

1-1-1930

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DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE RIO GRANDE
PUEBLOS, NEW MEXICO

By ADOLPH F. BANDELIER

Part I — 1536 to 1542 (continued)

The next day, García López de Cárdenas approached one of the Tigua villages with a view to a parley, but he found the place barricaded by means of "big pieces of wood"⁷⁶ (The cottonwood trees growing in the Rio Grande valley furnished this material.) The Indians were shouting and killing with arrows the horses that ran hither and thither in fright. No headway could be made, the Indians obstinately refusing to have a talk.⁷⁷ They kept themselves with their pueblos. Hence Coronado gave orders to Cárdenas to attack and give no quarter. The village first assailed was the one where the affair with the woman had taken place. The Spaniards succeeded in surprising the aborigines and in reaching the housetops, although many of the whites were wounded by arrows. The Spaniards maintained themselves on the roofs all of that day, the night, and the following day in part, but they had to defend themselves constantly with crossbows and harkbusses, without being able to reach the interior of the village. During that time the horsemen were scouring the near neighborhood and protecting the Mexican Indians. The latter

74. *Cibola*, p. 434. Compare with: *Relación del Suceso*, p. 324. I have already referred to the interesting confirmations by Espejo. Francisco López de Gomara, *Primera y Segunda Parte de la Historia de las Indias*, (in Vedia, *Historiadores primitivos de Indias*, I, p. 288). Gomara had the first edition of this work printed in 1553, or twelve years after the events, but he was not himself in America. Hence his statements are somewhat confused. Thus he alludes to the loss of thirty horses and, afterwards, to the death of several Spaniards and fifty of their animals, mentioning also the capture of one Ovando, which occurred at Tiguex.

75. They also, in all probability, knew that animals could be used as beasts of burthen, since the Indians from the plains used dogs for that purpose.

76. *Cibola*, p. 434: "y halló los pueblos serrados con palenques."

77. *Ibidem*.

were engaged in digging under the houses. Into these excavations brush was piled and set on fire. The smoke arising therefrom at last compelled the besieged to surrender.⁷⁸

What follows is told, not only by Castañeda⁷⁹ but also by Mota Padilla, as will be found hereafter. The Indians having laid down their arms were led to the tent in which Cárdenas was at the time. The latter (so Castañeda asserts) was not informed of their surrender and ordered them to be burnt at the stake. Noticing the unmistakable preparations that were being made for it, the prisoners took hold of anything for their defense. A struggle followed, in which the Tigua prisoners were driven from the tent into the open, where the cavalry charged them. A few only escaped, hiding in the villages till after nightfall, when they fled. This action on the part of García López de Cárdenas (for which he was afterwards severely punished in Spain)⁸⁰ made further negotiations impossible. War had begun and war continued for sometime. At that time began also the great fall of snow that had overtaken Tristan de Arrellano^{80a} with the main force on their way to Tiguex. They reached the pueblo where the Spaniards had been quartered, almost at the same time that Cárdenas came in from his unfortunate success. Castañeda assures us that the snowfall was of such long duration that, for two months, no military movements were possible. All efforts of Coronado to treat with the Tiguas were fruitless.⁸¹

78. *Ibidem*.

79. *Cibola*, p. 435.

80. Mota Padilla, *Historia*, p. 161: "Esta acción se tuvo en España por mala, y con razén, porque fue una crueldad considerable: y habiendo el maese de campo Garcia Lopez pasado a España aheredar un mayorazgo, estuvo preso en una fortaleza por este cargo." The occurrence related is well known. Castañeda gives the detailed account, *Cibola*, p. 435. *Relación del Suceso*, p. 325, only states: "hicieéronse fuertes en sus pueblos, dióseles luego guerra, y el primero fue D. Garcia-Lopez é le tomó é hizo justicia de muchos dellos." — Gomara, *Historia* (in Vedia I, p. 288) mentions the Tigua war in a general way.

80a. As first suggested by Lowery, this was the officer, Tristán de Luna y Arrellano, who later (1559-1561) commanded an expedition for the conquest of Florida. (v. "The Luna Papers," ed. and tr. by H. I. Priestley). —L. B. B.

81. *Cibola*, p. 435-6 and 437.

It is not to be overlooked that, in this emergency as well as later on, no efforts were made by other Pueblo tribes, however near the Tigua range, to take part in favor of their congeners. Not even the *other Tigua villages* came to the rescue of their relatives at once. Several possibilities present themselves in explanation. There may not have been a formal obligation, on the part of other Pueblo stock, to come to the assistance of their endangered neighbors. The outsiders may have judged of the cause of hostilities in a different way than the party directly concerned, or, lastly, they may have been held back by fear of Spanish armament and bravery. No explanation of any kind is furnished by the documents; the Indian side of the matter is unknown to us. Castañeda mentions that the fugitives sent messengers "all over the country to inform [other pueblos] that the Spaniards violated the treaties, which did us much harm in the future." We shall see that such was hardly the case, according to Castañeda's own statements.⁸²

Coronado left nothing untried to re-establish connections with the Tiguas. He sent messengers "in every direction" to that effect, but the Indians refused, upbraiding the Spaniards for their treacherous conduct, and also with the captivity of the Pecos chiefs. For one of the peace seekers the unlucky selection of García López de Cárdenas was made. Castañeda here makes the following statement: Cárdenas "one day set out with thirty soldiers for Tiguex." (Tiguex, heretofore mentioned as a tribal range, here appears as a village!) Cárdenas intended to communicate with the Indian already alluded to as "Juan Alemán." When he approached the place and made signs that he wanted a parley, the aborigines replied that he should dismount, come nearer and leave his escort behind, that Alemán and another chief would come to him. These two envoys gave him to understand that, as they carried no weapons, he

82. *Cibola*, p. 435.

also should divest himself of his arms. Against the warnings of his companions (from a distance probably) Cárdenas disarmed and Juan Alemán embraced him, but at that moment two other Indians struck him with their clubs, so that he fell fainting. Two horsemen who had remained at a lesser distance than the rest, saved him from capture or death, but the Indians had withdrawn to the village and, when the main escort reached the spot, showered arrows upon the whites wounding many seriously and compelling them to retire. At another village "a league and a half further" Cárdenas was also received with a shower of arrows. The Tiguas, at least, had become thoroughly aroused and had mostly gathered in the two last mentioned villages, so that Coronado found himself confronted by nearly the entire available force of that Rio Grande Pueblo stock.⁸³

From the last mentioned of the two villages "the Indians . . . came out in great numbers to attack them [the whites]." The latter feigned a retreat, luring the Tiguas into the plains, where the cavalry charged and routed them, killing "some of the most daring ones."⁸⁴

Thereupon Coronado resolved to put "siege to Tiguex." (I again call attention to the possible contradiction in Castañeda, of calling here a village by the name of what he previously termed a "province.") That siege was initiated by an unsuccessful assault, in which the storming party used ladders. The Indians held stones in readiness on the housetops and hurled them on the assailants wounding more than twenty, of which number several died, owing to the inefficiency of the surgeon, says Castañeda.⁸⁵ The siege or rather blockade lasted fifty days, during which time several

83. *Cibola*, 435 and 436: "porque en estos dos lugares se auia recogido toda la gente de aquellos pueblos." *Relación del Suceso*, p 325: "desampararon los pueblos salvados."

84. *Ibidem*.

85. *Cibola*, p. 435. I call attention to the title of cap. XVI. "como se puso cerco a tiguex y se gano." also (p. 436.) "haciendo rostro al pueblo de Tiguex." Still it might be that, in this instance, the whole tribe might have been meant, since most of the people had gathered in that particular village.

fruitless assaults were made. But the people within the pueblo suffered greatly from lack of water and they "dug a deep well inside the village, without finding any, and even the soil gave way while the digging went on, "burying thirty persons."⁸⁶

In the statements concerning this blockade or siege indications are found concerning the situation of the pueblo in question, as well as the approximate date of events. Speaking of the sally of the Indians (attempting to take the offensive) Castañeda observes that, when the Indians had been routed to the level, they fled to the heights. This may indicate that the village was on the right bank of the river where, indeed, the rim of a mesa approaches the Rio Grande, whereas on the left bank quite an extensive plain extends to the base of the abrupt Sandia chain.^{86a} In regard to dates, it has been stated already that warlike operations were begun by the Spaniards in December. The fifty days given as duration of the "siege" would carry to the beginning of April, which indeed (as will hereafter be seen) coincides fairly with the date of Coronado's departure for Quivira.⁸⁷

The Indians defended themselves obstinately, more than two hundred of their number perishing in the engage-

86. *Ibidem*. "el cerco duró sinquenta dias . . . y lo que mas les Aquexo fue no tenian agua y hicieron dentro del pueblo un poso de grandissima hondura y no pudieron sacar agua antes se les derrumbó a el tiempo que lo hacian y les mató treinta personas murieron de los cercados docientos hombres de dentro en los combates y un día que se les dió un combate reño mataron de los nros a francisco de obando capitan y maestre de campo. . . ." This is the officer alluded to by Gomara.

86a. Of the "twelve villages" of the southern Tiguas (v. p. 332) occupying both sides of the Rio Grande from Isleta to Sandia, it will probably never be decided which this particular village was. It should be noted, however, that Dr. Hackett (*Old Santa Fe*, II, 381-391) has definitely shown that the pueblo of Alameda was west of the river and seven and a half or eight leagues north of Isleta; that Puaráy was east of the river and one league above Alameda; and Sandia also was east of the river, a league north of Puaráy. This would put the pueblo of Alameda about where the old plaza of Corrales is today.

One of the Otermín documents (v. Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, II, p. 51) was dated: "At this camping place of the Rio del Norte overlooking the three pueblos of Alameda, Puaráy and Zandia. . ." —L. B. B.

87. *Ibidem*, p. 436, "los demas se recogieron al pueblo y a lo alto." In regard to Coronado's departure, see later.

ments. The besiegers also suffered sensible loss, at least two officers being killed; one of them after his capture by the natives. The besieged at last asked for a parley, the purpose of which was almost startling.⁸⁸ They demanded that the women and children should be allowed to leave the pueblo, whereas the men insisted upon staying and continuing to resist. Castañeda attributes this request to the conviction, on the part of the Tiguas, that the Spaniards would not offend women and children. About 100 of the defenceless then came out, more remained, and all overtures for peace made by Coronado failed. Two weeks later the Tiguas made a determined effort to evacuate the pueblo at night. They "came out, the women marching in the center of the troop." But they were noticed by the sentinels, and the Indians thereupon attacked desperately killing one soldier, a horse, and wounding several men. The outcome was the almost total destruction of the fugitives. The action must have taken place close to the river, since many of the fugitives were driven into it and a large number of wounded were afterwards found on the opposite bank. This indicates again that the action took place on the right bank. The pueblo was easily taken in consequence, very few Indians continuing to resist in what Castañeda calls the "suburbs" of the place, where they defended themselves for a few days yet.⁸⁹

During this time the other village had also been taken. Its inhabitants also tried to escape, but were overtaken and scattered. The village was sacked and about a hundred women and children that had been left there, were made prisoners. Castañeda here makes the extraordinary statement that "that siege was concluded at the end of

88. *Cíbola*, p. 436 and 437. Usually, Indians are careful to hide their women and children from an enemy and to save them if possible.

89. *Cíbola*, p. 437. *Relación del Suceso*, p. 325, "e aunque otra vez en el mismo tiempo tornamos a entralle, al fin no se pudo ganar todo, y a esta causa estuvo cercado todo este tiempo e los tomamos por sed, e duraron tanto a causa que les nevó dos veces ya que estaban para rendirse; al fin los tomamos I murieron muchos porque se salian de noche."

1542," — so Ternaux-Compans has translated the passage which, in the original reads: "this siege ended at the close of March of the year forty-two."⁹⁰ The date of the year shows, that Castañeda's memory had faded somewhat during the many years elapsing between the events and the time he wrote — the month however, agrees well with the previous indication concerning the length of the blockade.

While the blockade of "Tiguex" lasted, Coronado had gone in person to Cicuyé (Pecos) and permitted the return of the chief "Bigotes" to his home.⁹¹ It is noteworthy that the Pecos Indians received Coronado peaceably thus showing that there was no solidarity between them and the Tiguas. After hostilities on the Rio Grande had come to an end, exploring parties were sent in several directions and their experience proved (what I have already stated) that the other Pueblo stock did not consider themselves affected by the straits in which the Spaniards had placed the Tiguas. The village of Cia on the Jemez river even sent in a message which Castañeda calls "submission." He describes the place (which he calls "Chia") as "a large village, very populous, four leagues west of the river." Coronado reposed so much confidence in the Cia people that he left them four pieces of small artillery that were in bad condition. They were of bronze.⁹² The people of Cia belong, as is well known, to the *Queres* stock, speaking that

90. This is from Ternaux-Compans. The original reads: *Cíbola*, p. 437, "acabose este cerco en fin de Março del año de quarenta y dos." Ternaux-Compans does not mention the month.

91. *Cíbola*, p. 439. How he was received by the Pecos is related as follows: "y como llegó a cicuyé fue recibido de paz y entró en el pueblo con algunos soldados ellos recibieron a su gouernador con mucho amor y fiesta." — Coronado had taken with him the so-called "governor." While he possibly had no knowledge of the true character of that functionary, his action in this case proved to be very wise. What is today called the cacique can leave his village only in extraordinary circumstances and it was very wise on the part of Coronado to surrender that prisoner first, keeping "Bigotes" as hostage. The latter was of not so much consequence to the tribe, whereas the former, as religious head, could not be missed by his people.

92. It is to be noted that no artillery was used against the Tigua pueblos as the pieces were out of service "mal acondicionados." *Cíbola*, p. 439. More information on this matter is furnished by Mota Padilla, as will be seen later.

language. Six Spaniards went up the Rio Grande to the Quirix, who dwelt in "seven villages." The "Quirix" were manifestly the Rio Grande Queres, east of their relatives at Cia. Only the first Queres pueblo showed signs of apprehension by fleeing at the approach of the strangers, but the latter soothed them, so that they came back to their homes. The other Queres settlements were soon reassured and brought to friendly terms.⁹³

Here Castañeda mentions but one village of Cia, later he alludes to one also; but the seven Queres pueblos of which he writes can only be identified in part, at the present time. Proceeding up the river from Bernalillo, the nearest Queres pueblo met with today is *Katishtya* or San Felipe, some distance above it *Kiua* or Santa Domingo is found. In 1541 that pueblo was called either *Guipuy* or *Huashpa-Tzena*, probably the former. Southwest of Guipuy, between it and the Jemez river lay *Tamaya* or Santa Ana, and three miles to the north of Guipuy, on the west bank of the stream *Kotyiti* or Cochití. The sites of these pueblos have been changed since the middle of the sixteenth century. Thus "Katishtya" has been moved twice and from the east bank to the west, across the stream, and even for a time its inhabitants sought refuge on the abrupt mesa overlooking their present abode. Guipuy moved from its former situation on the Galisteo creek above its mouth to the river banks; Santa Ana has slightly shifted its location; and even Cochití is no longer exactly where it stood in Coronado's time. But the shiftings have been to comparatively short distances. The three other villages Castañeda enumerates would be difficult to point out among the several abandoned Queres pueblos within the actual range of the Rio Grande stock.⁹⁴ Besides, it is not absolutely sure

93. I again call attention to the pronunciation of the consonant "X". Hence Quirix should read "Quirish" or "Quiris." For the events narrated see, *Cibola*, p. 439. The first village is said to have contained about "çien ueçinos". This would indicate a small pueblo only.

94. In regard to the shiftings of the Queres villages see my *Final Report*, vol. II, pp. 139 to 199.

the Spaniards were properly informed, or that they properly understood the Queres language which they heard, most probably, for the second time only and for which language they, with equal probability, had no interpreter. It *may be* that the three pueblos in question lie now in ruins within the actual Queres range, but it may also be that the Queres of Katishtya, when asked about the number of their villages (which question they undoubtedly understood) included in their reply Cia (or Tzia) and two pueblos now in ruins but known to stand near the main village.⁹⁵ I hold it useless, in view of lack of trustworthy information, to speculate on the matter. The conclusion of the strife with the Tigua Indians marks a definite period in the History of the Pueblos. Their people became, through the unfavorable exit of that war, convinced of the great superiority of the white men's military power over their own, and the subsequent unexpected reappearance of the Spaniards on the Rio Grande (in 1580) led to no conflicts, notwithstanding the small number of the latter. The lesson of 1541 was not forgotten, since the tradition of the occurrences remained among the Tiguas.

Almost as detailed on the subject of the war on the Rio Grande as Castañeda, are the data given by Mota Padilla, the importance of which data I have emphasized several times. In what they agree with, or differ from, Castañeda's statements must now be examined.

After confirming the fact that the group of Tiguex consisted of twelve villages, the largest of which contained about "two hundred Indians," Mota Padilla states that the pueblo in which the Spaniards quartered themselves was called "Coofer."⁹⁶ This name, or any other resembling it, appears, to my knowledge, in no other document and I am

95. The two villages were, and their ruins are today, called respectively "Kakan A-tza Tia" and "Ko-ha-sa-ya." The former lies opposite the Cia of today, the latter north of it. According to the traditions told me, however, the abandonment of both pueblos would appear to have taken place previous to the arrival of Coronado. *Final Report*, vol. II, p. 196.

96. *Historia*, p. 161 "Coofer"; p. 165, "Coofert".

unable to identify it. In case (which is subject to doubt however) the name should be correctly reported, it was at all events one of the twelve villages of the Tiguex group. I must remark, here, that Jaramillo (who has but a brief mention of Tiguex) gives the number of villages as fifteen, but expands the range over which these were scattered to "twenty leagues."⁹⁷ Mota Padilla mentions how the Tiguas at first received the Spaniards kindly, but further on he states: "But some wars [conflicts] broke out at Tiguex because, when the horses once were pasturing by the river, the Indians of a small pueblo fell upon them, killing more than forty, and forthwith fortified themselves in their village. Our people went to avenge this outrage, and, after some fighting, the unfortunates surrendered. When they had been bound our people cruelly killed more than one hundred and thirty, holding them to be beasts and because there was no interpreter. This action was held in Spain to be evil, since it was a considerable cruelty, and when the Maestro de Campo García López went to Spain to inherit a *mayorazgo* he was imprisoned for it in a fortress."⁹⁸ The attempt to take Cárdenas prisoner is then described almost exactly as we learn it from Castañeda,⁹⁹ but in regard to subsequent events Mota Padilla is more detailed.

"Forthwith it was resolved to destroy the pueblo by all our people and, siege being put to it, the Indians proved rebellious to all summons, and it was attempted to make a breach. But when the clay coating on the surface had been broken it was noticed that the wall inside was of palisades, tree trunks and willows firmly planted in the ground, and these resisted the blows given by poor iron bars, while, at the same time, they (the Indians) did much damage with

97. *Relación hecha*, p. 309, "llegado al río de Tiguex, hay por él, en distancia como de veinte leguas, Quince pueblos."

98. *Historia*, p. 161. "á heredar un mayorazgo."

99. *Ibidem*. Mota Padilla represents that the Indians tried to carry Cárdenas alive into the pueblo.—editor.

stones from the roofs and with arrows through loopholes.¹⁰⁰ The mention of the use of timber for the walls, covered by a coating of clay, and the mention of loopholes deserves attention. The Spaniards placed a ladder, after losing three of their number in efforts to close the loopholes with mud, to enter by narrow openings and other fruitless endeavors of the kind. On that ladder some of them reached the top of the wall, but there they found that the natives had removed the roofs of many (upper) rooms, so that there was no communication between them, and as there were little towers at short distances from each other, from which missiles were showered upon the assailants on the top, the Spaniards had more than sixty of their number hurt, three of whom died of their wounds.¹⁰¹ The wounded recovered with difficulty. Castañeda attributes it to the unskilled surgeon of the Spanish force whereas Mota Padilla, from his sources, gives an entirely different explanation when he writes, "they tried to heal the wounded although the wounds festered and formed scars. From what became ascertained, the cause of it was that the Indians kept poisonous snakes in vessels made of willows. These [snakes] they touched with the arrows in order that they might bite and communicate the poison."¹⁰² The use of timber with a view to obstructing the perforation of walls is here mentioned again and the custom of the Pueblos to keep poisonous snakes in the villages is for the first time alluded

100. *Ibidem*, p. 161-162, "por lo que se intentó abrir brecha, y rota la argamasa superficial, se advirtió que el centro del muro era de palizada troncos y mimbres bien hincados en la tierra, por lo que resistían los golpes que daban con unas malas barras, en cuyo tiempo hacían de las azoteas mucho daño en los nuestros con las piedras y con las flechas por las troneras."

101. *Ibidem*, "pero con arte, los Indios tenían muchas piezas á cielo descubierto, para que no se comunicasen, y como á cortas distancias había torrecillas con muchas saeteras y troneras, hacían mucho daño, de suerte que hirieron mas de sesenta, le los que murieron tres."

102. *Ibidem*, "y según se supo, era la causa el que en unas vasijas de mimbre encerraban los indios vívoras, y con las flechas las tocaban para que mordiesen las puntas y quedasen venenosas." The same is stated of various tribes, for instance, the Seris. I refrain from comments upon the question, whether or not weapons thus placed in contact with snake-poison may become dangerous.

to. Elsewhere I have referred to this custom, which has been as often denied as it has been asserted and which, in the presence of sundry proof, can hardly be unworthy of belief.¹⁰³ In regard to the poisoning of arrows through snake-bites, this is so frequently stated in former times and was so universally believed in, that it is not worth while to attempt a discussion thereof.

Castañeda mentions the digging of a "well" by the besieged. Mota Padilla converts this well into a simple cistern, dug within the beleaguered village for the purpose of collecting snow that was falling at the time and by means of which the Tiguas, "sustained themselves for two months." The digging was found by the Spaniards when at last they succeeded in entering the abandoned pueblo.¹⁰⁴

During the whole siege no use was made by the whites of their artillery. Castañeda has told us already that the bronze cannon (stonehowitzers) had become useless and had been entrusted by Coronado, during the siege, to the friendly Indians of Cia. The source I am now considering affirms that in default of cannon the Spaniards tried, but vainly, to use "tubes of wood tightly bound with ropes (cords) after the manner of rockets," also that they constructed battering rams such as "were used against fortresses at the time when gunpowder was unknown," which made no effect either.¹⁰⁵ He mentions with a sort of surprise that no attempt was made to fire the village by heaping brush against the walls and burning it there. The wall being at least covered with mud, and largely built of that

103. *Final Report*, I, pp. 305 to 307.

104. *Historica*, p. 162, "Luego que amaneció se trató de reconocer el pueblo y entrando, se halló abastecido pero sin agua, y se reconoció un pozo profundo en la plaza que aquellos indios abrieron en busca de agua, y por no encontrarla, se resolvieron á la fuga." I recall the passage in *Relación del Suceso*, p. 325, "e duraron tanto a causa que nevó dos veces" In the sandy soil of the Rio Grande valley digging, even with very primitive implements, is quite easy.

105. It seems that the first time when the artillery was used was when Hauicu was attacked. *Relación del Suceso*, p. 319. The allusion to the artillery reads, "por falta de artillería, intentaron hacer unos cañones de madera bien liados de cordeles á modo de cohetes; mas tampoco sirvió;" *Historia*, p. 162.

material, it is obvious the attempt would have been fruitless.¹⁰⁶ Finally the flight of the Indians and the capture of the village are related in terms quite similar to those used by Castañeda. The agreement between two sources which cannot have had the same basis nor have been communicated in any way, is creditable to the reliability of both. Mota Padilla makes no mention of the excursions to Cia and to the Queres villages, but at once proceeds to relate the journey to Quivira, with which however we have but little to do. The notorious "Turk" is of course spoken of, as well as his stories of fabulous wealth. Incidentally, I must remark that Mota Padilla, although towards the end of his narrative he also uses the word "Quivira," in the beginning applies the name "Copala" twice to the region whither the "Turk" professed to lead the Spaniards. Copala is the name of a lagoon in northern Mexico and has nothing to do with the Rio Grande and the country through which the river flows. It was also a "province" and called "Topiame." Mota Padilla must have been familiar with the name, because, in years following the Coronado expedition, it was accidentally coupled with that of "Nuevo Mexico."

With the Indian called "Turk" we would have nothing to do, were it not for one reason, which is the part the Pueblo Indians may have played in inducing Coronado to go in search of Quivira. That many of the statements of that Indian from the east were either not understood at all or misunderstood, was inevitable. That he misrepresented and exaggerated seems also very probable if not certain. But the marked suspicion is also expressed, by the chroniclers of Coronado, that some of the Pueblo Indians prompted the "Turk" to make false statements, in order to allure the Spaniards away from New Mexico and into destruction.

106. *Historia*, p. 162, "y no arbitraron el arrimar leña á los muros y prenderles habia dado que por el crédito que allí le dábamos á la guia" Jaramillo, *Relación hecha, fuego.*"

The earliest intimation of such a plot on the part of the Pueblos is found in the "Relación del Suceso" in which it is said: "Francisco Vazquez [Coronado] left for these plains in search of Quibira, rather for the sake of the report which he gave us on the river [the Rio Grande] than on account of the faith which then we placed in the guide." This is no direct accusation, but the Captain Juan Jaramillo is very positive.¹⁰⁷

Castañeda states that the first notice concerning Quivira came directly from the "Turk." Later however, when the Spaniards saw they had been led astray and took him severally to task, this individual, seeing that he would be killed said "that the people of Pecos had begged him to lose [lead to destruction] the Spaniards in the plains, hoping that the lack of food would cause the horses to perish and that, on the return, it would be easy for them to kill the men, returning exhausted from hunger and fatigue. He finally said that he had consented to the project, believing that we did not know how to hunt and could only live on maize. . . ."¹⁰⁸ While this is a direct statement, the extraordinary circumstances in which the "Turk" was then placed must be taken into account. He saw death before him, and his accusation of the people of Pecos may have been due to various motives. He may have harbored a faint hope that, by slandering the Pueblos, he might save himself; he may have accused the Pecos out of motives of re-

107. *Doc. de Indias*, vol. 14, p. 326, "más por la relación que en el rio nos p. 310, "entendimos tambien que no distrajo de la derrota que habíamos de llevar, y nos metiese por aquellos llanos como nos metió, para que gastasemos la comida y por falta della viniesemos en flaqueza nosotros y los caballos, porque si volviésemos con este atrás u adelante, no tuviéramos resistencia a lo que quisieran jacer de nosotros."

108. *Cíbola*, p. 431. The Turk's confession is found on page 444, "preguntaron a el turco que porque auia metido y los auia guiado tam abieso dixo que su tierra era haçia aquella parte y que allende de aquello los de cicuye le auian rogado que los truxese perdidos por los llanos porque faltándoles el bastimento se muriesen los cauallos y ellos flacos quando bolbiesen los podrian matar sin trabajo y bengarse de lo que auian hecho y que por esto los abia desrumbado creyendo que no supieran caaar ni mantenerse sin maiz . . . esto dixo ya como desesperado" — the last sentence is noteworthy. In my text I have given that of *Ternaux-Compans*, which

venge, but it may also have been a frank confession of real fact. Castañeda makes still another statement. Among the Pecos, Coronado (or rather his officers) had met two more Indians from the plains one of whom, called "Yso-pete" or "Sopete," accompanied him to Quivira and persistently contradicted the statements of the "Turk", declaring that the latter was lying and leading the Spaniards astray.¹⁰⁹ That Indian remained at Quivira. Another one, to whom the name of "Xabe" is attributed, remained with the main force during the time of Coronado's dash to the northeast. When the latter's return was announced, "Xabe" affected great satisfaction based upon the expectation that much gold had been discovered, but when it came out that this had not been the case, Xabe became suddenly very sad and dejected.¹¹⁰ Was this perhaps due to deception, the Pueblos having calculated upon a definitive removal of the whites to Quivira? Another suspicious sign is, that while Coronado had left the Pecos in a friendly mood, upon the return of Arellano (see later) and himself, they were in arms against both!

In the foregoing I have already had occasion to allude to some customs of the Pueblos, but much more yet is contained about them in the documentary sources of the time. To this material I shall now turn ere proceeding with the narrative of events.

The "Relación postrera" informs us in regard to the people of Tiguex: "The river is nearly as wide as the one of Seville, although not as deep; it flows through a level country. its water is good; it has some fish and rises in the north. He who says this saw twelve villages within a certain circumscription of the river. Others say they saw more higher up the river. Below, all pueblos are small except two, that may have two hundred houses; these houses are with walls

109. This is repeatedly stated by Castañeda. *Cibola*, pp. 441, 442, 444, etc. is shorter but incomplete.

110. *Cibola*, p. 446.

like of mud and sand, very hard and as wide as the breadth of a hand. The houses are of two and three floors and the woodwork is like that at Sivola. It is very cold, the estufas are like the ones at Sivola. The river freezes so that loaded pack animals pass over it and it might be crossed by carts. They harvest as much maize as they need, also beans and squash. They keep some fowl, in order to make feather-mantles. They raise little cotton, wear cotton mantles and shoes of hides, as at Sivola. These people defend themselves well, and from their houses, as they do not care to sally. The soil is all sandy." "Four days march from Tiguex four villages were met with. The first one may contain thirty houses. The second one is large, but destroyed by their wars, still it has thirty-five inhabited houses, the third (lacking) houses. These three are after the manner of those on the river. The fourth one is a big village situated among timber and is called Cicuic. It has as many as fifty houses with as many floors as those of Sivola and the walls are of soil and clay as at Sivola. They have much maize, beans, calabashes and some fowl." For the first time we learn of the existence of three pueblos between the Rio Grande and Pecos (Cicuic) and also obtain a hint of an event that had transpired, a bit of pre-colonial history of the Rio Grande Indians, namely, that war was carried on not very far from the river and that one village had been partly destroyed, before the whites arrived. This point will be touched upon later.¹¹¹

What the "Relación del Suceso" has to say concerning manners and customs has already been referred to.

Not quite as explicit as the two preceding sources is the report of the Captain Jaramillo. He affirms that: "On the river of Tiguex, within the extent of twenty leagues, there are fifteen villages, all of houses of flat roofs of mud,

111. Compare original text in Winship, *Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* 14, Part I, p. 567. In regard to the village reported as destroyed I call attention to the words "destruïod de sus guerras." This might allude to wars between pueblos also, and is not impossible.

and not of stone . . . and away from it [the river] are other pueblos on brooks [torrents] that rejoin the same. Three of these, for among Indians, are well worth seeing, especially one called Chia, another Uraba and another Tienique. Both Uraba and Tienique have plenty of houses, the others all of two stories and these have maize and beans and calabashes [squash], hides, and a kind of feather cloaks of plumes which they twist and attach the plume by threads and then form a sort of curious texture with which they make the mantles with which they cover themselves. All have estufas underground and while these are not very handsome they are very sheltered [warm]. They have and gather a little cotton, making the mantles of which I have spoken."¹¹² Jaramillo thus reiterates the statements of the documents already quoted, adding to it the description of how the feather mantles were made, (which have come into disuse centuries ago) and mentioning a village which he calls "Uraba" that, according to him, lay outside of the Rio Grande valley proper and which recalls the "Yuraba" already alluded to. He also mentions the underground "estufas," designating them as places of warmth. In regard to the culture of cotton by the Pueblos he is more conservative than any other source. His village of "Chia" is doubtlessly Cia, and Tienique a misprint for Cicuique, "Tshiquique," "Tshiquite," that is Pecos. It is noteworthy that the contemporaneous chroniclers of Coronado insist that Cia, Pecos and another one which can hardly have been anything else but Taos, were the most important ones in New Mexico.

Castañeda is by far the most detailed of all on Pueblo customs. Of the Tiguas (Tiguex) he states:

First: that "the Province of Tiguex contains twelve villages situated on the banks of a great river; it is a valley that has a width of about two leagues. On the east there is a snowy mountain range, very high and rugged, at the

¹¹². *Relación Hecha*, p. 309.

foot of which and in the rear there are seven villages, four on the level and three on the slope of the mountain."¹¹³

The mountain range is the Sierra de Sandía with lower collateral chains lying to the northeast and east of it. Hence the seven pueblos are those of the *Tanos* tribe, of which more hereafter. He mentions, as neighbors of the *Tiguas*, "Quirix" (seven villages); in the northeast (it should be northwest) "Hemes" with seven villages; at forty league in the north, "Acha" (from the direction and distance that pueblo corresponds to Taos or possibly, Picuries, and probably the latter); and four leagues to the southeast "Tutahaco" (eight villages), the settlements of the *Piros*. He follows with the important remark: "All these pueblos in general have the same rites and customs although they have some in particular which the others have not."¹¹⁴ "They govern themselves by the resolutions of the oldest men."¹¹⁵ In regard to the building of their houses we are informed that: "the edifices of the village are made in common, the women busy themselves with preparing the mixture [the mass] and making the walls, the men fetch the timbers and place them." This division of the joint work is in accordance with the ancient Pueblo custom that the outside labor incumbs upon the men, because the dwellings were not theirs, but belonged to the women. It will be alluded to again further on, and there are traces of it at the present day.¹¹⁶ "They have no lime, but make a mixture of ashes,

113. *Cíbola*, p. 451. Hence the villages were on the east (slope and base) of the Sierra de Sandía. Compare, for the ruins in the former country of the *Tanos*, my *Final Report*, II, pages 87 to 125.

114. *Cíbola*, p. 451, "todos estos pueblos en general tienen unos ritos y costumbres aunque tienen algunas cosas en particulares que no las tienen los otros." This applies, not merely to the *Tiguas*, but to the *Queres*, *Jemez*, and to "Acha," which is here mentioned for the first time and is probably *Picuries*.

115. *Ibidem*. "gobiernanse por acuerdo de los mas uiejos."

116. *Cíbola*, p. 451, "labran los edificios del pueblo de comun las mugeres entienden en hacer la mezcla y las paredes los hombres traen la madera y la asientan no ay cal." At the time when I established myself first among the *Queres* of the Rio Grande for purposes of study (1880) it was the custom that only the female head of the household (mother or, if she was no longer alive, the eldest daughter) could dispose of anything that was in the building, whereas the males had exclusive control of what was outside.

charcoal and mud, which is little less strong than lime [mortar] for, although the houses are four stories high, the walls are not thicker than half an ell. Gathering a large

quantity of sagebrush and reeds they set it on fire, and when it is part charcoal and part ashes they throw upon it much mud and water, mixing it, and shape the mixture into round lumps. These they place in lieu of stones after they have dried, and bind them with the same mixture so that it results like one mass of clay."¹¹⁷ This description of the ancient method of forming the so-called adobe is as yet unique in literature on the Pueblos and shows, that the mold was unknown to those Indians in pre-Spanish times. Castañeda continues: "The marriageable youth serve to [help in] the village in general. They carry firewood, placing it in courts of the pueblo, whence the women take it to carry to the houses. The homes of the young men are the estufas, which are in the courts [squares] of the village. They are square or round, and with pillars of pine-wood. Some of these were seen with twelve pillars and four in place of a vault as big around as two fathoms, the usual ones have had three or four pillars. The floor is of large and smooth flags as in the baths that are used in Europe. Inside [of the estufa] is a hearth like the binnacle of a ship. On it they burn a handful of sage brush with which they keep up warmth and one can be inside as in a bath. The top is on the level of the ground; some have been seen that were as spacious as [the place for] a game of ball."¹¹⁸ This description of an estufa is by far the most exact and de-

117. *Ibidem*. This passage is somewhat confused in the original: "juntan gran cantidad de rama de tomillos y coriso." It should be "carrizo," reeds. "Tomillo" is thyme, but I have substituted sagebrush, since it is the common covering of levels in the valleys, next to bunch grass.

118. *Ibidem*, "algunas se bieron de doce pilares y de quatro por nabe de gordor de dos braças," — Since there were no arches or vaults, "nabe" means the roof or ceiling, supported by four heavy crossbeams or treetrunks functioning as such. In 1880 there was still such a support, of unusual size, sallying horizontally from the upper rim of a ruined estufa at Pecos. The size given by Castañeda is much exaggerated and certainly not from actual measurement.

tailed found in older literature as yet. The mention of very large beams as "arch" is to be understood as follows: the beams rested on the pillars thus supporting the roof of the estufa and therefore performing the duty of an arch or vault.¹¹⁹

There follows the most explicit description of marriage customs known from older literature on the Pueblos: "When one is to marry, it must be by command of those who govern."¹²⁰ This must be understood in the sense that medicine-men (who play an important part in the social life of the Pueblos) are and were consulted on the proposed marriage. The replies of the Principal ones among them have, or had at least, the weight of oracles so that, while Castañeda's statement cannot be understood as implying an intervention of the leaders as *civil authorities*, it is still true in a sense. "He (the man) must spin and weave a mantle and place it before the woman; she covers herself with it and (thereby) she is his wife. The houses are of the women, the estufas of the men. When a man repudiates his wife he has to go for it to the estufa. It is an offence on the part of a woman to sleep in an estufa or to enter one, except to fetch food to the husband or to the sons. The men spin and weave, the women raise the children and cook."¹²¹ Strict separation of the sexes to a certain extent is no longer observed, and the estufas are no longer the exclusive male quarters. "The land is so fertile, that weeding is necessary only once a year, at planting time, for then snow falls, covering the plantation and the ear grows under

119. See preceding note. Mota Padilla, *Historia*, cap. XXVIII, p. 115, describes the estufa as follows: "en medio de la plaza habia una portañuela ó escotillon por donde se bajaba á una subterránea sala, cuya techumbre era de grandes vigas de pino, y en el suelo un pequeño fogon, y las paredes encaladas; allí se estaban los indios dias y noches jugando, y las mugeres les llevaban de comer, y esta era la vida de los indios de los pueblos comarcanos, Gomara, *Historia*, p. 287, distorts these descriptions as follows: "Tiene delante cada casa una cueva, donde como en estufa, se recogen los inviernos." *Relación del suceso*, p. 320, makes of the estufas houses for the winter.

120. *Cíbola*, p. 451.

121. *Ibidem*, p. 452.

the snow. In one year they harvest for seven."¹²² Early planting is indeed customary among the Rio Grande Pueblos, but the fertility vaunted by Castañeda should be taken with allowances. "There are a great number of cranes, geese, crows and starlings, that maintain themselves in the plantations; withal, when they go to plant again for another year the fields are still covered with maize they have not been able to house."¹²³ The entire chapter is so full of valuable and mostly reliable information that I cannot resist the temptation to proceed giving it textually.

"There were in this province a great number of [female and male] turkeys. These, when dead, would keep for sixty days without being plucked or opened and yet there was no bad odor from them. The same is with people and especially in winter. The villages are free from filth, because they go outside to secrete, and also into vessels of clay which they empty outside of the village. They keep their houses well arranged and very clean where they eat. Where they grind the meal, it is an apartment or closet with a trough and three stones fastened by mortar [mud] where three women enter, each one [goes] to her stone, one crushes, another grinds, and the third grinds it still finer. Before they enter, they bare their feet at the door, fasten their hair, shake their clothes and cover their heads. While they grind, there is a man seated at the door who plays on a bagpipe and they grind to the measure [rhythm] of the sound and sing at three voices. They grind much meal at the time because all the bread is made of flour diluted with hot water and in the shape of wafers. They gather a large quantity of herbs and dry them for cooking all the year through as food. There is no other fruit in the country but piñones. They have their preachers. Sodomy was not met among them nor the eating of human flesh, or human sacrifice. They are not cruel . . . From

122. *Ibidem*.

123. This description of remarkable fertility is not greatly exaggerated.

one of our Indians who was a captive among them for a year I came to know something of their customs, especially asking him why the girls, in that province, went naked notwithstanding the great cold, he told me that the maidens had to go thus until they married but that afterwards they covered themselves. The men there wore undershirts of hide of tanned deerskin and over them their pelts. In the whole province there is pottery glazed with antimony [galena?] and jugs of striking forms and decoration, well worth seeing."¹²⁴

It is not necessary to dwell upon the general agreement of the above description with many Pueblo customs, today yet in vigor. Castañeda like everybody before the time of my lamented friend Cushing, has mistaken for "preachers" what are but public criers. His allusion to the absence of sodomy is not correct. It is committed today, occasionally, and tolerated to a certain extent. The Captain Gaspar Perez de Villagr  mentions a case (an attempt upon the person of a young Spaniard) perpetrated in one of the Tigua pueblos in 1598, and not at all censured by Indian bystanders.¹²⁵

The gloss or glaze on pottery from the period of the conquest has not, to my knowledge, been as yet analyzed. No mineral substance appears to have been used, since neither antimony nor lead were known to the Pueblo Indians. I have repeatedly requested that an analysis of the glaze be made, but my request has always been disregarded.

Casta eda emphasizes that the customs of the Tiguas, as described, are those of all the other Rio Grande tribes,

124. *Ibidem*. "Alcohol" is galena (sulphuret of lead) as well as antimony, Neither was known to or used by the Pueblos.

125. *Historia de la Nueva Mexico*, Canto XV, fol, 136.

"Tambien notamos, ser aquestas gentes,

"Manchadas del bestial pecado infame,

"Y en esto fue tan suelta su soltura,

"Que sino diera gritos un muchacho,

"De nuestra compania, le rindiera,

"Vn baruario de aquellos que por fuerça,

"le quiso sugetar."

and he turns to Cicuyé or Pecos for a continuation of his ethnographic statements.¹²⁶

Although I have treated at some length of those features in my report on Pecos from the year 1881, I repeat some of it here. "Cicuyé is a village of as many as five hundred warriors and it is feared all over the country. Its form is square and it is built on rock. It has in the middle a great court or square with its estufas, the houses are all equal [in height] and on the top one can go around the village without being impeded by streets. The two lowest stories have galleries all around on which to walk, these are like balconies jutting out and on which there is shelter. There are no doorways below, on movable ladders they traffic and ascend to the galleries which are inside the square, and the doorways of that side open to the inner gallery which serves as a street. The houses that look out on the field are built against the inner ones and in case of war are commanded by those within. It [the village] is surrounded by a low wall of stone . . . They are of the same condition and [have the same] customs as the other villages. The maidens also go naked until they marry for they say that in case they act wrongly it will be seen and so they stay pure, neither shall they be ashamed of going [naked] since they were born that way." By comparing this description with my Pecos report and with the ground plans accompanying it, the near approach to truth may be noticed.¹²⁷

Referring to the data already taken from the "Relación postrera" it will be seen that that document mentions three villages, between the Rio Grande and Pecos. Castañeda enumerates one that is situated *between Cicuyé and "the Province of Quirix,"* a second one which was almost depopulated, and another large but ruined village further on.¹²⁸

126. Cíbola, p. 451.

127. Report on the ruins of the Pueblo of Pecos, in vol. I of *Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America*, American series, second edition, 1883.

128. *Relación postrera*, p. 567, "desde la provincia y rio de Tiguex, á cuatro jornadas toparon cuatro pueblos."

The first of these pueblos was small but "strong," the second had but a single ward occupied and appeared to have been recently destroyed. The Spaniards called this pueblo "of the *Cilos*" because it contained large storage places for maize.¹²⁹ The third village was completely destroyed and wrecked. In its squares were seen many balls of stone of the size of a vessel containing an arroba (twenty-five pounds of liquor.) It looked as if these balls had been hurled into the Pueblo with aid of a machine.¹³⁰ Now follows a piece of historical information antedating clearly the coming of the Spaniards. "What could be learned was, that about sixteen years previous, certain people called *Teyas* had come to this country in great numbers and had destroyed these pueblos and besieged Cicuyé, without being able to take it, owing to its strength. When [these *Teyas*] left the land they made friendship with all the people. They must have been powerful and have had engines for destroying the villages. All that was known of them was, that they came from the north [east]; they [the Pueblo Indians] call them *Teyas* because they are brave . . . for the *Teyas* whom our forces afterwards met were valiant and also known to the villages, and were their friends. They came to winter under the walls of the settlements. It is not safe to receive them inside, as they are not trustworthy, and although they receive them kindly and barter with them, at

129. *Cibola*, p. 453, "ay entre cicuye y la prouincia de quirix un pueblo chico y fuerte a quien los españoles pusieron nombre ximena y otro pueblo casi despoblado que no tiene poblado sino un barrio este pueblo era grande segun su sitio y fresco parecia aber sido destruydo aqueste se llamo el pueblo de las cilos porque se hallaron en el grandes silos de maiz, adelante auia otro pueblo grande todo destruido y asolado en los patios del muchas pelotas de piedras tan grandes como botijas de arroba que parecia aber sido hechadas con ingenios o trabucos." While not attempting to identify any of these villages I still permit myself to remark that they appear to have been in the range of the Tanos. "Silo" is usually a subterraneous room.

130. Although I have investigated carefully, the region where these villages must have existed, going through it on foot in 1885 and taking the plans of several ruins, I have not noticed anything like the stone balls described by Castañeda in *Cibola*, (p. 453) but there are several ruins which I could not investigate. The *Teyas* were, of course, Indians that came from the plains, since they were found there on Coronado's excursion to Quivira. Quotations are superfluous.

night they do not stay in the pueblos and the inhabitants keep watch and give signals with trumpets and by shouting."¹³¹

"There are seven more pueblos along this road towards the snowy mountains, one of which is half destroyed by the people aforesaid that are under the control of Cicuyé. Cicuyé is in a small valley among mountains and forests of great pines; it has a small brook in which there are very good trout and also otters, there live around here very large bears and good falcons."¹³²

The *Teyas* above mentioned came from the east, hence from the plains. I do not attempt to conjecture what tribe they belonged to, neither is it essential to the object of this work. What is of importance however, is the fact stated by Castañeda, that, about sixteen years previous to 1541 or near the year 1525, nomadic Indians invaded the region between Pecos and the Rio Grande and even, possibly, the eastern bank of the river, doing permanent damage to some of the pueblos and seriously threatening Pecos itself. The manner in which this irruption is related may lead us to suppose that it was a very usual occurrence or else, that it was the first contact the Pueblo Indians had with the so-called Teyas. The outcome of the invasion was singular, the invaders remaining afterwards in regular and peaceable intercourse with the Pecos, always with due caution on the part of the latter. The seven villages mentioned as "along the road and towards the snowy mountains" are undoubtedly the Tano settlements already alluded to before by

131. *Ibidem*, "generalmente llaman estas gentes teyas por gentes ualientes como dicen los mexicanos chichimecas o tules. . ." Hence the word "teyas" may be a term in the language of *Jemez* and not the proper name of the nomadic tribe.— p. 454: "y los pueblos se belanabo çina y grito grito." (It should be "se belauaba con") "Bocina" means also a horn used for giving signals. It is very possible that the Pecos, living so near the plains, might have used buffalo horns for signalling.

132. *Ibidem*. Castañeda clearly distinguishes here the three villages alluded to before from the seven, "otros siete pueblos ay a la orilla deste camino hacia la sierra nebada." It seems therefore as if the latter seven had been situated south of the former three. There are, south of a line drawn from the station of Lamy to Santo Domingo at least ten pueblo ruins which the Tanos claim to have been settlements of their tribe. *Final Report*, vol. II, part II.

Castañeda, for the said mountains were not, as the text of Ternaux-Compans' often misleading translation had led me to suppose, the Santa Fe range, but the Sandía. It must be remembered that the latter are snowcovered in winter, that the winter of 1540-41 was unusually long and severe, that Castañeda left with the whole Spanish force at the end of April when the Rio Grande had just become free from ice, hence that it is very likely the Sandía chain still bore some snow which the chronicler may well have believed to be permanent.¹³³

Before leaving Castañeda I must mention yet a short notice preserved by him concerning the Pueblo custom of prayer sticks and prayer plumes. He mentions what he believes to be a sign of adoration of the cross by the Pueblos: "because at Acuco, by a spring that was in the plain, they had a cross two spans in height and as thick as a finger, made of wood, with its stone [base?] an ell square, and many little sticks adorned with plumes around and many withered and torn flowers. . . . At Tutahaca in a grave, outside of the village it seemed as if somebody had been recently buried, there was another cross at the head, made of two sticks tied together with cotton thread and also torn flowers."¹³⁴ Thus the use of prayer sticks and prayer-plumes is mentioned, not only among the Tiguas, but also among the Queres and the Piros, and this again confirms the assertion that the customs of the Tiguas, with minor local variations, were general to all the Pueblo Indians. But Castañeda also observes, as a singularity of the Pueblos: "between the villages, there are no settlements nor other dwellings, only uninhabited country, from which we may glean that, as they are few and so different in manners, government,

133. In regard to the incursion or incursions, of the "Teyas," I call attention to the tale preserved by the Queres and told in my *Final Report* (II, p. 111, p. 116) of an irruption into the Rio Grande valley by a savage tribe called "Kirauash" that threatened Santo Domingo and, failing in their attempt to surprise it, devastated the Tano villages.

134. *Cíbola*, p. 467.

and polity from all the nations that have been seen and discovered in these western parts. . .” Castañeda could not, of course, at his time, know the fundamental similarity of the Pueblos with other sedentary Indians and even to a certain extent with roving tribes, but he was struck by the isolated situation which they in appearance held, like an oasis among nomads. He then discourses upon their probable origin from the Indies and conjectures on their migrations which, he thinks, was from a northern direction and controlled by mountain chains and the course of the rivers. He alludes to a point where the Rio Grande sinks and where, therefore, further southerly advance of the Pueblos was arrested. These speculations are interesting, but do not come within the scope of a “Documentary History” since they do not seem to be based upon any Indian traditions ascertained at Coronado’s time.¹³⁵

The preceding documentary information must, now, still be checked by the statements contained in the work of Mota Padilla.

These statements agree very well with the ones recorded in the preceding. In some instances they are even amplifications. Thus, while they repeat the assertion that the doorways of the houses open to the inside of the village, and that ladders are used for ascent to the roofs he adds: “and by these a hall is reached and by another ladder they go down to the ground-floor of the settlement.” The grinding of maize is more briefly described than by Castañeda although there is no contradiction of the latter’s description. But we get here the earliest mention of the thin corn cakes (vulgarly called “paperbread”) made with *atole* or maize meal diluted in water and cooked or toasted on a flat and smooth stone. The beverage called “atole”, is also described and mentioned as very good for the sick. These comestibles are well known.¹³⁶ Mota Padilla continues: “The

135. *Ibidem*, p. 454.

136. *Historia de Nueva Galicia*, cap. XXXII, p. 159, “no lo hacen así las indias de Tigues: sino que deshecha la harina en agua, se hace como atole, y en unas piedras lisas que usan por comales sobre la lumbre, echan de aquel caldo, y lo tienden por toda ella hasta que coge cocimiento, y es tambien pan muy sabroso.”

Indians are well built and the women of good appearance; they wear white mantles that cover them from the shoulders to the feet and, though these are closed still they leave the arms free, also they wear over the said mantles other ones over the left shoulder and one end they draw under the right arm like a cape."¹³⁷ This capelike wrap is still worn today. "They take much care of their hair, combing it carefully and looking at themselves in a jar with water as in a mirror. The hair they part into two tresses tied with cotton ribbons of diverse colors, and on each side of the head they form two wheels or circles, leaving the ends raised like plumes, while the circles, are rolled up inside. On little boards as wide as three fingers they glue, with gluing, some green stones which are called *chalchihuites*, of which it is said there are veins . . . of the same stones they shape trinkets which are fastened on the hair like flower bunches. The female Indians are clean and proud of not doing anything wrong."¹³⁸ The manner of wearing the hair braided, and rolled up as wheels, is often seen in photographs taken in the region of Moqui within the last thirty years, but the use of turquoises is seldom if ever seen. The term "chalchihuite" is, as well known, a Nahuatl term imported among the Pueblos by the Spaniards and Mexican Indians. What follows is of special interest.

"It is customary in the case of marriage that, when a youth intends to woo a maiden he waits for her in the neighborhood of where she goes to obtain drinking-water, he takes the jug away from her, wherewith he shows to the relatives of the girl his wish to marry [intentions of marriage]. These Indians have but one wife. On one occasion the Spaniards saw that an Indian having died, they [the Indians] built a large float or wood pile on which they

137. *Ibidem*, p. 160. Coronado, in his *Letter to Mendoza* dated August 3d, 1540, (Report Bureau of Ethnology, 14, part I, p. 563) describes as follows the dress of two old women: "These had on two long skirts reaching down to their feet and open in front, and a girdle, and they are tied together with some cotton strings."

138. Mota Padilla, *Historia*, p. 160.

placed the body, covered by a mantle, and then the entire pueblo [tribe], men and women, placed upon this bed of firewood, piñole, squash, beans, atole, toasted maize and whatever else they used as food and set fire to it on all sides, so that it was very soon reduced to ashes, together with the body. No temples were seen, and no idols, from which it was deduced that they worshipped the sun and moon, and this was confirmed, since one night when there was an eclipse, they all raised great shouting. The village where [the Spaniards] quartered themselves was called Coofert."¹³⁹

There is, between the statements of Mota Padilla on marriage customs and those of Castañeda, an apparent variation, but we must not overlook that the former mentions the *proposal to the girl* and the latter the *conditions of obtaining her hand*. Hence both may be true. In regard to the cremation described, I say that it may be true *if* the Spaniards saw it, and if it is not perhaps some interpolation by Mota Padilla of a funeral custom of other Indians. It is the only statement of the kind I am aware of, concerning the Pueblos, whereas Castañeda positively mentions *graves and a recent burial in one of them*. I hold it to be prudent to leave the matter in suspense until further information.

(to be continued)

139. Mota Padilla, *Historia*, p. 160, "y en una ocasion vieron los españoles que habiendo muerto un indio, armaron una grande balsa ó luminaria de leña, sobre que pusieron el cuerpo cubierto con una manta, y luego todos los del pueblo, hombres y mujeres, fueron poniendo sobre la cama de leña, piñole, calabazas, frijoles, atole, mais tostado, y de lo demas que usaban comer, y dieron fuego por todas partes, de suerte que en breve todo se convirtió en cenizas con el cuerpo; no se vió templo alguno, ni se les conoció ídolo, por lo que se tuvo entendido adoraban al sol y á la luna, lo que se confirmó, porque una noche que hubo un eclipse, alzaron todos mucha gritería." If Mota Padilla has not confounded the above cremation ceremony with a custom of some other tribes (as has happened and of which there is proof elsewhere, on the part of writers who wrote at second hand) then it is important, since it shows the belief of the Pueblos in the Journey of the soul, after death, to the mythical region of last repose, for which Journey, even at this day (or at least less than twenty years ago) food, drink and some weapons are placed in the grave with the body. The ceremony or ceremonies performed during an eclipse are always quite noisy.