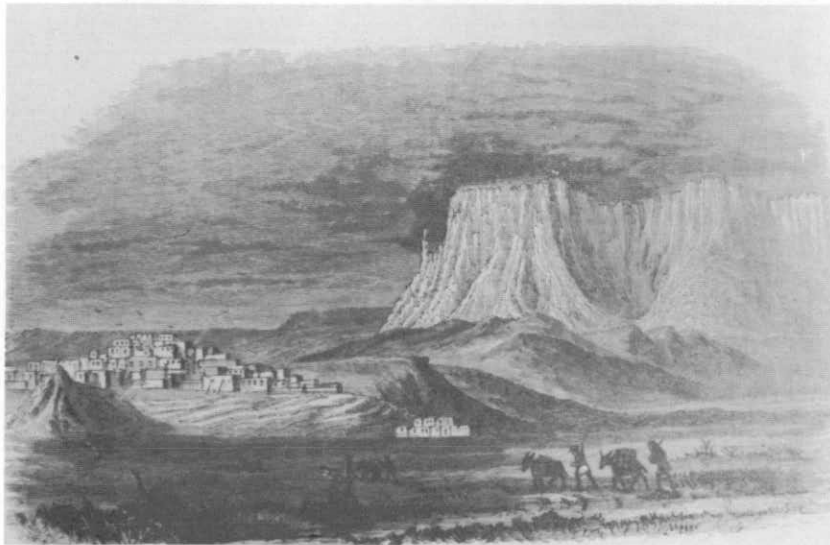


HAWIKUH AND THE SEVEN CITIES OF CIBOLA

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND STUDY

BY

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PREFACE

Resource Study Proposal HAWI-H-1 called for a general background study of the former Zúñi pueblo of Hawikuh and its place in and relationship to the Seven Cities of Cibola. The purpose of the report was to provide the historical information needed to prepare a master plan for the proposed park to be centered around Hawikuh. "Hawikuh and the Seven Cities of Cibola" fulfills the stipulations in that RSP.

Many people were most helpful in the process of this study, particularly my colleague in the Division of History, George Cattanach. I am most grateful to Zorro Bradley of the Division of Archeology with whom I spent several pleasant days following Coronado's trail to and about Zúñi; to Governor Robert Lewis and the Zúñi Tribal Council for their warm hospitality and fine conducted tour of the sites on the Zúñi Reservation associated with this study; to Superintendent James D. Cornett, who epitomizes the thoroughly conscientious and dedicated "Indian Agent," and the equally dedicated Assistant Superintendent John Gray and Acting Superintendent for Community Development United Pueblo's Agency, Jerry Tuttle. I also wish to thank Superintendent Lawrence D. Roush and Ranger Ernie Kuncl of Coronado National Memorial for their hospitality and helpfulness at the lower segment of Coronado's trail.

Especially, my thanks go to Miss Dorothy Junkin of the Division of History for her interest and meticulous care in typing this study.

INTRODUCTION

It must have been a night of profound reflection for the black man. One thought that flitted at first across his mind and then lodged and became the dominant one was that perhaps at last his arrogance had gone beyond the bounds of receptivity and that his hosts, now somewhat belligerent, were planning his demise. By the next morning he had convinced himself of this fact, and it was uppermost in his mind as he and his Indian companions attempted to flee. They churned their legs amidst the whistle of arrows that fell about them. Then the arrows began to find their marks, and one by one his companions fell. It came as a momentary surprise when an arrow sank into his flesh, and he stumbled to the ground and died.

Thus ended the life of the first non-Indian to visit the fabled Seven Golden Cities of Cibola. Although his last thoughts may not have been as depicted above, nevertheless the general outlines of his death are known. Most important, because of his death Fray Marcos de Niza, who was a few days behind, feared getting too close to the Zuñi pueblos and only saw them at a distance shimmering in the heat and sunlight. He hurried back to Mexico to announce that he had indeed seen the Seven Cities and they were incredibly wealthy, a report that acted as the fuse to set off the grandest expedition ever sent to explore the interior of North America.

ESTÉBAN--THE DISCOVERER OF CIBOLA

Estéban, Estévanico, or just plain Steven, was the name of the Negro who gave his life for the discovery. He was a slave and more loyal to his masters, the Spanish, than they were to him. The person historically given credit for the discovery was the leader of the expedition, Fray Marcos de Niza, a man perhaps who never saw his discovery. Historians have known and recognized the fact that Estéban reached the Seven Cities first, but they nevertheless have made the priest the hero of the expedition. Perhaps the black's arrogant and somewhat amoral, but honest, attitude ran counter to the values of the writers who prized the aura of piety that surrounds a priest, even though evidence indicates that the priest was a liar. But among the Zuñi it is Estéban who is remembered, though not favorably. Zuñi legend tells of his death, and among Zuñi religious symbols is a black kachina that is said to represent Estéban. Known as the Chakwaina Kachina, it is a horrible ogre.

Estéban is one of the enigmas of history, principally due to the fact that so little is known about him. Although some writers have attempted to give a physical description to him, no historical record survives of his appearance or background other than references to his being a Moor or negro and being originally from the west coast

of Morocco. A slave owned by Andrés Dorantes de Carranca,¹ Estéban first trod the pages of history in 1528 with the landing of the Panfilo de Narvaez expedition in Florida. This ill-starred expedition ended in disaster on the Texas coast in November of 1528 when a storm dashed ashore the home-made, horse-hide boats containing the Florida survivors. The rigors of several Texas winters and the hardships of slavery by the Indians whittled the remainder of those who had not perished in the boat-wreck down to four: Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Alonzo del Castillo Maldonado, Dorantes, and Estéban. After years of slavery under the Indians of the Texas coast, the four finally escaped and wound their way westward. Cabeza de Vaca, who apparently became the nominal leader, and his companions established a reputation as great medicine men and their legend grew among the Indians the farther west the group travelled. The Spaniards' fame spread and the entourage of Indians who travelled with them expanded. So great was their reputation that the Indians from time to time presented the quartet with gifts, and at the present town of Ures in Mexico, the Pimas gave them over 600 deer hearts. This place they named *Pueblo de los Corazones*--Town of the Hearts. Continuing southward the

1. Frederick W. Hodge and Theodore H. Lewis, eds., *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528-1543* (New York, c1907), p. 4; Frederick J. Dockstader, *The Kachina and the Whiteman: A Study of the Influence of White Culture on the Hopi Kachina Cult*, Bulletin 35, Cranbrook Institute of Science (Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, 1954), p. 11.

four saw signs of other Spaniards and pursued the trail. In March 1536--eight years after having been wrecked on the Texas coast--Cabeza de Vaca and Estéban overtook a slave-hunting party that Nuno de Guzmán, governor of the province of Nueva Galicia, had sent out. Dumbfounded at the sight of his bedraggled, nearly naked fellow countrymen, the leader of the slaving party soon collected his wits, and because he and his men were out of food, prevailed upon Cabeza de Vaca to have the Indians secure food for the group. It was almost a case of the rescued having saved the rescuers. In time Cabeza de Vaca and his group were escorted by their "rescuers" to the capital of Nueva Galicia where they were hospitably received by Guzman. After spending a short period with the governor, they were further escorted to Mexico City where the quartet reported to the Viceroy of New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza. They told of having seen "undeniable indications of gold, antimony, iron, copper, and other metals."

During the expedition, in order to achieve an air of aloofness, the three Spaniards did not speak to the natives, but rather had Estéban communicate with them. As a result of his interpreter duties the black picked up at least six dialects of the Indians, and these tongues were to stand him in good stead later.² Undoubtedly, because

2. Cyclone Covey, trans. & ed., *Cabeza de Vaca's Adventures in the Unknown Interior of America* (New York, c1961), pp. 120-26.

of the reverence in which the natives held the quartet, Estéban felt he could treat the Indians any way he wanted with impunity. Perhaps on this leg of his adventures he acquired the arrogance that was to be his undoing.

THE VISION OF THE SEVEN GOLDEN CITIES

The idea of the Seven Golden Cities had danced before the eyes of the Spaniards like a shimmering mirage on a hot desert. Like the thirsty man in the desert the Spaniards wanted to believe the mirage, and from their discovery of the New World they stumbled forward into the unknown seeking rumored wealth. Tales of gold lured Cortez to Mexico in 1519, Alvarado to Guatemala, Narvaez to Florida, and Pizarro to Peru. Although many expeditions ended unsuccessfully, there were just enough successful ones to keep the dream alive, and the Spanish mind was conditioned to be receptive to the idea that in the unexplored land lay great, great wealth. Being of a romantic turn of mind, an impoverished nobleman, a second son, or an ambitious peasant could dream of rich conquests and the return to Spain draped in honor, glory, and wealth.

The return of the four survivors with their reports of having seen signs of precious metals added fuel to the fire of the Spanish imagination, and tended to confirm a story told by one of Guzman's Indian slaves. The slave told Guzman that as a young boy he had travelled with his father to visit villages that compared in size to Mexico City and its environs, and that he had seen "seven very large towns which had streets of silver workers." Guzman had gone in search,

but he looked in vain.³ This effort, however, did not discourage the Spanish, for the vast land to the north of Mexico was unexplored-- a "Northern Mystery"--and Guzman simply had not gone far enough; the seven cities probably lay just beyond his northernmost point. The veil concealing the "Northern Mystery" was lifted briefly and the Spaniards were permitted a peek when Cabeza de Vaca and his companions arrived in New Spain in 1536. And Cabeza de Vaca's report indicated that indeed wealth lay beyond the veil.

Enter Fray Marcos De Niza

The viceroy of New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza, was an extremely capable administrator, but he was a cautious man, and he was not about to send off an expedition based on these reports alone. He made an arrangement with Dorantes to lead exploring party northward, but nothing came of the plan. Dorantes, however, did sell Estéban to Mendoza.⁴

Mendoza looked elsewhere, and a priest, experienced as a cosmographer and skilled in navigation, was called to his attention. A Jesuit Fray Marcos de Niza had been with Pizarro in Peru and Alvarado in

3. Hodge and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, p. 286.

4. Covey, *Cabeza de Vaca's Adventures*, p. 141.

Guatemala. He had an established reputation as a walker, having hiked barefooted from Central America to Mexico City.⁵

Mendoza instructed the priest to explore generally and take possession of all unclaimed lands. Marcos was to look particularly for evidence of those things Cabeza de Vaca had reported on, and he was to spread the gospel. Mendoza assigned Estéban to go with Marcos de Niza and also gave the priest a retinue of Indians. Accompanying Marcos was a fellow priest, Fray Onorato.⁶

The staging area for the expedition was Culiacan and after twelve days of preparation, the governor of the province, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, formally sent the mixed party on its way.

Fray Marcos and Cibola

It soon became apparent that Fray Marcos and Estéban were not going to get along. Estéban was a flamboyant, confident individual who affected an air of colorful superiority and wore bright feathers and bells at his wrists and ankles and a crown of plumes on his head. As the party made its way northward the black man accepted gifts of

5. George P. Winship, "The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethology* (Washington, 1896), p. 354.

6. Herbert E. Bolton, *Coronado, Knight of Pueblos and Plains* (New York, c1949), p. 25.

coral and turquoise and pretty maidens from the Indians. Marcos' dull piety caused him to be shocked by this behavior, and his chagrin increased as Estéban's entourage of females grew in size. Estéban's conduct became more than the priest could bear, and he ordered the Negro, after only 60 leagues of travel together, to explore the land ahead and keep him posted on what he found.⁷ Specifically Marcos told Estéban that if he should "obtain an account of any important thing such as we were seeking," he should relay his news by a prearranged signal. Estéban was to send a cross the size of a man's hand if the site were of medium importance, two hands in size if it were of great importance, and a still larger cross if he discovered something bigger and better than New Spain.

One can easily imagine the elation Fray Marcos felt when four days later messengers from Estéban came bearing a cross as tall as a man and carrying the word to come immediately. Estéban said he had met people who had been to a province the first city of which was called Cibola, and it was "the greatest country in the world." The land, he said, was only thirty days' journey from where he was. From the messengers Estéban sent back we obtain the first description of the Zuñi villages that collectively came to be known as Cibola.

7. Hodge and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, pp. 288-289; John U. Terrell, *Estevanico the Black* (Los Angeles, 1968), p. 91.

Although a second-hand account, it is remarkably accurate. Marcos recorded that the Indian messenger, who seemingly had visited the province, said:

in the first province there were seven very great cities, all under one lord, that the houses, constructed of stone and lime, were large, that the smallest were of one story with a terrace above, that there were others of two and three stories, whilst that of the lord had four, and all were joined under his rule. He said that the doorways of the principal houses were much ornamented with turquoises, of which there was a great abundance, and that the people of those cities went very well clothed. He told me many other particulars, not only of the seven cities but of other provinces beyond them, each one of which he said was much bigger than that of the seven cities.⁸

Hurrying on, Marcos followed Estéban's trail. Along the way he received from Estéban another tall cross and word to hurry on as "the country in question was the best and greatest of which he had ever heard." Marcos reached the place where Estéban had sent his first message, but the Negro had gone forward. Marcos talked to the Indians who had told Estéban of Cibola, the first of the seven cities. After assuring himself that Estéban had gotten the story reasonably straight, Marcos resumed the black's trail. Along the way Marcos encountered other natives who had told Estéban of the city and its turquoise. At one point he passed a large cross Estéban had left

8. Fray Marcos de Niza, *Discovery of the Seven Cities of Cibola*, Percy M. Baldwin, trans. and ed., Historical Society of New Mexico, Publications in History, Vol. 1 (November 1926), pp. 14-16.

"as a sign that the news of the good country continually increased." Undoubtedly these messages created in Marcos an excitement and exhilaration that masked any fatigue he may have had. When within two or three days of the great province, an Indian who had been with Estéban approached Marcos's party hot and exhausted and possessing "the deepest sadness in his whole person." He announced that Estéban and most of his group had been killed by the residents of Cibola.⁹

The reports on Estéban's death agree in form, but not in detail, and generally speaking they lack specifics. Moreover, the accounts are all secondhand or worse. One point is indisputable: Estéban was killed by the Zuñis. But what motivated the Indians in this act? First of all it would appear that Estéban offended the Zuñi before he even appeared on the scene. The Negro had a calabash that "was adorned with some rows of rattles and two feathers, one red and one white." As he had done in the past Stephen sent this calabash by messenger to the Zuñi when he was a day's journey from Cibola. The Zuñi were angered by the symbol, and their chief threw it to the ground and said "he knew what sort of people they were, and that the messengers should tell them not to enter the city, as if they did so he [Estéban] would be put to death." Estéban offended the Zuñi further by demanding presents

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-25.

and women of the Indians, and then he confounded them by saying that he, a black man, was the advance representative of white men.

Estéban exhibited little concern or fear of the threat of the Zuñi, and he proceeded to Cibola. When he arrived the leaders refused to let him into the town and lodged him and his retinue in a hut just outside. His length of stay there is open to question; Marcos de Niza, quoting an Indian informant who had been with Estéban, reports one night that the Zuñi gave them neither food nor drink. Castañeda says Estéban went through three days of questioning, after which the Indians decided to kill him. Castañeda does not report the manner of Estéban's death.

Marcos says that one of the Indians who escaped told him:

The next day, when the sun was a lance-length high, Stephen went out of the house and some of the chiefs with him. Straightway many people came out of the city and, as soon as he saw them, he began to flee and we with him. Then they gave us these arrow-strokes and cuts and we fell and some dead men fell on top of us. Thus we lay till nightfall, without daring to stir. We heard loud voices in the city and we saw many men and women watching on the terraces. We saw no more of Stephen and we concluded that they had shot him with arrows as they had the rest that were with him, of whom there escaped only us.¹⁰

After the Negro had been killed, the inhabitants of the town came forward and carved Estéban's body into pieces which they distributed to the other towns to let them know that the black man was not a god

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-27; Hodge and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, pp. 289-90.

and therefore invincible. The four plates that he carried with him and off which he ate were given to the principal chief of Cibola, as were Estéban's dogs. The news of the black man's demise spread over the southwest, and a year later Hernando Alarcon on the Colorado River near Yuma heard of his death. According to Alarcon's informant, Estéban was slain by the Cibolans who proceeded to "cut him into many pieces, which were distributed among the chieftains so that they should know that he was dead." Why, asked Alarcon, had the Cibolans engaged in this murder? The Indians told him "that the chieftain of Cibola asked the negro if he had any brothers, and he answered that he had an infinite number, that they had numerous arms, and that they were not very far from there. Upon hearing this, many chieftains assembled and decided to kill him so that he would not reveal their location to his brothers."

Although open to question, the evidence fairly clearly indicates that Estéban was killed by the Indians at Hawikuh, one of several Zuñi pueblos in the general area of what is now the Zuñi Indian Reservation. The noted historian of the Spanish borderlands, Herbert E. Bolton, accepted the Hawikuh identification; however, he thought there was a good possibility the incident occurred at Kechibawa, located about a mile and a half southeast of Hawikuh. Zuñi folklore, as related by Frank H. Cushing, says:

It is to be believed that a long time ago, when roofs lay over the walls of Kya-ki-me, when smoke hung over the house-tops, then the Black Mexicans came from their abodes in Everlasting Summerland Then and thus was killed by our ancients, right where the stone stands down by the arroyo of Kya-ki-me, one of the Black Mexicans, a large man, with chilli lips Then the rest ran away, chased by our grandfathers, and went back toward their own country in the Land of Everlasting Summer.¹¹

With certainty Estéban was not killed at Kya-ki-me, the westernmost of the Cibolan cities.

Marcos Reports on Cibola

Shaken by the news of Estéban's death, Marcos divided up among his travelling companions the goods he had brought with him for barter purposes. He then resumed Estéban's trail. When within a day's journey of Cibola he encountered two other survivors, but their accounts did not deter him, and he moved on toward the fabled city. When he came within sight of the city he paused and viewed it and left the first eye-witness description we have of the Seven Cities of Cibola:

It is situated on a level stretch on the brow of a roundish hill. It appears to be a very beautiful city, the best that I have seen in these parts; the houses are of the type that the Indians described to me, all of stone, with their stories and terraces, as it appeared to me from a hill whence I could see it. The town is bigger than the city of Mexico.

11. George P. Hammond and Agypto Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542* (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1940), pp. 141, 145; Bolton, *Coronado, Knight of Pueblo and Plain*, p. 35.

When he remarked how beautiful the city was several natives with him said "that it was the least of the seven cities, and that Totontecac is much bigger and better than all the seven."

Marcos said he was tempted to visit the city "because I knew that I risked nothing but my life, which I had offered to God the day I commenced the journey." He dissuaded himself from this rash step since, he reasoned, no one in Mexico would know of his discovery if anything happened to him. He claimed the land for Spain and named it St. Francis. With the help of his Indian companions he erected a large pile of stones and placed on top of it "a small slender cross, not having the materials to construct a bigger one." He then hurried back to Mexico, he said, "with much more fear than food."¹²

Whether Fray Marcos actually saw what he described has been open to speculation. Some historians accept the fact that he saw what he reported, while others take the opposite view. The noted geographer-historian Carl O. Sauer, for example, felt that Marcos' report was a political document Mendoza needed to obviate any claims his political rival Hernando Cortez, or rivals in Cuba might make to the land north of New Spain. The friar, he felt, made little more than a slight penetration of the present State of Arizona. Sauer considered Marcos'

12. Fray Marcos de Niza, *Discovery of the Seven Cities of Cibola*, pp. 28-30.

account "a tissue of fraud, perhaps without equal in the history of New World explorations." On the other hand other historians, just as prominent, accept the truth of Marcos' account, that he did indeed see Cibola.¹³

Whether Marcos was prevaricating or not is unimportant. The important thing is that his return to Mexico ignited the fire that was the Coronado expedition.

The inhabitants of New Spain received Marcos' report with enthusiasm. An inhabitant of Mexico at the time later recorded:

the country was so stirred up by the news which the friar had brought from the Seven Cities that nothing else was thought about. For he said that the city of Cibola was big enough to contain two Sevilles and over, and the other places were not much smaller; and that the houses were very fine edifices, four stories high; and in the country there are many of what they call wild cows, and sheep and goats and rich treasures. He exaggerated things so much, that everybody was for going there and leaving Mexico depopulated The news from the Seven Cities inspired so eager a desire in every one that not only did the viceroy and the marquis (Cortez) make ready to start for there, but the whole country wanted to follow them so much that they traded for the licenses which permitted them to go as soldiers, and people sold these as a favor, and whoever obtained one of these thought that it was as good as a title of nobility at the least. For the friar who had come from there exaggerated and said that it was the best place

13. Carl O. Sauer, "The Credibility of the Fray Marcos Account," *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (April 1941), p. 243; Carl O. Sauer, *The Road to Cibola* (Berkeley, 1932), p. 28. Cleve Hallenbeck, *The Journey of Fray Marcos de Niza* (Dallas, 1949), is a vehement denunciation of Marcos' report as a complete fabrication.

in the world; the people in that country very prosperous, and all the Indians wearing clothes and the possessors of much cattle; the mountains like those of Spain, and the climate the same. For wood, they burnt very large walnut trees, which bear quantities of walnuts better than those of Spain. They have many mountain grapes, which are very good eating, and filberts. According to the way he painted it, this should have been the terrestrial paradise. For game, there were partridges, geese, cranes, and all the other winged creatures--it was marvelous what was there.

From the pulpit and from the barber chair Fray Marcos told of what he saw, and word spread through Mexico City, further embellished with each telling. And New Spain was thrilled with prospects of a province that had the wealth of Mexico or Peru.¹⁴ The excitement pulsed out to the countryside, and in city, town, and village, caballeros dreamed of becoming rich on the expedition to the fabled land.

Mendoza Organizes an Expedition

The vision of great expectation from this veritable promised land so pervaded the mind of the Spaniards in Mexico that when Viceroy Mendoza decided to organize an expedition to the land of Cibola, he had no difficulty recruiting 300 hardy Spaniards. Mendoza wanted to lead the army himself, but his viceregal responsibilities forbade such glamorous activity; so he chose Francisco Vasquez de Coronado,

14. Winship, "The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542," pp. 364-66.

his very good friend and governor of Nueva Galicia, to command the army. Coronado was a good choice. He was competent, energetic, young (just thirty years of age), and he had money (or at least a wealthy wife). Both Mendoza and Coronado poured vast quantities of money into outfitting the expedition; Coronado, in today's terms, put in about a million dollars.¹⁵

Mendoza selected Compostela, the capital of Nueva Galicia, as the rendezvous for the army, and in late 1539 and early 1540 soldiers and Indians drifted into the town. On February 22, 1540, a grand review was held in the town. Leading the parade was Coronado in his shining, gilded armor and accompanied by his personal staff in equal finery. Next came the horsemen, some 225 gentlemen, followed by 60 infantry men armed with pikes, arquebuses, and crossbows. Behind them was a train of Indian servants and Negro slaves driving the 1,000 to 1,500 horses and mules and carrying the baggage and pulling six or so light bronze cannon. Buried somewhere in the mélange were three women, all wives of soldiers. Bringing up the rear were the Indian allies, numbering in the neighborhood of 1,000. It was a grand army composed for the most part of young people in their early to mid-twenties, many of them of noble blood. Castañeda,

15. Bolton, *Coronado*, pp. 53-57. The chronicler of the expedition did not have a high regard for Coronado, putting the blame for the failure of the expedition entirely upon him. See Hodge and Davis, *Spanish Explorers in the Southern U.S.*, p. 291.

the chronicler of the expedition, said it was "the most brilliant company ever collected in the Indies to go in search of new lands."¹⁶

After the parade the soldiers assembled and heard mass. Following the services the viceroy appeared before the gathering and "made them a very eloquent short speech, telling them of the fidelity they owed to their general and showing them clearly the benefits which this expedition might afford, from the conversion of those peoples as well as the profit of those who should conquer the territory." Officers and men swore their fealty to Coronado, and the next day with colors flying, the army marched northward,¹⁷ with visions of the wealth of another Mexico permeating their thoughts.

Cibola!

The army followed a coastal route to Culiacan, the northernmost settlement of Nueva Galicia. Concerned over the fact that it had taken over thirty days to march the 350 miles, Coronado decided to take an advance party of 75 cavalrymen and 25 foot soldiers, plus some Indian allies and proceed to Cibola. Travelling parallel to the coast, the

16. A. Grove Day, *Coronado's Quest; The Discovery of the Southwestern States* (Berkeley, 1964), pp. 76-77; Hodge and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, p. 293; Bolton, *Coronado, Knight of Pueblos and Plains*, p. 69.

17. Hodge and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, pp. 294-95.

advance party crossed several rich river valleys and passed through Ures and Cabeza de Vaca's Corazones. Following the Sonora River Valley through Arizpe and Bacoachi, they picked up the San Pedro River and traced its course, entering the present United States a few miles south of Palominas.¹⁸

From here on Coronado's route becomes clouded, and although many competent historians and anthropologists have worked on the route, no one has come up with a route generally acceptable.¹⁹ They all agree, however, that Coronado followed the Zuñi River into Hawikuh and the reported golden land. He arrived there July 7, 1540.²⁰

Difficulties with the inhabitants of Cibola began before the advance party arrived at Hawikuh. However, Coronado's first encounter with Cibolans was a peaceful one, and on the surface portended good. From the Camp of Death--named for a Spaniard and two Negroes who had died from eating poisoned plants--probably near the present McNary, Arizona, Coronado sent out a small scouting party under García López de Cárdenas. On his second day out on the banks of the Little Colorado

18. George P. Hammond, *Coronado's Seven Cities* (Albuquerque, 1940), pp. 23-25.

19. For examples of two suggested, and diverse, routes, see Bolton, *Coronado*, and Albert H. Schroeder, "Fray Marcos de Niza, Coronado and the Yavapai," *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (October 1955), pp. 265-96.

20. Hammond, *Coronado's Seven Cities*, p. 26.

River four Cibolans approached him, making signs of peace. Through interpreters they informed Cárdenas that the Spaniards were expected and food awaited them. This was exceedingly joyous news as Coronado and his men had been on short rations for some time, and they were bordering on starvation. Telling them that Coronado was coming to aid and defend them, Cárdenas sent two natives back to Cibola and kept two as hostages for the arrival of the general. On receipt of the news Coronado and his men were elated at the prospect of food and hurried forward to Cárdenas. Along the way Coronado met several more Cibolans and announced that he was bringing to them the king and religion, and that if they submitted peacefully, no harm would come to them.²¹

When within about a half day's journey of Cibola, Coronado learned that he was not approaching a pueblo that was waiting with open arms to greet him and his men with much needed food, but rather the natives of the pueblo and province were up in arms and would not receive them peacefully. Learning of a rocky pass through which he and his men would have to go to get to the pueblo, "and where the army might suffer great harm from the natives," Coronado ordered Don García López de Cárdenas to take a few troops and fortify the place. Stationing a few horsemen in the pass and camping with the remainder of his men nearby, Cárdenas

21. Bolton, *Coronado*, pp. 110-15.

settled down for the night. About midnight the soldiers were aroused by the shouts and cries and falling arrows of the attacking Cibolans. There was confusion among the Spaniards--the chronicler of the expedition wrote that "some were so excited that they put their saddles on hind-side before; but these were the new fellows." Added to this was the fact that the horses had become panicky and, according to Cárdenas, "ran away, leaving the men on foot." Nevertheless, the Spaniards were able to beat back the Indian attack, with but the wounding of several horses. It had been a narrow escape, and Cárdenas later reported, "Had it not been for two mounted men who were on guard duty, the Indians would have killed this witness and the ten companions who were with him watching the pass."²²

Coronado and his men were out of food and hungry, and the Indians were not going to give them any peacefully; consequently, Coronado realized he had to attack the Indians right away, before his men became too weakened from lack of nourishment. The next morning Coronado moved on Cibola, and as the soldiers neared the pueblo of Hawikuh their anticipated joy at the prospect of wealth turned sour. They saw what one veteran described as

a little, crowded village, looking as if it had been crumpled all up together. There are haciendas in New Spain which make a better appearance at a distance. It is a village of about two hundred warriors, is three and four stories high, with the houses small and having only a few rooms, and without a courtyard. One yard serves for each section.

22. Hammond and Rey, *The Coronado Narratives*, pp. 167, 322, 344; Hodge and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, pp. 299-300.

Here, for the third time, the soldiers saw the beautiful picture Fray Marcos had painted of Cibola turn to ashes. The first time had been at Chimametla, just 200 miles north of Compostela, when an advance party under the ubiquitous Melchior Diaz returned from the vicinity of the Gila River and reported they found nothing ahead but barren deserts. The rank and file had become disturbed at that point, but the persuasive friar was able to calm them. Later at Chichitcalli when he found the sea was not nearby, Coronado wrote Mendoza, "We all felt great anxiety and dismay to see that everything was the opposite of what [Fray Marcos] had told your Lordship." And now at the fabled land the Golden City mirage turned into "a little, crowded village, looking as if it had been crumpled all up together." The soldiers were justifiably angry and heaped vituperation upon the friar. Castañeda reported that "such were the curses that some hurled at Friar Marcos that I pray God may protect him from them."²³

Coronado and his army stood before Hawikuh and saw several hundred Indians standing on the plain in front of the pueblo. The Cibolans had sent away from Hawikuh the aged and the women and children. Warriors from the other pueblos of the province had responded to a call for assistance, and they were the ones who occupied the pueblo, concealed

23. Hammond and Reyes, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, pp. 165, 167; Hodge and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, p. 300; Hammond, *Coronado's Seven Cities*, p. 21.

from the Spanish. The exposed Cibolans, "drawn up by divisions in front of the village," blew a horn they had, made war-like gestures, and yelled at the Spaniards to go back from whence they came. They drew lines on the ground probably with sacred corn meal, and ordered the foreigners not to cross them. Coronado sent Cárdenas with several priests and a mounted guard forward to tell the Indians they meant them no harm. The group moved toward the natives and through an interpreter delivered Coronado's message, and by signs tried to get them to lay down their arms. But the Indians, "being a proud people, were little affected," Coronado reported, "because it seemed to them that we were few in numbers, and that they would not have any difficulty in conquering us." Accordingly the Cibolans let loose a volley of arrows, one wounding a horse and another passing through the robes of a priest. Hoping for a peaceful submission, Coronado still hesitated to attack, even though his men, starved for food and anxious to get to the pueblo where it was, implored their commander to advance on the natives. But the Cibolans, emboldened by Coronado's hesitancy, continued to move on the Spaniards, and Coronado felt he had no recourse but to lay into the Indians. With the blessings of the priests (Cárdenas said that Fray Marcos urged Coronado to attack), the Spaniards gave the Santiago, their battle cry, and quickly put the Cibolans to flight. The natives fled in all directions, some even making it into the pueblo. Coronado then divided his forces and surrounded the city. He gave the

crossbowmen and musketeers orders to fire on the pueblo to drive the defenders back from the roof tops so that he and his men could scale the wall. By now Coronado had dismounted, and he and his section moved toward a side where he had heard there was a scaling ladder. As he approached, the defenders did not move back because the crossbowmen and the musketeers had not done their work. The strings of the crossbows broke and the musketeers were too weak from hunger and the march to hold their harquebuses steady. Nevertheless, the Spaniards moved forward, and Coronado, dressed in his gilded armor that glittered in the sun, became a special object of attack. From their positions the Cibolans rained stones of all sizes down on him, and soon Coronado lay prostrate. He got up, but more stones pounded him to the ground again, and that might have been the end of him had not two of his captains, Cárdenas and Alvarado, quickly thrown their bodies on top of their commander. They dragged Coronado from the field and laid him unconscious in his tent where he remained for some time. He had two small wounds on the face, bruised arms and legs, and an arrow protruding from his foot. Cárdenas took command of the Spaniards and in one final charge dislodged the Indians from the pueblo.²⁴ Hawikuh belonged to the Spaniards.

24. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, p. 345; Winship, "The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542," pp. 556-57, 564-65; Bolton, *Coronado, Knight of Pueblo and Plain*, pp. 122-25; Hodge and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, pp. 300-01.

Coronado Establishes His Headquarters

On surrendering, the Indians moved out of the pueblo and the Spaniards moved in, seeking food. The starved soldiers were excited and pleased with what they found: large turkeys, corn, beans, and salt. They gorged themselves, rested, and assessed their damages. They found that six or seven men had been wounded, three horses killed, and seven or eight horses wounded.²⁵

When Coronado recovered from his injuries he began to look about to determine the nature of the fabled land of Cibola. He first learned that the pueblo he had taken was not named Cibola, but rather that was the name applied to the whole province embracing a reported "seven little villages . . . all within a radius of 5 leagues." The pueblo he had just taken, and where he established his headquarters, he named Granada, for Mendoza's birthplace. Granada's houses, he found, were "not decorated with turquoises, nor made of lime nor of good bricks, nevertheless they are very good houses, with three and four and five stories, where there are very good apartments and good rooms with corridors, and some very good rooms underground and paved which are made for winter, and are something like a sort of hot baths." He was speaking of the estufa or kiva, a ceremonial chamber. He found some turquoises, but no other jewels, except of semi-precious stones. Nor

25. Bolton, *Coronado, Knight of Pueblo and Plain*, p. 125; Winship, "The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542," p. 557.

did he find gold or silver. Coronado was disappointed and disgusted with Fray Marcos de Niza. He wrote Mendoza, "I can assure you that in reality he [Marcos] has not told the truth in a single thing that he said, but everything is the reverse of what he said, except the name of the city and the large stone houses."²⁶

Coronado also went about establishing communication and understanding-- on Spanish terms--with the natives. Three days after the fall of Hawikuh, Coronado received a delegation of Indians who wished to make peace with the invaders. They told Coronado that more than fifty years before they had been told they would be 'conquered by such men as the Spaniards. Cortes had heard a similar legend from the Aztecs when he conquered Mexico City. The Zuñi brought gifts to Coronado, including some turquoise and "poor mantles." Coronado told them they were to accept the King of Spain as their ruler and Christianity as their religion. Apparently shocked by this demand, the Indians of the surrounding pueblos packed up their families and goods and moved to Towayalane, or Corn Mountain, the sacred mountain that was their retreat in time of trouble. On learning of this abandonment of their homes Coronado urged them to return and accept the King and Christianity. Although they did not respond immediately, in time the Cibolans did return to their homes.²⁷

26. Winship, "The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542," pp. 558-59.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 561.

In addition the Cibolans confessed to Coronado that they had killed Estéban, "because the Indians of Chichilticale said that he was a bad man, and not like the Christians, because the Christians never kill women, and he killed them, and because he assaulted their women, whom the Indians love better than themselves." The Indians said they did not kill those who had come with Estéban and a boy from Petatlan province who had come with him had been kept safely. Coronado asked for the release of the boy, but when the Cibolans hesitated he put his demand in stronger terms and the Indians turned the lad over to him.²⁸

Coronado Explores the Southwest

While at Hawikuh Coronado did not let his army sit idle. He sent out parties in different directions to investigate the country and follow up on rumors that drifted back to Cibola. These expeditions plus the one of Hernando de Alarcon on the Colorado River were to make the summer of 1540, according to one historian, "the greatest season of exploration in the history of the American Southwest."²⁹ And the hub of this activity was Hawikuh.

Coronado dispatched Don Pedro de Tovar northwestward to examine the Totontec region that reportedly was composed of 12 villages whose inhabitants grew cotton and exported the raw product as well as woven

28. *Ibid.*, p. 563.

29. Day, *Coronado's Quest*, p. 135.

blankets. Their houses were similar to the ones at Cibola. These references were to the Hopi villages, which after a brief skirmish Tovar and his handful of Spaniards pacified. These Indians told Tovar of a large river that flowed to the south where lived a race of large people. When apprised of this information, Coronado correctly concluded that the river emptied into the Gulf of California--or its more appropriate name, Sea of Cortez--where Hernando de Alarcon was with needed supplies for Coronado's forces. Consequently, Coronado sent Cardenas to follow the river and find Alarcon. Cárdenas did not reach the mouth of the Colorado, but he did discover the Grand Canyon.

One of the longer exploring jaunts came about as the result of Coronado's message to other provinces with which Cibola traded announcing that the Christians had arrived and they wanted to be friendly. In response a delegation from the eastward arrived inviting the Spaniards to visit their land. One of the leaders of this group was a "tall, well built young fellow, with a fine figure" who possessed a long mustache. This oddity among the smooth-faced Indians prompted the Spaniards to name him Bigotes (Whiskers). This chieftain offered to lead the Spaniards to his country. Coronado appointed Hernando de Alvarado to captain an expedition to this unexplored land, and Bigotes volunteered to be guide. The expedition wound its way past Acoma, through the Upper Rio Grande Valley, discovering the river and stopping

at several of the pueblos there, and reaching Bigotes' home, Cicuyé, or Pecos as it is known today. Here Alvarado met an Indian he dubbed the Turk because his features conformed to the Spaniard's conception of what one of that nationality looked like. The Turk told of the great city of Quivira that was built of gold and was fabulously rich. This man was to lead the Coronado on a wild goose chase, but before taking his fountain of information back to Coronado, Alvarado journeyed out on the prairie for four or five days.³⁰

Alarcon and Diaz on the Colorado

Meanwhile, Coronado sent his courier, Juan Gallego, back to Mexico City with dispatches for Mendoza reporting on Cibola. With him went two trail companions: Melchior Diaz and Fray Marcos de Niza. Diaz, who was to undertake a special mission for Coronado, was carrying word to Arellano to move the main body of the army to Cibola. Fray Marcos had been ordered southward by Coronado since, according to Castañeda, "it was not safe for him to stay in Cibola, seeing that his report had turned out to be entirely false, because the kingdoms that he had told about had not been found, nor the populous cities, nor the wealth of gold, nor the precious stones which he had reported, nor the

30. Day, *Coronado's Quest*, pp. 131-56; Hodge and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, p. 306-13.

fine clothes, nor the other things that had been proclaimed from the pulpit."³¹

The special mission Coronado assigned the reliable and ubiquitous Diaz was to return to San Geronimo, organize an expedition, and journey to the coast in search of the ships of Hernando de Alarcon. Mendoza had sent Alarcon with three supply ships up the coast of the Gulf of California with instructions to deliver the goods to Coronado. About the time Diaz was departing Cibola, in August of 1540, Alarcon reached the head of the Gulf of California without having made contact with elements of Coronado's army. Still seeking the general, Alarcon entered the Colorado River and in small boats proceeded up the river to the vicinity of present-day Yuma. He still failed to locate Coronado and at this point left a cross in the ground at the base of which he buried letters telling of his journey.

Several months later, in December, Melchior Diaz reached the Colorado River, which he named Rio del Tizon (Firebrand River) because the area was littered with firebrands that had been discarded by the Indians. After finding the letters, Diaz journeyed northward along the river and eventually crossed into what is the present state of California, travelling, apparently, to the vicinity of what is now the Salton Sea. The Spaniards turned around and pointed toward their home base of San Geronimo. They skirmished with the Indians almost

31. Hodge and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, p. 302.

continuously, and one day Diaz became angry at a greyhound that was chasing the sheep. Grabbing up a lance, he rode full tilt at the dog and threw the weapon, which missed the animal and stuck in the ground. Unable to check his horse in time, Diaz rode onto the butt of the lance which pierced his body in the area of the bladder. As tough as he was competent, Diaz lingered on for several weeks in great pain as his party trekked its way homeward; he refused to hold up the expedition because of his injury. Finally on January 18, 1541, he died, and his men buried him on the trail. Diaz had been the most active of Coronado's captains in searching for Cibola. Castañeda said that he was "a captain who had been mayor of Culiacan, who, although he was not a gentleman, merited the position he held."³²

On To Quivira

In the meantime, Coronado had received good reports of Tiguex from Alvarado, and Alvarado urged Coronado to winter in the Rio Grande Valley. Realizing that with the arrival of the main body of his army he would need more space and facilities than were available at Cibola, Coronado decided to move his forces to the Tiguex region, which was begun in late November 1540.³³

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 292-93; Francis R. Holland Jr., "Who Discovered California," *The Western Explorer*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (August 1961), pp. 1-15.

33. Bolton, *Coronado, Knight of Pueblos and Plains*, pp. 192-98.

Meanwhile, the Indian the Spaniards called the Turk was telling wondrous tales of riches to the east, and he told them so convincingly that Alvarado believed virtually his every word. When the Turk told of a gold bracelet at Pecos, Alvarado returned to that pueblo seeking it and would not accept the word of Bigotes, the Spaniard's good and proven friend, that the bracelet did not exist. Alvarado clapped Bigotes in irons.

Beguiled by the prevarications of the Turk, Coronado spent the winter of 1540-41 in Tiguex, and in April 1541 the Turk further induced the Spaniards to go to Quivira where he said there was great wealth. Journeying apparently to the vicinity of the present State of Kansas, Coronado found Quivira, but no wealth. By now completely disillusioned with the Turk, Coronado imprisoned him and sadly turned his troops back to the winter quarters at Tiguex, disappointed once again.³⁴

The Return To Mexico

While in winter quarters, ill fortune befell Coronado: he was hit in the head by the flying hooves of a horse. His despondency at the failure to locate riches was now greatly aggravated by his accident, and he decided to give up and return to New Spain. In the spring of

34. Hammond, *Coronado's Seven Cities*, pp. 62-65.

1542 the army began retracing its steps with its leader still suffering from his injury--so much so that he had to be carried most of the way on a litter. The Spaniards wound their way back past Acoma to Cibola. They stopped at Hawikuh where the army rested and regrouped for the trek to Mexico. Before long the Spaniards resumed their southward march, leaving the "whole country . . . well disposed and at peace." Several Indian allies from New Spain also remained behind.³⁵

The Cibolans trailed behind Coronado's army for two or three days "to pick up any baggage or servants." Castañeda remarked that of the towns they discovered "the seven villages of Cibola were the first to be seen and the last that were left."³⁶ The army that departed Cibola was not the eager, bright-eyed group of young men filled with the hope of finding their fortunes that had left Mexico. It was still a young army--they were but two years older--chronologically, but it was an old army in terms of experience and disillusionment. They had left Mexico with bands playing, colorful banners flying, their leader resplendent in gilded armor, heads held high, and proud chests thrust out, sure of finding wealth and adventure. Now they were returning

35. Hodge and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, p. 374; Bolton, *Coronado*, pp. 343-45.

36. Hodge and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, p. 375.

dejected, their leader on a litter, and no gold in their saddlebags. They felt it had all been for naught; their expedition was a failure. Before they began the journey their minds had been conditioned, by the tales of Marcos, to believe that gold, silver, and jewels awaited them, and they were not concerned about the richness of the soil, the natural resources of the area, or the prospects of the land for settlement. The Spaniards did not look for these basic, more prosaic things; instead they dreamed, and in the end they were defeated by their dreams.

Later Visitors To Cibola

The Christian Indians who had come from Mexico with Coronado and who decided to remain in Cibola, were Anton and two brothers, Gaspar and Andrés. They submerged themselves in the Zuñi's culture and life and grew old among these aborigines. Gradually their new language overshadowed the one they brought from Mexico, and 40 years later when an expedition under Antonio de Espejo visited Cibola the Mexican Indians with difficulty recalled their language sufficiently to converse with the Spaniards.³⁷

Interestingly, there had been an expedition through Cibola about two years previously, but the members made no mention of encountering

37. Frederick W. Hodge, *History of Hawikuh*, (Los Angeles, 1937), p. 64; George P. Hammond and Agapito, eds. and trans., *Obregon's History of 16th Century Explorations in Western America* (Los Angeles, 1928), pp. 325-26; George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds. and trans.,

the veterans of the Coronado expedition. This military and religious expedition was under the command of Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado. The chronicler of the expedition reported visiting five villages at Cibola: Aquina (Kiakima) which had 75 three-story houses; Maca (Matsaki) which had 100 four- and five-story houses; Alonagua (Halona) with 44 three- and four-story houses; Aguico (Hawikuh) with 125 two- and three-story houses; and an unnamed fifth pueblo with 44 three- and four-story houses. This latter one may have been confused with Alonagua, since they both are reported as having the same number and size of houses. It would appear, however, that there was a fifth village, and it was Kechipawan, not far from Hawikuh, since a list of villages appended to the report lists a pueblo named Acana (Kechipawan) which had 40 three- and four-story houses. The list also carried a sixth pueblo called Coaquina (Kwakina) composed of 60 houses having three and four stories.³⁸ They reported that all houses of three and four stories had not less than eight rooms and that "the houses are white washed and painted inside and out."

Expedition into New Mexico Made by Antonio de Espejo, 1582-1583 As Revealed in the Journal of Diego Perez Luxan, a Member of the Party (Los Angeles, 1929), pp. 89-90. Obregon reported that four Mexican Indians remained among the Zuñi, and he named them. Luxan said the expedition encountered only three.

38. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *The Rediscovery of New Mexico* (Albuquerque, 1966), pp. 108, 120; Frederick W. Hodge, *History of Hawikuh* (Los Angeles, 1937), pp. 60-61.

The Espejo expedition of 1582-83, which noted the six villages that Chamuscado did, adds further to the picture of the Zuñis of this time. The chronicler, Luxan, reported the Indians as being poor "because even though they wear the same sort of dress as the others the blankets are of agave fibre, as the land is cold, for they gather little cotton." On the other hand, he said, the Zuñis were industrious and extremely healthy. They farmed, planting their crops in early spring, and they irrigated some of their cornfields. They obtained cotton for spinning from the Hopis.

Luxan also reported that the inhabitants had sweat houses, or "estufas" as he called them, "for every fifteen or twenty residents, built underground with heavy timbers and roofed; all lined with slabs in such a way that they keep so warm that in the coldest weather they are naked, and they sweat here."

Here, in addition to the three Mexican Indians who had been with Coronado, they found a trunk, a book, and several crosses left by Coronado.

Like Coronado, Espejo established his headquarters at Hawikuh, or "Aguico" as he called the pueblo. Here the Spaniards noted that they had "small prayer houses where they speak to the devil and give him [food] offerings."³⁹

39. Hammond and Rey, *Expedition . . . by . . . Espejo*, pp. 89-93. Interestingly enough, Espejo estimated that the population of Cibola

Oñate Visits Zuñi

The next important visitors to Cibola were the members of the Oñate expedition. Juan de Oñate had been given a license to conquer and colonize New Mexico. He and his troops arrived in the new land in 1598. In the autumn of that year Oñate visited the province of Cibola. He noted that the province consisted of six pueblos: Aguicobi (Hawikuh), Canabi (Kechipawan), Coaquena (Kwakina), Halonagua (Halona), Macaqui (Matsaki), and Aquima (Kiakima). At all these towns they saw the crosses "which the Indians reverence and to which they are accustomed to make the same offerings as to their idols." Like Coronado and Espejo before him, Oñate made Hawikuh his headquarters and from here he dispatched small exploring parties. One group visited the salt spring and came away thoroughly impressed with the quantity and quality of the salt. Moreover, Oñate sent one of his captains to investigate rumors of mines to the west, while he took a party of men to visit the Hopi villages. He returned to Zuñi for a short stay,⁴⁰ waiting for his party to regroup. The only other pueblo

reached 20,000, whereas the historian Obregon, who based his narrative on the testimony of a participant, reported 4,500 inhabitants. See Hodge, *History of Hawikuh*, pp. 70-72.

40. Bolton, *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest*, pp. 201, 235-38; Hodge, *History of Hawikuh*, pp. 74-76. It is worthy of note that Oñate and his group referred to Hawikuh as the "pueblo of Cibola," and called the province at various time, Cuni, Juni, and Zuni. See Bolton, *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest*, pp. 216, 235, 239.

in Zuñi that he mentioned visiting was Matsaki. After a little over two weeks at Hawikuh, Oñate departed, not to return for about six years.

In 1604 Oñate started out again, this time looking for the South Sea. Early in the journey he stopped at the "pueblo of Cibola, which in [Zuñi] language is called Havico." Of the six pueblos, Oñate reported that Hawikuh was the "largest pueblo and head of all," and consisted of 110 houses. He noted that the Indians ate primarily corn, beans, gourds or squash, and wild game. He also mentioned silver deposits at Zuñi.⁴¹

Establishing the Missions

It was not like the Spaniards or their missionaries to let an Indian province lie fallow too long before sowing the seeds of Christianity and engaging in intensive cultivation. But as far as the Zuñi were concerned the friars for over a quarter of a century ignored them after Oñate's first visit to the province.

In June of 1629 a party of important civil and religious individuals, including the governor of New Mexico and the Father Custodian, departed Santa Fe for the Indian pueblos at Acoma and Zuñi. Dropping off a priest at Acoma, the party continued on to Zuñi. Their object

41. Bolton, *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest*, pp. 270-71.

was to bring the Christian religion to the Zuñi. Anxious to be as effective as possible, the governor issued orders that the soldiers were not to enter the house of the Indians nor to molest the natives in any way. At the same time by word and by example the governor instructed the Zuñi to honor the priests and treat them well. At one of the pueblos, evidently Hawikuh, the Spaniards bought a house for the priests, which became the first church of the province, and mass was said there the day following purchase. Two priests, Fray Roque de Figueredo and Fray Agustin de Cuellar, one lay religious, and three soldiers remained behind "to free [the Zuñi] from the miserable slavery of the demon and from the obscure darkness of their idolatry."⁴²

When the official party departed Zuñi, the Indians were lavish in their attention to Father Roque and his needs. But soon dissidents voiced opposition to the newcomers, and the priests felt so threatened that they sent word to the governor and his military detachment to return to Zuñi, which they did. The presence of the military restored respect to the priests, but the military effected no fundamental change in the attitude of the Indians, for in 1632 they rose up and killed two of the missionaries stationed among them. Fray Francisco Letrado

42. Hodge, *History of Hawikuh*, pp. 80-83.

in February of that year was executed outside his church at Hawikuh as he admonished the natives for failure to attend mass. He thus became the first priest to be "martyred" in the province of Zuñi. Five days later Father Martin de Arvide met a similar fate. For some reason the Zuñi did not harm Fray Roque.

Apparently realizing how dastardly their deed would appear in Spaniards' eyes, the Zuñi fled to their traditional refuge in time of trouble--Towayalane, or Corn Mountain.⁴³ Here a month later a party dispatched from Santa Fe to avenge the death of Letrado found the natives. Missionaries with the military group climbed the mountain and talked to the Zuñi. The Indians were contrite, and promised to refrain from such action in the future. This parley apparently solved little, for the Indians remained on Towayalane for three years.⁴⁴

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-93. According to Zuñi mythology, their ancestors became wicked. The gods expressed their displeasure by sending a great flood. The Indians repaired to Towayalane and mocked the gods and their flood. Their laughter turned to profound concern, however, as the waters continued to rise. Their fear deepened as the water crept up the mountain. Their chief consulted with the great spirits and learned that to halt the flood there would have to be a human sacrifice: a strong handsome brave and a pretty young maiden. The only suitable maiden was the chief's only daughter. With great reluctance and sadness the chief made the sacrifice, and the waters subsided. See George Wharton James, *The Land of the Delight Makers* (Boston, c1920), pp. 72-74.

44. Hodge, *History of Hawikuh*, pp. 92, 94.

At the time of the arrival of the missionaries in the land of the Zuñi in 1629, three missions were established: at Hawikuh (the principal Zuñi pueblo at that time), Halona (across the river from the present Zuñi), and Kechipawan. The first church was the quarters of the priests in Hawikuh, but a mission church itself was built at Hawikuh, apparently shortly after the priests arrived. The evidence indicates the other two churches were erected shortly after the completion of the first church. The main Zuñi mission was the one at Hawikuh, and the other two were *visitas*.

Some years passed after the Indians came down from Towayalane in 1635 before missionaries resumed their activities at Hawikuh and the two *visitas*. In 1642 missionaries arrived, and the Mission of Immaculate Conception at Hawikuh and the Mission of Our Lady of Purification at Halona once more became the scene of religious services. Some time after this resumption Halona and Hawikuh swapped roles, and Halona became the mission and Hawikuh the *visita*.

In late 1672 a group of Apaches swept down on the Zuñi at Hawikuh, killing a number of inhabitants and dashing out the brains of the mission priest, Father Pedro de Avila y Ayala. His body was found by the Halona priest who retrieved it for burial at Halona.⁴⁵

45. Hodge, *History of Hawikuh*, pp. 94-99; Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776*, translated and annotated

The Pueblo Revolt

After the Apache raid the Zuñis apparently continued to occupy Hawikuh and to use its nearby mission until 1680 when the Pueblo Revolt took place. The resident missionary at the Hawikuh church fled in the face of the uprising, and the Indians burned the church. At Halona the priest did not escape in time and the natives slew him, after which they burned this church also.

Zuñi legend tells of a priest who, at the time of the revolt, denied his religion and joined the Indians as a member of their tribe.

Little is known of the role of the Zuñi in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Governor Otermin received second-hand information that all Spanish inhabitants at Zuñi were dead. The period following the revolt and before the Spanish reconquest was not one of tranquility for the Zuñi. There were wars with other pueblo communities, such as the Keres, and raids by the Apaches and the Navajos created considerable fear among all the pueblo groups, including the Zuñi. Then during the reconquest the Zuñi resisted the Spaniards and as a result suffered military and economic defeats. Although not conquered

by Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez (Albuquerque, c 1956), pp. 196-97; Earle R. Forrest, *Missions and Pueblos of the Old Southwest*, (Cleveland, 1929), Vol. 1, pp. 172-83. There is considerable controversy over when the Apaches murdered Fray Pedro de Avila y Ayala. Some report October 7, 1672, while other contend his death occurred during the first half of 1673. Presently the evidence seems to be on the side of the former date. See Hodge and Dominguez as cited above.

militarily, they were brought into line by economic warfare, for the Spaniards destroyed the crops and other food supplies of the pueblo Indians.⁴⁶

After this uprising the Zuñi fled to their favorite retreat in time of trouble--Towayalane. Interestingly enough they took with them many objects from the Halona church, including statues of Christ, an oil painting of St. John, silver cups, and books. When the Spaniards finally returned to Zuñi in 1692, the Indians proudly presented the religious objects to the Spaniards, undoubtedly hoping to mollify their conquerors. It had the desired effect, for the Spaniards were deeply touched, even to the point of the Commander of the expedition declaring that the Zuñi henceforth would receive his special protection.⁴⁷

Pueblo of Zuñi Established

When they came down off Towayalane the Zuñi did not return to Hawikuh, nor did they re-establish Halona. Most of them settled across the Zuñi River from Halona and in time began building the present pueblo of Zuñi. The church at Halona was abandoned and in

46. Oakah L. Jones, Jr., *Pueblo Warriors and Spanish Conquest* (Norman, 1966), pp. 40, 58, 60; Charles W. Hackett, ed., *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermin's Attempted Reconquest, 1680-1682* (Albuquerque, 1942), pp. 111, 113.

47. Hodge, *History of Hawikuh*, pp. 100-04. According to one historian, these religious objects, including vestments and vessels,

1699 the Catholics established a mission at Zuñi and named it Mission Señora de Guadalupe de Zuñi. A minor, though severe, altercation with Spanish soldiers stationed at Zuñi interrupted work on the church, and as a result it was not completed until 1705. In 1776 the church was described as being in the center of the pueblo, which then reportedly consisted of 396 families with 1,617 persons. The Zuñis at that time farmed the land surrounding the pueblo. From this land they obtained "very reasonable crops." The Mission remained active until 1823 when the Franciscans were expelled from New Mexico.⁴⁸

By 1851 Zuñi had not changed much. The Indians still lived in their pueblos much as they did at the time of Coronado. They still depended heavily upon agriculture. Their major crops were corn and peaches. Their cornfields extended down the Zuñi River, and their orchards grew on the edge of the valley and in fertile mountain gorges. Their vegetable gardens, which consisted mainly of onions,

were taken to El Paso and given to the president of the missionaries. See Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexico History* (Albuquerque, 1965), Vol. 1, p. 383-84.

48. Dominguez, *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776*, pp. 196, 201-02; Forrest, *Missions and Pueblos of the Old Southwest*, p. 184.

beans, and chile, were located near the pueblo. Women tended these gardens and watered them by hand.⁴⁹

The best account of the Zuñi toward the end of the nineteenth century is by Frank H. Cushing, an ethnologist with the Smithsonian Institution, who lived with the Zuñi from 1879 to 1884.⁵⁰

Seven Cities of Cibola?

The popular phrase, and imagination, calls for Cibola to consist of seven pueblos. But did it? Historians for many years have tried to identify the seven, but the best any one has done is to identify six. The six are Hawikuh, Kechipawan, Halona, Matsaki, Kiakima, and Kwakina.⁵¹

Coronado in surviving reports and records mentioned only two pueblos: Hawikuh and Matsaki. Subsequent travelers to the land of the Zuñi left such records that historians have been able with considerable ease to satisfactorily identify the six towns. Evidence

49. Captain Lorenzo Sitgreaves, *Report of an Expedition down the Zuñi and the Colorado Rivers in 1851* (Chicago, 1962), pp. 5-6.

50. Cushing's articles on the Zuñi appeared originally in *Century Magazine*, and have since been republished as Frank H. Cushing, *My Adventures in Zuñi* (Palmer Lake, Colo., 1967).

51. F. W. Hodge, "The Six Cities of Cibola--1581-1680," *The New Mexico Historical Review* (October 1926), Vol. 10, No. 4, pp. 478-88.

for identification of the seventh town is virtually non-existent, and consequently one feels he has justification to state flatly that in reality there were only six towns; that Coronado and his group were simply keeping alive the myth that tradition had created. After all this tradition was of long standing. There was the tale of the seven bishops who had fled Spain in the face of the Moorish conquest and on an island to the west had established seven cities--cities that moved about as the fog of mystery surrounding the unexplored land receded. Moreover, Nuno de Guzmán's Indian slave told of seven rich cities to the north--a story that New Spain felt was substantiated when Fray Marcos de Niza returned and told his tales of having seen the seven golden cities. One could simply dismiss the idea of seven cities and say that Coronado was unconsciously and inadvertently perpetuating the myth and that there actually were only six Zuñi towns. One fact, however, interferes with this hypothesis: Coronado wrote Mendoza from Hawikuh and said he was enclosing a sketch showing the seven cities. Unfortunately, the drawing has been lost.⁵² Someday, hopefully, the sketch will be found and the mystery of the seventh city will be cleared up. Perhaps that seventh city will be Towayalane--the Zuñi refuge in time of trouble.

52. Bolton, *Coronado, Knight of Pueblos and Plains*, p. 474; Winship, "The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542," p. 558.

Recommendations

There is no question that Hawikuh possesses national significance; indeed, the Park Service recognized that fact in 1960 when it made Hawikuh a National Historic Landmark under the theme of Spanish Exploration and Settlement.

In many respects Hawikuh is a better place to commemorate the Coronado Expedition than at Coronado National Memorial. It was the report on this pueblo that initiated the Coronado journey; it was from here that Coronado dispatched the various small exploring parties that ranged over the southwest; and, most important, it was the first of the so-called "golden cities" that turned the Spanish interests northward. Moreover, site integrity is present, since there are remains of the pueblo of Hawikuh.

The story of Hawikuh is more than just a violent clash between peoples of two different cultures; it is a broader story of cultural intermingling, its causes and effects. Consequently, I would recommend that in considering the establishing of Hawikuh as a national historic site that planning thought be given to including more within the site than simply the pueblo of Hawikuh; that efforts be directed toward including the sites of the other five known "Seven Cities of Cibola," the village of the Great Kivas, Yellow House, a waffle garden site, and other sites closely associated with the religious, economic, and cultural development of the Zuñi.

The keystone of such a national historic site should be Hawikuh, and Hawikuh should be the focal point of the story the proposed park will tell. Here should be emphasized the story of the Coronado expedition and its consequences. It is, after all, the best known theme to the average visitor, since virtually everyone has at one time or another in his education stumbled across the story of Coronado. Names such as Coronado, Cibola, and "Seven Golden Cities" are names that are already recognizable to the average tourist, whether he be from north, south, east, or west.

From this point the broad story of the Zuñi before and after Coronado could be developed, emphasizing the effects of the initial and subsequent mingling of the two cultures. Sites other than Hawikuh would be used to tell the various facets of the Zuñis' story. Yellow House, for example, could be the place for developing the outline of the prehistoric Zuñis; the village of the Great Kivas would illustrate the religious-ceremonial side of the Zuñis; and well selected waffle garden and orchard sites could exemplify certain phases of the economic life of the historic Zuñis. The present town of Zuñi, established as a historic district, would be a virtual living historical town.

To bring into being such a national historic site would be a boon to the present Zuñi economy. For the non-Indian there will be the opportunity to become acquainted with this country's natives through personal contact and to learn something of the Indian and his heritage.

APPENDIX

"CORONADO'S DESCRIPTION OF CIBOLA"

It now remains for me to tell about this city and kingdom and province, of which the Father Provincial gave Your Lordship an account. In brief, I can assure you that in reality he has not told the truth in a single thing that he said, but everything is the reverse of what he said, except the name of the city and the large stone houses. For, although they are not decorated with turquoises, nor made of lime nor of good bricks, nevertheless they are very good houses, with three and four and five stories, where there are very good apartments and good rooms with corridors, and some very good rooms under ground and paved, which are made for winter, and are something like a sort of hot baths. The ladders which they have for their houses are all movable and portable, which are taken up and placed wherever they please. They are made of two pieces of wood, with rounds like ours. The Seven Cities are seven little villages, all having the kind of houses I have described. They are all within a radius of 5 leagues. They are all called the kingdom of Cevola, and each has its own name and no single one is called Cevola, but all together are called Cevola. This one which I have called a city I have named Granada, partly because it has some similarity to it, as well as out of regard for Your Lordship. In this place where I am now lodged there are perhaps 200 houses, all surrounded by a wall, and it seems to me that with the other houses, which are not so

surrounded, there might be altogether 500 families. There is another town near by, which is one of the seven, but somewhat larger than this, and another of the same size as this, and the other four are somewhat smaller. I send them all to Your Lordship, painted with the route. The skin on which the painting is made was found here with other skins. The people of the towns seem to me to be of ordinary size and intelligent, although I do not think that they have the judgment and intelligence which they ought to have to build these houses in the way in which they have, for most of them are entirely naked except the covering of the privy parts, and they have painted mantles like the one which I send to Your Lordship. They do not raise cotten, because the country is very cold, but they wear mantles, as may be seen by the exhibit which I send. It is also true that some cotton thread was found in their houses. They wear the hair on their heads like the Mexicans. They all have good figures, and are well bred. I think that they have a quantity of turquoises, which they had removed with the rest of their goods, except the corn, when I arrived, because I did not find any women here nor any men under 15 years or over 60, except two or three old men who remained in command of all the other men and the warriors. Two points of emerald and some little broken stones which approach the color of rather poor garnets were found in a paper, besides other stone crystals, which I gave to one of my servants to keep until they could

be sent to Your Lordship. He has lost them, as they tell me. We found fowls, but only a few, and yet there are some. The Indians tell me that they do not eat these in any of the seven villages, but that they keep them merely for the sake of procuring the feathers. I do not believe this, because they are very good, and better than those of Mexico. The climate of this country and the temperature of the air is almost like that of Mexico, because it is sometimes hot and sometimes it rains. I have not yet seen it rain, however, except once when there fell a little shower with wind, such as often falls in Spain. The snow and the cold are usually very great, according to what the natives of the country all say. This may very probably be so, both because of the nature of the country and the sort of houses they build and the skins and other things which these people have to protect them from the cold. There are no kinds of fruit or fruit trees. The country is all level, and is nowhere shut in by high mountains, although there are some hills and rough passages. There are not many birds, probably because of the cold, and because there are no mountains near. There are no trees fit for firewood here, because they can bring enough for their needs from a clump of very small cedars 4 leagues distant. Very good grass is found a quarter of a league away, where there is pasturage for our horses as well as mowing for hay, of which we had great need, because our horses were so weak and feeble when they arrived. The

food which they eat in this country is corn, of which they have a great abundance, and beans and venison, which they probably eat (although they say that they do not), because we found many skins of deer and hares and rabbits. They make the best corn cakes I have ever seen anywhere, and this is what everybody ordinarily eats. They have the very best arrangement and machinery for grinding that was ever seen. One of these Indian women here will grind as much as four of the Mexicans. They have very good salt in crystals, which they bring from a lake a day's journey distant from here. No information can be obtained among them about the North sea or that on the west, nor do I know how to tell Your Lordship which we are nearest to. I should judge that it is nearer to the western, and 150 leagues is the nearest that it seems to me it can be thither. The North sea ought to be much farther away. Your Lordship may thus see how very wide the country is. They have many animals--bears, tigers, lions, porcupines, and some sheep as big as a horse, with very large horns and little tails. I have seen some of their horns the size of which was something to marvel at. There are also wild goats, whose heads I have seen, and the paws of the bears and the skins of the wild boars. For game they have deer, leopards, and very large deer, and every one thinks that some of them are larger than that animal which Your Lordship favored me with, which belonged

to Juan Melaz. They inhabit some plains eight days' journey toward the north. They have some of their skins here very well dressed, and they prepare and paint them where they kill the cows, according to what they tell me.¹

1. Winship, "The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1452," pp. 558-560.

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There are a number of primary sources related to the Coronado Expedition, most of which have been translated over the years.

Frederick W. Hodge and Theodore H. Lewis, eds., *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528-1543* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, c1907) contains Castañeda's account in translated form.

George P. Winship, "The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542," in *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1892-93*, Pt. I (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1896), has not only Castañeda's account but also such useful documents as Traslado de las Nuevas, Relacion del Suceso, Relacion Postrera de Sivola, Jarmillo's and Alvarado's Narratives, and Coronado's letter to Mendoza of August 3, 1540, all in both Spanish and English. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds., *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542* (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1941), also has these documents translated plus a number of others including Alarcon's account of his journey up the Gulf of Mexico and the Colorado River.

Without question, the best secondary account of the Coronado Expedition is Herbert E. Bolton, *Coronado, Knight of Pueblos and Plains* (New York, McGraw-Hill, c1949). Ranking close to it in accuracy and readability is A. Grove Day, *Coronado's Quest: The Discovery of the Southwestern States* (Berkeley, University of

California Press, 1964). A brief, popular and quite good account covering the Coronado journey is George P. Hammond, *Coronado's Seven Cities* (Albuquerque, U.S. Coronado Exposition Committee, 1940).

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Estéban is a figure about which little is known. His activities are touched upon in the various primary sources listed above. John U. Terrell, *Estevanico the Black* (Los Angeles, Westernlore Press, 1968) is a book on a subject about which there is not enough information to write a book, and this fact is evident from the book's extensive padding, some of which is pure conjecture.

Fray Marcos de Niza, *Discovery of the Seven Cities of Cibola*, trans. & ed. by Percy M. Baldwin, Historical Society of New Mexico,

Publications in History, Vol. 1 (November 1926), is useful for the activities of both Marcos and Estéban.

The only history of Hawikuh is Frederick W. Hodge, *History of Hawikuh* (Los Angeles, Southwest Museum, 1937). It is highly detailed, and one easily becomes bogged down in the historical evidence and reasoning on many points. But it is a useful book for the scholar, and it does contain an extensive bibliography which this writer refers the reader to for further bibliographical information.

ILLUSTRATIONS

ZUNI RESERVATION

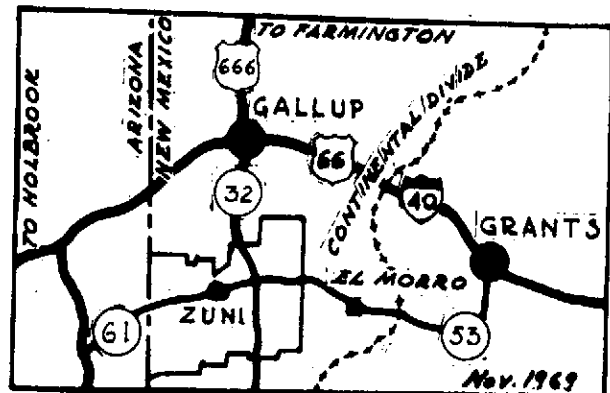
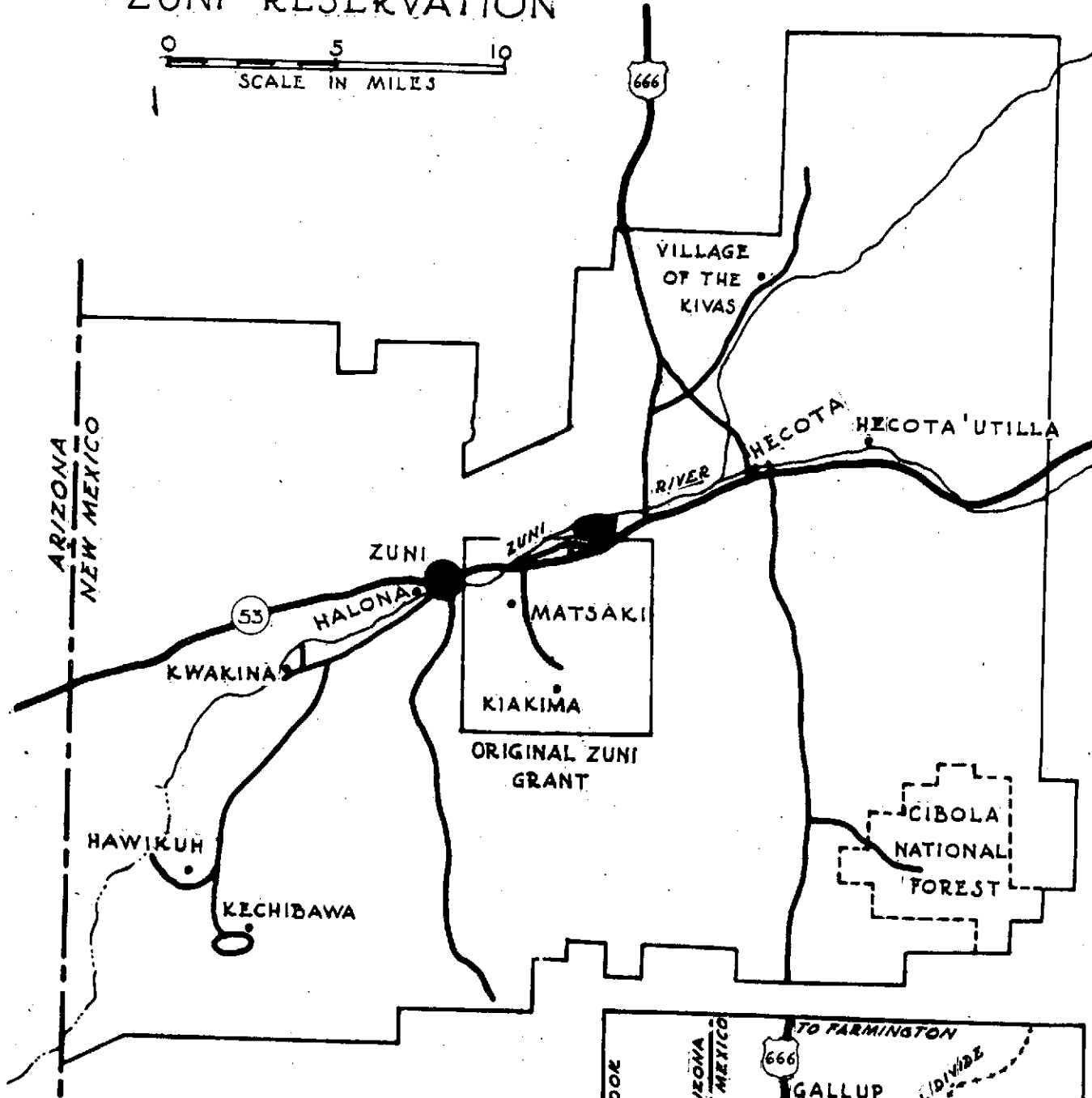
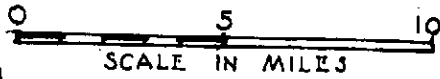


ILLUSTRATION NO. 1

Conceptual portrait of Francis Vasquez de Coronado
by Peter Hurd, 1940. Drawing is in Roswell Museum
and Art Center, Roswell New Mexico.



Illustration No. 1

ILLUSTRATION NO. 2

Coronado Expedition on the trail. Courtesy of
the Library of Congress.

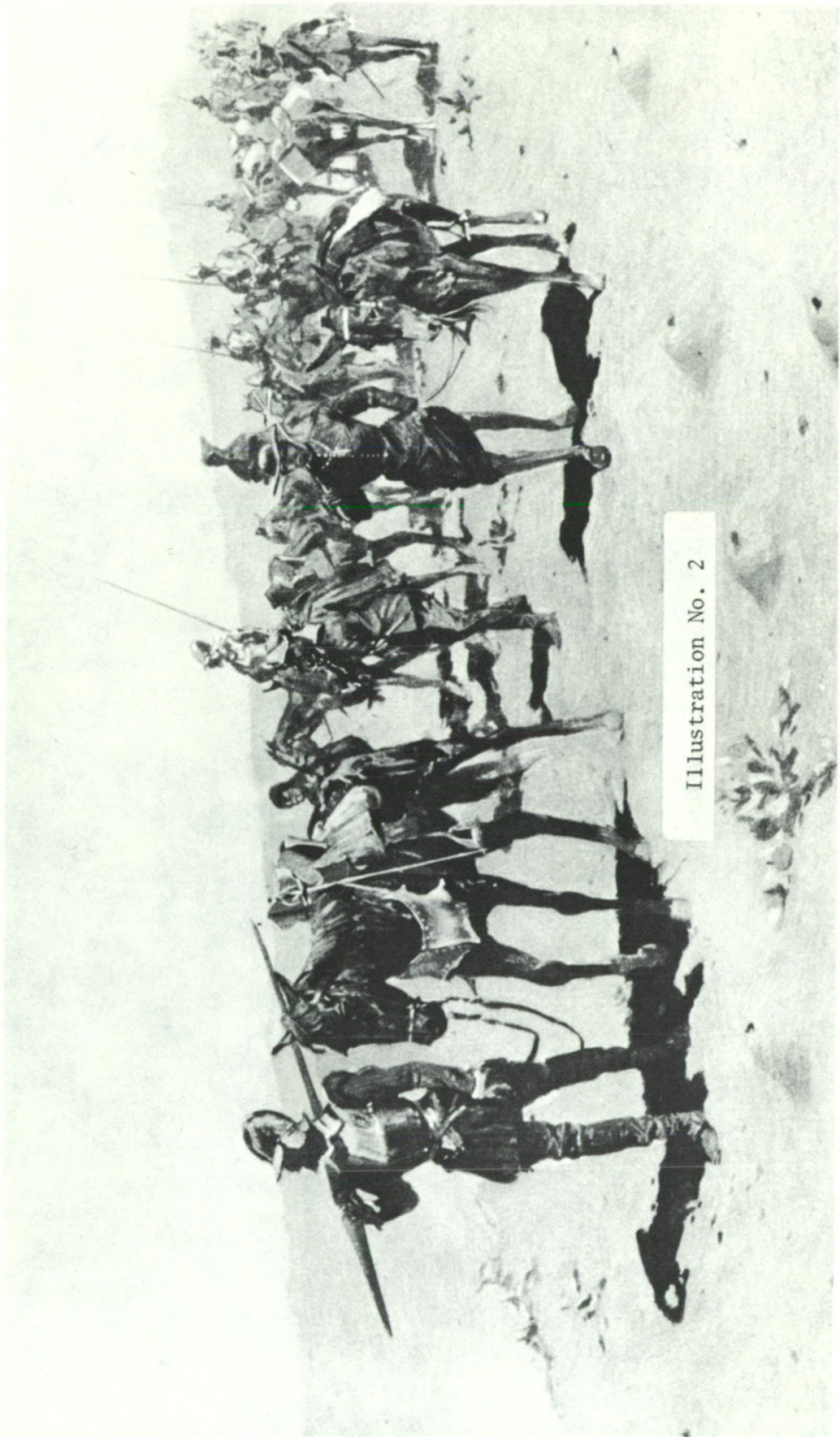


Illustration No. 2

ILLUSTRATION NO. 3

Zuñi Pueblo about 1870

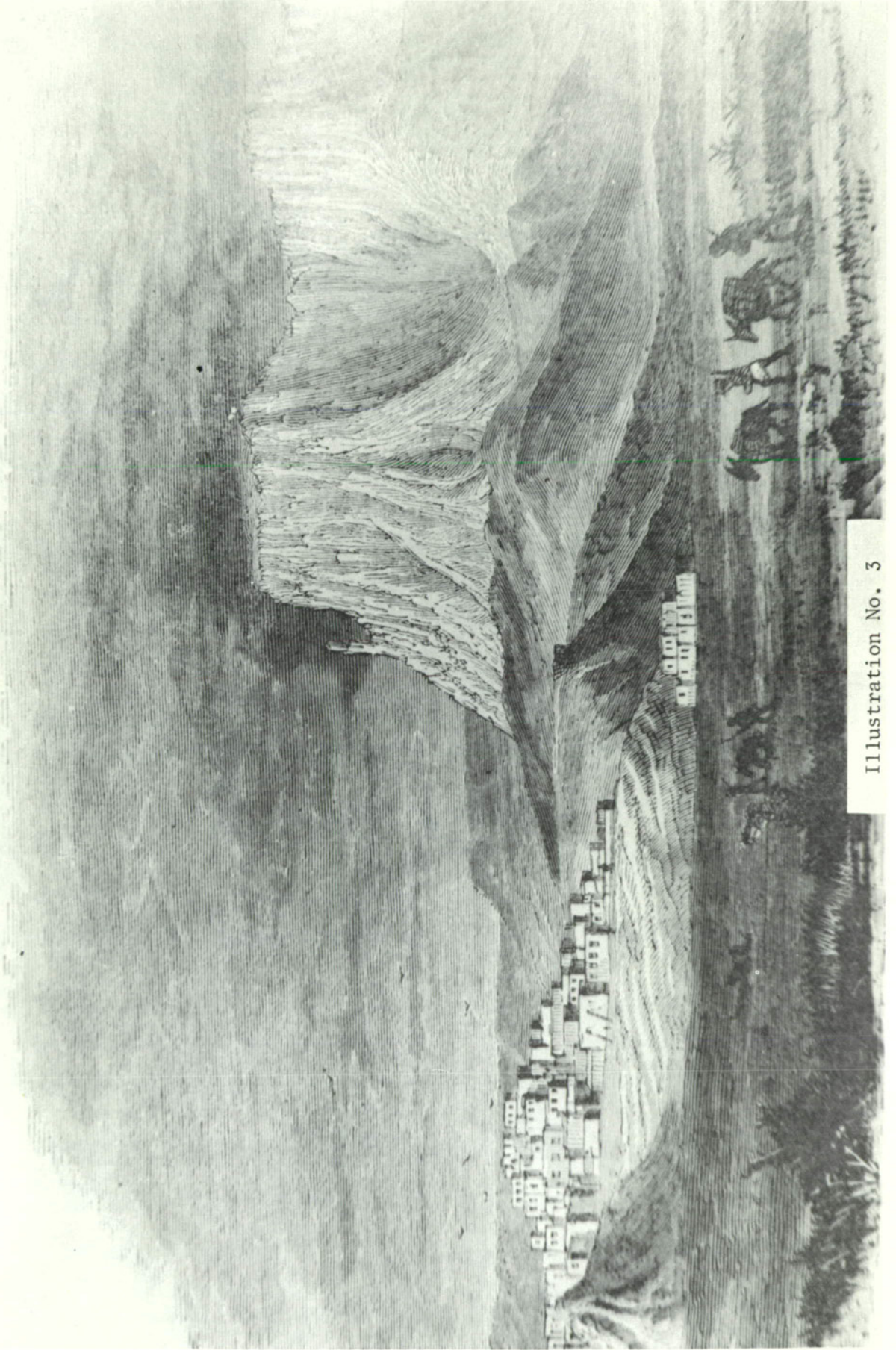


Illustration No. 3

ILLUSTRATION NO. 4

Zuñi Pueblo about 1890. From *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part I.

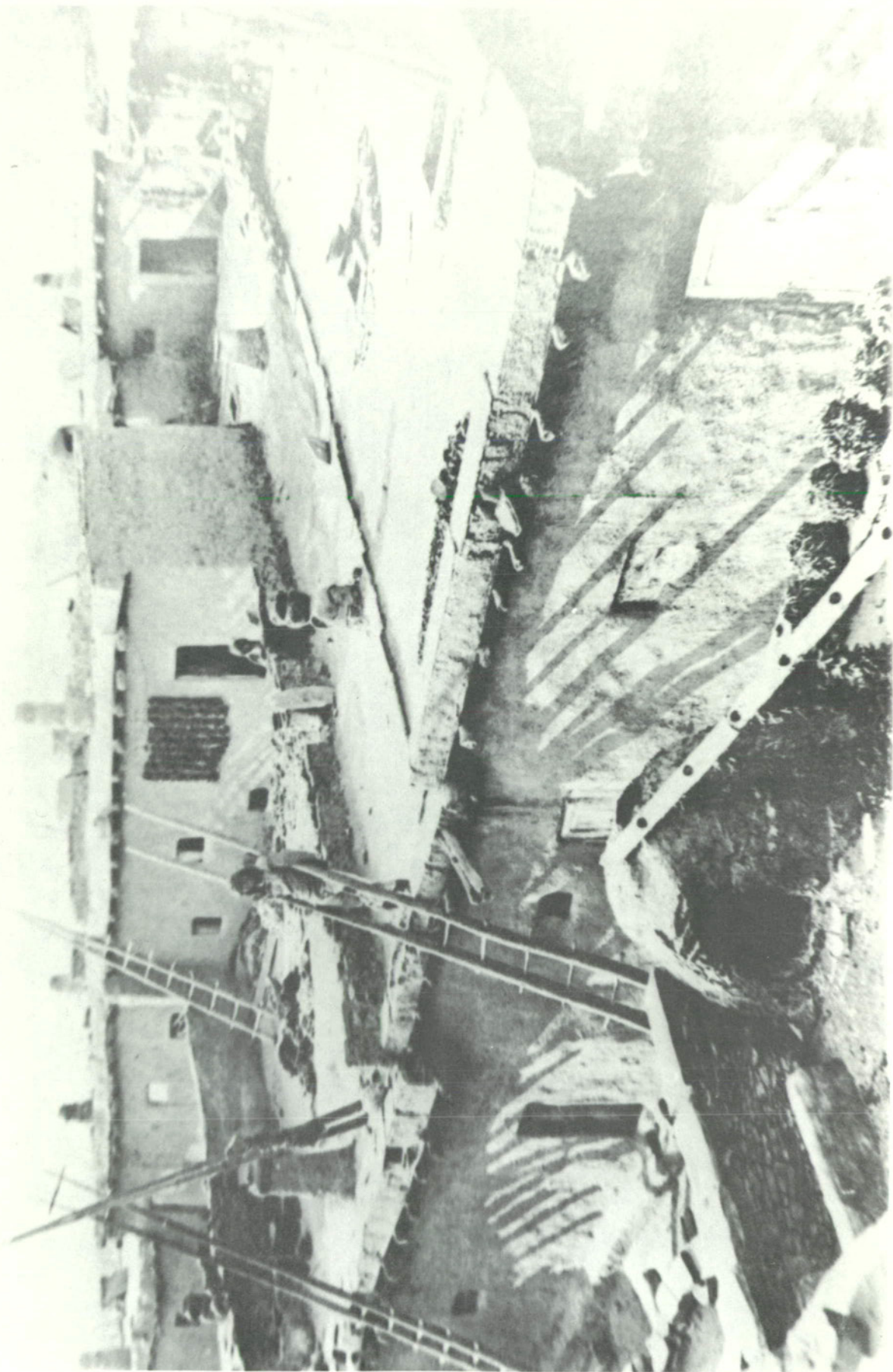


Illustration No. 4

ILLUSTRATION NO. 5

Zuni interior. From *Fourteenth Annual Report of
the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part I.

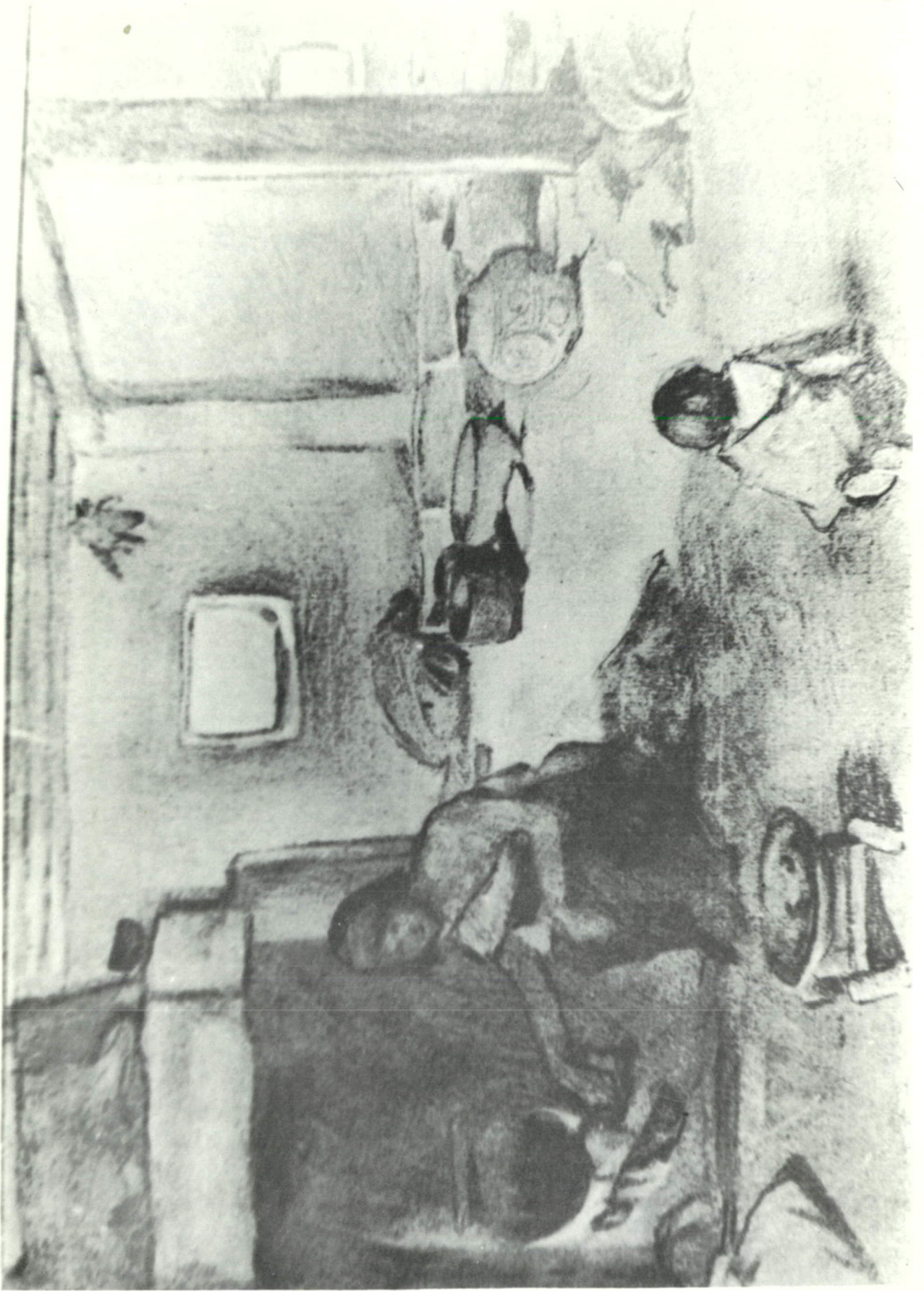


Illustration No. 5

ILLUSTRATION NO. 6

Zuñi religious scene.

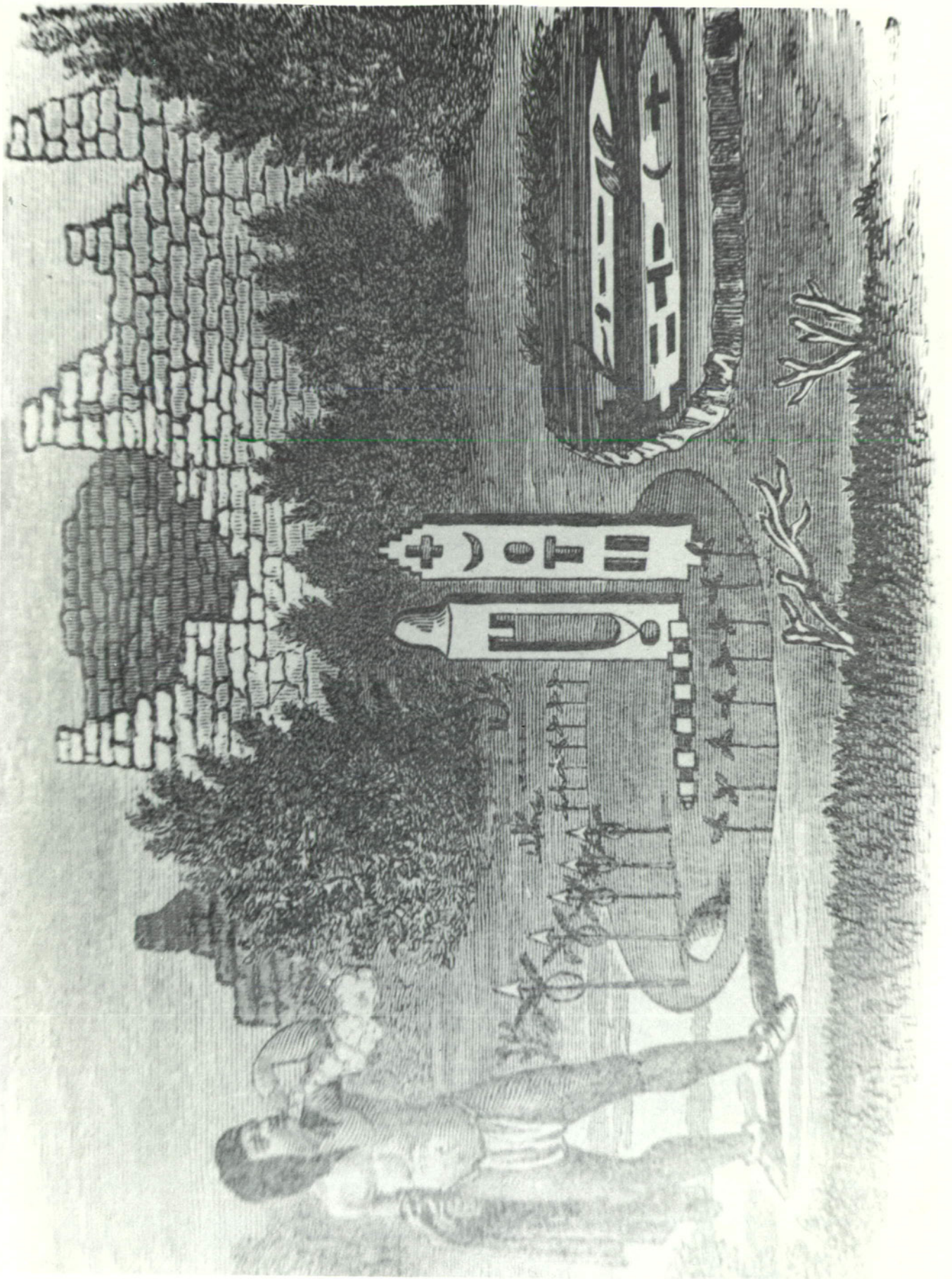


Illustration No. 6

ILLUSTRATION NO. 7

Zuñi garden.

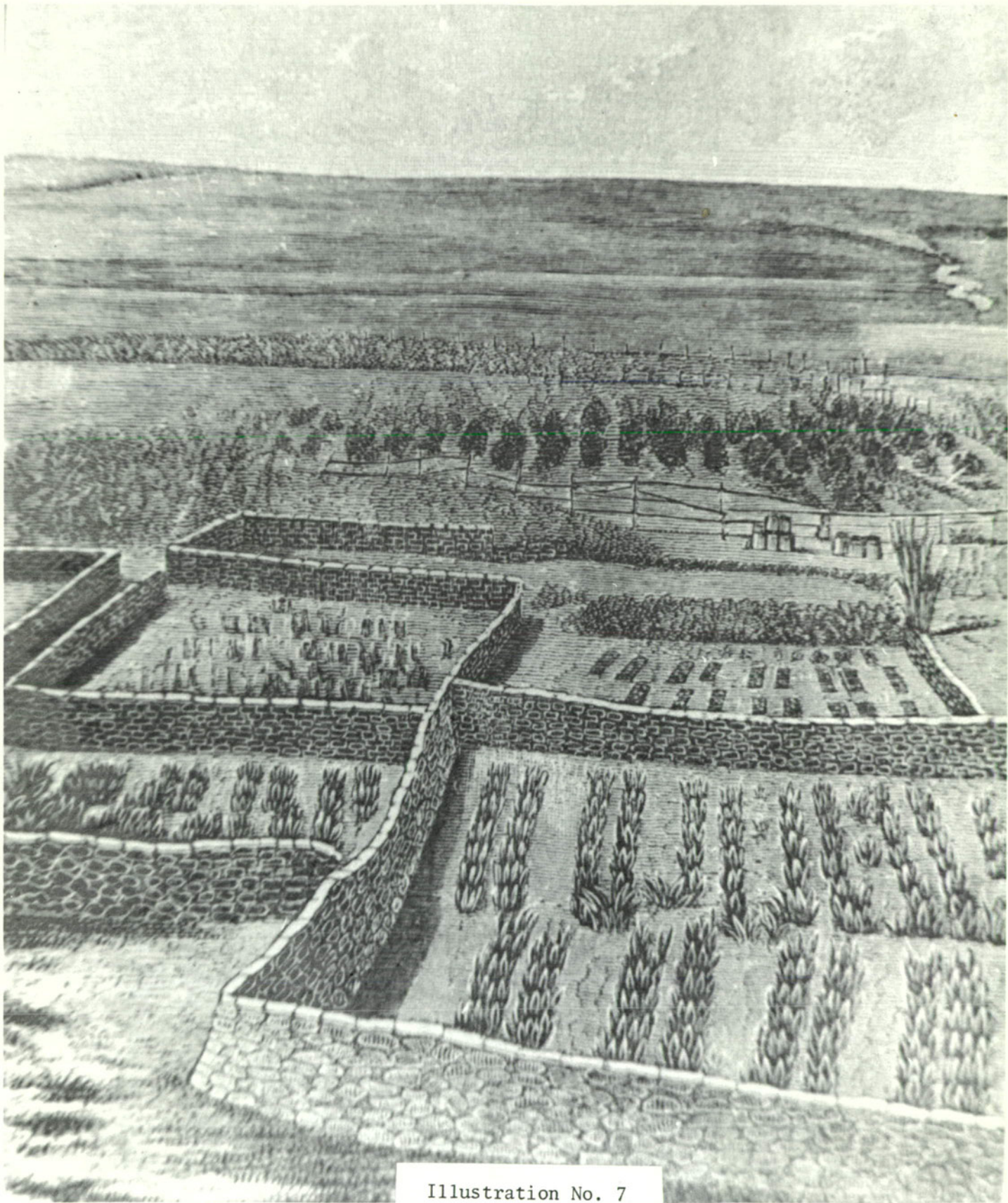


Illustration No. 7

ILLUSTRATION NO. 8

Excavated main altar of Mission La Concepcion at
Hawikuh. From Earle R. Forrest, *Missions and Pueblos*
of the Old Southwest, v. I.

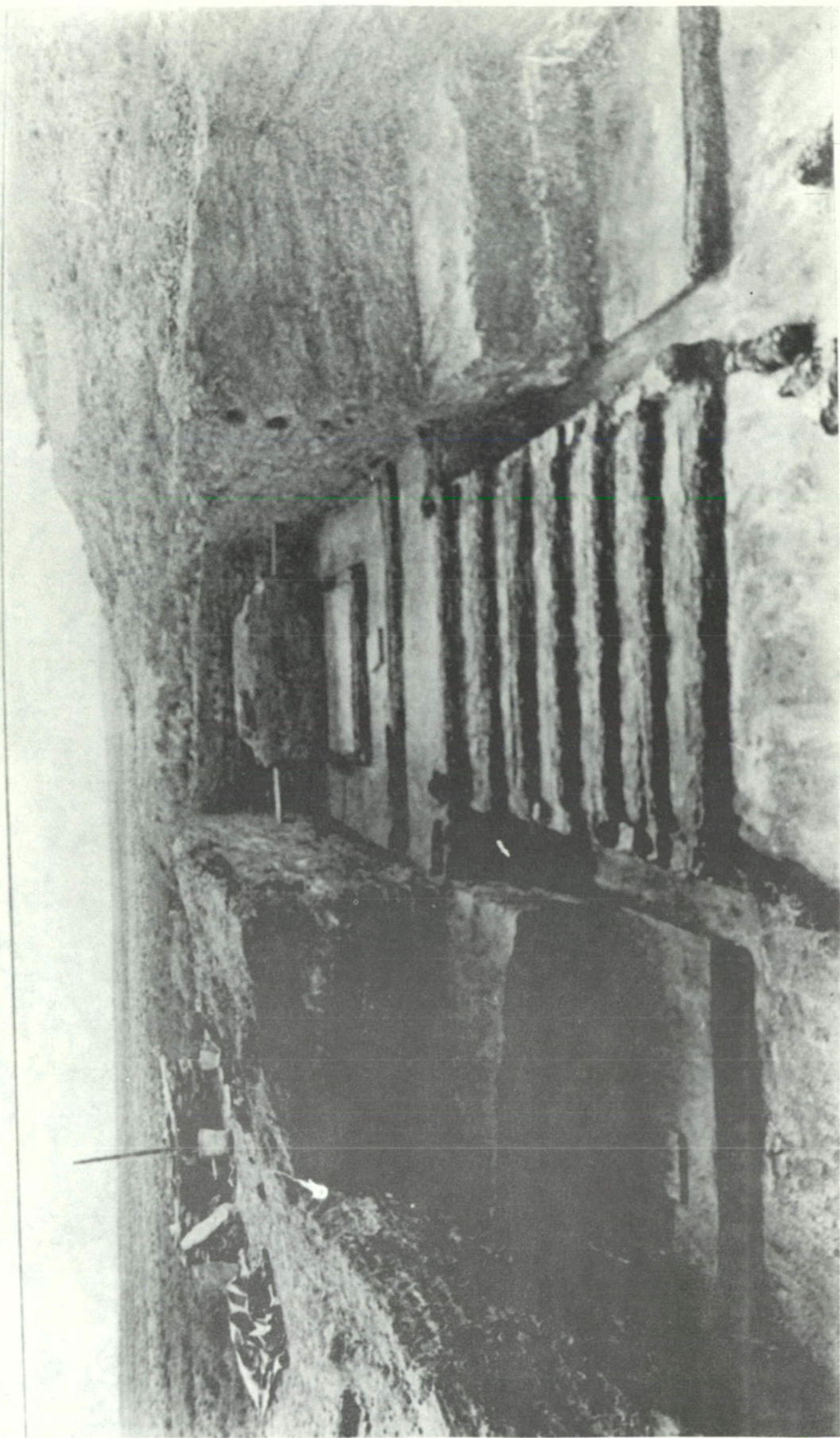


Illustration No. 8

ILLUSTRATION NO. 9

Excavations at Hawikuh. From Frederick W. Hodge,
History of Hawikuh.



Illustration No. 9

ILLUSTRATION NO. 10

Ruins of Zuñi Mission

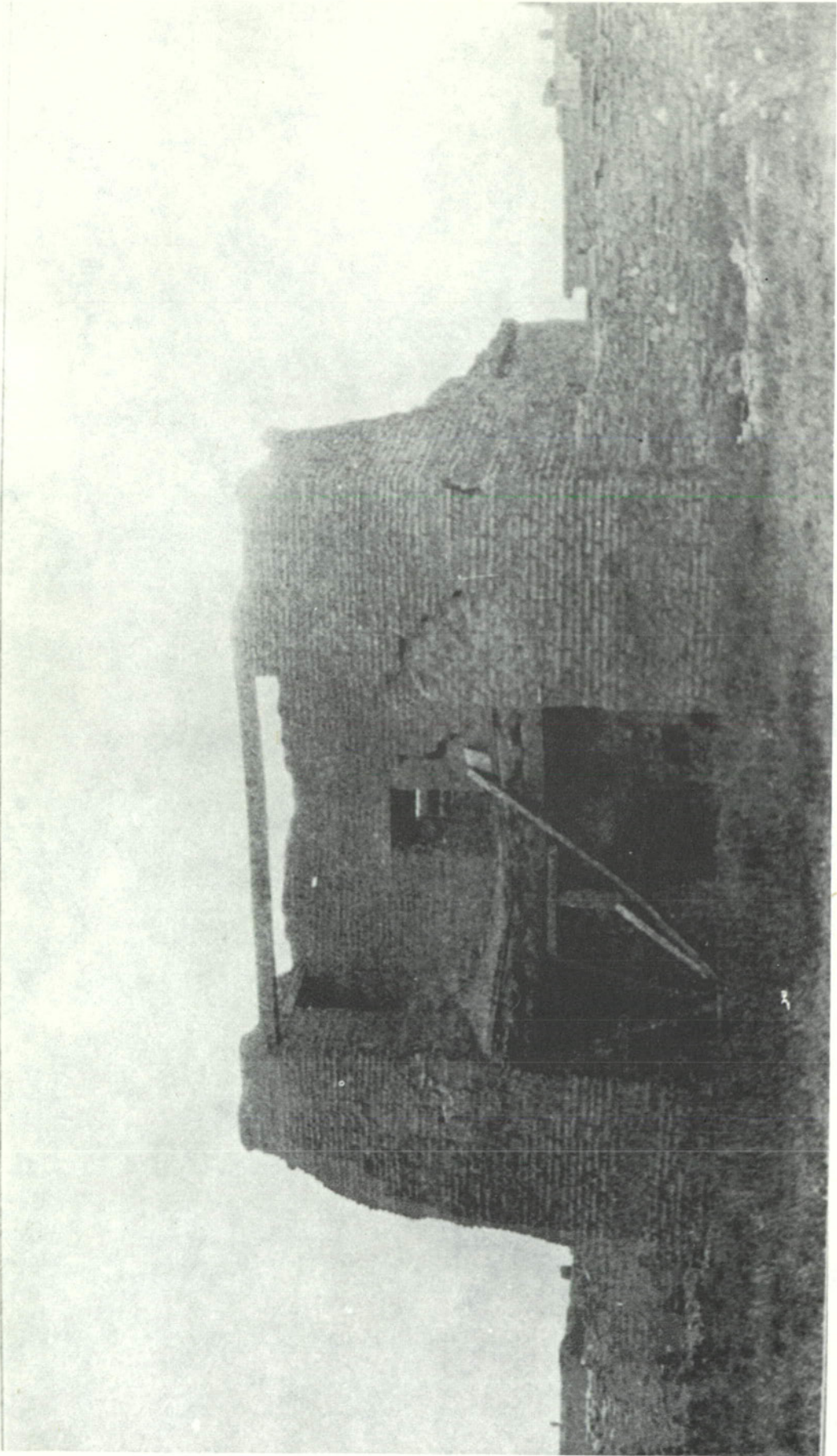


Illustration No. 10

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