explanation would not hold out, so that the suspicion lies near that Espejo, partly from exuberance of temperament, partly from calculation, exaggerated greatly the numbers of the people.¹¹⁰

It is strange, however, that while Espejo is so decidedly *unreliable* in regard to the numbers of the population he is not only detailed, but also *quite reliable*, in matters of *customs*. He was a rapid but certainly very close observer, or else he must have profited not only by his personal observations but by those of his companions. There is no indication that he obeyed the Ordinances of 1573 by keeping a

109. *Expediente y relacion del viaje que hizo Antonio de Espejo con catorce soldados &ca.* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. 15, p. 161.) "Esta jornada no se puede dar á persona que por si solo tenga caudal para la hacer; y ansi le conviene ayudarse de otro; y este favor es posible, ninguno le tiene tan bien como yo; pues en este negocio, somos más de veinte compañeros, que algunos de ellos tienen á seis mil pesos de renta, y treinta y cuarenta mil pesos de hacienda." Espejo appears to have had almost modern ideas of "promoting."

110. I have already suggested this explanation elsewhere. At all events it could account but partly for Espejo's "enhancements" of the truth.

Journal. His report seems to fill that vacancy, and to have been accepted as a satisfactory substitute for the Diary officially asked for. Espejo remained longer in New Mexico than Chamuscado, considerably longer, but not so long as Coronado; but the information he conveys on the Pueblos is almost as detailed as that preserved by the chroniclers of Coronado collectively (as far as we know them), and it agrees remarkably well with it. It can be said that the picture presented by the sources on the three expeditions that took place between the years of 1540 and 1584 of Pueblo life and customs is in very close agreement, as far as the locations of the tribes also.

It is not necessary to dwell on the repeated assertions of Espejo that the dwellings of the Pueblo Indians were many storied. The picture furnished by him of the *Piros*, of the cluster first met, may be regarded as typical of the rest of the New Mexican sedentary Indians.¹¹¹ I shall dwell upon it, not only for that reason, but also because it is the only *somewhat complete* picture of that tribe which, as is well known, is no longer on New Mexican soil.

First, it must be noted that the (of course greatly exaggerated) numbers of the *Piros* still are significant, in that, with the exception of the single village of Ácoma, they appear as the least populous Pueblo cluster. I have no means of determining whether this has any sure foundations or whether it is the result of too hasty and therefore fragmentary observation.¹¹² I shall not dwell, either, on the enumeration of the food materials, vegetable as well as animal. The same nutritive plants, cultivated, appear in connection with every tribe. Cotton is not mentioned among all the pueblos as growing there, although mantles of that material are always alluded to as an article of dress. It may not be amiss

111. Espejo, *Relación*, p. 110: "tienen casas de dos y tres, y cuatro altos, y con muchos aposentos en cada casa." (p. 112) "dieronnos aquí noticia de otra provincia que esta en el propio río arriba por la propia orden."

112. *Ibidem*: "en que pasando por ellos parecia haber mas de doce mil animas hombres y mugeres y niños."

to observe that the Indians among which the growing of cotton is *not* mentioned are: the Queres, Tanos, Jemez, Ácoma, Zuñi, and the Moquis, whereas cotton fabrics were, it seemed, found in all of them. The number of such fabrics is always greatly exaggerated; if we compare it with the more sober descriptions of Castañeda, Jaramillo and others.¹¹³ After describing the reception made to him by the Piros, Espejo tells, "they gave us a quantity of fowl of the land, and maize, beans and cakes [tortillas] and another kind of bread they make with more care than the Mexican people, they grind on big stones crushing the grains raw; five or six women grind in one mill and of that flour they make many kinds of bread. . . There are many rooms in one house and in many of their houses they have their ovens for winter-time, and in the squares, in each one of them, they have two Estufas, that are underground houses, very well protected and with seats to sit upon. At the door of each Estufa they have a ladder to go down and great quantities of firewood of the community, so that strangers may gather there."¹¹⁴ For the first time "ovens" or chimneys in the houses are alluded to. A comparison of the manner of grinding maize as described by Castañeda and Mota Padilla with the above is not useless.¹¹⁵

In regard to the ~~costums~~ costumes of the Piros, Espejo is more explicit than Castañeda and Mota Padilla, although in ac-

113. So he states that the Moquis brought to him "mas de cuatro mil mantas de algodón pintadas y blancas, y paños de manos con sus borlas á los cabos" (p. 183).

114. *Ibidem*: "muelen en piedras muy crecidas y muelen mayz crudo, cinco o seis mugeras juntas, en un molino, y desta harina, hacen muchas diferencias de pan; y en muchas casas déllas, tienen sus estufas para en tiempo de invierno; y en las plazas de los pueblos, en cada una déllas, tienen dos estufas, que son unas casas hechas debajo de la tierra, muy abrigadas y cerradas de poyos dentro déllas para sentarse; y asi mesmo, tienen á la puerta de cada estufa, una escalera para abajar, y gran cantidad de leña de comunidad para que alli se recojan los forasteros." I suspect that it would be more proper to translate the term "estufa" as used in connection with the interior of the dwellings by "hearths." I have no knowledge of chimneys having been found in any ruined pueblo. In regard to the subterraneous Estufa we learn here, for the first time, that strangers (of course men only) were quartered in them.

115. Compare: *Cibola*, p. 452; *Historia de la Nueva Galicia*, p. 159.

cord with both as far as their descriptions reach: "in this province some of the natives dress in cotton and cow-skins and in tanned deer-hides. The mantles they wear after the fashion of the Mexicans except that [follows a description of the breechclout], and some wear shirts and the women skirts of cotton, many of them embroidered with colored threads, and over it a mantle like that of the Mexican Indians, tied by a handkerchief like unto an embroidered napkin, which they tie to the waist by the fringes. The skirts serve as shirts on the skin, all men and women wear shoes and boots, the soles are of cowhide and the upper of tanned deerskin. The women keep the hair well combed and arrange it in folds, one on each side, with the hair curiously placed [wound] around it, without anything on the head. Each village has its caciques [chiefs;] according to the [number of] people in the pueblo, so the chiefs, and these in turn have their criers that are like constables, and carry out in the villages what the chiefs ordain. When the Spaniards asked the chiefs for anything these call the criers, who proclaim it through the village in loud voices, and forthwith the things are brought quickly. The painting of the houses and whatever they use for dancing, their music and the rest, they have like the Mexicans. They drink *pinole*, which is toasted maize diluted in water, and no intoxicating beverage is known to them. In every one of these pueblos they have a house whither they carry food to the demon, and they have idols of stone, small ones, which they worship. Just as the Spaniards have crosses on the highways so they have, from one village to the other in the middle of the path, little heaps like shrines, made of stones, where they place painted sticks and feathers saying: here the demon comes to be powerful and speak to them. They have fields of maize, beans, squashes, and piciete in great quantity, with irrigation and without, good water channels which they work as the Mexicans do. In every field they have an arbor on four pillars whither they carry the eating

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at noon and where they rest, because commonly they are in the fields from morning till night as in Spain; in this province there are many pine forests and many salines; on each side of the river, for a distance of a league and a half on both banks, there is good sandy soil, proper for raising maize. Their weapons are bows and arrows, clubs and shields. The arrows are of hard wood, tipped with flint, that easily go through a coat of mail. The shields are like targets, made of cowhide; the clubs are of wood, half an ell long, are very big at one end. With these they defend themselves when inside of their houses. We did not understand they had war with any province; they are quiet and keep their bounds. Here we ascertained from them there was another province farther up the same river and after the same order."¹¹⁶

As stated above, this description is by far the most detailed yet known of the most southerly group of the Rio Grande pueblos; in fact, it is the only one and therefore of much importance. The closing remark that the pueblo group higher up was "of the same order" indicates that the picture presented of the customs of the Piros is to be considered as typical, in a general way, of the Tiguas, who were their immediate northern neighbors. And from the chroniclers and eyewitnesses of anterior [expeditions we have seen that the], customs of all the Pueblos were alike in the main, so that the descriptions of the Piros by Espejo applies to all the Rio Grande groups, local variations, hereafter to be mentioned, excepted. Espejo adds considerable to the information obtained from his predecessors. We learn through him, for instance, that pepper ("chile") was raised in New Mexico, at least in the southern Rio Grande district. We find the first (superficial) mention of dances and, what no other witness had stated and some even have denied

116. Owing to the length of this quotation I refrain from giving the original text. It will be found in Espejo on pp. 110, 111 and 112, *Relación del Viage*; and pp. 173, 174 and 175 of *Carta* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. 15.)

(although it is true today),¹¹⁷ the existence and cult of stone fetiches. The summer "ranchos" in the fields are described for the first time, and the small shrines outside of the villages which today still exist in a few places and are secretly in use. The description of offensive and defensive weapons is the fullest known from the sixteenth century. The other details only corroborate what had previously been noticed by explorers and thus tend to establish the reliability of Espejo's general picture as well as our confidence in anterior reports on the subject. There is, of course and for the reasons I have indicated, a tendency to exuberance.

It should not be lost sight of, also, that Espejo mentions the Piros as being at peace towards the outside. Absolute reliance cannot be placed on this statement, owing to the short time of his stay among that tribe; still it cannot be overlooked that from the narratives of Espejo's predeces-

117. It may be remembered (Part I) that Castañeda, for instance, declares that no idols were noticed among the Pueblos. This *might* be due to the fact that the Indians concealed such ceremonial objects on the coming of the strangers. But why, then, allow Espejo to see them? As to the shrines, these could not be concealed and I saw several of them that were in use 30 years ago. The Tehua Indians acknowledged their existence to me, calling them "Tapu." In the year 1681, one year after the general (and temporarily successful) Pueblo insurrection, Don Antonio de Otermín, governor of New Mexico, while on an inroad to the pueblos from Paso del Norte, and having established his camp on the Rio Grande in sight of the three (Tigua) villages of "Alameda, Puaráy, y Zandía," October 18th, 1681, took depositions from various Indians concerning the past uprising and what the Indians were doing since, while independent. One of the witnesses states: (*Interrogatorios y Declaraciones de varios Indios* National Archives of Mexico, MSS. "Historia" vol: 26. fol. 130): "y pusieron por sus Iglesias a los quatro vientos, y en medio de la plaza unos cercadillos de piedra amontonada, donde ivan a ofrecer arina, plumas, y la semilla del meague, del maiz, tabaco, y otras supersticiones, dando a entender a los niños, que aquello habian de hacer todos en adelante, . ." Two Queres Indians from San Felipe deposed (December 20th) "que pusieron en el pueblo, y sus alrededores montones de piedras, para que alli ofreciesen maiz quedrado, y otras semillas, y cigarros, diciendo que su Dios de ellos eran las piedras." At fol: 139 it is distinctly stated that the Indians regarded the rites as ancient: "Que con eso vivirian contentos, alegres a sus anchuras, viviendo en su antigüedad, y esto responden." It is proper to quote here Espejo, *Relación*, p 111: "tienen en cada una destos pueblos, una casa donde llevan de comer al demonio; y tienen ídolos de piedra, pequeños, donde idolatran; y como los españoles tienen cruces en los caminos, ellos tienen en medio de un pueblo á otro, en medio del camino, unos cuecillos, á manera de humilladero, hecho de piedras, donde ponen palos pintados y plumas, diciendo, va allí ha de poxar el domonio y á hablar con ellos." The revival of these customs in 1680 is not devoid of interest and fully confirms what Espejo relates about them.

sors as well as from his own we gather that the Rio Grande Piros had no immediate neighbors on the south and were separated from the nomads of the eastern plains by forbidding mountains,¹¹⁸ while in the west the country was not favorable, either, to approach inhabitable regions lying some distance away. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the Apaches roamed about the sources of the Gila river, and it is not impossible that they were there at Espejo's time.¹¹⁹ Still, had they been as harassing for the southern Pueblos as they became subsequently, the Piros would have made an effort to inform Espejo of it, or traces of depredations might have been noticed by so careful an explorer as he proves to have been.¹²⁰ As to the Tiguas in the north of the Piro range, they were such close neighbors that relations with them were manifestly friendly. Only half a day's journey separated the outermost villages of both tribes. Had there been hostilities (other than the inevitable bickerings between otherwise friendly neighbors) both stocks would have shrunk from such close contact.

Espejo has nothing to say concerning the customs of the Tiguas beyond the fact of their identity, or at least their great similarity with those of the Piros. He had but little contact with the former tribe, those of Puaráy (and possibly most of the others also) having fled on the approach of his little band.

118. The mountains on the east of the Rio Grande are in places without surfacial water. Opposite the most southerly villages of the Piros, towards the Jornada del Muerto, it was very difficult to travel eastward before introduction of the horse.

119. Benevides, *Memorial*, p. 52: "y comenzando por el principio della, quando vamos al nuevo Mexico, que es la provincia de los Apaches del Perillo, . . . Es nacion tan belicosa toda ella, que ha sido el crisol del esfuerso de los Españoles." This was in 1630. In 1598 Oñate traversed the "Jornada" from south to north without noticing a human being or any sign of Indians. On May 24th, three of his people strayed from the camp and were lost for several days. Finally they found their way to the Rio Grande. They did not report any traces of Indians. This was in the Jornada, near the Perrillo. *Discurso de las Jornadas que hizo el Campo de Su Magestad desde la Nueva España a la Provincia de la Nueva Mexico* (Doc. de Indias, Vol. 16, p. 248.)

120. Benavides, *Memorial*, p. 55, mentions the Apaches of Gila ("Xila").

About the "Magues" or "Tanos" he merely notices the great number of buffalo hides used for clothing, besides cotton mantles. This is explained by the remark; "that province confines with the cows called of Cibola,"¹²¹ a passage badly distorted in the version of Hackluyt.

Of the Quires (Queres) he says: "their sustenance (mode of living) and dress are as in the province afore-described; they are idolaters." He there saw a magpie in a cage, and "sunflowers" of various colors. This passage is not clear. He uses the term "girasol" which means "sunflower."¹²² However he adds: "like those of China, painted with the sun, moon, and stars." One of the versions has "tirasoles" that is, an open gallery, terrace, or flat roof. Among the "Punames" or at Cia, which he next visited, he saw houses "painted in colors after Mexican fashion," and although he repeats that the dress and customs were like the rest of the pueblos.¹²⁴ Among the Jemez he again noticed "idols."¹²⁵ At Ácoma, the people held a solemn dance, "coming out in finery and performing many tricks of slight of hand [he uses the term "games"], and some of them, ingen-

121. "esta provincia confina con los llanos de Cibola." Espejo, *Relación*, p. 114: "y esta provincia confina con las vacas que llaman de Civola, y andan vestidos de los cueros de dichas vacas, y de mantas de algodón y gamuzas, y gobiernanse como los de las provincias dichas de atras; tienen idolos en que adoran como los demas dichos referidos."

122. *Relación*, p. 115: "y hallamos tirasoles como de la China, pintados con el sol y la luna y las estrallas;" the *Carta*, p. 178, has "girasol" which is difficult to conciliate with the remainder of the text.

124. *Relación*, p. 178.

125. *Ibidem*: "tienen idolos" (See note 117). I have already referred to testimony later than Espejo's time which proves that the Pueblos used idols or rather fetiches. I will now add data from between the years 1582 and 1680 observing however, that I shall have to refer to the matter subsequently and with more testimony. Oñate, *Traslado de la Posesion que en nombre de Su Magestad tomo Don Juan de Oñate, de los Reynos y Provincias de la Nueva Mexico* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. 16, p. 96) mentions the Indians of New Mexico as "gente ydolatra é ynfiel"—this was on April 30th, 1598. In his *Journal* Oñate states that in a village which he calls "Sant Joan Baptista," which lay south of Puaráy and on the Rio Grande, the Spaniards saw: "muchos idolos pintados, tantos, que en solas dos piezas, conte sesenta." (*Discurso de las Jornadas*, p. 253) At the first village of the Zuñis (p. 273) "ay cruces de dias atras, a quien los Indios tienen devocion, y ofrecen lo que a sus idolos."

ious, with live vipers [poisonous snakes] all well worth seeing."¹²⁶ Whether this was the snake dance, and that in the sixteenth century it was performed as such, does not appear clearly from the text. At any rate it confirms the free handling of the dangerous reptiles that, according to Mota Padilla, had already been noticed at Coronado's time.¹²⁷ Among the Zuñis and Hopi he again confirms that their customs are like those of the others. But of the Zuñi country he states that he saw there "much flax like that of Castilla, that appears to grow wild." He also mentions "mantles of

Gaspar Perez de Villagrán, *Historia* (Canto XV, fol. 135) mentions, in a pueblo that may have been of the Piros:

"En cuias casas luego reparamos,
 "En vna gran suma que tenian,
 "De soberuios demonios retratados.
 "Ferozes, y terribles por extremo,
 "Que claro nos mostrauan ser sus dioses."

In 1615, Fray Juan de Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana* (Lib. V cap. XL, p. 681) states, from reports received at Mexico about the pueblos: "Luego de Mañana, van las Mugerres con Harina, y Plumas, o unas Piedras toscas, que tienen levantadas, y les hechan vn poco de la Harina que llevan, y de aquellás Plumitas, porque las Guarden aquel Dia, para que no caigan en las escaleras, y tambien para que les den Mantas. . . . el Idolo es de Piedra, o de Barro,". Fray Estavan de Perea, *Verdadera Relación de la grandiosa Conversion que ha avido en el Nuevo Mexico* (Sevilla, 1632, fol. 570): "Todos los desta Colonia son muy observantes de la supersticiosa ydolatria. Tienen sus Templos con ydolos de piedra, y de madera muy pintados. . . Assi mismo tienen dioses en los montes, en los rios, en las miesses, y en las casas, como de los Egypcios se cuenta, porque dan a cada uno su particular proteccion." I am so explicit on these matters, because the denial of the existence of fetiches among the pueblos, by some of the chroniclers of Coronado, is strange. The quotations from authors posterior to Espejo confirm his statements fully.

126. *Relación*, p. 117: "y hiciéronnos un mitote y bayle muy solemne, saliendo la gente muy galana, y habiendo muchos juegos de manos, algunos déllos, artificiosos, con vivoras vivias, que era cosa de ver lo uno y lo otro."

127. *Ibidem*. In 1629, Fray Estévan de Perea, *Verdadera Relación*, (fol. 570) mentions that live rattlesnakes were kept at Zuñi: "Aqui vieron una cosa notable, y fue, unos ceros de madera, y en ellos muchas Bivoras que bibrando las lenguas, dando sylvos, y saltos, estan amenazando como el bravo Toro en el coso; y queriendo saber el fin de tener encareladadas estas sierpes, les dixerón, que con su veneno atosigaban las flechas, con que eran inremediabiles las heridas que reciban sus contrarios." The maintaining of live snakes by the Pueblos is therefore stated in 1541, 1582 and 1629. The explanation given by Mota Padilla and by Father Perea is identical, which tends to show, that the former's statement was obtained from a source well informed concerning Pueblo customs.

cotton and other ones which appear to have been of linen."¹²⁸

His observations on quantities must always be taken with allowances. Thus he asserts that among the Hopi the Indians presented the Spaniards with "more than four thousand mantles of cotton, white and dyed, and handkerchiefs with fringes at the ends."¹²⁹

Notwithstanding the weak points of Espejo's narrative, it is highly valuable, confirmatory of the knowledge collected by previous explorers on a great number of points, and it shows, among other things, that the geographical situation of the pueblos had not varied in the thirty-nine years that had elapsed between his exploration and that of Coronado. Thus, while the former mentions the "Maguas" as distinct from the "Ubates," it is clear that both names designate the same linguistic group; the former being the Tanos on the eastern and northern side of the Sandia range, the latter the Tanos between the Queres villages on the Rio Grande and the Sierra de Santa Fe. He repeats almost literally, of the latter, what he says of the country inhabited by the former: "they have no rivers and use springs and marshes."¹³⁰ Such is indeed the case between the main river, the Santa Fe range, and the most southerly Tewa villages, Tesuque, Cuyamungue and Pojuaque.¹³¹ While Coronado and his men had not found any important traces of precious

128. Espejo, *Relación*, p. 118: "En esta provincia hallamos gran cantidad de lino de Castilla, que parece se cria en los campos sin sembrallo. (p. 119) y vistense de mantas de algodón de otras que parecen angeo."

129. *Idem*, p. 120: "mas de cuatro mil mantas de algodón pintadas y blancas, y paños de manos con sus borlas á los cabos."

130. *Relación*, p. 123: "no alcansan rios; sirvense de fuentes; tienen muchos montes de pinales, cedros y sabinas." The mention of "sabinas" or junipers might indicate the timbered region of the southern Tehuas. An indirect proof, that the "Ubates" were the Tanos is furnished by Oñate, *Discurso de las Jornadas*, p. 258: "Al gran pueblo de los Peccos, y es el que Espejo llama la provincia de Tamos." Oñate had an interpreter with him, who spoke the Pecos (Jemez) idiom: "de donde hera natural Don Pedro Orez, que murio en Hanepantla; y así Joan de Dios, donado, que del aprendio la lengua, ha sido interprete della."—Hence that information was obtained, not by signs, but by direct translation from the statements of the Indians.

131. From the northern verge of the Santa Fe plateau the southern villages of the Tehuas are easily reached. It might have been unsafe for Espejo to attempt penetrating farther north, among the larger Tehua settlements.

ores, Espejo noticed them in abundance, bringing with him many specimens. What, however, proved of greater direct importance for the time was that he took to Mexico two Pueblo Indians; a boy from Pecos and a woman of the Hopi. The former, at least, proved useful when New Mexico was definitely occupied by the Spaniards.¹³²

It is not superfluous here to cast a glance at the Indian tribes met by Espejo south of New Mexico, as he alludes to them in his narrative. A few of these afterwards became directly connected with the fate of the Rio Grande pueblos.

Neither the Conchos nor the Pazaguates can be considered. They were, and remained, too distant from New Mexico. But the "Jumanos" were afterwards met on the eastern plains, not far from the salines of the Manzano and, from what had been said in Part I, it is not impossible, they had located in that vicinity already before Coronado's advent.¹³³ Of the two texts of Espejo that alone are worthy of consultation, one calls them "Xumarias," the other by the name of "Jumanos," which since has remained in use. The Jumanos were met after ten days' travel (thirty-four

132. Espejo, *Relación*, p. 126: "truxe metales para ensayar y ver la ley que tienen, e un Indio de la provincia de los Tamos, y una india de la provincia Mohoce, porque si en servicio de Su Magestad, se hubiere de volver a hacer el descubrimiento y poblazon de aquellas provincias, den alguna lumbre dellas y del camino por donde se ha de ir, y para ello aprendan la lengua mejicana y otras lenguas."

133. Castañeda, *Cíbola*, p. 444: "en esta jornada a la yda se hundio [should be "huyo"] una India labrada a el capitan Juan de Saldibar y fue las barrancas abajo huyendo que reconocio la tierra." This occurred in the vicinity of the Salines, hence of the plateau that still bears the name of "Mesa Jumana." Fifteen years after Espejo the Jumanos were met near the Salines, in three settlements. Oñate, *Discurso*, p. 266: "A seis de Otubre, martes, partio el señor Gobernador y nuestro Padre Comissario, a las salinas de los Pecos, que son de muchas leguas e infinita sal, muy linda y blanca; y a los pueblos de los Xumanes o rayados, que son tres; uno muy grande." That the Jumanos lived (that is, a branch of them) near the Salines, is further indicated in the *Obediencia y vasallaje a su Magestad por los Indios del Pueblo de Cueloce* (*Doc de Indias*, vol. 16, p. 123). "Cueloce" is designated as the village "que llaman de los rayados" and the Indians who gave their pledge of homage were the chiefs of Cueloce, Xenopue, Patasce and Abó. The mention of Abó indicates that the Jumanos were at least in the region about the Salines, since "Abó" lies twenty miles, about, south of the "Manzano." In his letter to the Viceroy Conde de Monterey, dated March 20, 1599, it is stated by Oñate, *Carta*, p. 306: "fui en persona a la provincia de Abo, y a la de los Xumanes, y a las grandes y famosas salines desta tierra."

leagues) and between the river Concho and a stream emptying into the Concho from the north. Espejo claims to have counted five villages inhabited by ten thousands souls. He describes the villages as of good appearance, the houses having flat roofs and not tall. The people were *tattooed* in their faces.¹³⁴ Although the river that joined the Concho is described as only half as large as the latter, there are indications to the effect that it was the Rio Grande, on the banks of which other Jumanos were found, some of these living in houses with flat roofs, others in huts.¹³⁵ The Jumanos raised maize, squashes, beans; they had much meat and fish, and used bows and arrows. They were friendly toward the strangers except at the outset, when during the night they killed and wounded ten horses and fled to the mountains.¹³⁶ Espejo mentions a word which he stated is in the Jumano language and signifies "God," which he gives as "Apalito."¹³⁷ As already stated, he returned by the same way he came, *after leaving the Pecos river*, and met the Jumanos, three of their number, on the Pecos, whither they had gone hunting. One of the texts consulted has "Cumanos," on this occasion.¹³⁸

The "Tobozos" were met by Espejo before he entered into contact with the Jumanos but those Indians, like the Conchos and Pazaguates, were not in touch with New Mexico at any time afterwards, nor at the time of Espejo.¹³⁹

Leaving the Jumanos and traveling constantly to the north along the course of the river which, in all likelihood, was the Rio Grande,¹⁴⁰ Espejo passed successively through

134. Espejo, *Relación*, p. 105: "esta rayada en los rostros."

135. *Ibidem*, p. 106.

136. *Ibidem*.

137. *Idem*, p. 107. Names of Jumano settlements are given in documents concerning Oñate, but whether those words are in the Jumano idiom or are names given to the Jumano villages by Pueblo Indians, cannot be determined as yet.

138. *Relación*, p. 123.

139. The Tobozos were very hostile during the seventeenth and part of the eighteenth centuries. They were, in this respect and in the region where the Tobozos roamed, precursors of the Apaches.

140. *Relación*, p. 107.

groups of roving Indians, among one of which, yet far below the pass of the river, they found a Concho Indian who gave them to understand that fifteen journeys to the west was a great lagoon, on the banks of which were many settlements and houses of many stories; also that Indians of the Concho tribe were settled there.¹⁴¹ If this is not a misunderstanding, and if the Concho Indian indicated the direction correctly, it would seem to point to the region of "Casas Grandes," with exception of the great lagoon, of which there is no trace, unless the Laguna de Guzmán and Laguna de San Martín near the present boundary of the United States be meant. The Southern Pimas in Central Sonora still had tall houses in the seventeenth century,¹⁴² and the great lake of the Concho Indian might perhaps be a confused notice of the Pacific ocean. However that may be, if the Indian informant did not mistake the direction, it is not likely that he intended to convey information concerning the Rio Grande pueblos in this manner; if he had anything true to impart.

North of the tribe among which that Concho was encountered extended an uninhabited region which it took fifteen days to traverse¹⁴³ and at the end of which an incon-

141. P. 108: "y entre ellos hayamos un Indio de nacion, concho, el cual nos dió a entender, señalando hacia el Poniente, que quinze jornadas desde alli, habia una laguna muy grande adonde habia grand cantidad de poblaciones y cases con muchos altos, y que habia Indios de la nacion concha, poblados alli." In 1727, the Brigadier Don Pedro de Rivera found at Casas Grandes five of six families of Concho Indians as the only inhabitants of what was formerly the Mission of Casas Grandes. Rivera, *Diario y Derrotero de lo visto y caminado &ca.* 1736, p. 47.

142. P. Andrés de Ribas, *Historia de los Triumphos de nuestra Santa Fe*, 1645 (p. 360, lib. VI, cap. II,) describes the house of the "Nebomes" or Pimas of Sonora, as follows: "sus casas eran mejores, y mas de asiento que las de otras Naciones; por que eran de paredes de grandes adobes, que hazian de barro, y cubiertas de açoteas, y terrados. Algunas dellas edificauan mucho mayores, y con troneras a modo de fuertes, a proposito para si acomatiessen enemigos, recogerse a ellas la gente del pueblo, y valerse de su flecheria." A similar description is given of the pueblos of the "Nures" who lived "mas la sierra adentro" than the southern Pimas: (lib. VI. cap. 8, p. 371.) The Spaniards had to use smoke for the capture of one of the big houses (p. 372.)

143. *Relación*, p. 109: "Caminando el propio rio arriba, fuimos por el . . . sin hallar ninguna gente, quinze jornadas por donde habia mezquiales y tunales y montañas de pinales &ca" . . .

siderable group of aborigines was found, who dwelt in huts of straw, had much salt and tanned deerskins. These Indians guided the Spaniards for two days, through the pass of the north (which Espejo described very correctly), to the settlements of the Piros.¹⁴⁴ Fifteen years after Espejo's exploration, Oñate was greeted, near where now are El Paso and Juarez, by the "Mansos,"¹⁴⁵ a tribe that still lives in much reduced numbers at Juarez and was met by the Brigadier General Don Pedro de Rivera on the Rio Grande in the year 1724; but that officer observes that they had formerly had their principal rancheria higher up the river at a distance of 21 leagues from El Paso.¹⁴⁶ Since the Mansos were first known they have not appeared as numerous still they were somewhat unruly during the times following the year 1680. Another tribe, called Sumas, is frequently mentioned in connection with them. Both tribes appear to have been at least "half sedentary," but their mode of living was not of the Pueblo style. They will be referred to afterwards.

As was natural, Espejo paid much attention to mineral resources of the regions he explored. While Coronado and his people returned sorely disappointed on this score, Espejo found signs of metallic wealth in abundance. He claims to be delighted with the country, painting it in quite favorable colors. He resumes his description of New Mexico as follows: "All the people [there] are of good size and more manly than the Mexicans, and we understood there was no sickness among them. The women are whiter than the Mexican women, and [they are] people of good understand-

144. *Ibidem*: "y nos llevaron dos jornadas de alli a las poblaciones; siempre fuimos siguiendo el dicho rio del Norte; y desde que entramos en el, siempre fuimos siguiendole el rio arriba, llevando una sierra de la una parte del rio y otra de la otra, las cuales estan sin arboledas en todo el camino, hasta que llegamos cerca de las poblaciones que llaman del Nuevo Mexico, aunque por las riveras del rio hay gran cantidad de alamedas, y por partes, cuatro leguas en ancho de los dichos alamos blancos."

145. *Discurso de las Jornadas*, p. 243. Oñate met them on May 3d, 1598, and they called out to him "Manxos, manxos, micos, micos," whence the name "Manso" became applied to them. In 1630 Benavides, *Memorial* (p. 8) mentions them also as "Gorretas." Much more ample mention will have to be made of the Mansos later.

146. Rivera, *Diario y Derrotero*, p. 25.

ing and manners. The villages are well built, regulated, and it can be expected that they will easily acquire polity. In the greatest part of these provinces there is much game, animals and birds; rabbits and hares, deer and cows of that land, ducks, geese, cranes, pheasants and other birds; there are also good forests of all kinds of trees, salines and rivers with many kinds of fishes, and, through most of the country, carts and wagons can travel. There are good pastures for cattle, and lands for settlement, gardens and fields (tillable by irrigation and without) and many rich mines. . . ."¹⁴⁷ It cannot be said that this picture is much exaggerated, all these features are found and were, in New Mexico locally; but the manner of presenting them as *general* all over the country shows that Espejo was an artful "promoter."

His plans, which he may have prepared even before his journey, became clear in the year after his return, as will be shown in the following section.* It will also appear that, while these designs were not realized, from the interference

147. *Relación*, p. 125; *Carta*, p. 188.

*It is regrettable that Bandelier was not permitted to carry this study to the conclusion which he had contemplated. And even in Parts I, II and III, which have now been published, the typewritten copy which has been used revealed many defects, but it has been checked with the authorities as quoted by Bandelier and the text has been made as accurate as possible.

Without offering here any extended comment on this study, it may be well to call attention to two differences in interpretation of the sources from that which is given by later students.

Bandelier locates Puaráy near the present Bernalillo but west of the Rio Grande; whereas Hammond, apparently following Meham (The Rodriguez Expedition, pp. 8, 46, 47) identifies Puaráy with Sandia, east of the Rio Grande, while Hackett (The Location of the Tigua Pueblos of Alameda, Puaráy and Sandia, 1680-1681, in *Old Santa Fe*, II, 381 ff.) also places them both on the east side but a league apart.

Again, Bandelier would seem to indicate old Santo Domingo as "Castildavid," whereas Hammond (*op. cit.*, pp. 48-49) identifies it with San Juan. In fact the interpretation of the sources by Hammond and others takes the Rodriguez expedition as far north as Taos, while in

of inevitable causes, his expedition gave to New Mexico a certain standing in historical literature, and had important ultimate consequences for the Pueblo Indians.

Bandelier's understanding this expedition did not even get into the Tewa country (north of the present Santa Fe),—much less get as far as the northern Tewa group.

By his critical study of the sources Bandelier has pointed out numerous minor details which students of the southwest may find of historical and ethnological value.—*L. B. B.*

