

do not by, submit, given - - Luis above
Best southern date, etc.

A465

in our way, where we might have received much harm. He immediately established himself there with the force which he was conducting. The Indians came that very night to occupy that place so as to defend it, and finding it taken, they assaulted our men. According to what I have been told, they attacked like valiant men, although in the end they had to retreat in flight, because the army-master was on the watch and kept his men in good order. The indians sounded a little trumpet as a sign of retreat,* and did not do any injury to the Spaniards. The army-master sent me notice of this the same night."

The scene of this adventure of the vanguard, "about 2 leagues from the village," was evidently but a short distance in advance of the main camp; for, after having met the Indians at Zuffi River, Cardenas had halted his little troop and waited till Alvarado could go back and meet the army, which was on its way from the Little Colorado, and till the army could overtake him; and after the latter came up, there remained of July 6th time for the vanguard to get but a short distance ahead. The army had therefore marched up Zuffi River nearly 6 leagues on the 6th.

While the vanguard suffered on the night of the 6th an actual attack, the main camp was not without its own little adventure on that same night — an experience more amusing than serious — of which Castañeda ~~gives~~ ^{gives} the following account:

"During the night following the ~~next day~~ ^{next day}" [after that on which the first Indians of Cibola had been seen] "about 2 leagues from the village, some Indians in a safe place yelled so that, although the men were ready for anything, some were so excited that they put their saddles on hind-side before; but these were the new fellows. When the veterans had mounted and ridden round the camp, the Indians fled. None of them could be caught because they knew the country."

* Castañeda continues, "The next day" (Wednesday, the 7th of July, as definitely stated in the Traslado de las Nuevas) "they entered the settled country in good order, and when they saw the first village, which was Cibola, such were the curses that some hurled at Friar Merced that I pray God may protect him from them."

Of the accounts of the taking of the village, there ^{are} several; and ^{three} of these we present here, as given in the translations by Winship.

* The villages [of the pueblo settlements] are guarded by sentinels with trumpets, who call to one another just as in the ^{Portuguese} ~~Portuguese~~ of Spain." (Castañeda, Hist. Ind., p. 524. At the present day, according to Hough (Holk. Am. Inds., I, 498), "the Hopi imitate with a gourd trumpet behind a ceremonial altar the supposed sound made by the mythical plumed serpent." A similar trumpet ^{or on a small cup of high-pitched note} may have been used by the Cibolans.

Footnote

Castañeda, who begins his with a description calculated to explain the anger of the soldiers at Fray Marcos, who had praised Cibola so highly, wrote as follows:

"It is a little, unattractive village, looking as if it had been crumpled all up together. There are mansions in New Spain which ~~do~~ make a better appearance at a distance. It is a village of about 200 warriors, is three and four stories high, with the houses small and having only a few rooms, and without a ^{common} courtyard. One yard serves for each section. The people of the whole district had collected here, for there are seven villages in the province, and some of the others are even larger and stronger than Cibola. These folks waited for the army, drawn up by divisions in front of the ~~village~~ village. When they refused to have peace on the terms the interpreters extended to them, but appeared defiant, the Santiago* was given, and they

*"The war cry or loud invocation addressed to Saint James before engaging in battle with the Infidels."—*Captain John Stevens' Dictionary.* (Footnote by Winship.)

were at once put to flight. The Spaniards then attacked the village, which was taken with not a little difficulty, since they held the narrow and crooked entrance. During the attack they knocked the general down with a large stone, and would have killed him ~~but~~ but for Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas and Hernando de Alvarado, who threw themselves above him and drew him away, receiving the blows of the stones, which were not a few. But the first fury of the Spaniards could not be resisted, and in less than an hour they entered the village and captured it. They discovered food there, which was the thing they were most in need of. After this the whole province was at peace.*

*Winship's Translation, Bu. Eth. Ann. XIV, p. 423.

A ~~longer~~ longer account, somewhat different in detail, ^{yet} bearing, as Winship notes, some resemblances to Castañeda's, is the following, given in the Traslado de las Nuevas:

"In this way his grace spent seventy-seven days on the road before reaching here, during which God knows in what sort of a way we lived, and whether we could have eaten much more than we ate the day that his grace reached this city of Granada, for so it has been named out of regard for the viceroy, and because they say it resembles the Albaicin[†]

[†]A part of Granada, near the Alhambra. There is a curious similarity in the names Albaicin and Hawikuh, the latter being the native name of Coronado's Granada." (Winship)

The force he led was not received the way it ~~do~~ should have been, because they all arrived very tired from the great labor of the jour-

ney. This, and the loading and unloading like so many muleteers, and not eating as much as they should have, left them more in need of resting several days than of fighting, although there was not a man in the army who would not have done his best in everything if the horses, who suffered the same as their masters, could have helped them.

"The city was deserted by men over sixty years and under twenty, and by women and children. All who were there were the fighting men who remained to defend the city, and ~~was~~ many of them came out, about a crossbow shot, uttering loud threats. The general himself went forward with two priests and the army-master, to urge them to surrender, as is the custom in new countries. The reply that he received was from many arrows which they let fly, and they wounded Hernando Bermejo's horse and pierced the loose flap of the frock of father Friar Luis, the former companion of the Lord Bishop of Mexico. When this was seen, taking as their advocate the Holy Saint James, he rushed upon them with all his force, which he had kept in very good order, and although the Indians turned their backs and tried to reach the city, they were overtaken and many of them killed before they could reach it. They killed three horses and wounded seven or eight.

"When my lord the general reached the city, he saw that it was surrounded by stone walls, and the houses very high, four and five and even six stories apiece, with their flat roofs and balconies. As ~~the~~ the Indians had made themselves secure within it, and would not let anyone come near without shooting arrows at him, and as we could not obtain anything to eat unless we captured it, his grace decided to enter the city on foot and to surround it by men on horseback, so that the Indians who were inside could not get away. As he was distinguished among them all by his gilt arms and a plume on his headpiece, all the Indians aimed at him, because he was noticeable among all, and they knocked him down to the ground twice by chance stones thrown from the flat roofs, and stunned him in spite of his headpiece, and if this had not been so good, I doubt if he would have come out alive from that enterprise, and besides all this—praised be Our Lord that he came out on his own feet—they hit him many times with stones on his head and shoulders and legs, and he received two small wounds on his face and an arrow wound in the right foot; but despite all this, his grace is as sound and well as the day he left ~~that~~ city. And you*

Footnote *The printed manuscript is V. M., which signifies Your Majesty." (Footnote by Winsor.)
 "I assure my lord of all this, and also that on the 19th of July last he went 4 leagues from this city to see a rock where they told him

that the Indians of this province had fortified themselves," and he

"Corn Mountain. Its Zuffi name, "To'wa yk'iknē," has often been translated, "Thunder Mountain;" but ~~according to~~ ^{according to} Mrs. Matilda Cox Stevenson, ~~(Bu. Eth. Ann. XXXIII, 361)~~ ^(Bu. Eth. Ann. XXXIII, 361) such translation is erroneous.

Footnote

returned the same day, so that he went 3 leagues in going and returning. I think I have given you an account of everything, ~~and~~ for it is right that I should be the authority for you and his lordship, to assure you that everything is going well with the general my lord, and without any hesitation I can assure ^{you} that he is as well and sound as the day he left the city. He is located within the city, for when the Indians saw that his grace was determined to enter the city, they abandoned it, since they let them go with their lives. We found ~~nothing~~ in it what we needed more than gold and silver, and that was such corn and beans and fowls, better than those of New Spain, and salt, the best and whitest that I have seen in all my life."*

Winnship's translation, Bu. Eth. Ann. XIV, pp. 564-5.

Coronado, who in his Letter to Mendoza gives the fullest account of the taking of Cibola, relates that "on the next day," [after the attack

on the vanguard and the scare at ~~the~~ main camp, night of July 6th, -i.e., on July 7th,]

"I started with as good order as I could, for we were in such great need of food that I thought we should all die of hunger if we continued to be without provisions for another day, especially the Indians, since altogether we did not have two bushels of corn, and so I was obliged to hasten forward without delay. The Indians lighted their fires from point to point, and these were answered from a distance with as good understanding as we could have shown. Thus notice was given concerning how we went and where we had arrived. As soon as I came within sight of this city, I sent the army-master, Don Garcia Lopez, Friar Daniel and Friar Luis, and Ferrando Varmizzo, with some horsemen, a little way ahead, so that they might find the Indians and tell them that we were not coming to do them any harm, but to defend them in the name of our lord the Emperor. The summons, in the form which His Majesty commanded in his instructions, was made intelligible to the people of the country by an interpreter." But

Footnote

*Perhaps the ~~old~~ old Zuffi Indian fugitive who had for many years dwelt among the Sobaburi Indians on the San Pedro River, and who had desired to accompany Fray Marcos de Niza to Cibola in 1539.

they, being a proud people, were little affected, because it seemed to them that we were few in number, and that they would not have any difficulty in conquering us. They pierced the gown of Friar Luis with an arrow, which, blessed be God, did him no harm. Meanwhile I arrived with all the rest of the horse and ^{the} footmen, and found a large body of the Indians on the plain, who began to shoot with their arrows.

~~Unpublished~~

In obedience to the orders of Your Lordship and of the marquis,*

Footnote

*As ~~the~~ "the marquis," in New Spain, always ~~meant~~ Cortes, a rival of Mendoza, Winship suggests that this may be a blunder on the part of Ramusio, from whose Italian version of Coronado's Letter the English translation is made; the reference intended being to "His Majesty."

I did not wish my company, who were begging me for permission, to attack them, telling them that they ought not to offend them, and that what the enemy was doing was nothing, and that so few people ought not to be insulted. On the other hand, when the Indians saw that we did not move, they took greater courage, ~~and~~ and grew so bold that they came up almost to the heels of our horses to shoot their arrows. On this account I ~~was that~~

(Continued in A 46 w.)

saw that it was no longer time to hesitate, and as the priests approved the action, I charged them. There was little to do, because they suddenly took to flight, part running toward the city, which was near and well fortified, and others toward the plain, wherever chance led them. Some Indians were killed, and others might have been slain if I could have allowed them to be pursued. But I saw that there would be little advantage in this, because the Indians who were outside were few, and those who had retired to the city were numerous, besides many who had remained there in the first place. As that was where the food was, of which we stood in such great need, I assembled my whole force and divided them as seemed to me best for the attack on the city, and surrounded it. The hunger which we suffered would not permit of any delay, and so I dismounted with some of these gentlemen and soldiers. I ordered the musketeers and crossbowmen to begin the attack and drive back the enemy from the defenses, so that they could not do us any injury. I assaulted the wall on one side, where I was told that there was a scaling ladder and that there was also a gate. But the crossbowmen broke all the strings of their crossbows and the musketeers could do nothing, because they had arrived so weak and feeble that they could scarcely stand on their feet. On this account the people who were on top were not prevented at all from defending themselves and doing us whatever injury they were able. Thus, for myself, they knocked me down to the ground twice with countless great stones which they threw down from above, and if I had not been protected by the very good headpiece which I wore, I think that the outcome would have been bad for me. They picked me up from the ground, however, with two small wounds in my face and an arrow in my foot, and with many bruises on my arms and legs, and in this condition I retired from the battle, very weak. I think that if Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas had not come to my help, like a good cavalier, the second time that they knocked me to the ground, by placing his own body above mine, I should have been in much greater danger than I was. But, by the pleasure of God, these Indians surrendered, and their city was taken with the help of Our Lord, and a sufficient supply of corn was found there to relieve our necessities. The army-master and Don Pedro de Tovar and Ferrando de Alvarado and Paulo de Melgona, the infantry captain, sustained some bruises, although none of them were wounded. Agonies Quarez was hit in the arm by an arrow, and one Torres, who lived in Panuco, in the face by another, and two other footmen received slight arrow wounds.

They all directed their attack against me, because my armor was gilded and glittered, and on this account I was hurt more than the rest, and not because I had done more or was farther in advance than the others; for all these gentlemen and soldiers bore themselves well, as was expected of them. I praise God that I am now well, although somewhat sore from the stones. Two or three other soldiers were hurt in the battle which we had on the plain, and three horses were killed—one that of Don Lopez* and another that of Vigliega and the third that of

Footnote *Probably Don Diego Lopez, alderman of Seville, who was a cavalry captain.

Don Alfonso Manrich—and seven or eight other horses were wounded; but the men, as well as the horses, have now recovered and are well."*

Footnote *Winship's Translation from the Italian version by Ramusio. Bu. Eth. Ann. XIV, pp. 556-7.

Coronado does not say what farther means of warfare was used against the Cibolans after the latter had repulsed with a stone-shower his attempt to force his way into their stronghold. Castaffeda's Relacion and the Traslado de las Nuevas, likewise include nothing on this point, in their accounts of ~~the~~ gaining possession of Hawikuh. But light is shed upon the matter by the Relacion del Suceso, which says, "We had to withdraw, on account of the great damage they did us from the flat roofs, and we began to assault them from a distance with the artillery and muskets, and that afternoon they surrendered."*

Footnote *The resistance probably did not
*Winship's Translation, Bu. Eth. Ann. XIV, p. 373.

last long after the beginning of the attack ~~with~~ with the artillery and muskets; for the repulse—which came after a march of two leagues or more, and an attempt to treat with the Cibolans as friends, and an attack upon them on the plain near the ~~village~~ village—must have been at or after midday, and the surrender or evacuation was "that afternoon." Seeing the boldness of the Spaniards and their novel and effective means of warfare, and being impressed by their firearms and especially by the power of the swivel guns (for Indians have ever stood in great awe of cannon, however small,) the Cibolans were probably soon convinced, both of the Spaniards' fixed determination to enter the pueblo, and of their ability to do so; and so made good use of the opportunity, which Coronado afforded them, to withdraw from it.

A 46 y

Of Cibola, and of what transpired there subsequent to the occupa-
tion of Hawikuh, ~~the fullest account~~ ^{is given by Coronado.} In his
Letter of August 3d to Mendoza, he says:

"It now remains for me to tell about this city and kingdom and ^{provinces, 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,

Footnote

"To what extent and with what qualifications, the accusations by the
disappointed general and others, should be accepted as impeaching
the good faith of the enthusiastic and sanguine friar, is a question
that has been discussed in Early Far West Paper No. 1, where will be
found references to such discussion by Bandelier, Winship, and others.

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."

(Contin'd on A 46 y')

The Relacion del Suceso speaks of the houses as being of "two or three stories." The Traslado de las Nuevas says that the houses were "very high, four, five, and even six stories apiece." And Castañeda, in addition to his already quoted statement about the first village of Cibola, ^{Hawikuh,} and its houses, wrote elsewhere as follows: "Cibola is seven villages. The largest is called Maçaque. The houses are ordinarily three or four stories high, but in Maçaque there are houses with four and seven stories."*

Footnote *Winship, Translation, Eth. Ann. XIV, 517. The ruins of Matsaki are at the northwestern base of Corn Mountain.

Of the construction and relative position of the houses, and of the kivas, or estufas, the Relacion Postrera de Sibola says, "The walls are about a handbreadth thick; the sticks of timber are as large as the wrist, and round; for boards, they have very small bushes, with their leaves on, covered with a sort of greenish-colored mud; the walls are of dirt and mud, the doors of the houses are like the hatchways of ships. The houses are close together, each joined to the others. Outside of the houses they have some hot-houses (or estufas) of dirt mud, where they take refuge from the cold in the winter—because this is very great, since it snows six months in the year."*

Footnote *Winship's Transl., op. cit., p. 569.

Of the plan and arrangement of the houses in the villages of Cibola, the Relacion del Suceso says, "some have the houses of the village all together, although in some villages they are divided into two or three sections, but for the most part they are all together, and their courtyards are within, and in these are their hot rooms for winter, and they have their summer ones outside of the villages. The houses have...the walls of stone and mud, and some have mud walls. The villages have [for their walls] for the most part the walls of the houses."*..... *

Footnote *Ibid., p. 573. Compare also the descriptions obtained from San Pedro River Indians by Fray Marcos de Niza and Captain Melchior Diaz in 1539, which can be found in Early Far West Paper, No. 1.

~~to be better continued~~

~~The seven villages are little villages, all having the kind of houses I have described. They are all within a distance of about 10 leagues from Cibola, and the villages are about a league or more apart from each other, within a circuit of perhaps 3 leagues." (Ibid., p. 586)~~

The kivas, or "estufas," would seem to have been square, as they are not by any of the ~~chroniclers~~ chroniclers, distinguished from other "rooms," save in use, and in being subterranean and isolated. (Continued on A 46 y')