

4-1-1930

## Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos, New Mexico. Part I - 1536 to 1542 (concluded)

Adolph F. Bandelier

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr>

---

### Recommended Citation

Bandelier, Adolph F.. "Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos, New Mexico. Part I - 1536 to 1542 (concluded)." *New Mexico Historical Review* 5, 2 (1930). <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr/vol5/iss2/4>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by UNM Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in New Mexico Historical Review by an authorized editor of UNM Digital Repository. For more information, please contact [amywinter@unm.edu](mailto:amywinter@unm.edu), [lsloane@salud.unm.edu](mailto:lsloane@salud.unm.edu), [sarahrk@unm.edu](mailto:sarahrk@unm.edu).

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE RIO GRANDE  
PUEBLOS, NEW MEXICO

BY ADOLPH F. BANDELIER

## Part I — 1536 to 1542 (concluded)

The narrative of events, interrupted for the sake of describing Pueblo customs according to documentary sources, must now be taken up again. At the close of the month of April, 1541, hostilities with the Tiguas had been brought to an end, the tribe having withdrawn from its settlements and refusing to entertain any peace proposals or reconciliation with the whites.<sup>140</sup> The other Pueblo groups kept quiet, and apparently indifferent to the fate of the Tiguas. Coronado and his men, infatuated with the descriptions of the "Turk" of more easterly regions, were impatient to go in search of them and to leave the Pueblo country which held out little inducement.<sup>141</sup> The Pueblos saw before them the prospect of becoming relieved of the presence of the strangers who, even when friendly, were still a heavy burden. To harbor and feed several hundred men and a number of horses and mules was a heavy task upon the limited resources of the Pueblo region, and the Indians could not obtain compensation of any kind.

---

140. *Cíbola*, pp. 435, 437, 439, etc.

141. The documents clearly state that the Pueblo country created a most unfavorable impression upon the Spaniards, whereas Quivira pleased them on account of its fertility and warmer climate. Coronado, *Carta al Emperador*, October 20th, 1541, p. 368, "la tierra es tan fria, como a V. M. tengo escrito, que parece imposible poderse pasar el invierno en ella, porque no hay leña ni ropa con que se puedan abrigar los hombres, sino cueros de que se visten los naturales, y algunas mantas de algodón, poca cantidad." Of Quivira however he says (p. 307), "La tierra en si es la mas aparejada que se ha vista para darse en ella todas las cosas de España." And Jaramillo terminates his report as follows, *Relación Hecha*, p. 317: "Ansi que ciertamente si Vuestra Señoria alcanza desde ese puesto lo de Quibira, tengo entendido que puede traer mucha gente de España a poblarla, sin resclo, segun la apariencia y muestras que la tierra tiene." Compare also, Castañeda, *Cíbola*, pp. 457, etc.

Money (supposing the Spaniards were amply provided, which very likely was not the case) was useless to them. *Their* means for purchase and barter were entirely distinct, and the Spaniards had no shell beads and the like. Whatever trinkets for exchange Coronado took along were of little avail to the natives, and the stock of these objects had, besides, to be carefully husbanded for the prospective Quivira expedition. It would not, therefore, be at all surprising if, as hinted at in the foregoing, the "Turk" in despair finally told the truth when he accused the Pueblo of Pecos (and perhaps the Pueblos in general) of the plot to send the vexatious strangers off to such a distance and into regions whence they would either never return or come back to New Mexico in a state of utter helplessness and attenuation, so that it might be easy to overcome and annihilate them. The Pueblos probably relied, as the main element of success, upon the effect of life on the plains upon the horses, which they expected to die from lack of food and especially of water. These calculations (of which of course there is no absolute proof) were, as will be seen, brought to naught by circumstances that nobody could foresee. If there was really a plot on the part of the Indians of Pecos to get rid of the whites by inducing them to leave the country in a vain search of richer fields, that plot may have been framed already in 1540 when Alvarado visited Cicuyé for the first time. It may have been, unbeknown to the Spaniards, communicated to other Pueblo tribes and may, possibly, have induced these not to interfere in favor of the Tiguas, relying upon the success of a plan for liberation without the experiment of war, which the fate of the Tiguas, and previously, events at Zuñi, had shown to be precarious. At all events, while Coronado made his preparations for departure, the Pueblos, (Tiguas excepted) kept neutral. Finally, I give the words of Coronado himself. He confesses that the Indians who afterwards guided him, mostly communicated with him by signs, and states at the

end of his letter to the Emperor (dated October 20th, 1541): "So that the relation they (the guides) gave me was false, in order that I should move thither with all my men, believing that, as there were so many deserts and wastes to traverse on the way and such lack of water, they would lead us to places where our horses and ourselves would die from hunger. So the guides confessed, and that they had done it by the advice and command of the natives."<sup>142</sup> Coronado evacuated the Pueblo country with his whole force, leaving Tiguex on April 23rd, 1541, for "Quivira."<sup>143</sup>

Occurrences on that eventful trip can be touched upon here only in as far as they are connected with the Pueblos. Coronado went directly to Pecos, which he reached after a march of "twenty-five leagues."<sup>144</sup> He had taken with him the captive Pecos chief called "Bigotes," having retained him for nearly four months, and it is possible that the fear for his safety induced the Pecos to remain inactive during hostilities at Tiguex. At all events, his return to the tribe was ostensibly viewed with favor by the Pecos who furnished provisions to the Spaniards, and also gave them an Indian from Quivira, the one named "Xabe" already mentioned. That Indian had evidently been taught how to speak in the interest of the Pueblo, for he acknowledged that there was gold and silver at Quivira, whereas he knew very well the contrary. Well might the Pecos display satisfaction and friendship for everything had been arranged by them for the obnoxious strangers to leave New Mexico, as they thought, forever.<sup>145</sup>

---

142. *Carta al Emperador* (p. 368)

143. *Ibidem*, p. 363, "y partí de esta provincia, a 23 de Abril pasado, por donde los indios me quisieron guiar." Castañeda, *Cíbola*, p. 440, says "salió el campo de tiguex a cinco de mayo." It might be that Castañeda wrote after the calendar had been corrected, or that the *copy* of his report (dated 1596) already was made with the Gregorian correction of ten days. This is, of course, a mere surmise of mine and does not appear very likely.

144. *Cíbola*, p. 440.

145. Castañeda, *Cíbola*, p. 440.

After leaving Cicuyé-Pecos, Coronado headed for the great plains. The "Relación postrera" states: "At four days' journey from this village they met a country as level as the sea, on which plains there are such a multitude of cows that they are numberless."<sup>146</sup> The "Relación del Suceso" does not mention, nor does Jaramillo specify, the number of days spent in reaching the plains from Pecos. Still, he may lead to the inference that it took four or five days to get among the buffaloes.<sup>147</sup> Coronado himself asserts that the plains were reached on the ninth day after leaving Tiguex, hence on the first or second of May (old style.)<sup>148</sup> Castañeda claims they left Tiguex on the fifth of May and that from Cicuyé it took them four days to reach the plains.<sup>149</sup> Mota Padilla admits six days for the time after which the first buffaloes were seen.<sup>150</sup> On the plains suspicion against the "Turk" grew. The other Indians accused him of leading the whites astray. They manifestly desired to be led back to their own country, which lay more to the northeast.<sup>151</sup>

It is foreign to the subject to attempt any discussion of the wanderings of the Spaniards on the plains. Suffice it to state that, more and more convinced of the Turk's unreliability, Coronado halted when he reached a deep cleft at the bottom of which was water, while all around buffaloes, roaming in great numbers, afforded abundant subsistence. Thence he sent out scouting parties and finally determined upon sending back the main body of his men to

---

146. (id., p. 567) "A cuatro jornadas de este pueblo toparon una tierra llana como la mar, en los cuales llanos hay tanta multitud de vacas, que no tienen número."

147. *Relación del Suceso*, p. 324. "e a cuatro jornadas hallo las vacas." But it is not clear whether these four days are counted from the village, or from the Pecos stream. Furthermore it concerns the excursion made by Alvarado, not the journey of Coronado and the whole army. Jaramillo, *Relación hecha*, p. 310, "a mas de cuatro o cinco jornadas."

148. *Carta al Emperador* (p. 363).

149. *Ciboia* (p. 440).

150. *Historia*, Cap. XXXIII, p. 164.

151. Jaramillo, *Relación hecha*, p. 312.

the Rio Grande, under Tristán de Arellano, while he, with thirty horsemen and the guides, proceeded in search of Quivira.<sup>152</sup> This bold resolution proved very wise. It thwarted the plans laid by the Pueblos for the destruction of the whites.

Up to that time the Spaniards had met on the plains only two kinds of nomadic Indians, which the chroniclers name respectively *Querechos* and *Teyas*. Of the latter mention has already been made. The former may have been *Apaches*.<sup>153</sup> While at Cochití, I obtained a piece of Indian folk-lore in which a tribe from the plains is mentioned, called by the Queres *Kirauash* and who are said, at one time, to have made a dangerous irruption into the Rio Grande valley, threatening even the Pueblo of Santo Domingo. A resemblance between the names "Querechos" and "Kirauash" seems apparent and the raid attributed to the latter is indicated as having occurred in pre-Spanish times. As I have treated of this tale at length elsewhere, I merely allude to it here. According to the folk-lore, after the "Kirauash" had failed in their attempt to surprise the Queres, the Tanos Pueblos were their next prey. It recalls the statement made by chroniclers of Coronado about the three villages then recently destroyed by the so-called *Teyas*.<sup>154</sup>

Great vagueness prevails about the dates of events during this first part of the Quivira expedition. The only indication approaching precision is found in Mota Padilla: he states that the resolution of sending back the main force to Tiguex was taken on Ascension day (1541).<sup>155</sup> On the

152. *Idem*, p. 311, *Relación del Suceso*, p. 311, *Cíbola*, p. 433, Coronado, *Carta*, p. 365.

153. This has been accepted, after some doubts which were very natural in presence of the scarcity of data. F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, part II, p. 339.

154. *Final Report*, vol. II, p. 116.

155. *Historia*, p. 165, "determinaron en aquel dia, que fué el de la Ascension del Señor de 541, que el ejército se volviese á Tigues á reparar. . ."

date of the return of Arellano to Tiguex we have the approximation by Castañeda: "middle of July (1541, not 1542, as his narrative claims)."<sup>156</sup>

The return march of Arellano to the Rio Grande with the main body of the Spaniards was not, it seems, by the route Coronado had taken in going. The *Relación del Suceso* merely states they suffered much on the journey chiefly because they had no other food than buffalo meat.<sup>157</sup> Coronado limits himself to saying that he sent back the main force under Arellano.<sup>158</sup> Castañeda (who manifestly made the whole journey with Arellano) gives the most detailed information. He says that, while it had taken thirty-seven days to reach the point where Coronado separated himself from his main body, that force returned in twenty-five.<sup>159</sup> On the way they saw many so-called "prairie dogs" which, as well as their subterraneous habitations, are well described, for the time. It is well to note the following in the text of Castañeda: "on the way (to water, that is, to the Pecos stream) many salt lagunes were found. There was salt in great quantities, large pieces of it floating on the water, pieces larger than tables, as thick as four and five fingers, and, below the surface of the water, at a depth of two and three spans, salt in grains of a better quality than that of the chunks, since the latter was slightly bitter; (the salt) was crystalline . . . ." The guides said that this river<sup>160</sup> united with that of Tiguex, more than

156. *Cíbola*, p. 445.

157. P. 326: "en el cual camino pasaron arto trabajo a Causa de no comer mas de carne casi todos, e a muchos hacía daño. . ."

158. See note 152.

159. *Cíbola*, p. 444, "lo que se auia andado a la yda en treinta y siete jornadas se bolbio en ueinte y cinco . . ." The guides were Teyas Indians.

160. Castañeda, *Cíbola*, 444: "hallamos en este camino muchas lagunas de sal que la auia en gran cantidad auia sobre el agua tablones della mayores que mesas. . ." It seems therefore that Arellano passed quite near to the salines near the Manzano, and north of them. The whites did not, apparently, either see or hear of the Tigua and Piro pueblos that then existed west, south and southeast of these salt-lakes, else Castañeda would not have failed to mention them. Nor could they see any of them from the distance.

twenty journeys from there, and that it turned to the east. (Castañeda conjectures that the Rio Grande empties into the Mississippi).<sup>161</sup> On this journey, on going, a tattooed Indian woman of Captain Juan de Zaldivar fled down the barrancas (clefts or gorges), because she recognized the country.<sup>162</sup> "At Tiguex, where we obtained her, she had been a slave. That woman came into the hands of certain Spaniards of those who were in Florida, having gone there to discover. I heard them say, when they returned to New Spain, that the (Indian) woman told them that, nine days before she met (the Spaniards) she had fled from others naming some of the captains, from which it is thought that we came not far from where they discovered, although they say that, then, they were more than two hundred leagues inland. It is believed that the country there has more than six hundred maritime leagues across."<sup>163</sup>

The salt marshes were probably those near the Manzano, but the Spaniards do not seem to have known anything of the Tigua and Piro villages then extant on the southern rim of the salinas and on the so-called "Medano." The Indian woman must have been a *Jumano*, from the marks of tattooing mentioned, which appears to have been

161. *Ibidem.* That stream was, therefore, the Pecos.

162. "a la yda hundio (should be *huyó*) una india labrada á el capitán Juan de salibdar y fue las barrancas abajo huyendo que reconoció la tierra." If it is true that the Jumano Indians were the only ones in these regions who used tattooing, then the woman was a Jumano! After New Mexico became a Spanish colony, Jumanos not infrequently came to the pueblos and even married Pueblo women, and vice versa. See *Auto de Fundación de la Misión de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso del Rio del Norte* (ms. of 1659) and various other documents to which I shall refer in other parts of this work. The term "rayados" used to designate the Jumanos is not sufficient to prove that these Indians tattooed, but "labrado", as found in the above, is conclusive. It can only mean tattooing. It is not the only time Castañeda uses it. At the gorge or "barranca" in which the Spanish force rested until Coronado's dash for Quivira, an Indian woman was met who "tenia la barua labrada." That the Jumano woman who was with Arellano recognized the country about the salines is somewhat significant.

163. The above quotation as well as this is from *Cibola*, p. 444. The nine days mentioned by the Indian fugitive are perhaps too short a lapse of time for meeting Spanish scouts from the force under Moscoso.



a characteristic of that tribe.<sup>164</sup> She "recognized" the country. A branch of the Jumanos are known to have lived southeast of the Salinas in the sixteenth century,<sup>165</sup> and the name, "Mesa de los Jumanos," still clings to the extensive plateau south of the salt-marshes (or rather southeast of them). In the seventeenth century, it was not very uncommon to meet Jumanos dwelling among the Pueblos. The woman of whom Castañeda treats may well have been captive of some wandering tribes, and have either been bartered for, or escaped to the Tiguas; possibly of the village of Cuaráy, whence she drifted to the Rio Grande.<sup>166</sup> The close approximation to people of de Soto's (or rather Moscoso's) party appears as the result of a misunderstanding, although it seems that the plains Indians had some knowledge of Spaniards that came from the lower Mississippi valley.<sup>167</sup> Lastly I call attention to the mention of "maritime leagues." It would appear as if the use of them had been an exception, on the part of the chroniclers of Coronado, as they are nowhere else mentioned; still, this is as yet a mere surmise. From the saltmarshes Arellano marched up along the Pecos, crossing over to the village of Cicuyé, "which was found to be hostile, refusing (to give) any supplies."<sup>168</sup> Their conduct, compared with the friendly manner in which they had sped off Coronado, is quite suspicious. From Cicuyé the Spaniards went back to Tiguex

---

164. I again call attention to the term "labrado" which clearly refers to tattooing.

165. The Mesa Jumana or "Mesa de los Jumanos" lies south and southeast of the Salinas and can be seen from quite a distance, from the north.

166. Cuaráy lies quite near the Mesa Jumana.

167. At least so the Spaniards construed some hints which they thought to understand. It is not stated they had interpreters while on the plains.

168. The Spanish nautical "milla" had one-thousand Spanish paces or three-thousand feet and the nautical "legua" consisted of four miles, the "legua terrestre" of three. — The conduct of the Pecos is thus described by Castañeda, *Cibola*, 145, "pues como digo el río arriba fue el campo hasta llegar a el pueblo de cicuye el qual se hallo de guerra que no quisieron mostrarse de paz ni dar ningún socorro de bastimento."

and into their old quarters. Some of the Tigua Pueblos had been reoccupied "but they were at once abandoned again, in dread."<sup>169</sup>

Beyond the indication just mentioned, that the Tiguas returned to their villages after the departure of Coronado, we have no means of determining what happened to the Pueblos after the Spaniards had left. The return of the Tiguas to their homes is, however, not devoid of significance; it shows that, indeed, they did not expect to see the whites any more or that, in case they came back, the Pecos were expected to be able to exterminate them. As soon as Arellano reached Tiguex, however, the Tiguas fled. Not only did other Pueblo stocks remain inactive; they permitted intercourse with the foreigners to a certain extent. Castañeda (who seems to be the only eye-witness that has written of this phase of Coronado's march) states: "As soon as Don Tristán de Arellano arrived at Tiguex in the middle of July of the year forty-two (forty-one!) he began to gather supplies for the coming winter. He sent Captain Francisco de Barrionuevo with some men up the river to the north, where he saw two provinces, one of which was called *Hemes* and the other *Yuqueyunque*. The Hemes Pueblos came out peacefully and gave provisions; those of Yuqueyunque, while the camp was being established, abandoned two handsome pueblos which they had, the river between them, and removed to the mountains where they had four very strong villages in a very rugged country and inaccessible on horseback. In these two pueblos many supplies were had and very handsome pottery, glazed and of singular shapes and ornamentation. There were also many pots filled with shining metal, selected, with which they glazed. This pottery was a sign that in that country were mines of silver if they would be sought after."<sup>170</sup>

169. *Ibidem*: "de alli fueron a tiguex que ya algunos pueblos se auian tornado a poblar que luego se tornaban a despoblar de temor."

170. *Cibola*, p. 445.

The Pueblo stocks mentioned as having been visited by Francisco de Barrionuevo are easily recognized. "Hemes" is *Jemez*; Yuqueyunque, the former *Yuge Uinge* (also called "Yunque") on which site the present hamlet of Chamita has been built.<sup>171</sup> Hence the people whom the Spaniards met there were the *Tehuas*. The stream which the explorers followed cannot, however, have been the Rio Grande but the Jemez river, which joins the Grande near Bernalillo. Once at Jemez, they naturally followed the stream into the gorge where the remarkable thermal springs are situated and thence it was comparatively easy (even on horseback) to cross the pass into the Santa Clara Cañon, and, descending, reach the Rio Grande again.<sup>171a</sup> Had they attempted to follow the big river they would, in the first instances, have noticed the Queres villages, and, above Cochití, have encountered insurmountable obstacles in the so-called "cañon blanco," which is intransitable on horse-

---

171. That settlement, as we shall find later, was the first founded by whites on New Mexican soil.

171a. Bandelier is believed to be correct as to the site of this pueblo, later identified with "San Gabriel," though some students rely on the Martinez map (1602) which shows it as south of the confluence. (see Hammond, "Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico," in *N. M. H. Rev.*, I, 318) That it was actually north of the Chama river is shown by certain of the archives at Santa Fe. One of them identifies San Gabriel with the pueblo of Yunque; another, reciting the bounds of a tract asked for, says "on the south the Chama river." (see Twitchell, *Span. Archives*, I, titles 1020, 437).

Bandelier is believed to be wrong, however, as to the route of Barrionuevo. His reference to "Jemez" is an anachronism, for the present pueblo of that name dates only since the Reconquest of 1693. In his list of pueblo groups (Winship, "Coronado's Expedition", p. 454) Castañeda includes one group of "seven pueblos of the Jemez" and another of "three pueblos of the Aguas Calientes"—based doubtless on information from Barrionuevo and his companions who were the first Europeans to visit the Jemez people. The latter group without question were Giu-se-wa and two others at and near the present Jemez Springs. There is little doubt that the former group is to be identified with some of the major ruins now found in the region of the "Valles." Instead, therefore, of following up the branches forming the Jemez river through either San Diego cañon or Guadalupe cañon (both farther west) it is more probable that these first Spaniards bore to the right just after passing the present "Jemez" and followed north through the "Valles" along the Vallecito branch of the river. After getting well up in the pine forest on the high potreros, they may have turned west by the old trail leading down through "Church cañon" to Giu-se-wa, and so have visited that and other pueblos near the thermal springs; then re-climbed the high mesa and gone north through the "Valle Grande" to Santa Clara cañon, thence descending eastwards and out to the Rio Grande valley again.—L. B. B.

back and, sometimes, even on foot, — as I found out by my own experience although, with much difficulty and danger, I succeeded in ascending its whole length at a time when the river was somewhat high. As far as the two Tehua villages, situated on the banks of the Rio Grande with that river between them, are concerned, since one is clearly “Yunque” (now Chamita and no longer an Indian village) the other must be *Jiutyote oj-ke*, called since 1598, “San Juan de los Caballeros.”<sup>172</sup> There are so many ruins of Tehua pueblos in that region (and four inhabited ones)<sup>173</sup> that I do not venture to suggest any identification of the four villages mentioned as situated in inaccessible parts of the mountains. I permit myself to suggest that, since Castañeda himself emphatically declares that the Pueblos had no metal or ore and did not use any, the shining material kept for use in pottery-making was *mica*. The potters of the Tehua village of *Nambé*, some distance east of the Rio Grande, make a special pottery of a micaceous clay, and the particles of mica give it an appearance as if thickly studded with metallic dots and flakes.

Meeting with no impediments from the natives, Barriónuevo pushed ahead in the direction of the north. Twenty leagues above Yunque he met a “large and powerful village called *Braba* and which our people named ‘Valladolid.’” Castañeda states that it was “up the river,” but this is not possible as there are not even ruins along the Rio Grande on that route.<sup>174</sup> That village appears to be the same as the “Uraba” and “Yuraba” already referred to and, very likely, the home of the tribe of *Taos*. Castañeda mentions it later on as the most northerly of all the pueblos (as Taos

---

172. The name was given in 1598, by Oñate or by his men.

173. See *Final Report*, II, p. 1.

174. At least, I have not been able to find any, except those of the pueblo called “Pio-ge” by the Tehuas. It lies a few miles north of San Juan. Yet this does not prove absolutely that there are none. My statement is therefore made with proper reserve.

indeed was and is today). He gives the following description: "The river flowed through it and it was crossed on bridges made of large and squared timbers of pines." (It must be noted that Castañeda writes from oral reports, not *de visu*) — "and in this village were seen the largest and most remarkable estufas of the whole country, because they were of twelve pillars, each one of which measured two outstretched arms around and the height was two fathoms. This pueblo had been visited before by Hernando de Alvarado when he discovered Cicuyé. The country is high and very cold, the river deep with a strong current and no ford. The captain Barrionuevo turned back, leaving these provinces in peace."<sup>175</sup> The description of the unusually large estufas is manifestly the same which he gives previously when treating of the customs of the Tiguas. What he asserts about a visit of Alvarado to Taos, on the latter's first trip to Pecos is clearly an error, such as he has not infrequently made in regard to individuals. It was not possible for Alvarado to go from Pecos to Taos in the short time allotted to him, and to return.<sup>176</sup> We cannot blame Castañeda much for this and similar mistakes. He wrote a long time after the events, and from memory only.<sup>177</sup>

After this already quite extensive reconnoissance, another one was effected in the opposite direction; "Another captain went down the river in search of the settlements which these of Tutahaco said were some days' journey from there. This captain descended eighty leagues, and found four large villages which he left in a state of peace and went as far as the point where he found that the river disap-

---

175. *Cíbola*, p. 445.

176. The sobriety which Castañeda displays in descriptions is much to his credit. It is strange, however, that most of his errors are found in allusions to persons and dates.

177. Castañeda wrote after the death of the viceroy Antonio de Mendoza in 1552. He says: "el aber como a ueinte años y mas que aquella jornada se hizo." He therefore wrote probably about twenty-five years after. *Cíbola*, p. 415, Proemio.

peared underground like the Guadiana in Extremadura. He did not go further to where the Indians said the river came forth again with great power."<sup>178</sup> This again shows that, according to Castañeda, by Tutahaco the Piro pueblos of the Rio Grande were meant. Not too much stress should be placed on the "eighty leagues" given as the length of the journey. In the first place, even if, after the method adopted by Coronado on his marches, somebody among the troop had counted the steps in order to compute the distance travelled, that computation resulted necessarily defective.<sup>179</sup> Even admitting the eighty leagues, we do not know whether they were *maritime* or *terrestrial*! In the first instance they would have corresponded to about 190 English miles, in the second, to about 140 only. In 1598, the first regular pueblos were met near San Marcial, a distance of 119 miles south of Bernalillo, from the vicinity of which (modern) town the Spaniards started. South of San Marcial the banks of the Rio Grande were deserted and there are, to my knowledge at least, no ruins of typical "pueblos" found as far as El Paso which lies 150 miles beyond, or 269 south of Bernalillo.<sup>180</sup> The route which the Spaniards followed was probably longer than the line of the actual railroad. It is therefore not impossible that the four villages mentioned were situated near San Marcial. Oñate mentions at least two in that vicinity, the most southerly of which was *Trenaquel*, the vestiges of which I found at San Marcial in

---

178. *Cíbola*, p. 445: "otro capitán fue el rio abajo en busca de los poblados que decian los de tutahaco auia algunas jornadas de alli este capitan bajo ochenta leguas y hallo quatro pueblos grandes que dexo de paz y andubo hasta que hallo quel rio se sumia dezaxo de tierra como guardiana en extremadura no paso adelante donde los indios decian que salia muy poderoso."

179. While the Spanish force was on the march, there was one of their number appointed to count the steps so as to keep an approximate record of distances. Castañeda, *Cíbola*, p. 442. "porque se daba cargo a quien fuese tasando y un contando por pasos." The computation was easy, since the nautical or maritime league had four-thousand, the terrestrial or Italian league three-thousand steps.

180. There are ruins (called by the people "Montezumas") not far from El Paso del Norte, but their character is different from that of Pueblo architecture.

the year 1882.<sup>181</sup> The text of Castañeda states, not that the farthest pueblos were "eighty leagues" from Tiguex, but that from those four villages the explorers went as far as that distance from Tiguex, and then returned, "not having orders to go further."<sup>182</sup> It is therefore at least likely that the Spaniards explored as far as the black (volcanic) Mesa at the foot of which San Marcial is built and reached therefore, in 1541, the southern limit of the "Pueblos" where it existed yet in 1598. The two reconnoissances ordered to be made by Arellano in the summer of 1541 therefore revealed the fact that, in that year (and probably for some time previous), the most northerly landmark of the Rio Grande settlements was Taos, and the most southerly the ancient and now ruined Piro settlement on the site of San Marcial.

After the return of this second detachment of explorers Arellano, not receiving any tidings of Coronado whose return from Quivira was now looked for, set out with forty men to meet his commander-in-chief. He came as far as Pecos, where the inhabitants attacked him. He remained before that village four days and had it fired upon, by which several Indians were killed. After the first day's engagement (in which two leading men of the Pecos were killed) the Indians did not venture to be hostile any more. In the meantime Coronado arrived from Quivira and the combined troops returned to Tiguex unmolested.<sup>183</sup>

This is exclusively the version of Castañeda which is the only one until now available. It appears at least worthy

---

181. Juan de Oñate, *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. 19, p. 250) mentions "Qualacú" as the second village met coming up the river from where is now El Paso. — *Obediencia y vasallaje a Su Magestad por los indios del Pueblo de San Juan Baptista*. (*Doc. de Indias*, v. 19, p. 115): "y ultimamente Trenaquel de la mesilla, que es la primera población de este Reyno, hacia la parte del Sur y Nueva España." This was confirmed to me by an aged Piro Indian, who knew the location of the former Piro Pueblos.

182. *Cibola*, p. 445.

183. *Cibola*, p. 446: "llegado el general con su gente a cicuye luego se partio para tiguex dexando mas asentado el pueblo por que a el luego salieron de paz y le hablaron."



of credit in the main, as geographic and ethnographic details are substantiated by information subsequently obtained and also by actual conditions in part.

Coronado's return to Tiguex took place before the 20th of October, 1541.<sup>184</sup> This is as near as it can be fixed with the sources at hand. When he reached Cicuyé the Pecos Indians came out to meet him peaceably. Whether this change in their attitude was due to a certain predilection of him, to greater confidence in him than in his lieutenants, or to a conviction that since the Spanish force had come back intact further resistance was useless, is impossible to decide.

The end of Coronado's stay in New Mexico was approaching, but not as he and his men had projected. It was their intention to return to Quivira in the following spring. Coronado therefore took steps to reconcile the Tiguas and in general to pacify the country absolutely. He required material to clothe his soldiers anew, for they were poorly provided, their clothing was worn out, and their bodies filled and covered with vermin (*pediculus vestimenti*, which are still common among Indians, Pueblos as well as nomads).<sup>185</sup> To what extent the efforts to conciliate the Tiguas were successful can only be surmised. All that can be fathomed is, that no further collisions took place. The winter of 1541-1542 passed quietly at Tiguex as far as the aborigines were concerned. What happened among the Spaniards, although it was, ultimately, of great importance to the Pueblos, need be but briefly stated.

During the journey to the plains, García López de Cárdenas broke his arm. This was the first mishap to a Spanish officer of higher rank since Coronado had been

184. This is established by the date of his letter to the Emperor, dated October 20th, 1541 from "esta provincia de Tiguex."

185. *Cíbola*, p. 458: "procuraba en estos comedios a pasiguar algunos pueblos de la comarca que estaban no bien asentados y llamar a los de tiguex a paz y buscar alguna ropa de la tierra porque andaban ya los soldados desnudos y mal tratados llenos de piojos y no los podian agotar ni deshechar de si."



wounded in the attack on Hauicu, from which wound he had recovered fully. Soon after Coronado's return to Tiguex, Don Pedro de Tovar, who had been sent back to Sonora for reinforcements, reached Tiguex with more men. These newcomers expected to find their people enjoying wealth and luxury; in place of it they met them in a country of which Coronado wrote the Emperor: "the best I have found is this river of Tiguex where I am, and the settlements on it which cannot be occupied since, in addition to their being more than four hundred leagues from the sea of the North (Atlantic Ocean) and more than two hundred from the sea of the South (Pacific) so that no communication can be established, the country is so cold, as to your Majesty I have written, that it seems impossible to pass the winter here, for there is no firewood nor clothing with which the people can protect themselves, only hides in which the natives go dressed and some cotton mantles in small quantity."<sup>186</sup> Coronado was manifestly discouraged and disgusted of New Mexico, whereas he writes favorably of Quivira. But, at Tiguex, he met with an accident while running at the ring and became bedridden.<sup>187</sup> During his convalescence, (which, it is hinted, he purposely delayed) discussions and finally dissensions arose in the camp, the men grew dissatisfied, almost mutinous, and the outcome of it was that, instead of taking up the march to Quivira in the spring of 1542, the *homeward march*, to Mexico, was decided upon and carried out. The Spaniards definitely evacuated the Rio Grande region in the month of April, 1542. A few of the Mexican Indians remained among the Zuñis<sup>188</sup> and two (perhaps three) of the friars asked permission to stay and sacrifice their lives, as it really happened. Coronado gave them supplies and a few assistants

---

186. *Carta al Emperador*, Oct. 20. 1541.

187. This is so well known and so often stated that it requires no quotations to prove it.

188. *Cibola*, p. 461. The Indians from Mexico had remained at Zuñi when Coronado left that range for Tiguex. We shall meet them again hereafter.

and servants<sup>189</sup> as I shall hereafter relate. Such Pueblo Indians as had been attending at the Spanish camp were released and allowed to return to their homes.<sup>190</sup> This time the Rio Grande Pueblos were to be liberated of their embarrassing visitors for quite a while; that is, for a period of nearly fifty years. It seems that no demonstration was made by them on the departure of the strangers, and nothing happened to the retreating party except, between the Rio Grande and Zuñi, the poisoning of many horses from which more than thirty died before reaching Zuñi and more on the further march to Culiacán. No explanation is offered by any of the chroniclers and, if we consider the season when the journey was begun, it may have been accidental poisoning by the so-called "loco weed." At least no accusation is made that Pueblo Indians had been the cause of the mishap.<sup>191</sup>

Before alluding to the fate of the Franciscan missionaries who remained voluntarily in the Southwest, it is not useless to recapitulate the information procured by the chroniclers of "Coronado's march" on the number and population of the Pueblos.

"The "Relación del Suceso" states: "Twenty leagues from this rock (Ácoma) we met a river running north and south, there will be on it seventy villages more or less, large and small . . . this settled country extends from north to south along this river for fifty leagues and fifteen or twenty

---

189. *Cibola*, p. 461. See further on.

190. *Idem*, p. 462: "el general despachados los frayles temiendo no le dañase el traer gente de aquella tierra a la nueva españa mando quel seruiçio que los soldados tenian de los natrales lo dexasen yr libres a sus pueblos adonde quisiesen que a mi ber no lo a serto que mas ualiera se dotrinaran entre christianos."

191. Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 462: "aconteçio en este camino una cosa no poco de notar y fue que con salir los caualllos exercitados a el trabajo gordos y hermosos en diez dias que se tardo en llegar a cibola murieron mas de treinta que no ubo die que no muriesen dos y tres y mas despues hasta llegar a culiacan murieron gran numero de ellos cosa no aconteçida en toda la jornada." Gomara, *Primera y Segunda Parte* (p. 288), evidently confounds the killing of horses at Tiguex with this accident on the homeward march; when he states: "Fueronse los indios una noche, y amanecieron muertos treinta caballos, que puso temor al exercito."

leagues from it on either side."<sup>192</sup> The "Relación postrera," Jaramillo and Coronado (as far as we have his letters) are silent on the point, but Castañeda is very explicit. He gives a detailed list of the villages as follows:<sup>193</sup>

Cíbola, seven villages.

Tusayan, seven villages.

The Rock of Acuco, one.

Tiguex, twelve villages.

Tutahaco, eight villages. These villages were lower down the river.

Quirix, seven villages.

In the snowy mountains, seven villages.

Ximena, three villages.

Cicuyé, one village.

Hemes (Jemez) seven villages.

Aguas calientes (Jemez hot Springs) three villages.

Yuqueyunque of the mountains, six villages.

Valladolid called Braba, one village.

Chia, (Cia) one village.

"In all, there are sixty-six villages." This is not correct; there are seventy-one. Castañeda further states: "Tiguex appears to be in the center of the villages. Valladolid is the farthest up the river toward the northeast. The four villages down the river are toward the southeast, because the river turns toward the east. It is 130 leagues — 10 more or less — from the farthest point that was seen down the river to the farthest point up the river, and all the settlements are within this region."<sup>194</sup> Taking into consideration the time when this was written, it is remarkably near the truth. He repeats, however, the erroneous mention of sixty-six pueblos adding: "And in all of them there may be some 20,000 men, which may be taken as a fair

192. p. 323.

193. *Cíbola*, p. 454.

194. *Idem*, p. 454. The number of leagues is, of course, an approximation only.

estimate of the population of the villages."<sup>195</sup> Although the Spanish original has the word "hombres" (*men*), it is clear that he means people.<sup>196</sup> This is further established by his subsequent remark that the people "are few",<sup>197</sup> and especially by the following passage; "There is nothing more surprising than the difference there was between the information that had been obtained, and reality. Where we had been promised many riches, not the slightest trace of them was found; in place of inhabited countries wastes; villages of two hundred souls instead of great cities and, in the largest villages, barely eight hundred or a thousand inhabitants."<sup>198</sup> The "Relación postrera" confirms this by saying: "There are seven villages in the province of Cibola in a space of five leagues, the largest may be of two hundred houses, there are two more of two hundred, and the others of sixty, and fifty and thirty houses each."<sup>199</sup> Treating of the Rio Grande valley he states: "lower down (from Tiguex) all the villages are small except two, which may have two hundred houses."<sup>200</sup> From the nature of Pueblo architecture it is clear that, by "houses," *households* are meant. Mota Padilla, treating of Tiguex, mentions the twelve pueblos "the largest of which contained two hundred Indians."<sup>201</sup> Here the term "Indian" manifestly stands for

195. *Ibidem*: "en todos ellos puede auer como ueinte mil hombres." He uses the same term "hombres" in estimating the joint population of the Zuñi and Moqui clusters (p. 451).

196. It is likely that, had he meant men only, he would have stated "hombres de armas" — men at arms. The word "hombre" is often used for "people" and women are not unfrequently addressed that way.

197. *Op. cit.*, p. 454: "que segun son poca gente."

198. *Idem*, p. 444.

199. *Idem*, p. 566: "son siete pueblos en esta provincia de Sivola en espacio de cinco leguas: el mayor será de ducientas casas, y otros dos, de á ducientas, y los otros á sesenta y á cincuenta y á treinto casas." p. 567, "abajo todos son pueblos pequeños, salvo dos que ternán á ducientas casas." Coronado, *Letters to the Viceroy Mendoza*, August 3d, 1540, (p. 558) "The Seven Cities are seven little villages." — If the term "hombres" were to be interpreted as men, it would give to each village a thousand souls, on an average.

200. *Ibidem*. Also *Relación del Suceso*, p. 319: "los pueblos son de a tres-cientas e doscientas, e de a cien cincuenta casas."

201. *Historia*, p. 159: "hallaron en él doce pueblos que el mayor tendria doscientos indios."

the males only. The exaggerated reports about the population of Yuraba-Taos and of Cicuiq-Pecos have already been disposed of.<sup>202</sup> Castañeda allows to the latter five-hundred warriors.<sup>203</sup> Mota Padilla states that the first of the four pueblos between Tiguex and Pecos had about thirty houses, the second thirty-five "occupied" houses, and "Cicuic" about fifty. It is therefore almost certain that the "men" of Castañeda signify all the people, of every age and sex. The number, or rather estimate, of approximately twenty thousand Pueblo Indians agrees with that given in 1626 by Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmeron, and especially with the censuslike enumeration by Fray Agustín de Vetancurt, at the time of the great uprising in the year of 1680.<sup>204</sup>

Castañeda enumerates seventy-one pueblos. The "Relación del Suceso" mentions seventy, *aside from Zuñi and Moqui*.<sup>205</sup> I prefer the statement of the former since it is detailed and confirmed by his other information. Of these seventy-one villages, fifty-seven belong to what I consider as the Rio Grande group, the other fourteen being the Zuñis and the Moquis. To these two clusters, Castañeda assigns an aggregate population of "three or four thousand" men, that is people.<sup>206</sup> This would leave for the Rio Grande cluster from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand souls.

202. See notes and text. The estimates are clearly from hearsay.

203. Cíbola, p. 453: "Cicuye es un pueblo de hasta quinientos hombres de guerra." — He plainly alludes to men only.

204. Fray ~~Alonso~~ de Zárate Salmerón, "*Relaciones de todas las Cosas que en el Nuevo Mexico se han visto y sabido*" (MS. of National Archives of Mexico.) To this important source I shall have to return later. — Fray Agustín de Vetancurt, *Crónica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, (1598, from reprint of 1871, pp. 306 to 325). In its *Carta al Gobernador Don Antonio de Otermin* (MS. 1680) the Cabildo of Santa Fe says: "Y el número de toda el gentio de naturales que hoy se halla en el Nuevo Mexico de los Apostates alzados, no es tan corto que no pase de 16 mil almas." Vetancurt, *Crónica* (p. 214) says that, in 1660, a general census was made, showing the entire population of New Mexico, whites, mestizos and Pueblos, to have been over 24,000 souls. He himself enumerates forty pueblos about, but does not give the population of all of them.

205. Cíbola, p. 454: *Relación del Suceso*, p. 323.

206. Cíbola, p. 451.

*Gerón*

Of the expedition of Coronado, nothing remained in New Mexico but some missionaries, a Portuguese, and a few Indian and mestizo servants. There should yet be found traditions, and I cannot sufficiently repeat that a vigorous search should be made for these. Much of what I have stated here may become modified, refuted or confirmed, by Indian folklore, and it is therefore essential that that vast field be diligently cultivated. Before leaving the subject of the present investigations for another period of Pueblo History, a glance must be cast at the fate of the heroic monks who sacrificed their lives in the Southwest; a tragic sequel to Coronado's adventurous march, and not without connection with the History of the Rio Grande Pueblo Indians.

The fate of the monks who remained in New Mexico after the departure of Coronado is not so well known as would be desirable. Even their number and names are, in a degree, uncertain. Again each source must be considered separately.

The "Relación del Suceso" states: "the Viceroy . . . was pleased that there had remained there Father Juan de Padilla, who went to Quivira and with him a Spaniard and a negro, and Fray Luís, a very pious lay-brother."<sup>207</sup> The "Relación posterera," written before Coronado's return from Quivira, states that Father Padilla accompanied Coronado on his reconnoissance in 1541, but does not, of course, mention the friar's return to Quivira in the following year. Jaramillo is quite explicit. He states: "the return once ordered, the Franciscan friars that were with us, one of them ordained and the other a lay-brother; the priest being called Fray Juan de Padilla and the lay-brother Fray Luís de Escalona, were ready and had permission from their

---

207. P. 329: "yo gose de que se hubiesen quedado alla el padre, fray Juan de Padilla, el cual fue a Quivira, y un español y un negro con el, y fray luís, un lego muy santo."

provincial to stay. The friar desired to remain in the houses with flat roofs saying that with a chisel and an adze which he had, (he might or would) put up crosses in those villages, and baptize some infants in *articulo mortis*, in order to send them to heaven, and he asked for no more companionship than that of a little negro slave of mine called Cristoval, for his assistance and consolation. He said he would soon learn the language, to help himself, and insisted so much that his request could not be denied, and so nothing more was heard of him. I understand that his remaining there was the cause that there also remained some Indians, of those from here, and two negroes, one of mine called Sebastian and one of Melchor Perez, son of the Licentiate Latorre. That negro was married and with his wife and children. At Quivira I recollect that some Indians also remained, one of my company, a Tarascan called Andrés. Father Juan de Padilla insisted upon returning to Quivira, obtaining that we gave him the Indians whom I said we had taken as guides. He took them along and also a Portuguese and a negro who had been taught and was marked. He was of the third order and became a Franciscan friar. Also a mestizo and two Indians who, I believe, were from Zapotlan."<sup>208</sup> In the next section of this work I will have to pay some attention to these companions of Father Padilla, since their career is connected, though indirectly, with the Pueblos.

Castañeda writes as follows: "Seeing this (the near departure of Coronado) a certain friar Juan de Padilla, a priest of the order of Minorites, and another friar Luís, a lay brother told the general that they wanted to stay in that country. Fray Juan de Padilla at Quivira . . . and Fray Luís at Cicuyé . . . the general sent with them an escort as far as Cicuyé where Fray Luís remained, whereas Fray

---

208. P. 316, *Relación hecha*. — I refrain from copying the Spanish text on account of its length. It may be found in *Doc. de Indias*, vol., 14, also in Winship's "Coronado."



Juan went on returning to Quivira, taking the Portuguese of whom we have spoken, a negro, the mestizo, and Indians from New Spain, as well as the guides which the general had taken along. . . ."

"Fray Luís stayed at Cicuyé and nothing more was heard of him to this day although, before the force left Tiguex, a certain number of sheep were sent to him there, and those who drove the sheep met him, in company with people (Indians) and on the way to visit other villages that were fifteen or twenty leagues from Cicuyé. He expressed some hopes, stating that he was in the good graces of the tribe and that his teachings might prove fruitful, although he complained that the old men held aloof, and I believe that in the end they will have killed him . . ."

Castañeda adds "the people there are merciful and in no manner cruel and keep faith and loyalty to their friends."<sup>208</sup>

The three sources above quoted mention *two* friars, one of whom (Padilla) disappeared at Quivira while the other (de Escalona) was last heard of in the vicinity of Pecos, hence among the Rio Grande Indians according to the extension I have thought to give to that term. Mota Padilla however, enumerates *three* missionaries and varies, on the subject of their career after Coronado's departure, considerably from the versions given. In addition to Father Padilla and Fray Luís de Escalona he mentions a lay brother whom he names *Fray Juan de la Cruz!* — Father Escalona he calls Fray Luís de Ubeda, and asserts that Father Padilla and Fray Luís still remained among the Tiguex for some time after Coronado had gone, and then left together: "and the Indians of Tiguex appointed a squad of their soldiers that they should guide the said Fathers to the Pueblo of Coquite (Pecos) where they were received with demonstra-

---

209. *Cibola*, p. 461 and 462.



tions of joy . . . .”<sup>210</sup> The testimony of Mota Padilla, however valuable on other points, seems to be at fault in this case. Eye-witnesses (Jaramillo and Castañeda) are positive that both monks went away from Tiguex while the Spanish camp was still there, and their testimony weighs more than that of an author who wrote two centuries later. Nevertheless, I am loath to reject all the statements of Mota Padilla.

It may, at first sight and to superficial investigators, seem quite immaterial how many and what monks remained among the Pueblos, after the departure of Coronado's forces. According to all known indications these missionaries did not live long in New Mexico. Yet, from the nature of Indian conceptions, and from the manner in which Indian lore may originate, even a comparatively short existence among the Pueblos, of human beings so strange to them as the missionaries must have been, can have left lasting impressions in folklore, rituals, and even upon some

---

210. *Historia*, p. 167 After mentioning the application made, by Father Padilla and Fray Luis of Ubeda, to Coronado, for permission to remain in that country he adds: "A su imitacion tambien el padre Fr. Juan de la Cruz religioso lego (como lo era Fray Luis de Ubeda) pretendió quedarse en aquellas provincias de Tigues." Further on it is stated: "De esta suerte quedaron estos benditos religiosos como corderos entre lobos; y viéndose solos, trató el padre Fr. Juan de Padilla, con los de Tigues, el fin que le movia á quedarse entre ellos . . . que ya los soldados se habian ido, que no les serian molestos, que él pasaba á otras poblaciones y les dejaba al padre Fr. Juan de la Cruz para que les fuese instruyendo . . . despídese gran ternura, dejando, como prelado, lleno de bendiciones, á Fr. Juan de la Cruz, y el mestiso y indios de la nueva españa con las guías que auia traydo el gen-padres Fr. Juan de Padilla y Fr. Luis de Ubeda hasta el pueblo de Coquite, en donde les recibieron con demonstraciones de alegría, y haciendo la misma recomendacion por el padre Fr. Luis de Ubeda, le dejó, y guiado de otros naturales del mismo pueblo, salió para Quivira . . . ." From the above it would seem that Indians from Pecos accompanied Father Padilla to the Northeast. I find no mention of this elsewhere. However plausible the tales of Mota Padilla may appear, I adhere to the statements of the eyewitnesses. Jaramillo, *Relación Hecha*, p. 317, states: "El fray Juan de Padilla porfio de volver a Quivira y procuro que se le diesen aquellos indios que dixé habiamos traído por guías." These guides were not from any of the pueblos, since none of the latter had gone with Coronado on his reconnoissance. Castañeda, *Cíbola*, p. 461, is positive also: "embio el general con ellos una compañía que los sacasen hasta cicuye donde se quedó fray luis y el fray juan paso la buelta de quivira lleuando el portugues que diximos y el negro y el mestiso y indios de la nueva españa con las guías que auia traydo el general." Both Jaramillo and Castañeda were eyewitnesses.

customs. If there were only two missionaries who remained, Fray Juan de Padilla and Fray Luís de Escalona, the former is involved in the history of the Rio Grande pueblos only as far as he may have exercised some influence *previous* to his departure for Quivira. As long as the military were still with the Pueblos, they naturally were watched with particular attention and the recollections thereof specially graven into the minds of the Indians.<sup>211</sup> The apparently unobtrusive monks were less striking features, or they may have been looked upon as shamans of a doubtful character, whose influence was incomprehensible and therefore subject to the slow and wary observation of the Indians. When, however, the aborigines found themselves alone in presence of these strange and apparently defenceless beings, matters assumed a different aspect. The friars, left alone, had to accept *direct* work with the natives, and whatever impression *that* created upon the latter, was likely to be more lasting in the memory of the Indians.

Fray Juan de Padilla cannot be included in the question as far as the Pueblos are concerned. But Fray Luís de Escalona became at once the "first missionary," on an independent footing, of the Pecos. He, it is said, disappeared there. His possible martyrdom to which Castañeda alludes, is not recognized by the church. Neither the "Acta Sanctorum" nor any Martyrology of the many I have searched, mentions Father Escalona. Yet his existence cannot be denied, reliable eye-witnesses prove it. Furthermore, according to one of these eye-witnesses (Castañeda) "the friar Luís remained at Cicuyé, nothing more has been learned about him to this day although before the forces left Tiguex, conducting to him a certain number of sheep to be left with him, those who drove them met (him) in company

---

211. So the recollection about the events at Puaray-Tiguex remained very distinct among the Tiguas. Espejo, *Relación* (*Doc. de Indias* 15. p. 112.) Even the number of Spaniards who perished (nine) is quite correctly reported, also the number of horses: "y le mataron en ella nueve soldados y cuarenta caballos."

with people, as he went to visit other villages, etc."<sup>212</sup> It seems, therefore, that Fray Lu s de Escalona had in mind the material as well as the spiritual improvement of the Indians. What became of the sheep cannot be found out except, perhaps, through Indian tradition. This first attempt at a permanent introduction of domesticated quadrupeds among the Pueblos is well worth noticing, and justifies a glance at the fate of the devoted man to whom the endeavor is due.

Always bearing in mind that Father Escalona is mentioned by eye-witnesses but ignored by ecclesiastic sources, Father (rather Brother)<sup>213</sup> Juan de la Cruz must attract our attention next. Whereas the former may be termed "Apostle of the Pecos", what is told of the latter would make of him the "Apostle of the Tiguas", — that is, if such a monk as he is described to have been—ever existed in New Mexico!? The doubt is not unjustified!

The sources that establish the existence of *Fray Lu s* are all, as far as known, of the *secular* order; they pertain to so-called "profane literature." That no *clerical* source of the sixteenth century mentions this lay brother may be due to the fact that there is no reference of a *positive* kind to his death as a martyr.<sup>214</sup> Hence no Martyrology was authorized to mention him except as a subject of doubtful legend. On the other hand, *Fray Juan de la Cruz*, stated to have been a lay-brother also, is ignored by the *eye-witnesses* at my command, but frequently mentioned by *ecclesiastic* documents, beginning with one of the year 1587. ✓ I have

212. *C bola*, p. 461.

213. Lay brothers are inferior in position to those monks that have been ordained priests. They are, in fact, domestics, but may, in special cases, perform certain ritual duties.

214. The manner of his death is only conjectured. This is plainly stated by Jaramillo, *Relaci n hecha*, p. 317: "y ansi no se ha sabido mas de  l." Casta eda. *C bola*, p. 461: "el fray Luis se quedo en cicuye no se ha sabido del mas hasta oy. . ." Casta eda expresses the hope that he ended his days in peace although he adds: "y creyo al fin lo matarian."

No observation regarding secular and ecclesiastical sources is accord with the theory advanced by Father John G. Shea that "Fray Juan de la Cruz" was simply the "name in religion" of Lu s de Escalona. In other words, we have two names for one person. (See Vol. IX 241)

looked in vain, as yet, for an earlier mention.<sup>215</sup> The source just mentioned is of high respectability, — Father Francisco de Gonzaga, General of the Franciscan Order from 1579 to 1587, who alludes to “an old man and a chorister” whom Fray Agustín de Vetancurt (1698) identifies with Fray Juan de la Cruz.<sup>216</sup>

It is to Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta that some details on the fate of Juan de la Cruz are due. He finished his “*Historia Ecclesiástica Indiana*” in 1596, but he had come to New Spain in 1554.<sup>217</sup> Giving no authorities for his statements, he asserts that five clergymen accompanied Coronado on his expedition “and among them those best known after the Father Provincial (Marcos of Nizza) (were) Fr. Juan de Padilla and Fr. Juan de la Cruz.”<sup>218</sup> Further on he remarks that both of these monks remained at Tiguex, Father Padilla, however, leaving soon for Quivira, and the lay brother de la Cruz staying alone at Tiguex.<sup>219</sup>

215. I know at least six Martyrologies, between 1587 and 1638 that mention the martyrdom of Fray Juan de la Cruz, but have not been able to obtain any data from earlier years. The great work of the Bollandists was begun by Rosweyde after 1588.

216. The title of the work of Father de Gonzaga is: “*De Origine Seraphicæ Religionis Franciscanæ ejusque progressibus de Regularis Observantiæ Institutione, forma administrationis ac legibus, admirabilique ejus propagatione*, Rome 1587, part IV. — The great work of Fray Francisco Daza, *Crónica general etc.*, is posterior to Gonzaga and has taken much information from it. In general, it was impossible to avoid, for chroniclers and especially for martyrologists, not to resort to much textual copying of predecessors. — The allusion by Fray Agustín de Vetancurt, *Menologio franciscano*, p. 387 reads “Gonzaga no pone su nombre, sino que dice: un viejo y un corista.” The day, in the *Menologio*, is November 30th.

217. Hence he arrived in America about twelve years after the return of Coronado's expedition. *Historia ecclesiastica Indiana*, (published by Joaquín García Ycazbalceta in 1870. — *Noticias del Autor y de la Obra*, p. XVIII.) The work was concluded in 1598.

218. *Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana*, lib. v. cap. III, p. 742: “Los Religiosos eran cinco, y entre ellos, despues del provincial, los mas conocidos Fr. Juan de Padilla y Fr. Juan de la Cruz.” Fray Juan de Torquemada, *Los veinte y un Libros Rituales i Monarchia Indiana* (second edition, Madrid 1723, vol. III, p. 610) copies textually. Vetancurt, *Menologio* (November 30th, p. 386) also gives a slightly abbreviated version, omitting the number of the missionaries.

219. Mendieta, *Historia*, p. 743: “se quedaron y permanecieron con su intento en la conversión de aquellos infieles, en un pueblo llamado tiguex.” Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana* (III, p. 610) confirms, changing somewhat the text.

Finally he says: "Of the servant of God Fr. Juan de la Cruz nothing else was learned but that he remained alone in that village of Tiguex . . . to teach the Indians the matters (doctrines) of our Holy Faith and Christian Life which pleased them very much, and in token of rejoicing they took him into their arms and made other demonstrations of joy. It is thought (understood) he died a martyr. He was of exemplary virtue and a great Observant and therefore much respected by all, so much so, that the Captain Francisco Vazquez Coronado had ordered his men to uncover their heads whenever they would hear the name of Fr. Juan de la Cruz; which is a sure sign of his great merit."<sup>220</sup> Fray Juan de Torquemada finished his ponderous work in 1613. He was Provincial of the Order of Saint Francis in 1614 and he almost textually copies Mendieta, also stating that nothing is known of his fate, though it is supposed he died a martyr.<sup>221</sup>

The last two sources however affirm that Juan de la Cruz was a *native of France* and of the (Franciscan) province of Aquitania. In connection with this there is to note a difference between the text of Torquemada and that of his predecessor Mendieta. The latter does *not* identify a French Franciscan of the name, who appeared in Michuacán (Mexico) with the lay brother of supposed New Mexican fame, whereas Torquemada clearly intimates that they were one and the same person!<sup>222</sup> In that case, Fray

220. *Historia*, p. 745; Ventancurt, *Menologio*, p. 387.

221. *Monarchia*, III, Lib. XXI, cap. III, a nearly literal copy of Mendieta.

222. Neither have I been able, as yet to secure any other information on that Fray Juan de la Cruz, the work of Father Beaumont on Michuacán not being at my command. — Mendieta, who mentions him (*Historia ecclesiastica Indiana*, p. 378) says: "Otro francés hubo de Aquitania, llamado Fr. Juan de la Cruz, gran siervo de Dios y buen obrero de su viña." Torquemada, (*Monarchia*, III, p. 335) merely states: "Fr. Juan de la Cruz, de la misma Nación y Provincia, gran Ministro." But in the Index to the same volume he places the two ecclesiastics under the same title as if they had been one and the same person. The qualification "gran Ministro" would, however, hardly have applied to a simple lay brother. The matter is open for future investigation.

Juan de la Cruz would have been in Michuacán previous to 1539 and probably up to that year. It might be that, through him, the Indian or Indians from Michuacán, were brought to join Coronado's expedition.<sup>223</sup>

In the Martyrologies subsequent to Gonzaga, Fray Juan de la Cruz is frequently noticed, but most (if not all) of these notices are almost textual repetitions of Mendieta and of Torquemada. I refer, as an example, to the Martyrology of Arthur of Munster (editions of 1638 and the German from 1650).<sup>224</sup> Few of them could have known the work of Mendieta, since it was forgotten for a long time.<sup>225</sup> Among profane authors of the sixteenth century, neither Gómara

---

223. At least one Tarascan Indian is mentioned as having gone to Quivira with Father Padilla and the Portuguese Docampo.

224. I mention this as a mere example. See Arturi Monastero, "*Martyrologium franciscanum* (1638) p. 546: "Ioanna a Cruce, Laico, remansit in oppido Tignisio . . . . Dei famulus B. Ioannes genua flexit, eorumque furorum alacri animo, pro Christi amore, in se excepit. Sicque, impiorum sagittas in se recipiis, gloriosae fine, mortalis vita curorum concludit (mortalium vitam curarum conclusit?)" It is known that Fray Padilla was shot with arrows, and this is very much like a confusion with the fate of the latter. However, Munster in the edition of 1650 (*Auctarium Martyrologii Franciscani das ist Vermehrulg dess Franciscanischen Ordens calenders etc.*) only mentions Father Padilla.

225. This appears from the date when the work of Mendieta was finished (1598), as well as from the silence, or at least imperfect knowledge had, of Mendieta's book (manuscript) up to the nineteenth century. Compare, for instance, Boristain, *Biblioteca Hispano Americana Setentrional*, vol. III, p. 257. Yet, there is a possibility that Gonzaga may have derived his knowledge about Fray Juan de la Cruz through the writings of Mendieta, and that subsequent martyrologists were able to consult some of them also. In the years between 1579 and 1587 Father Gonzaga (according to Father Joan de Domayquia, 1611 about) asked Mendieta to send to him (in Spain) what he had written on the lives of the early Franciscan missionaries to Mexico, and Mendieta remitted to him a Memorial containing the desired information. This Memorial afterwards passed into the hands of Father Juan Bautista Noles, who included it in his *Memorial de la Provincia de San Gabriel* (Madrid 1592). Not even my erudite godfather, Don Joaquin García Ycazbalceta, could obtain the latter book, still less have I seen it, but the great Spanish bibliographer Nicolás Antonio mentions it. The possible connection of Mendieta with the statements of Gonzaga and the subsequent martyrologists is of course as yet conjectural, but it is not superfluous to recall a possible filiation which might, perhaps, lead to discovery of the origin of still doubtful assertions.

226. *Primera y Segunda Parte*, p. 288: "Fray Juan de Padilla se quedo en Tigüex con otro fraile francisco."



(1553)<sup>226</sup> nor Juan de Saurez Peralta<sup>227</sup> alludes to the friar, and Antonio de Herrera (1601-1615) mentions Padilla and Fray Luís de Escalona only.<sup>228</sup>

Mendieta states that five Franciscans went with Coronado, and this statement is copied by Torquemada and by Mota Padilla.<sup>229</sup> One of these was Fray Marcos of Nizza, one Fray Juan de Padilla, another Fray Antonio Victoria who, as related by Castañeda, broke a leg three days after leaving Culiacán and had to be carried back;<sup>230</sup> the fourth is Brother Escalona — the fifth, unless he was Fray Juan de la Cruz, remains yet to be accounted for.

Having opened this discussion with a statement made by Matías de la Mota Padilla (1742) I still have to relate what this author tells of the death of Fray Juan de la Cruz. "Of the Father Juan de la Cruz the following notice exists: That after working at the instruction of the Indians at Tiguex and at Coquite, he was killed by them with arrows as not all of them accepted his doctrine and advice, by which he attempted to make them abhor their barbarous customs; although he was generally much esteemed by the caciques and other natives, who had seen the veneration with which he was treated by the general, the captains and the soldiers."<sup>231</sup> We may be permitted to ask: how could

227. *Tratado del Descubrimiento de las Indias y de su conquista etc.* (published 1878 by Zaragoza under the title *Noticias históricas de la Nueva España*). It belongs to the same period as Gonzaga and Mendieta, but its author was not an ecclesiastic.

228. *Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Yslas y la tierra firme del Mar Océano* (Edition of 1726, Dec. VI, lib. IX, cap. XII, Pag. 207). This part of Herrera's work bears a striking resemblance to the text of the report of Jaramillo.

230. Castañeda, *Cíbola*, p. 424: "y a tres jornadas un frayle llamado fray Antinio uictoria se quebro una pierna y este frayle era de misa y para que se curase lo bolhieron del camino y despues fue con él campo que no fue poca consolaçion para todos."

231. *Historia de la Conquista de la Nueva Galicia*, p. 168. "Del padre Fr. Juan de la Cruz la noticia que se tiene es, que despues de haber trabajado en la instruccion de los Indios en Tigues y en Coquite, murió flechado de Indios, porque no todos abrazaron su doctrina y consejos, con los que trataba detestasen sus bárbaras costumbres, aunque por lo general era muy estimado de los caciques y demas naturales, que habian visto la veneracion con que el general, capitanes y soldados le trataban."

this be known, since no further intercourse, after Coronado's evacuation of New Mexico, could be had with that isolated and remote quarter of the globe? Is this notice an assumption by Mota Padilla, a legend perpetuated particularly through the Martyrologies, or was it obtained after the Spaniards returned to New Mexico (from 1580 on) as a definite Indian tradition?<sup>232</sup>

In presence of so much and so conflicting testimony, I leave the question of the existence of Fray Juan de la Cruz and his labors and death among the Pueblos in suspense, only adding that, if it should become proven that reports concerning him are authentic, traces of any influence exerted by his presence and deeds on the Rio Grande might possibly be discovered among the Tigua Indians.

It is well known that Fray Juan de Padilla was killed somewhere about the Quivira region and with his fate I have, therefore, nothing to do here. But some of his companions escaped and after years of wanderings under untold hardships, returned to New Spain.<sup>233</sup> The route taken by these fugitives brought them nearer to the Atlantic than to the Pacific slope. Quivira (in this all eye-witnesses agree) appeared much more promising to colonization than New Mexico and Arizona; for agricultural purposes, irrespective of the search for metal. But it was not possible, for many

---

232. The killing with arrows is not mentioned by Mendieta (1598). Neither Torquemada (1615) nor Vetancurt (1698) mentions the manner in which Fray Juan was supposed to have been killed. How could, then, Father Arthur of Munster, a Recollect, state in his *Martyrologum Franciscanum* (1638) p. 546: "impiorum sagittas in se recipivs, gloriosae fine etc."? He refers to at least six authorities, after Gonzaga (hence between 1587 and 1638) but to none from previous to the former date.

233. This is positively stated. Jaramillo, *Relación Hecha*, p. 317: "ansi que muerto (Father Padilla) se juyó el portugués dicho, y un indio de los que dice, traia bestidos en habito de fraile, u creo que entrambos; dijo questo para que ellos vinieron a esta tierra de la Nueva España por otro camino y derrota mas cercana que la que yo tengo dicho, y vinieron a salir a los valles de Panico (Panuco)" . . . Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 468, states that, when he wrote, there lived in Mexico guides that had made the return journey with the Portuguese "Docampo" above mentioned.



years after Coronado's return, to think of renewed efforts in the direction of the North American Southwest. Involuntarily almost, through circumstances, the Spaniards, thirty-eight years later, came on the eastern trail,<sup>234</sup> a trail that did not lead them to the coveted Quivira, but to New Mexico again, bringing the Rio Grande Pueblos into renewed contact with Europeans.

(end of Part I)

---

234. Coronado, *Carta al Emperador* (1541), does not mention the route, but he recommends the country of Quivira for settlement, p. 367: "La tierra en si es la mas aparejada que se ha visto para darse en ella todas las cosas de España," The *Relación del Suceso*, p. 329, states: "Quibira es megor tierra de muchas zabanas, y no tan fria, aunque está mas al Norte." Jaramillo, *Relación Hecha*, p. 317: "Ansi que ciertamente si Vuestra Señoria alcanza desde ese puesto (Panuco) lo de Quibira, tengo entendido que puede traer gente de España a poblalla, sin recelo, segun la apariencia y muestras la tierra tiene." Castañeda, *Cíbola*, p. 468: "para aber de boluer en demanda de quiuira seria aquella uia harto mejor y mas derecha," — in Part II of this work this question will again be alluded to.