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IV.

# FINAL REPORT

OF

INVESTIGATIONS AMONG THE INDIANS OF THE SOUTHWESTERN UNITED STATES, CARRIED ON MAINLY IN THE YEARS FROM 1880 TO 1885.

## PART II.

BY

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# VIII.

## NORTHERN ARIZONA.

UNDER this heading I include that part of the Territory of Arizona lying north of the line of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad. I have not visited it, and therefore can refer but briefly to its antiquities. Of the numerous ruins in the Tzé-yi (Cañon de Chelly) I have spoken already.

Ethnologic interest in this country centres in two places: the cluster of pueblos inhabited by the Shi-nu-mo, or Mo-qui, and in the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, where the Hava-su-pay, or Cosninos, have their home. There is historic information of an early date concerning the Moquis; and the Cosninos also were known to the Spaniards in the seventeenth century. This documentary information casts a certain light upon conditions anterior to the historical period, and for this reason I shall refer to it somewhat in detail.

The earliest information concerning the Moqui country is that transmitted to us by Fray Marcos of Nizza in 1539, and subsequently confirmed by Melchor Diaz. As far south as the heart of Sonora the Franciscan explorer heard of a cluster of towns, or "province," called "Totonteac," which he ascertained lay to the west of Cibola.[1] In the same year Diaz reported: —

[1] Not having the original version of Fray Marcos's *Descubrimiento de las Siete Ciudades* (volume iii. of Documentos de Indias) at my command, I quote from the French translation in *Cibola, Relacion de Frère Marcos de Nizza*, p. 270: "Il m'a rapporté que dans la direction de l'ouest on trouve le royaume nommé Totonteac."



"I have learned that Totonteac was at seven short journeys from the province of Cibola; that the appearance of the country is the same as that of Cibola, as well as the houses and the inhabitants. They told me that cotton grew there, but I doubt it, for it is a cold country. They reported to me that Totonteac was composed of twelve towns, each of which is more considerable than the largest of Cibola.

"One day's march from the latter province, there exists a town the natives of which are at war with the others. The houses, the people, and their relations towards one another, are alike. They affirmed to me that this town is the largest of all."[1]

The last paragraph seems to apply to Hauicu, the most westerly of the Zuñi villages.

It seems strange that in the year following Coronado heard nothing of Totonteac, although some of his men visited a group of seven pueblos situated in the same direction and at the same distance from Cibola (Zuñi), which he calls "Tusayan."[2] The origin of the latter name is traced back to the Zuñi word "Usaya," "Usayan" being the possessive; "Usaya," or "Usaya Kue," is an ancient name by which the Zuñis designated some of the Moqui Pueblos. This original Zuñi word for the Moquis appears more distinct yet in the reports on the explorations made by Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado in 1580, as "Osay" and "Asay."[3] The geographical evidence in favor of the identity of Tusayan with the Moquis is, besides, quite conclusive.

[1] Mendoza, *Deuxième Lettre à l'Empereur*, p. 296.

[2] *Cibola*, part ii., chap. iii., p. 165: "À vingt lieues vers le nord-ouest est une autre province qui contient sept villages; les habitants portent le même costume, ont les mêmes mœurs et la même religion que ceux de Cibola." In the heading to part i, chap. xi., Castañeda says, "Tusayan ou Tutaliaco." This is another name which I am unable to explain. Jaramillo (*Relation*, p. 370) has Tucayan.

[3] *Testimonio dado*, pp. 86 and 93.

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Mr. Cushing has ascertained that Topin-teua or Topin-keua was a Zuñi name for a cluster of Moqui pueblos, some of which have been in ruins for centuries. If I have correctly understood Mr. Cushing's statements, the historical Moqui pueblos formed a part of the original Topin-keua. It seems likely that Totonteac is a corruption of that name, and is a reminiscence of conditions previous to the sixteenth century. Whatever Fray Marcos and Melchior Díaz reported was from hearsay only, and from the talk of Indians who, while certainly acquainted with the country and tribes north of the Gila River, still had only imperfect information.

The pueblos of Topin-keua are said to lie south and southeast of the present Moqui cluster; there are also pueblo ruins quite near to the villages and on the same system of mesas. But the ruin which has attracted greater attention is that of the pueblo of Ahua-tuy-ba, or Aua-tu-ui, called Tallahogandi by the Navajos, situated on a branch of the Little Colorado River. Captain Bourke has given the following description of the ruins: —

"These ruins are at least a quarter of a mile square, and walls are still standing ten feet high and five feet thick. These walls are of two kinds: of adobe, mixed with hay and cut straw, laid in mud, with an intervening stratum of small fragments of pottery between every two courses of adobe; and of natural rubble, averaging five inches square by three inches thick. The Moquis tell the story that this town was destroyed by the people of Mushang-newy (one of the Moqui villages), who came over in the night, got on the top of the roofs, and tossed bundles of straw down upon the people inside and stifled them.

"They explain this attack by saying that the town was full of 'singing men,' whom the Moquis did not like.

"The portion of the ruin still standing will represent



perhaps as many as forty or fifty houses, with rooms of varying dimensions, twenty feet by ten being the more usual size." [1]

Captain Bourke rightly supposes that these ruins are those of the historical pueblo of Aguatubi. Aguato is first mentioned, in 1583, by Antonio de Espejo, who visited it with only nine men, starting from the Zuñi pueblos for that purpose.[2] It is not mentioned by Juan de Oñate when the Indians of Moqui, on the 15th of November, 1598, pledged themselves to allegiance to the Spanish Crown.[3] I am unable to give any particulars concerning the pueblo until the 10th of August, 1680, when its inhabitants, together with the other Pueblo Indians, rising in arms against the Spaniards, murdered Fray José de Figueroa, their priest, and burnt the church, which was dedicated to San Bernardino. The village was at the time credited with eight hundred inhabitants.[4] Twelve years later, Diego de Vargas appeared before Ahua-tuyba with his small force on the 19th of November, and was

[1] *The Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, p. 90.

[2] *Relacion*, p. 118. *El Viaie* (page 11) in Hakluyt has "Zaguato."

[3] *Obediencia y Vasallaje á su Magestad por los Indios de la Provincia de Mohoqui* (page 137) has only four pueblos: "Naybi [Orambe], Xumupani [subsequently Mishongopavi]. Cuanrabi [?], and Esperiez [?]."

[4] Fray Francisco de Ayeta, *Carta al exmo Señor Virrey de la Nueva España*, September 11, 1680 (MS.): "En el convento de Aguatubi el P. Fr. José de Figueroa, hijo de la santa Provincia del Santo Evangelio, natural de la ciudad de México, entró de misionero el año pasado de 1674." Vetancurt, *Menologio*, p. 275. *Crónica*, p. 321: "San Bernahdino de Ahuatobi, en la provincia de Moqui, veintiseis leguas de la de Zuñi, está en un alto el pueblo que ocupan ochocientas personas; conversion que hizo el venerable Padre Fray Francisco de Porras, cuya vida está en el Menologio, á 28 de Junio. Beben agua de cisterna álgo salobre. Hay piedra pomez en cantidad, y piedras que sirven de carbon: aunque el humo es nocivo por fuerte. Allí en el rebelion mataron al Padre Fray José de Figueroa, alias de la Concepcion, Mexicano de esta provincia, y el templo acabó en llamas." Captain Bourke says of the situation of the ruins (*Snake Dance*, p. 88): "A hundred yards or more beyond the Navajo 'hogans' we had the satisfaction of discerning the ruins we were seeking, on the point of a promontory, a mile and a half away."



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met by a number of Indians in arms, some of whom were on horseback. Vargas prudently avoided the impending conflict, and negotiated with such dexterity that the Moquis returned to their allegiance and suffered the missionaries accompanying the troop to baptize such of the children as had been born during the past twelve years.[1]

Of the other Moqui pueblos Oraybi was the only village that did not receive the visit of Vargas; not because there was any opposition to his entering the place, but because the horses of the Spaniards were exhausted from the long and rapid journey. Vargas left the Moquis apparently in the most favorable disposition.[2]

The Pueblo outbreak of 1693 affected the Moquis also. They had no occasion to participate in it directly, as the seat of war was too remote from their homes; but fugitives from the rebellious villages, chiefly Tehuas and Jemez, quartered themselves among them, and kindled again the spirit of hatred against the whites. It is also likely that the submission to Vargas had been merely an act of temporary

[1] Escalante, *Relacion*, p. 134: "Como la caballada no había venido á satisfaccion de Zuñi, iba muy maltratada, y así en los mejores caballos se adelantó, aunque poco el gobernador con 30 hombres, y una legua antes de llegar al pueblo dicho, en la subida de una mesa le salieron al encuentro de 700 á 800 Moquinos bien armados de á pié y de á caballo, con demostraciones de guerra y provocando el rompimiento; iba conteniendo y con buen orden dando tiempo á que la demas gente llegase, y con persuasiones pacíficas contuvo á estos rebeldes, que por mas de una hora repugnaron recibirlo. Pero logró entrar en el pueblo mediante inclinacion que manifestaba el indio capitan de el, nombrado Miguel Por el cual el dia siguiente diéron la obediencia, y fuéron absueltos de la apostasía todos los de Aguatuvi, y fuéron bautizados 122 criaturas de ambos sexos. Concluido esto se regresaron el gobernador, los padres y demas al aguaje, en que habían determinado pasar la noche: el cual está una legua hácia al Norte del pueblo." I copy the latter part of the quotation, since it gives the location of the water near the ruins. Escalante gives in the above a *résumé* of Vargas's Journal, *Autos de Guerra*, 1692, fol. 176 to 198.

[2] Escalante, *Relacion*, p. 135: "No pasó el gobernador á Oraibe porque le informaron que aun distaba nueve leguas (no hay mas que dos ó dos y media desde Jongopavi) y ya estaba imposibilitada la caballada."



policy, to which they were prompted by the remarkable success of his bold movements, and that as soon as the Spaniards disappeared the Moquis considered themselves released from their pledges. The Tehua outbreak of 1696 made matters worse, in furnishing new accessions to the colony of Tehua refugees. They founded a pueblo of their own, between Ahua-tuyba and the other Moqui towns, but in closer proximity to the latter. Geographically Ahua-tuyba occupied a rather isolated position in relation to the others. Its relations towards the Zuñi tribe were more intimate and also more friendly. When, therefore, Fray Juan de Garaycoechea reopened the mission at Halona in 1699,[1] the Moquis (possibly at the instigation of the inhabitants of Ahua-tuyba) voluntarily offered to return to Christianity, rebuild the churches, and receive missionaries.[2] In consequence of this Father Garaycoechea went to Ahua-tuyba on the 28th of May, 1700, and found that the convent had been rebuilt or repaired by its Indians, who were glad to see their mission re-established. But the other Moquis, while outwardly friendly, still dissuaded the missionary from visiting their homes.[3] This was the first indication of a treacherous disposition, — one which was soon to display itself in a most cruel and unjustifiable action.

On the 11th of October of the same year one of the leading chiefs of Oraybe appeared at Santa Fé with twenty other delegates, and presented themselves to the Governor, Pedro Rodriguez Cubero, as a formal embassy from the Moquis, not as subjects and vassals of the Crown, but as delegates of

[1] Escalante (*Relacion*, p. 177) says, "El año de 1700 pasó á Zuñi el Padre Fray Juan de Garaycoechea"; but the *Libro de Entierros de la Mission de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zuñi* (MS.) begins in 1699 with entries in the handwriting of Father Garaycoechea.

[2] *Relacion*, p. 177.

[3] Fray Juan de Garaycoechea, *Carta al Gobernador* (*Relacion*, p. 178).

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a foreign power sent to conclude a treaty of peace and amity. This Cubero could not entertain; still he negotiated with them for a long while, until finally the Moquis, seeing that the Governor would not recede from his position, seemingly yielded consent to everything that was asked. With these false promises they were suffered to return, and Cubero indulged the hope that he had completely gained his point.[1]

In the mean time Ahua-tuyba had virtually become again a Christianized pueblo. In the last days of the year 1700, or in the beginning of 1701, the Moquis of the other pueblos fell upon the unsuspecting village at night. The men were mostly killed, stifled in their estufas, it is said; the women and children were dragged into captivity, and the houses were burnt. The exact date of this butchery I have not been able to find, as nearly all the papers concerning the administration of Cubero have disappeared from the archives at Santa Fé; but enough is left to establish the fact of the occurrence, and to prove the probable accuracy of the Moqui version, which Captain Bourke has preserved.[2] Since that time Ahua-tuyba has belonged to the class of ruined historical pueblos.

[1] *Relacion*, p. 179. The proposition was such an original one that I cannot resist copying the text: "Respondió Espeleta, que él venia á nombre de todos los Moquinos, y que estos en consulta general, habían resuelto admitir que entrasen los religiosos á bautizar los párvulos de cada pueblo de la provincia; sucesivamente en seis años, entrando el primer año al primer pueblo, y regresandose concluidos los bautismos, y el siguiente año al segundo pueblo, y de este modo entrando y saliendo hasta llegar á Oraibe y completar los dichos seis anos, y concluidos estos del modo dicho se rendirian todos los Moquinos y admitirian de asiento á los ministros." It must be remembered that the Moquis had given their allegiance to Spain anew, in 1692; that consequently Cubero could not regard them in any other light than as vassals and subjects, and that consequently he could not entertain such proposals on their part.

[2] The only document which I found, in which detailed reference is made to the slaughter of Ahuatuyba is a *Parecer* of the clergy of New Mexico, bearing date 1722. In it the destruction of Ahuatuyba is explicitly stated. There existed at Santa Fé, in 1713, a collection of testimonies taken on the occurrence, and described as follows: "*Ytem un Quaderno de autos sobre la notisia de lo susedido en el puo de Aguatubi de la proa de Moqui autorisadas de Pedro de Morales en 63 fojas.*" It is mentioned in *Ymbentario de los Papeles que se hallan en el Archibo del Cabildo justizia reximiento de esta villa de Santa Fé*, 1713, MS.

The "singing men," of whom Mr. Bourke speaks, were, as he justly supposed, priests; but there was no priest at Ahuatuyba at the time of the massacre. The reference to them applies to the visit made by Father Garaycoechea in 1700.



The pottery of Ahua-tuyba is remarkably handsome in ornamentation, and good in quality. Mr. Cushing writes concerning this feature: —

"Before discussing the origin of other forms, it may be well to consider briefly some influences, more or less local, which, in addition to the general effect of gourd-forms in suggesting basket-types and of the latter in shaping earthenware, had considerable bearing on the development of ceramic art in the Southwest, pushing it to higher degrees of perfection and diversity in some parts than in others.

"Perhaps first in importance among these influences was the mineral character of a locality. Where clay occurred of a fine tough texture, easily mined and manipulated, the work in *terra-cotta* became proportionately more elaborate in variety and finer in quality. . . .

"An example in point is the ruined pueblo of *A'wat u i* or *Aguatobi*, as it was known to the Spaniards at the time of the conquest, when it was the leading city of the Province of Tusayan, near Moki. Over the entire extent of this ruin, and to a consideroble distance around it, fragments of the greatest variety in color, shape, size, and finish of ware occur in abundance. In the immediate neighborhood, however, are extensive, readily accessible formations producing several kinds of clay, and nearly all the color minerals used in the Pueblo potter's art."[1]

I saw a flat urn from Ahua-tuyba which had the figures of two birds painted upon its surface, that from their color, and especially from the shape of their beaks, created the im-

[1] *Pueblo Pottery* (Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1882–83), p 493.

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pression that they might be intended for rude representations of the red macaw, or aras, of the American tropics. Granting that this was the design of the maker, the fact that Ahuatuyba was occupied until the beginning of the eighteenth century, and that a mission was in existence there until 1680, might readily explain how the Moqui Indians could have obtained an idea of such a bird. The vessel in question could therefore not be cited in evidence of a hypothetical ancient communication of the Pueblos with tropical America.

Of other ruins in the Moqui country I can only say that such exist, and have been described in the Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology and of Captain Bourke.[1]

[1] *Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1883–84, p. xxiii: "The work of this party for the field season was concluded by an examination of two distinct classes of ancient ruins in Arizona, one about ten miles northeast, the other about fifteen miles southeast of Flagstaff. The former consisted of sixty or more cave dwellings, situated on the summit of a round lava-capped hill. The dwellings are close together, and were carved out beneath the hard shelter rock of lava, under which the material was rather loose, readily yielding to the rude stone implements used in making the excavations. In these dwellings fragments of ornamented pottery were discovered resembling somewhat the ancient pottery so abundant in many portions of Arizona, and specimens of it were collected. Other objects, such as metates, stone axes, mullers, and corn-cobs, were found in the excavations, and the seeds of several species of small grain were scattered through them. Fragments of several kinds of bone were also found, representing the elk, deer, wolf, badger, rabbit, and some other animals. The ruins about fifteen miles southeast of Flagstaff are similar to those in the Cañon de Chelly. These ruins are extensive, and built on terraces in the side of Walnut Cañon. They differ, however, from the cliff dwellings of Cañon de Chelly in construction. The doors are large, and extend from the ground up to a sufficient height to admit a man without stooping. The rooms are large and the walls are two to four feet thick. The fireplaces are in one corner of the room on an elevated rock, and the smoke can only escape through the door. The masonry compares favorably with any employed in the construction of the best villages in Cañon de Chelly. Many objects of interest were found in the débris around and in these houses. Matting, sandals, spindle whorls, and stone implements of various kinds abound."

Mr. Victor Mindeleff also examined a ruin which the Navajos call Kintiel, twenty-four miles south of Pueblo Colorado, Arizona. A circular doorway was noticed "made of a single slab of sandstone pierced by a large round hole."



Of the ruins in the cañones of the great Colorado River of the West Major Powell has given descriptions. They were small houses, partly of the cliff-house type, and either isolated dwellings, or in groups of from two to six together. Pottery, arrow-heads, and metates accompanied them, and trails had been partly scraped out of the steep rocks to permit access from below.[1] It appears as if these buildings had been the work of sedentary Indians seeking refuge from impending danger.

It has been suggested that some of these remains date from the historical period, being due to Pueblo Indians who sought safety from the approach of the Spaniards in the frightful clefts of the Colorado River of the West. It consequently becomes of interest to investigate what the early Spanish explorers knew of the greatest river of the Southwest; how they came to know it; which were the tribes inhabiting its upper course in the sixteenth century, and what Indians dwelt or roamed between the Great Colorado and the Moqui country; and, finally, what were the relations of the Spaniards to those tribes.

Another ruin, small, and called Kinna Zinde by the Navajos, was also examined. "Its position on the edge of a long valley on an elevated belt of rock suggests its use in connection with agriculture." Several other small ruins occur in that vicinity.

Bourke, *Snake Dance*, p. 86: "Fourteen miles from the Moqui Agency are the ruins of a pueblo still standing two and even three feet above the surface. It has so often been mistaken for the ruin of which we were in quest, that it has received the name of the False Tolli-hogandi, but while it does not deserve much mention in the same chapter with the true ruin, it is nevertheless an interesting monument of good area, made of rubble of all sizes of sandstone and basalt gathered in the immediate vicinity. . . . The situation of this old pueblo is peculiar in this, that close at hand is a marked depression of not less than one hundred acres in area, which there are reasons for believing was once a reservoir for storing water from melted snow and rain." Other ruins are mentioned on p. 317.

Many other quotations might be added from other sources, but I prefer to limit myself to the above.

[1] *Exploration of the Colorado River of the West and its Tributaries*, pp. 69, 77, 87, 90, and 125.

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