THE FRONTIER PEOPLE

THE GREATER SOUTHWEST IN THE PROTOHISTORIC PERIOD

Revised and Expanded Edition

Carroll L. Riley

UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO PRESS
Albuquerque

HP6161

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ISBN 0-8263-0998-4
First edition.

Design: Milenda Nan Ok Lee

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Riley, Carroll L.
The frontier people.

Originally published: Carbondale, IL: Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, c1982.
Bibliography: p.
Includes index.
1. Indians of North America—Southwest, New—History.
2. Southwest, New—History—To 1846. I. Title.
E78.S7R48 1987 979'.01 87-13901
ISBN 0-8263-0998-4

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78
.S7
R48
1987

This book is dedicated to:

Basil C. Hedrick
J. Charles Kelley
Charles H. Lange
Campbell W. Pennington,

and to the memory of

Elizabeth M. Lange

Dear friends and valued colleagues in Southwestern Studies

Anxiously we shall await your time
Our Fathers.
Yonder toward the south
Wherever your roads come out
We have given you plume wands.

Shalako ceremonial song
Zuni Pueblo

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Most of the sixteenth century pueblos were built of stone and mud mortar, though occasionally mud brick was used. Castañeda describes the making of mud brick in the Rio Grande area, and it has been noted archaeologically at Awatovi in pre-Spanish contexts.[87]

Trade

I have suggested elsewhere that Cibola-Zuni was the western terminus of the complex of trade routes running in various directions.[88] It is important, therefore, to consider the evidence for that trade. I have mentioned the fact that descriptions of Cibolans—their houses and towns, and their way of life—appear at least as far south as the Sonoran area and as far west as the lower Colorado River (see Chapters 4 and 6). It is also clear from the Coronado accounts that a trading expedition from Pecos arrived at Hawikuh not long after the Spaniards took up residence. This party brought dressed skins, shields, and headpieces to trade. Skins reaching Cibola not only came from the High Plains, but "they prepare and paint them where they kill the cattle."[89] Dressed bison skin in quantity was noted by Marcos the year before, traded from Cibola south. He also received bison skin shields from coastal Sonoran Indians (surely traded to them from the north and east), so one suspects that the Pecos party was simply carrying the usual trade goods to be redistributed from Cibola. Marcos also mentions floods of turquoise coming from Cibola.[90] This, too, must have been retraded, as the Cibola area does not produce turquoise; very probably it came from the Cerrillos mines in the Rio Grande Valley. Three years before Marcos, Cabeza de Vaca had described turquoises, as well as "emeralds," coming from what must have been Cibola, and Melchior Díaz, in 1539, also mentions receiving some sort of gem stones from Cibola.[91] Parenthetically, Díaz knew of the cotton-producing Tusayan which he calls Totonteac, although he does not actually say that cotton was being shipped to the Sonoran area. Díaz does mention, however, that the Cibolans received their cotton from Totonteac. At least some of the cotton was unworked, for Diaz makes a point of saying that "men [in Cibola] weave the cloth or spin the cotton." He also gives a garbled account of some sort of woolly animal that is sheared to make "colored wigs which they

wear, like the one I am sending your Lordship."[92] It would seem, thus, that these "wigs" were also traded; again one wonders if they are similar or identical to the "headpieces" offered by the Pecos people to Coronado. Possibly these artifacts were some sort of decorative headgear made of bison hide and/or hair.

Alarcón, on the lower Colorado River in 1540, gathered a great deal of more-or-less current information on Cibola, and there is some suggestion that the Colorado peoples traded for turquoise—at least they were interested in it. Certainly, sixty years later Zuni and Hopi were on the coral route from the lower Colorado, and, as indicated by Escobar,[93] on the shell route as well. This latter information is hardly surprising considering the extraordinary distribution of California shell in the Southwest, not only in the western Pueblos but also in Pecos and on the Rio Grande.

Turquoise, probably from the Cerrillos mines, also reached the Hopi area; at least Castañeda mentions that the Tovar party received turquoise as "gifts," after cotton cloth, dressed hides, flour, piñon nuts, maize, and turkeys had already been given. Following Tovar's return to the base camp at Cibola, Coronado sent García López de Cárdenas to do further exploring. Cárdenas stopped at the Tusayan pueblos, where he obtained food and guides, and pushed on westward in search of Alarcón and the lower Colorado River. The route of this party is not entirely clear, but it probably crossed the Little Colorado at some point between present-day Grand Falls and Cameron, continuing on northwestward until the Spaniards reached the Grand Canyon. Then they wandered around in a confused way and were finally persuaded by the Hopi guides that there was no point in going on because of the lack of water.[94] The important thing about this rather aimless journey is that the guides knew the country and even had a technique for leaving water at strategic places. At a guess, the Spaniards reached somewhere around the edge of the Coconino Plateau, and they seem to have been on a trade route used by the Hopi. If so, the Hopi route must have swung sharply southward to reach the Bill Williams River.

The major route, however, must have run south of the San Francisco Mountains, and it is this trail that Oñate's party took in 1604–05, most likely guided by either Hopi or Zuni Indians. By that time two Spanish parties (Espejo in 1583 and Farfán in 1598), both launch-

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ing their expeditions from Hopi country, had pushed southwestward to the Jerome area. What is important here is that, although Cibola-Zuni seems to have been the key western redistribution center for the Pueblo area, trade coming from the west, especially from the lower Colorado region and from the middle Verde Valley, was funneled through the Hopi pueblos. The Hopi, then, may have been responsible for some of the trade in pigments that is mentioned in a number of accounts. However, in order to go to Hopi from the east, and to a large degree from the south, it was necessary to go through Zuni. No Spanish party in the sixteenth or early seventeenth century of which we have any knowledge ever did otherwise.[95] The mines were well known at Zuni and it was considered necessary to reach them through Hopi country. When Espejo, with his contingent of Hopi guides, reached the Jerome region, the Spaniards received a welcome which sounds more like a well-worn ritual than a spontaneous greeting. The party was brought ore samples and guided to the mines. Somewhat the same thing befell Marcos Farfán de los Godos, Oñate's captain.[96] He was offered powdered ores of different colors, as well as food. The natives of the area mined for the colored ores; one shaft was six meters deep, with a large dump. Ores from the mine were brown, black, yellow, green, and an intense blue. Questioned about the rivers that the Spaniards had crossed, the natives explained that they joined, flowing through the abra, or opening, and then became

> wide and large, and that on both banks there were numerous settlements of people who planted extensive fields of maize, beans, and calabashes in a very level country of fine climate, and, because of the snow which they pointed out to him on the sierra and which they were leaving behind, they said that it never snowed at the sierra of the mines or at the settlements by the river, as it was a temperate land, almost hot. They said that the information about this river and settlements extended as far as the sea, which they pointed out was salty. They indicated this by dissolving some salt in water.[97]

These Indians had pearl shells which they obtained from the sea. The Spaniards estimated that this sea was some eighty to ninety

leagues away, that is, approximately 325 to 375 kilometers. Clearly the Indians were talking about the lower Colorado River and peoples, and likely this account was one of the motivating factors that led Oñate to make his journey to the lower Colorado six years later. The statements on drainage patterns are a little confused, unless by this time Farfán was in the Santa Maria drainage. Most likely something was lost in translation from the original Pai (?) language, unless, indeed, the Indians realized that the Verde, the Little Colorado, and the Santa Maria-Bill Williams all eventually joined the Colorado.

One reason the Hopi were interested in pigments (if I read the evidence correctly), was that they were major suppliers both of raw cotton and manufactured cotton goods, to the New Mexican portions of the Southwest. As far as we know, all this trade went by way of Cibola-Zuni. In the sixteenth century there were no settled areas—at least no pueblo areas—other than Zuni between Hopi and the Keresan towns west of the Rio Grande. A major trail ran east from Zuni to somewhere near the El Morro area. It then branched and the Spaniards could either follow the route of present-day New Mexico State Highway 53 or they could swing north and east crossing Agua Fria Cañon and going down Zuni Cañon. In either case the trails emerged from the Zuni Mountains near the McCarty area and then probably crossed a corner of the *malpais* before reaching Acoma. Probably both of these branches were utilized by the Spaniards in 1540–42. The Europeans seem to have had relatively little trouble even though burdened with wagons and hundreds of livestock. Even then, the trail was well worn.[98]

We lack much firsthand evidence on the various kinds of cotton cloth traded by the Hopi, though from Kent's survey it is clear that the late prehistoric peoples of the area had considerable sophistication in cloth weaving. Cloth was decorated both by painting and with woven designs. The Spaniards indicated that this was true, specifically, of sixteenth century Hopi. Luxán stated that the Hopi villagers at Walpi gave the small party "six hundred pieces of figured and white cloth." At Awatovi the party received "six hundred pieces of cotton cloth, small and large, white and figured." In the Shongopovi and Mishongnovi (Second Mesa) area, the party re-

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ceived six hundred pieces of cotton cloth, and Oraibi "over eight hundred pieces of cotton cloth, large and small, as well as a quantity of spun and raw cotton which, with some other mantas, we gave to our allies."[99]

Espejo himself had a somewhat more inflated story:

> The natives gathered together from various parts of the province more than four thousand cotton blankets, colored or white, hand towels with tassels at the ends, and many other things, including some of the blue and green ores sought by them for coloring their blankets.[100]

Other items that both Zuni and Hopi may have traded were garnets and emeralds—at any rate both Coronado and Oñate mention them. The garnets and emeraldlike stones Coronado found at Cibola probably came from the Hopi country. The garnets may well have been garnet, but the "emeralds," according to the geologist Stuart Northrop, were "almost certainly peridots."[101] This identification is probably correct although peridot (olivine) generally is a somewhat lighter shade of green than one might expect from an emerald. When Chamuscado journeyed through Zuni in 1581–82, he was told of mines in the Hopi country, though this may have been a garbled reference to the Jerome mines that were reached through Hopi country. In addition, Oñate, in the Hopi area, found a mine that produced both red and green varieties of stone. Apropos of Northrop's identifications, I suspect that the emeralds probably traded from Cibola and obtained by Cabeza de Vaca at Corazones, were peridots though they might also have been uvarovite garnets or possibly some variety of beryl (though probably not jewel emeralds). The same speculation can be made about the glassy stones from Cibola that were seen by Díaz in Sonora.[102]

Although Cibola-Zuni was basically a trans-shipment center for trade goods coming from various directions, there was at least one important local product. As early as 1539, while still far to the south, Díaz had news of the Cibolan salt lake. The Coronado party had high praise for Cibolan salt, and Oñate made a special point of mentioning the salt lake. We have no definite proof that salt was being traded from Cibola-Zuni, but we know that salt was much

desired and traded for in the Sonoran area, especially at Oera, where the inhabitants imported "mantas, salt, feathers, and provisions, especially salt which they do not possess."[103] Those things were obtained by trading slaves (and presumably other commodities, though the context is not entirely clear).

To sum up, it would seem that Cibola was the major trade center for routes going east, south, and northwest. The Tusayan towns dominated the trade route from the upper Southwest to the Verde area and to the lower Colorado River. Tusayan supplied Cibola, and through Cibola the rest of the upper Southwest and the Gila-Salt and Sonoran regions, with Verde Valley area pigments and, at least the upper Southwest, with Gulf of California and California Pacific Coast shell.[104] What percentage of the shell entering the upper Southwest actually came through Hopi to Zuni is not clear, but *Haliotis fulgens* and *Olivella biplicata* were both found in the Winslow, lower Chevelon Creek, and Chaves Pass areas dating perhaps to the fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries. From the same area, comes a turquoise mosaic in a frog design with a jasper center inlaid on a gulf of California *Glycymeris maculatus* shell. *Haliotis*, widespread throughout the Southwest, extends over a number of centuries and a very wide area, being found in places as far apart in space and time as Ridge Ruin in the twelfth century, Aztec, New Mexico, in the thirteenth century, and Pecos perhaps as late as the sixteenth or even seventeenth century.[105] Ridge Ruin, near Flagstaff, Arizona, is especially interesting because of the richness of the finds there. In the "Magician's" burial, dating in the early twelfth century A.D., John McGregor found not only *Haliotis* but also *Turritella, Cardium, Dentalium, Glycymeris,*, and *Conus*. There were objects of lignite and elaborate mosaics of turquoise, shell, and red argillite set in lac. In addition, there were turquoise, obsidian, jasper, and many minerals (kaolin, yellow ochre, hematite, malachite, iron pyrites, cinnabar, and azurite), which were often in powder form for paint. Pots found there indicated a connection with various nearby regions including the Tusayan area. According to the excavator, the turquoise probably came from Cerrillos,the malachite and azurite from the Verde Valle, argillite from the Prescott area, lignite from Black Mesa, kaolin from the Painted Desert, and the

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lac from the Phoenix area. Lac is produced by insects who live on either *Larrea mexicana* or *Coursetia glandulosa*, neither of which grows near Ridge Ruin.[106]

The materials in this Ridge Ruin burial include some of the finest turquoise mosaics ever found in the Southwest and, in a room above the burial, skeletons of two macaws. This wealth of grave deposits led Jonathan Reyman to suggest that the Magician was in fact a pochteca trader, perhaps centered on one of the Hopi towns. In any case, Hopi Indians working with McGregor were able to identify some of the objects and project from them certain ceremonies the Magician may have utilized, though individuals from different Hopi towns gave drastically different interpretations. As Reyman points out, these "identifications" by no means preclude the possibility that the burial was of a pochteca member.[107]

Archaeological work in the Tusayan area produced not only Pacific Coast shell but also *Glycymeris*, *Strombus galeatus*, and *Melongena patula*, as well as specimens of *Cardium* painted with black lines, and clay models of *Glycymeris*, *Olivella*, and *Conus*. Most or all of this shell came from the Gulf of California and could have reached Tusayan either by the Cibolan route or by the western one.

Collections of shell at the Cibola-Zuni site of Halona, perhaps dating to the historic period (at least not much earlier) include Pacific Coast shell (*Olivella biplicata* and *Venericardia nodulosa*) and Gulf of California shell (*Aletes*, *Conus princeps*, *Olivella dama*, and *Glycymeris maculatus*).[108]

Tusayan-Hopi, in return for blankets and other cotton goods and transshipped shell and pigments, received turquoise, worked bison hides, fibrolite (probably in the form of finished axes),[109] and perhaps salt.

Relatively little pottery seems to have been traded to Tusayan if the excavations at Awatovi are any indication. A certain amount of pottery does seem to have come from Cibola, however, ranging from the fourteenth century Heshotauthla wares to seventeenth century Hawikuh polychrome. Tusayan, however, was an exporter of pottery, especially the beautiful yellow pottery. Such wares as Jeddito Black-on-yellow are distributed over practically the whole Pueblo area in Pueblo IV times. Indeed they go well beyond, for early historic Jeddito pottery is found in south coastal California.

There is some indication that the trade in Tusayan ceramics had slackened somewhat by the sixteenth century but it had, by no means, stopped. Cibola not only imported Tusayan wares but sometimes copied them; for example, Matsaki polychrome is a cruder copy of the exquisite Sikyatki polychrome. Watson Smith believes that the imbalance produced by pottery shipped out of the Tusayan region demanded some sort of trade balance: "It may have been turquoise from [Cerrillos], shells from the Gulf of Mexico, and maybe even cotton."[110] If my own scenario is correct, eastbound Tusayan pottery would have been funneled, at least in major part, through Cibola—a situation that would explain the general influence of Tusayan ceramics, stylistically, on Cibola. Instead of cotton coming into Tusayan, I would postulate bison skins, parrot and macaw feathers, and probably the birds themselves. The importance of these birds is clearly enough indicated in the Jeddito area kiva murals.

For the Cibola-Zuni area I have surveyed the exchange situation in previous publications.[111] Let me simply say here that an incomplete list would have Cibola receiving dressed bison and deerskins, turquoise, and fibrolite from the east; cotton and cotton products, pottery, shell and coral, mineral pigments, semiprecious stones, and pottery from (or through) Tusayan; parrot feathers and birds, shell, metal objects, pottery, and perhaps such perishable goods as peyote from the south. Turquoise, semiprecious jewels, bison skins, probably cotton cloth, and salt went south into Sonora; turquoise, skins, parrots and macaws and/or feathers, and worked fibrolite went to Tusayan and beyond to the lower Colorado; and parrots, cloth, shells, coral, pottery, blue pigment (carried by Zuni Indians "to sell to the settlements of New Mexico"),[112] probably salt, and perhaps semiprecious stones went to the eastern Pueblos and on eastward. Slaves were important in Sonora and some experts[113] believe that the upper southwest may have supplied slaves to the Serrana region, in which case they would most likely have been routed through Cibola. There is no hard evidence for this, however, though the Coronado chroniclers do suggest that some of Marcos' followers may have been enslaved at Cibola, and they mention slaves for the Pecos area.[114] There is an intriguing note in the Luxán journal of the Espejo expedition, however, that may have

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bearing on the subject. After returning from Hopi country, a slave girl escaped from the Spaniards and fled to a group of "Curecho" Indians near Acoma. According to Luxán:

> It was agreed that they should return to us one of the Curechos women given us at Mojose (belonging to one of the companions, Francisco Barreto, although she had fled from us the morning of the skirmish); and that we should give them a girl we had taken from them.[115]

The exchange was arranged for the following day:

> As they had sent the Indian woman belonging to Francisco Barreto to her land, they took one of their relatives and sent her over, wearing her feather crest so that we should not recognize her, with the intention of recovering their own girl and giving us nothing but a discharge of arrows. This was planned with the help of the interpreter, who was another Indian woman (belonging to Alonso de Miranda) and who was trying to escape.[116]

Several things stand out in this account. The Querechos (Luxán's Curechos) had a considerable population in the Acoma area and, as we have already seen, there were Querechos, in Hopi country. The identity of these groups is not certainly known, but from their treatment of the captive girl who escaped the Spaniards it would seem that the Acoma area Querechos were in contact with those at Hopi and perhaps related in some way. Surely they were Apachean-speaking[117] and my guess is that they were Navajo. If so, it represents the first historic documentation of what was to be commonplace in later centuries—Navajo-Hopi hostilities. I doubt if the Hopi had any well-defined mechanisms for exploiting slaves. Likely only women and children were taken captive and perhaps were incorporated in the victor's group as were captives elsewhere in the Southwest. The Hopi clearly did not consider the captive women as fully integrated Hopi, however, for one thing noted from Coronado's time was the solicitude and protective attitude of western Pueblo peoples toward their women. If captives were given or traded to the Spaniards, why not to the Sonorans? Again, it is necessary to stress that we have no firm evidence, either documentary or archaeological, one way or the other.

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Sociopolitical Organization

The political organization of both Cibola and Tusayan is summarized by Castañeda: "The province [of Tusayan] is governed like Cibola, by an assembly of the oldest men. They have their chosen governor and captains."[118] Later, talking about Cibola but stressing that Tusayan had the same "dress, ceremonies, and customs" as Cibola, Castañeda says:

> A man has only one wife. There are estufas in the pueblos, in which they gather to take counsel, and which are located in the patios or plazas. They have no rulers as in New Spain, but are governed by the counsel of their oldest men.[119]

Coronado, in the Mendoza letter, makes the point that Cibola is the name of the province, each town having its separate name. Later in the letter Coronado mentions that no single pueblo seems to have been dominant or to have contained a "principal house by which any superiority over others could be shown." Coronado visited the largest Cibolan town and asked to see the leader. "Later, an old man, who said he was their lord" came and told Coronado that he and the rest of the chiefs would meet with the Spaniards in three days' time. In testimony after the expedition, Coronado talks of sending for "some of the Chieftains" at Cibola.[120]

Forty years later, Luxán at Mohose, found that each of the Hopi pueblos was ruled by "three or four caciques and the cacique has as little power as the ordinary Indian: hence they are all equal." Espejo also makes the distinction between the "caciques" of which there were several at each town, and the other people, but he is otherwise not very informative.[121]

The sources agree that monogamy was the prevailing practice throughout Pueblo country.[122] Castañeda says that when someone wants to marry, he or she must have the permission of the rulers:

> The man must spin and weave a blanket and place it before the woman. She covers herself with it and becomes his wife. The houses are for the women, the estufas for the men. If a man repudiates his wife he must come to the estufa.[123]