

Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised
Memorial of 1634

With Numerous Supplementary Documents
Elaborately Annotated

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The University of New Mexico Press
Albuquerque
1945

103. The use of the cross as a symbol by the Indians did not mean that it was due to Christian influence, for not infrequently it was employed to represent a star, and especially the Morning Star, and often cruciform prayer-sticks were used. Castañeda, referring to Zuñi (Cíbola), says: "As an emblem of peace, they make the sign of the cross." (Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, p. 253.) Again, "At Acuco, by a spring down in the valley, they have a cross two spans high and the thickness of a finger. It was made of wood and had a base one yard square around which were many small sticks adorned with plumes and many withered flowers torn into small pieces.

"At a tomb outside the pueblo of Tutahaco, where it seemed that some one had been buried recently, there was another cross at the head. It was made of two small sticks tied together with cotton thread, and there were many dry and crumbled flowers. I say that in my opinion they have gained, in some way or other, some light of the cross of Christ, our Redeemer. This may have come by way of India, whence these natives came." (*Ibid.*, 280.) In his famous letter to Viceroy Mendoza, written at Háwikuh, August 3, 1540, Coronado wrote that he sent a cross, through his army-master, to the Zuñi at Háwikuh on approaching that pueblo, telling them that they need not fear (*ibid.*, 167). This time, however, the proffer of the cross proved ineffectual, for a battle ensued. Later, after the Zuñi had been subjected to some slight Christian contact, Espejo found "many well-built crosses in all these pueblos, because Coronado had been in this land" (Luxán, *Expedition into New Mexico, 1582-83*, pp. 89-90). The crosses had been maintained by the Mexican Indians who had been left behind when Coronado finally left the Zuñi province in 1542. Oñate, in 1598, also found crosses in the Zuñi pueblos, "which the Indians reverence and to which they are accustomed to make the same offerings as to their idols, which consist of flour [prayer-meal], small sticks painted with different colors [prayer-sticks], and turkey-feathers." (See Hodge, *History of Háwikuh*, and authorities therein cited.)

104. Roque de Figueredo. Beristáin y Souza states that this friar came to New Mexico in 1604 with Juan de Oñate (*Biblioteca*, I, p. 442), but it would appear that this is definitely an error, for there is no evidence that Figueredo was in New Mexico prior to 1629. There is no mention of him in any of the Oñate documents before that date. Bandelier asserts that Figueredo did not accompany Oñate, a statement strongly reinforced by Scholes and others. In 1623, he was definitior in the plenary assembly of the defintiors held in Mexico that year which elected Benavides to the custodianship of New Mexico (see Appendix III). Figueredo did come to New Mexico with Perea's band of missionaries in 1629, and he is further mentioned by Fray Juan de Prada in a petition written at the convent of San Francisco, Mexico, September 26, 1638, as one who afforded him information regarding New Mexico (Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, III, p. 106). See note 71.

105. Moqui Nation. A body of Indians occupying a group of pueblos in northeastern Arizona. They call themselves *Hópituh*, or *Hópituh Shinumo*, "Peaceful people," "Moqui" being an opprobrious epithet of indefinite signification and of alien origin either from the Queres tongue (*Mósichá* in Laguna, *Mo-ts* in Acoma, *Mótsi* in Sia, Cochiti, and San Felipe.

etc., whence Espejo's "Mohace" and "Mohoce" and Oñate's "Mohoqui"), or from that of the Zuñi (*Ahmukwe*). The definition of "Moqui" has been variously given to be "smallpox people," "dead people," "stinking people," and "excrement people," but none of these seems to be accurate. It should be remembered, however, that the Spanish explorers learned of the Hopi from the Zuñi. On the derivation, see Harrington, "Note on the Names Moqui and Hopi," *Amer. Anthropologist*, Jan.-Mar., 1945.

It was concluded by Bandelier and Cushing that the province of Totontec, mentioned by Fray Marcos de Niza in 1539, was identical with the province of Tusayán, or the Hopi country, which was first visited by white men in the summer of 1540 when Francisco Vázquez Coronado dispatched Pedro de Tovar, with Fray Juan de Padilla and a few horsemen and foot-soldiers, from Cibola (Zuñi) to investigate the group of pueblos toward the west or northwest of which they had heard at Zuñi. The little party remained in Tusayán (Tuçan, Tucano, Tuçayan, Tuzan) several days, meanwhile learning from the Indians of the existence of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado beyond, and returned to Cibola within 30 days.

The distance from Cibola to Tusayán, as given by Coronado's chroniclers, varies from 20 to 35 leagues. The actual distance from Háwikuh (Coronado's Granada, Perea's Zibola) to Awátobi, or Awátovi, the first of the Tusayán or Hopi (Moqui) villages encountered after 1540, is approximately 150 miles, so that all the estimates given are below the actual distance. It is not to be assumed, however, that the Tusayán of Coronado's time is not identical with the tribal habitat of the present Hopi Indians; as has repeatedly been asserted, and as the above range from 20 to 35 leagues will further indicate, but little reliance can be placed on the distances given by the early explorers.

For the route followed, see Bartlett, Katherine, "How Don Pedro de Tovar Discovered the Hopi . . ." in *Plateau*, xii, no. 2, Jan., 1940. None of the names of the seven Hopi villages of Tusayán is recorded by Coronado's people, so that it is not positively known which seven pueblos were inhabited by the tribe at that early period. Diego Pérez de Luxán of the Espejo party of 1583 relates that the Hopi informed the Spaniards that the first of their pueblos, coming from Zuñi, had been destroyed by Coronado's men. This seems to have been Kawaika. Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado visited Zuñi in 1581, as we have seen, but he did not continue his journey to Tusayán (Asay or Osay, as he calls it), on account of the snow.

At this point a word may be said about the name Tusayán, several attempts at determining the etymology of which have been made. Now, Coronado and his followers, who first employ the name, learned it from the Zuñi of Cibola, and Chamuscado heard of his Asay or Osay (T-osayan?) from the same source. I have already shown ("The Early Navajo and Apache," *American Anthropologist*, July, 1895), and my proofs have since been materially strengthened, that the Navaho were unknown to the Spaniards before Oñate's time (1598), although they repeatedly crossed what later became Navaho territory, so that, coupled with the evidence that the Spaniards learned of Tusayán from the Zuñi, the resemblance between the Navaho *Tasaun* or *Zilh Tasaun*, "the country of isolated buttes," and *Tusayán* would seem to be fortuitous. Whether or not the name had its origin in *Asa* (compare *Asay*, above), the important Tansy Mustard clan

of the Hopi (which came from the Rio Grande valley and left part of their people at the Zuñi pueblo of Háwikuh, where they became known as the Aíaho clan of that pueblo), I do not assert, but the suggestion is offered for what it may be worth. The Franciscan fathers of St. Michaels mission, Arizona, whose knowledge of the Navaho is most extensive, have stated that "it would seem plausible that the Navaho have their homes in the Southwest about five hundred years." (*Ethnologic Dictionary*, p. 30.)

The next Spanish explorer to visit the Hopi people was Antonio de Espejo, in 1583, as above mentioned. Espejo's direction from Zuñi, like that of some of Coronado's narrators, was "westward," and the distance 28 leagues, which occupied four days. The Mohoce or Mohace of this explorer consisted of five large villages, the population of one of which, Aguato (Ahuato, Zaguato, Awátobi, "High Place of the Bow Clan"), he estimated at 50,000, which was about two ciphers too many. The names of the other four "Mohace" towns are not given. The Indians had evidently forgotten the horses of Tovar and Cárdenas of forty years before, since they now became frightened at them, building a stone corral, at the instance of the Spaniards, in order that the ferocious beasts might be kept in check! The Hopi presented Espejo with quantities of native cotton kilts, for which they were celebrated then as now.

Espejo was followed by Juan de Oñate, who left the Rio Grande on October 23, 1598, and proceeded by way of Zuñi to the Provincia de Mohuqui, whose inhabitants submitted to the acts of obedience and vassalage on November 15. Their spiritual welfare was assigned to Fray Juan Claros, this being the first formal attempt to gather the Hopi to the Christian fold, although nothing in the way of sending active missionaries to Tusayán was accomplished for nearly a generation later. It would appear from Oñate's itinerary (*Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, xvi, pp. 274-275) that there were only four "Mohuqui" pueblos at this time, and little aid is given by the *Obediencia y vasallaje á Su Magestad por los indios de la Provincia de Mohoqui*, of November 15, 1598 (*ibid.*, p. 137), since names of the villages are confounded with those of the chiefs: "Panaumá, Hoynigua, Xuynuxá, Patiguá, Aguatuybá; capitanes de los Pueblos de esta Provincia que son y se llaman Naybí (Oraybi), Xumupavi, Cuanrabí, Esperiez." The identification of Aguatuybá (Awátobi), Oraybi, and Xumupavi (Shongopovi) is certain, but whether Cuanrabi was intended for Walpi, which certainly existed at this time, is doubtful. Fortunately, in a *testimonio* forming part of the "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento del Nuevo México y sus acontecimientos—Años desde 1595 á 1602" (*Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, xvi, p. 207), which was made in the interest of Oñate, and which, although apparently pertaining to Chamuscado's discoveries more likely relates to the entrada of Espejo, the following Hopi pueblos are mentioned: Aguato (Awátobi), Gaspé (Gualpe, Walpi), Comupavi (Shongopovi), Majananí (Mishongnovi), and Olalla (Oraibi), thus accounting for all the pueblos occupied by the Hopi at the close of the sixteenth century and indeed for many years later.

We now reach the period of Benavides, during which Tusayán, so far as is known, remained as in Espejo's time, for no effort to establish missions among the Hopi was made until Fray Estevan de Perea assumed the custodianship of the province. It is learned from his *Segunda Relación*

(see our Appendix xxv) that the journey to found the missions in the new field to the west was made from Santa Fe, beginning June 23, 1629; the party reached Acoma (36 leagues) and Zuñi (56 leagues), at which pueblos the missionaries assigned to them were left, the remainder, consisting of Fray Francisco de Porras, Fray Andrés Gutiérrez, Fray Cristóbal de la Concepción, and Fray Francisco de San Buenaventura (the latter is not mentioned by Perea as having been a member of the Hopi party) "with their crucifixes at the neck and staffs in their hands," accompanied by twelve soldiers, continuing to the Hopi or Moqui country (80 - 56 = 24 leagues from Zuñi), where they arrived on St. Bernard's day (August 20). In honor of the occasion, the name of the saint was applied to Awátobi, the first village reached, which name it retained throughout its mission history of half a century. In which of the other four Hopi pueblos missions were established at this time is not positively known. (See notes 106 and 107.) But it is clear that Fray Alonso de Posada was at Awátobi between the spring of 1653 and 1655, Fray Jacinto de Monpean, about 1662, and Fray José de Espeleta in 1663.

Oraibi, about 1641, had a very good church and convent, it was said, and was accredited with a population of 1,236. From about 1630-1640, it was served by Fray Bartolomé Romero. Awátobi, with a population of 900, had a church and convent, and Walpi was its *visita*. Shongopovi and its *visita*, Mishongnovi, had churches and a convent, with 830 inhabitants. In 1666, San Miguel de Oraibi had a friar-priest "who will administer it and also a *visita*; and also, for lack of a friar, he looks after the pueblo of Moxainavi [Mishongnovi] in which there is a *convento* and also a *visita*." A priest was at Shongopovi, which also had a *visita*, the friar, in 1661, being Fray José de Espeleta, who was at Oraibi from 1669-72. Oraibi was served by Fray José de Trujillo in 1672.

The missions of the Hopi country in 1680 (the name "Tusayán" had meanwhile fallen into disuse), as recorded by Vetancurt (*Crónica*, pp. 321-322), were: *San Bernardino de Ahuatobi*, 26 leagues from Zuñi, population 800, Fray José de Figueras (Figueroa), alias de la Concepción, native of Mexico, killed in the rebellion. *San Bartolomé de Xongopabi* (Shongopovi), 7 leagues beyond (at Middle Mesa), with Moxainabe (Mishongnovi) as a *visita*; large church, population 500; José Trujillo, native of Cádiz, killed in the rebellion. *San Francisco de Oraybe* (Oraibi), toward the west; last *convento* of Moqui; 14,000 (!) gentiles before their conversion, but they were consumed by pestilence; "tenia en él una aldea llamada Gualpimas [Gualpi mas] de mil y doscientas personas," which means that Gualpi (Walpi) was its *visita* with a population of more than 1,200; Father Fray José de Espeleta and Father Fray Agustín de Santa María were the missionaries murdered; the church was reduced to ashes.

It has thus been seen that the Hopi were active participants in the great revolt, not one of their missionaries escaping, so far as is known. Awátobi met its ultimate fate late in 1700, when, owing to the attitude of its people toward the other Hopi and to the fact that they had been encouraging the Spaniards to send missionaries, the natives of the other Hopi villages fell upon them before daybreak, killed many of the inhabitants, and distributed the survivors (mostly women and children) among the other pueblos, Mishongnovi receiving most of them. (For an account of

the native tradition and its verification by archaeological excavations, see Fewkes in *17th Report Bur. Amer. Ethnology*, pt. II, p. 592 *et seq.*) Awátobi was henceforth abandoned, but the walls of the mission church of San Bernardo, or San Bernardino, as it has sometimes been called, are still standing to a height of several feet on Antelope or Jeditoh mesa. (Important excavations have been conducted at Awátobi (or Awátovi) by Peabody Museum of Harvard University, 1935-39, the results of which are being published. From the historical and structural point of view, the monograph on the Awátobi mission buildings, by Ross G. Montgomery, will be especially complete and valuable.) The pueblos of Walpi, Mishongnovi, Shongopovi, and Oraibi do not occupy their sixteenth and seventeenth century sites nearer the feet of the mesas, but, following the revolt, doubtless in fear of Spanish vengeance, their inhabitants built new towns on the summits, where they still stand.

It has been stated in previous notes that many Indians fled from the Rio Grande to the Hopi during the revolt. Some of these built the town of Payúpki on the Middle Mesa, but were brought back and settled at Sandia in 1748. About the year 1700, the pueblo of Hano was established on the East Mesa by Tewa from the Rio Grande, on the invitation of the Walpi people. Here they have lived uninterruptedly since, and although intermarried considerably with the Hopi, they retain their native tongue and many of their distinctive tribal rites and customs (see note 22). Two of the pueblos, Sichúmovi on the East Mesa, and Shipaúlovi on the Middle Mesa, are of comparatively modern origin, having been established about the middle of the eighteenth century. Thus the Hopi pueblos, or the province of Tusayán, today consist of: Walpi, Sichúmovi, and Hano (frequently but improperly called Tewa, the name of the people), on the East Mesa; Mishóngnovi, Shupaúlovi, and Shongópovi, on the Middle Mesa; Oraibi on the West or Oraibi Mesa, and two pueblos, Hotavila and Pakabi, built in recent years by conservatives from Oraibi, to the westward. Also may be included in the Hopi pueblo group the summer settlement of Moenkapi, northwest of Oraibi. This village was probably that mentioned in 1604 by Oñate under the name Rancho de los Gandules (*Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, xvi, p. 276), while Fray Francisco Garcés (see Elliott Coues' translation of his *Diary*) referred to it in 1776 as Muqui concabe and Munqui concabe. The total Hopi population (including the Tewa of Hano) in 1940 was 3,444.

106. Francisco de Porras. Born at Villanueva de los Infantes, Spain; took the habit of his order in the convent of Nuestro Padre San Francisco, Mexico, September 12, 1606, where he was master of novices for five years, 1623 to 1628 (according to Vetancurt, cited below; Perea says he was master for six years), when he was granted permission to accompany Perea to New Mexico. Andrés Gutiérrez and Cristóbal de la Concepción, who had made their novitiate under him, accompanied him thither, the three, together with Francisco de San Buenaventura, being assigned to the Moqui (Hopi) pueblos. Regarding their labors in that distant province, see Perea's *Segunda Relación* (1633), Appendix xxv. They reached the Hopi pueblo of Awátobi on Saint Bernard's day (August 20) of 1629, hence the mission name San Bernardo, or San Bernardino, by which that pueblo was known until it was destroyed by the other Hopi in 1700.