

The *Servicios* of Vicente de Zaldívar: New Light on the Jumano War of 1601

Nancy P. Hickerson, *Texas Tech University*

Abstract. Vicente de Zaldívar was an officer during the Spanish conquest and colonization, under the command of his maternal uncle, Juan de Oñate. This statement of *servicios* rendered to the Crown provides biographical information on both Zaldívar and his father, and recounts historical events from Nueva Galicia to New Mexico. Of special interest is the account of Zaldívar's 1601 punitive campaign against the Jumanos, a significant but hitherto obscure event in New Mexican colonial history.

In 1595 Juan de Oñate, a wealthy Zacatecas silver magnate, received a royal commission for the conquest and settlement of New Mexico and was, at the same time, granted the hereditary title of *Adelantado*.¹ The colonizing expedition was assembled at San Bartolomé, a frontier town in Nueva Vizcaya; from there, after repeated delays, departure finally came in late January 1598. The caravan took a new road across the Chihuahuan desert, reaching the Rio Grande near the crossing at El Paso. Oñate then took an advance party north, following the river. A base was established at the Tewa village of Caypa, which was renamed San Juan and became the first capital of New Mexico. In June of the same year, after the arrival of more settlers, a ceremony was held at which designated representatives of Indian pueblos pledged obedience and vassalage to the Spanish crown.

From the beginning, Oñate put much of the responsibility for the recruitment, outfitting, and execution of the campaign in the hands of two of his nephews, Juan de Zaldívar Oñate and Vicente de Zaldívar Mendoza; he appointed them as *maestre de campo* and *sargento mayor*, respectively, of the expeditionary force. Juan de Zaldívar, Oñate's second-in-command, played a prominent role in the early stages of the campaign but was killed soon after arrival in New Mexico, in an ambush just outside the Keresan

village of Acoma. Vicente de Zaldívar, the chief recruitment officer, led the march north, opening the road to be followed by the wagon train. After his brother's death, he in turn became Oñate's most trusted officer and was appointed *maestre de campo* prior to the great expedition to Quivira in the summer of 1601.

The undated document translated below (AGI Guadalajara 252: 103) bears the signature of Vicente de Zaldívar; it was probably written in 1602, in connection with Zaldívar's journey to Spain on behalf of the New Mexican colony.² It appears to be, with minor additions, essentially the same as that which Zaldívar described in December 1601 as a statement "of the services which my father, Vicente de Zaldívar, and I rendered his majesty in this kingdom (New Mexico) and others" (Hammond and Rey 1953: 787). Internal evidence indicates that this statement was updated, first on the occasion of an appearance before the Audiencia of Mexico in April 1602 and again, a few months later, at the time of his mission to the royal court of Spain.

Although much of the present document repeats information given elsewhere, there are also differences and new information of some value.³ The initial paragraphs, devoted to the career of Zaldívar's father, cover a period between roughly 1542 and 1601 and include information on the Mixton War and the pacification of Nueva Galicia; of special interest is the account of an uprising in the Real de Sombrerete and the punitive measures taken at Colotlan. In recounting his own exploits, Zaldívar adds little to what is already known of such events as the siege of Acoma and the expedition to Quivira. By contrast, his account of the punitive war against the Juamanos, though not extensive, is a significant addition to knowledge of that obscure phase in New Mexican history.

Services of (the petitioner's) father

His father, Vicente de Zaldívar, has served for fifty-five years in New Spain. Much [of this service] was in the Kingdom of New Galicia, in the company of his uncle, Cristobal de Oñate, *capitan general* of that kingdom. He found himself involved in many skirmishes with Indians of different nations, at one of which Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza was present. The petitioner's father escaped from all of these with injuries. He always served so selflessly that he was considered to be one of the most essential and bravest men of the kingdom.⁴

After the Audiencia of Guadalajara commissioned him to undertake various assignments in the war, pacification, and castigation of the Chichimecs, Viceroy Don Martin Enríquez named him *capitan general* and gave him a title.⁵ He served in this office for eight years at his own expense,

without salary, doing this⁶ for the many soldiers, captains, relatives, and servants who depended on him. From having been among the richest men of the kingdom, he became very poor, since he spent more than 100,000 ducats in its service. Furthermore, since he was unable to see to provisioning his haciendas, he was forced to sell many of them.

Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco, after establishing peace with the Chichimecs, named him *capitan general*, replacing Don Diego de Velasco, who had held that position.⁷ He has served You [King Philip III] satisfactorily for nine years, with much honesty and benefit—more so than his predecessor, who spent 130,000 to 140,000 ducats each year warring with the Indians. He has not spent more than 70,000 ducats, which helped to save a great deal of money. He did not spend more, despite the Chichimecs being the bravest and most warlike [Indians] of the kingdom. They and those of Vizcaya have always caused disturbances and mischief, resulting in damage to the royal exchequer.

Three Indian leaders of a band of outlaws did a great deal of damage at some charcoal-works bordering the Real de Sombrerete,⁸ killing many Spaniards and friendly Indians and putting the kingdom at risk of a revolt. The Viceroy Count of Monterrey, fearful of such a dangerous development, sent an order for [the petitioner's] father to levy men to punish that offense.⁹ Since he realized it to be the start of something very dangerous and costly for Your Majesty, he went alone, without men of war, to the pueblo of Colotlan and persuaded Captain Omon [possibly Jomon or Somon] (whom everyone obeyed) to deliver the three ringleaders to him.¹⁰ They were handed over, and he punished them by hanging and put them, quartered, alongside the roads. As a result, no one has presumed to commit a similar crime again.

With more than five years having passed since the said event, the Kingdom of Galicia has not suffered any more losses or disturbances. This should be attributed to the good management by [the petitioner's] father, his long experience in the war, and his control of the Chichimec chieftains. He is so respected that the Viceroy has found it very convenient to keep him in his position, despite his eighty years. His old age and the vast amount he spent on the expeditions he made (in spite of a low salary) have never stopped him from his pursuit of service to Your Majesty, because no one else could have done what he did in that kingdom.

Services of the petitioner

Following his father's example,¹¹ the petitioner and his brother, Don Juan de Zaldívar, took part in the New Mexican campaign, accompanying his uncle the *Adelantado* [Juan de Oñate]. His brother was the *maestre de campo*, and

he was the *sargento mayor*. In Mexico he recruited the men who followed him and took them there at his own expense.¹² He spent a great sum of ducats on this, on outfitting himself and his brother, and on many matters necessary for the campaign.

During this campaign, he has served with all the punctuality, care, risk, and diligence that have been necessary. Both because of his office as *sargento mayor*, and because of his record of good service, the *Adelantado* entrusted him with all of the sorties, discoveries, and entradas that have been made in the course of the campaign. He played an important role in the discovery of several mines during the campaign, and in that of the famous salines found there. Likewise, he discovered the great abundance of cows of Cibola. During the entrada that he made to the west in search of the South Sea, he expended a great amount of labor because of the long and difficult route. He also encountered many nations of Indians, and left all of them in peace.

After the Indians of the Pueblo of Acoma had treacherously killed his brother, the *maestre de campo*, and twelve other soldiers, he undertook their punishment at the petition of all the army officers and with the approval of the friars. In the course of this operation, he and eleven soldiers were at risk of perishing because of the strength of the site, until they miraculously gained a foothold on the peñol, where they were sheltered and were able to mount the artillery. After this, they began to conquer a part of the place, and the Indians became discouraged. Within three days they succeeded in overpowering the site, captured those who were still alive and took them, along with the women and children, to the *Adelantado*.

When the Jumano Indians killed three soldiers who were passing by their town, and the *Adelantado* had information that the pueblos of the territory were assembling to go after him, [the petitioner] was named, at the request of the friars, to undertake the castigation. (To his great satisfaction, the friars earnestly asked the *Adelantado* to select no one but this petitioner.) En route to the castigation, the said Indians came out to receive him more than five leagues from their town, with many others of different nations. Because of the accuracy of their weapons and the extensive damage they did with many rocks from their rooftops, and because they were numerous and among the bravest of those provinces, the battle lasted five days and nights. It would have been impossible to proceed with the undertaking if the petitioner had not hit upon the clever stratagem of taking control of their water supply; so this was done. It was such a difficult case that in less than an hour the Indians wounded almost forty soldiers. They broke the petitioner's arm, and wounded him in two other places.

After we took the Indians' water supply, they began to weaken, and the

women and children, who came out in desperation to drink, were ordered by the petitioner to sate their thirst. This caused the women to persuade their husbands to stop the war. They left off, and peace was made, to the great benefit of the *Adelantado*. After taking the many Indians who were conquered and subdued in the encounter, [the petitioner] gave them their freedom, for which they remain timorous and thankful, and all the more submissive, and more responsive to what is commanded.

For the expedition that the *Adelantado* made to the large settlements of New Mexico, [the petitioner] was named as general *maestre de campo*, replacing his late brother Don Juan de Zaldívar. After the *Adelantado* and the main body of the army had marched more than two hundred leagues without finding the large settlements, of which they had news, the petitioner was sent to scout out the land while the *Adelantado* and the army remained in camp. Within three days of parting with the *Adelantado*, he came upon a rancheria of Indians of more than seven thousand souls.¹³ Although they took up their arms on seeing the petitioner and his men, they became docile when they saw him coming alone making a sign of peace. Having spoken to them and embraced them in friendship, he asked them about the large settlements,¹⁴ and they told him that those were six leagues from there.

With gifts, he brought some Indians to the *Adelantado*. After the *Adelantado* learned what was there, he marched to the first village, where all the people had retreated and huddled inside. The soldiers of the camp knew that it was in that village that Captain Umaña and twenty-eight companions had been killed.¹⁵ In view of the large number of the people, compared with the few men and armaments that the *Adelantado* had brought, the officers, soldiers, and officials requested in writing that he should return to report on the things that he had seen, of such great importance, and not put at risk that which had cost so much.

When the *Adelantado* returned, the Indians of the rancheria saw that he had not done what they wished.¹⁶ Because they were enemies of that large village, they took up arms against the *Adelantado* and his army with so much ferocity that within a short period of time they wounded twenty-eight of the finest soldiers. The petitioner emerged with two wounds. By his order, the Indian Miguel was captured; he is being held here,¹⁷ and he has given a great deal of information.

The *Adelantado* and his army returned to the point of departure and sent the petitioner to report to the Viceroy. With the concurrence of the Viceroy, he came to this court [the royal court of Spain] to apprise Your Majesty of the state of the campaign and the small body of men remaining with the *Adelantado*.

Vicente de Zaldívar, *Maestre de Campo* of the New Mexico Campaign.

Commentary

The Oñate and Zaldívar Families

Cristobal de Oñate, the Adelantado's father, was a founder of Nueva Galicia and a hero of the Mixton War. He and his brother-in-law, Juan de Tolosa, are credited with early discoveries of the silver deposits of Zacatecas and are among the "four caballeros" renowned as founders of that city. The two were among the wealthiest and most politically powerful men of their generation in northern New Spain (Chipman 1977: 300-1). Though not one of the founding fathers, the senior Vicente de Zaldívar, a military hero and a prominent miner, was active in civic affairs as early as 1570 (Bakewell 1971: 33). The predominately Basque hidalgos of Zacatecas were much intermarried, with an evident tendency for ambitious men to contract hypergamous marriages for economic or political advantage. A prime example can be seen in Juan de Oñate's own marriage to Isabel de Tolosa, daughter of Juan de Tolosa and Leonor Cortés Moctezuma, which enabled him to boast that "my children are grandchildren of Hernando Cortés . . . and great grandchildren of the mighty Emperor Motezuma [*sic*]" (Hammond and Rey 1953: 1151).

The Oñate and Zaldívar families were linked through several marriages over at least three generations: the grandfather of the sargento mayor, Ruy Diaz de Zaldívar, was married to the sister of Cristobal de Oñate; his son, the senior Vicente de Zaldívar, married Magdalena de Mendoza y Salazar, half-sister of Juan de Oñate. As a result of these two marriages, Juan and Vicente de Zaldívar were second cousins as well as nephews of the Adelantado; Vicente would also become his son-in-law.

One cannot know exactly what the sargento mayor had in mind when he spoke of his "imitation of his father." However, the parallels in their lives go far beyond their involvement in frontier exploits of exploration and Indian fighting and amount to the blueprint for an entire career. Like his father, the younger Vicente matured under the sponsorship of a maternal uncle of the prestigious Oñate family, an uncle to whom he was both protégé and trusted lieutenant. Like his father, he was rewarded for bravery and initiative with assignments of ever greater responsibility; he may have been given the ultimate reward for faithful service when he received his cousin, Maria de Oñate, in marriage.¹⁸

It might be noted that young Cristobal de Oñate, the Adelantado's only son, was enlisted in the New Mexico campaign as an ordinary soldier.¹⁹ Unlike his cousins, Cristobal did not play a prominent role in events of the Conquest, although—while still a "youth lacking in age and experience" (Hammond and Rey 1953: 1073)—he briefly (though unofficially) succeeded

his father as governor, in the interval between the latter's removal from office and the arrival of Pedro de Peralta, who took control when New Mexico was made a royal colony.²⁰

After his return to Zacatecas, Vicente de Zaldívar took control of the family mining properties and built a substantial personal fortune. By contrast, Juan de Oñate's business ventures floundered. In 1614 he was summoned to the city of Mexico and was held under house arrest while being tried on a series of charges brought by colony members; he was convicted of several offenses, fined, and sentenced to perpetual exile from New Mexico. The erstwhile Adelantado then launched a campaign to clear his name and to regain the title that he had been forced to relinquish. Around 1620 Oñate removed to Spain to pursue this objective. His efforts were partially rewarded when he received an official appointment as mining inspector for Spain, a position he held until his death; he never returned to the New World. Eventually, the restored title of Adelantado was awarded to his younger grandson Nicolas de Zaldívar y Oñate, the only child of Vicente de Zaldívar and Maria de Oñate.²¹

The New Mexico Campaign

Like earlier expeditions that set out from northern Mexico, the one that departed from the Valley of San Bartolomé in January 1598 was principally guided by mining interests. Many of the explorations led by Zaldívar and other officers, within and beyond the limits of New Mexico, were undertaken to scout out potential mining areas or to revisit sites already located and sampled by prior expeditions. Thus, for example, the party under the command of Captain Marcos Farfán de Godos, which staked claims to mines in Arizona, evidently followed the same trails, and may have used the same maps, as the Espejo expedition twenty years earlier (Bolton 1908: 240). Salines were eagerly sought out, primarily because of the importance of salt in silver processing. The "famous salines" were those located in the Estancia Valley of New Mexico, visited by Zaldívar during the initial approach to New Mexico—again following the footsteps of the earlier explorers.²²

Zaldívar again stretches the truth in claiming to have discovered the "cattle of Cibola"—the buffalo of the North American Plains, which had been seen and described by several earlier explorers. In the autumn of 1598, just after the formal establishment of the colony, he was dispatched with a party of sixty men to kill buffalo for a winter's supply of meat and tallow for the colony. On the way east from Galisteo Pass, the Spaniards fell in with a group of *Vaqueros* (Apaches), who led them to the buffalo herds. After unsuccessfully attempting to drive the buffalo into a corral (repeating

the equally unsuccessful efforts of Chamuscado in 1582), they may have relied on their Apache guides for assistance in slaughtering and butchering the animals (Bolton 1908: 223–32).

The name of Vicente de Zaldívar is best known for his leadership of the siege of Acoma, which is recounted in the epic poem written by his fellow officer Gaspar Pérez de Villagra (1933). The account given in the present document is brief and adds little to the record, which will not be dwelt on here. It may be that the *sargento mayor* chose to downplay that notorious episode in this document, consistent with his apparent effort to present himself as a man of peace. This effort continues in the accounts of the Jumano War and the Quivira campaign.

Oñate's "big expedition" to Quivira in 1601, for which Zaldívar was appointed *maestre de campo*, has been discussed in detail elsewhere (Schroeder 1962; Vehik 1985). The brief summation given in the present document contains little new information. It does, however, give remarkable insight into Zaldívar's image of himself as reflecting his father's glory; the self-serving account of his encounter with the Escanjaques may be compared with that of his father's mission to Colotlan.

The Jumano War

Vicente de Zaldívar visited the Tompiro and Jumano pueblos of the Salinas, on the southeastern frontier of New Mexico, on at least three occasions. As already noted, in mid-June 1598 a party led by the Zaldívar brothers left the main body of the expedition near the Piro village of Sevilletta, to explore eastward via the Abó Pass. The *itinerario* of the campaign indicates that the party visited the "villages of Abó" — their number, names, and locations unspecified (Hammond and Rey 1953: 319). At this time, according to subsequent testimony, the "sargento mayor, by order of the governor, went on ahead to explore these settlements and discovered the nine or ten settlements of the Salines (Salinas), and the salines with fine white salt, which are the biggest this witness [Diego de Zubia] ever heard of" (*ibid.*: 821).²³ These salines were considered especially important, because of their size and their easy accessibility to mineral deposits and to the main highway along the Rio Grande.

In the Salinas region there were groups of pueblos identified as Tiwa, Tompiro, and Jumano in population.²⁴ Three Jumano pueblos are first mentioned by name in August 1598, in accounts of ceremonies that proclaimed the civil and religious domination of Spain over the indigenous population of the colony. At this time, Fray Francisco de San Miguel was assigned responsibility for a large district of eastern New Mexico, including the "three great Pueblos of the Xumanas or Rayados called . . . Gennobey, Quellote-

zei [Cueloce], Pataotzei, together with their subjects" (Scholes and Mera 1940: 276). Soon afterward—while Vicente de Zaldívar was hunting buffalo in the plains—Oñate paid an official visit to the Salinas region and received oaths of allegiance from the caciques of various pueblos. At "Cueloce, called the town of the Rayados,"²⁵ he received the chiefs of the three Jumano pueblos and of the Tompiro pueblo of Abó (Hammond and Rey 1953: 351–53). The Adelantado then proceeded west, hoping—but failing—to locate the South Sea (the Pacific).

Vicente de Zaldívar's second visit to the Salinas evidently came the following summer, about six months after the siege of Acoma. In mid-July 1599 Zaldívar was dispatched with a company of twenty-five men to try once more to locate the South Sea. En route, the party detoured through the Salinas in search of food supplies. At an unnamed Jumano pueblo—perhaps the "great pueblo" of Cueloce—the sargento mayor demanded a quantity of corn.²⁶ He and his soldiers then withdrew for a day, to wait while the Indians ground the corn. However, when they returned to the pueblo, they were presented with stones instead of grain. Although this bold act was interpreted as insolence, it probably reflected the reality of economic conditions in the Salinas region. The drain of Spanish levies throughout New Mexico must already have destroyed the traditional exchange system. The offering of stones was a symbolic reflection of the poverty of an agriculturally marginal community that, as a trading center, would normally have drawn part of its food supply from other regions. In any case, the refusal was seen as a defiance of authority. Zaldívar evidently did not take punitive measures at the time, though he must have issued threats; however, he promptly reported the incident to the Adelantado. Oñate himself then revisited the Jumanos while Zaldívar's party was still exploring the west (Hammond and Rey 1953: 620).

Oñate's personal intervention here indicates that some importance was attached to the Jumanos' defiance, which came so soon after the Acoma uprising had been crushed. Although little is known of the details of the subsequent Jumano War, it apparently was the most significant native resistance movement of the early-colonial period in New Mexico.²⁷

The Adelantado proceeded to the Salinas, with sixty men, soon after receiving Zaldívar's message. Their ostensible purpose was to collect tribute in woven goods (*mantas*), but Oñate had also indicated his intention to punish the Jumanos for this "insolence" toward the sargento mayor (ibid.: 650). At the "Pueblo of the Jumanos" (Cueloce) he was given only twelve or fourteen blankets. Oñate and his men then retired to "certain water holes"; this apparently refers to a group of shallow wells, a quarter league away, that constituted the pueblo's main water supply. The next day the soldiers

returned to the pueblo, where Oñate announced, through an interpreter, that he “was going to punish them because they had refused to furnish the *sargento mayor* with supplies.” The village was then fired on, and several houses were burned. Besides those killed and wounded in the attack, two men who appeared to be “bellicose” were hanged—as was, reportedly, the interpreter (*ibid.*: 650–51).

The next incident, less than a year later, came when five Spanish soldiers were waylaid while passing through (or near) a Jumano pueblo, on their way to Mexico. Two men were killed and twenty horses were lost; the survivors returned to San Gabriel to report the attack (*ibid.*: 701).²⁸ Surely anticipating that massive reprisals would follow, the Indians of the region rallied, with those directly involved in the attack being joined by “many neighboring pueblos” (*ibid.*: 802, 805). The colonists reacted to news of the unrest with trepidation, a sense that “the whole land was aroused and put in danger of being lost unless the outrage was punished immediately” (*ibid.*: 788).

At this time, in the spring of 1601, planning was already under way for the great expedition to Quivira, which would take most of the army away from New Mexico. This being the case, there was strong pressure, especially from the missionary community, for decisive measures to avoid any possibility of an uprising. Vicente de Zaldívar was quickly assigned to lead a punitive expedition against the Jumanos. The subsequent confrontation, roughly a month later, thus represents his third visit to the Salinas.

Zaldívar selected a company of around seventy men and traveled to the Salinas with ten mule-drawn wagons loaded with supplies and artillery.²⁹ His account, in the present document, indicates that a motley crowd of Indians of “different nations” came out to confront this force,³⁰ and that the fighting began more than five leagues from the Jumano town. According to the testimony of several soldiers, the Indians’ assault was sudden—evidently an ambush—and the Spaniards were attacked with arrows and stones (*ibid.*: 750, 802).

As the Spanish troops advanced, the Indians retreated toward their pueblo. There was another flurry of arrows as the soldiers approached the village, but Zaldívar “forced them to retreat to the pueblo and fortify themselves there” (*ibid.*: 798). Before beginning the siege, Zaldívar, through “two or three interpreters,” “summoned them [the villagers] to peace and promised them justice”; however, the Indians were defiant, and responded with more arrows and stones (*ibid.*: 801–2).³¹ I believe that the community was, once again, Cueloce, the same Jumano pueblo visited earlier by both Zaldívar and Oñate (see below). Although Zaldívar states that the battle lasted five days, other reports indicate that it went on for six; two partici-

pants recalled that the siege began on a Monday and continued, day and night, until the following Saturday (*ibid.*: 795, 799).

During the siege, the soldiers were evidently deployed around the town, to prevent the Indians from leaving. At the same time, as Zaldívar indicates, the water supply had been seized. This strategy—of confining the Indians to the town, without access to water—eventually forced their surrender. There were at least two attempts by groups of Indians to break free. Early in the week, several hundred people fled; Zaldívar was injured while leading the pursuit and forcing their return. The breaking point, according to one account, came on Friday night, when Zaldívar pursued some escapees, and lanced and killed those who would not surrender (*ibid.*: 795, 802). The next day, the resistance ceased, and Zaldívar took control of the pueblo. It is not clear just when and how fires were set; however, it is indicated that a part of the town was burned and that a large number of people were killed (*ibid.*: 615, 693).

It appears that Zaldívar's treatment of the siege survivors was, in fact, somewhat less severe than was the case at Acoma. At the time of this expedition, he had already come under criticism for the earlier episode and may have tried to act with more restraint. However, he appears to dissemble when he indicates that all the prisoners were given their freedom, since, according to other witnesses to the events, the adult men were (as at Acoma) distributed as servants to the victorious soldiers.³² The others—women, children, and older men—were released to return to their homes, with Zaldívar's stern warning that they “should not harm the Spaniards again,” or he “would have them all killed” (*ibid.*: 796, 805). This done, the Spanish company—with several horses lost, many injuries, but no fatalities—returned to San Gabriel, and almost immediately departed to explore the Great Plains.

Documentation of the events of the Jumano War is incomplete, and some questions may never be completely resolved, including the exact geographical setting of the hostilities and the identity of the communities involved; these matters have been the focus of most previous discussion. I have suggested that a single community, the large Jumano pueblo of Cueloce, was the setting for all the incidents involving Oñate and Zaldívar. Thus I question the generally accepted identification of Abó, a large Tompiro pueblo, as the site of the attack on the Spanish soldiers. It is true that there are several documents that appear to link the attack to Abó. For example, the transcript of the inquiry before the Audiencia indicates that witnesses were asked about the incident that occurred at “the Jumano town of Abó.” The phrase is either contradictory or ambiguous. The historic pueblo of Abó (identified with archaeological site LA 97; from Baldwin 1981: 67 [map])

was not a Jumano town. However, it appears that, in the early colonial period, the Spaniards did at times use *Abó* as a general term for the Piro-speaking region of the Salinas—as, for example, in the previous reference to Zaldívar’s exploration of “the villages of Abó.” Thus the phrase “the Jumano town of Abó” could actually specify Cueloce, the largest Jumano settlement in that region. Further, the two senses in which the name was used could have been, at the time, a source of confusion about the location of the attack and other events; after all, few Spaniards would have had any firsthand familiarity with that remote frontier region.

Another point of uncertainty is the location of the meeting between Zaldívar’s troops and the assembled Salinas Indians. Several witnesses indicated that this occurred near (but not at) the pueblo of Agualoco (Acoloco, Aualco, Agualco). Agualoco must have been a Tiwa pueblo, since it was there that Oñate, two years earlier, had received the oaths of allegiance from several Tiwa caciques. It has also been tentatively identified as the site of Quarai (Cuarac, LA 95; from Baldwin 1981: 67 [map]), an early mission center (*ibid.*: 701).³³ After the fact, Zaldívar and other participants may have recalled passing Agualoco, considered to be a regional capital, as a point of reference. Some distance beyond this point, on the frontier of the Tompiro province, the Jumanos and their allies were waiting to confront the Spanish troops. Here the Indians were forced to retreat as the soldiers advanced toward Cueloce, where Zaldívar had been commissioned to punish “the guilty parties” (*ibid.*: 701, 799, 816).

Today, the distance between the presumed sites of Agualoco and Cueloce (Quarai and Gran Quivira ruins) is roughly 25 miles—seemingly, at 2.6 miles to the league, a considerably greater distance than the “more than five leagues” between the ambush point and the Jumano town as indicated by Zaldívar. However, distances recorded on maps and in the itinerary of Oñate’s tour of the Salinas indicate that a 3.22-mile league was in use in the Spanish colony (Baldwin 1981: 93–94). Assuming that Zaldívar operated with the same standard of measurement, a distance of almost eighteen miles is indicated—perhaps a reasonable figure, if it is recalled that the encounter probably took place some distance past Agualoco. The retreat to Cueloce could then have taken a full day or more; this may explain the discrepancy in estimates (five or six days) of the duration of the battle.

Cueloce, like other pueblos in the arid Salinas region, was largely constructed of stone masonry: wooden and thatched roofs, railings, and outbuildings would have been the parts most vulnerable to fire. Today, the archaeological site of Gran Quivira (LA 120) still gives evidence of a large community, consistent with the historical indications of a population of two to three thousand people (Vivian 1979: 48). Its setting is striking in

its elevation, atop a rise and overlooking a broad plain. In the late period of its occupancy, many structures of an earlier period had evidently been filled in with debris, to provide the foundation for the later dwellings (*ibid.*: 36). The high rooftops of the pueblo would thus have provided a fine vantage point for observing the movements of those approaching the town and an excellent launching platform for projectiles (stones that the occupants remaining in the town would, no doubt, have stockpiled in advance).

The most persuasive evidence for linking the site of Gran Quivira (the historic Cueloce) to the Spanish siege, and to the earlier visits of Zaldívar and Oñate, is provided by repeated references to the “water holes,” or wells, that were seized to force the Jumanos to capitulate. Unlike Abó, which was situated on a large, year-round running stream, Cueloce had no immediately accessible water source. Instead, it relied on several shallow wells (*pozos*), located approximately a quarter league northwest of the village.³⁴ The location of the wells may have become known to Zaldívar as early as his first exploring trip; during his second visit, this would have been the most likely spot for the soldiers to bivouac while waiting for provisions. Later, Oñate retired to the same wells prior to his attack on the town (possibly apprised of their whereabouts by Zaldívar). Finally, Zaldívar realized that he could bring the population to its knees by seizing the wells; this was the only town where his “clever stratagem” could have worked!³⁵

Although the present document adds to the available information on the Jumano War, the picture is still sketchy. How heavy were the casualties? How much damage was done to the Jumano town and its environs? Was this the only pueblo affected by the Spanish reprisals? That the action may have been of greater scope than our narrator indicates is suggested by the remarks of Fray Juan de Escalona, who wrote to the viceroy that

Your lordship must not believe that the Indians part willingly with their corn, or the blankets with which they cover themselves; on the contrary, this extortion is done by threats and force of arms, the soldiers burning some of the houses and killing the Indians. This was the cause of the Acoma war, as I have clearly established after questioning friars, captains, and soldiers. And the war which was recently waged against the Jumanas started the same way. In these conflicts, more than eight hundred men, women, and children were killed, and three pueblos burned. Their supplies of food were also burned, and this at a time when there was such great need. (Hammond and Rey 1953: 693)

Fray Juan’s observations clearly apply to the uprisings of the Keresans of Acoma and the Jumanos in the Salinas, and seem to imply that two Jumano pueblos were wholly or partially destroyed. Based on this and other

references, it has generally been assumed that different pueblos were subject to the attacks by Oñate and by Zaldívar. However, I have argued that both incidents, as well as the waylaying of the Spanish soldiers, occurred at Cueloce. Was a second Salinas pueblo actually involved? It seems possible that there may, after all, have been some violence at Agualoco; or, that the fighting may have spread from Cueloce to one of the smaller Jumano pueblos of Patoece or Genobey.³⁶ More likely, however, the reference is to the separate fires set during the attacks by Oñate and Zaldívar and may, therefore, simply reflect the confusion that, as I have suggested, existed at the time about the identity of the Jumano town.

Until the 1660s this pueblo of Cueloce (in later years usually called simply "Las Humanas") remained a large community and maintained (or regained) its role as the site of trade between New Mexico and the Plains. The trade may have revived as Spanish entrepreneurs began to deal in such regional commodities as buffalo skins and piñon nuts. Local *encomenderos* also entered the picture, and there are several references to the exploitation of native labor in the mining and hauling of salt, which was shipped to the mining centers of Parral and Santa Barbara in northern Mexico. By mid-century, the Apaches of the Seven Rivers (predecessors of the Mescalero Apaches) were both raiding and trading in the Salinas pueblos. Because of traditional hostilities between the Apaches and Jumanos, the Franciscan missionaries removed many of the latter group to missions lower on the Rio Grande. The famine and warfare depopulated the entire Salinas region by about 1670 (Scholes and Mera 1940: 283).³⁷

Notes

I am grateful to Texas Tech University, the American Philosophical Society, and the director and staff of the Archivo General de Indias for making possible the research on which this essay is based.

- 1 Oñate was the royal governor of New Mexico and also held high military rank; the largely honorific title of *adelantado* empowered him to extend the frontier and, thus, enlarge the territories of Spain.
- 2 For assistance in translation I am grateful to Michelle Thomas of the Department of Classical and Modern Languages at Texas Tech University.
- 3 *Ibid.*, see esp. pp. 782–835 (Inquiry of Vicente de Zaldívar before the Audiencia, 18 April 1602) and 878–92 (Merits and Services of Vicente de Zaldívar).
- 4 These lines refer to events of the Mixton War (1540–42). Antonio de Mendoza was the first viceroy of New Spain (1535–50); Cristobal de Oñate, the *Adelantado's* father, was acting governor of Nueva Galicia in the absence of the newly appointed governor, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, who departed to explore the north in February 1540.
- 5 Martin Enríquez was the fourth viceroy of New Spain (1568–80).

- 6 *Faziendola?*—the initial consonant is unclear (cf. Corominas 1954: 862).
- 7 Diego de Velasco was appointed by the seventh viceroy, the Marques de Villamanrique, in 1587, to command the united military forces of New Spain, Nueva Vizcaya, Nuevo Leon, and Nueva Galicia. Luis de Velasco (son of the second viceroy, of the same name) was the eighth viceroy (1590–95).
- 8 The Real de Sombrerete was a mining area northwest of Zacatecas; it had been almost depopulated in the 1570s because of Indian attacks (Powell 1969: 114).
- 9 Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acebedo, Conde de Monterrey, was the ninth viceroy, taking office in October 1595 (1595–1604). The incident described here must have occurred early in his reign, since it is indicated as “more than five years” before the document was written.
- 10 Colotlan is situated southwest of Zacatecas, on the main road to Guadalajara. A defensive settlement of Tlaxcalans was located there, and a presidio was built nearby in 1590 (Powell 1969: 142).
- 11 Literally, “in imitation of his father” (*ymitando de su padre*).
- 12 Zaldívar traveled widely, to the cities of Mexico, Puebla, Casco, and elsewhere, to recruit, organize, and inspect soldiers in preparation for their assembly for the New Mexican campaign (Hammond and Rey 1953: 818, 825).
- 13 Elsewhere called Escanjaques (Hammond and Rey 1953: 865). Scholars disagree about the identity of this group (Newcombe and Campbell 1982: 35–38; HICKERSON 1994: 71–72).
- 14 Quivira, usually considered to be the Wichita of later history.
- 15 This information was probably given by the Mexican Indian Jusephe, who had escaped the attack on the Umaña party in 1593 and joined Oñate’s forces as a guide and translator.
- 16 They had tried to persuade the Spaniards to attack the village of their enemies.
- 17 Mexico, where Miguel was interrogated (Hammond and Rey 1953: 871–77). This wording must date from the time of Zaldívar’s testimony before the Audiencia.
- 18 This type of continuing alliance of families, over two or more generations, results in a pattern of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, as seen here.
- 19 According to the statement of the *alferez* Miguel Montero de Castro, Cristobal was sixteen years old when he accompanied his father to New Mexico (Hammond and Rey 1953: 879). Despite this contemporary evidence, Simmons suggests that the boy may have been only eight years old at the time and that he was commissioned as an officer for the campaign (1991: 42–45).
- 20 In 1607 Cristobal de Oñate was elected by the colonists to replace his father, who had resigned as governor. The election was vetoed by the Viceroy Luis de Velasco. Pedro de Peralta was appointed to the position in 1609, at which time the Oñates, father and son, were ordered to return to Mexico (Hammond and Rey 1953: 1075, 1092).
- 21 His first grandson, Juan Pérez de Narriahondo, the son of Cristobal de Oñate, was evidently passed over. This may, to a degree, reflect a decline in the status of the Oñate family, relative to that of the Zaldívars (Simmons 1991: 189).
- 22 These same salines had been visited earlier by Chamuscado’s expedition, and Zaldívar may therefore have had some advance knowledge of them. Another celebrated area of salt marshes was found in Zuni territory; however, it was first explored by a party led by Captain Farfán de Godos.
- 23 Since both accounts refer to the same exploring trip, it appears that the “pueblos

- of Abó” and the “settlements of the Salines (or Salinas)” comprised the same regional population cluster.
- 24 All fall within the same division of the Tanoan family. Two languages, Tiwa and Piro, were represented. The Tiwa pueblos included Chilili and Agualoco (or Quarai); the Tompiro and Jumano villages—including Abó and Cueloce—evidently spoke the same, or closely related, dialects of Piro (Hickerson 1988: 311–26).
 - 25 The Spaniards sometimes called the Jumanos *Rayados* (striped), because they were the only New Mexican group to use that type of facial or body painting.
 - 26 Cueloce, also known as Las Humanas, is firmly identified with the archaeological site of Gran Quivira or LA 120 (Vivian 1979: 8).
 - 27 This pan-tribal movement, involving various Pueblo groups as well as neighboring nomadic tribes, may be compared with the series of uprisings that culminated in the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680.
 - 28 In view of their prompt return, it is unlikely that the soldiers were deserters, as is sometimes indicated (Hammond and Rey 1953: 23; Schroeder 1979: 240–41).
 - 29 The wagons and mules were contributed by the father commissary; as Zaldívar indicates, the clerics took the lead in urging a firm response to the uprising, out of concern for future security of missions in the native pueblos (Hammond and Rey 1953: 693).
 - 30 The reference is probably to the several pueblos involved. However, it is possible that representatives of Plains tribes were also present, since the nomadic Jumanos moved, as traders, between the pueblos and plains.
 - 31 The need for more than one interpreter would indicate that a heterogeneous native population was present in the pueblo.
 - 32 Zaldívar is said to have “liberated most of them, especially the women,” and given each of the seventy soldiers one captive from among the “most guilty” over the age of twenty-five (Hammond and Rey 1953: 792). However, according to another witness, more than two hundred prisoners were taken (*ibid.*: 615). At the time of the inquiry held in April 1602, there were several statements that “all but three or four” of these captives had “run away and returned to their land” (*ibid.*: 792, 796, 803).
 - 33 Vivian has somehow surmised that Agualoco was the site not only of the initial encounter but also of the sustained attack by Zaldívar’s troops (1979: 15).
 - 34 Archaeologists have found traces of these wells, including potsherds, as deep as twenty feet below the ground.
 - 35 The chronic water shortage of this pueblo was well known; later in the century, the Jumanos protested when the resident missionary priest used the village wells to water a herd of cattle. The animals were eventually removed to Abó, which had a more adequate water supply (Hickerson 1994: 115).
 - 36 The archaeological sites of Pueblo Pardo (LA 83) and Pueblo Blanco (LA 51) (Baldwin 1981: 61 [map]).
 - 37 The essential documents for the history of the Salinas region were compiled by Hackett (1937); this history is also treated by Scholes and Mera (1940), Schroeder (1979), Sanchez (1987), and Hickerson (1994), among others.

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