1. First contact and early explorers, 1540–1605
   A. First contacts
      01. Castañeda.XI.1540
      02. Luxan.1582
   B. Oñate: beginnings of colonization
      01. MoquiObedience.1598
      02. Farfan.1598 (his excerpt only)
      03. AcomaTrial.1598
      04. EscobarDiary.1605 (first missionary)

2. Spanish Presence, 1620–1680
   A. Missionization
      01. Perea.1633
      02. Benavides.12.1634
   B. Missionaries in residence
      01. GuerraInvestigation.1655
      02. Dominguez.6.20.1663
      03. Peñalosa.7.3.1665
   C. Administration (civil and court)
      01. Juan Zuni.1.5.1660
   D. Economy (encomienda, labor requirements, mantas, tribute)
      01. Encomienda.6.29.1663
      02. LopezSambrano.2.20.1664
   E. Katsinas
      01. Clemente.11.30.1660
      02. Aguilar.5.11.1663
      03. Ruiz.10.19.1663

3. Pueblo Revolt, 1670–1680
   A. Events leading up, such as hunger and scarcity
      01. Memoria.OraiviyXongopavi.8.25.1672
      02. MemorialRelacion.OraiviyXongopavi.8.25.1672
   B. Pueblo Revolt
4. Reconquista and Awatovi, 1690-1700
   A. Attempts at Reconquest
      01. SiguenzayGongora.1693 (Mercurio Volante)
      02. Vargas letters (excerpts from Kessell’s volume)
      03. Extractos de Escalante.Garaicoechea.1700
      04. Extractos de Escalante.Garaicoechea.1705

   B. Awat’ovi
      01. JosephNaranjo.10.15.1701
      02. Narbaiz.10.17.1730

5. Rebuffing the Spaniards, 1700-1750
   A. Military forays and conflicting strategies
      01. CuervoyValdes.6.30.1707 (signs of good will)
      02. Yrazabal.1.8.1713
      03. Flores Mogollon.1.18-27.1713 (excerpts)
      04. Martinez.4-11.1716 (attempts at military reconquest)

   B. Franciscans vs. Jesuits
      01. Massani.1714
      02. Valverde.1718
      03. Campos.1723
      04. Campos.1725
      05. Casafuerte.1725

   B. Franciscan resettlements
      01. IsletaBaptisms11.9-10.1742 and 6.23.1743
      02. Isleta.Peticiones.1745
      03. Delgado.4.12.1746
      04. Sandia.Resettlement.1748
      05. SanzdeLesaun.6.30.1749

   C. Trail to Californias, 1750-1821
      01. RodriguezdelaTorre.6.11.1776
      02. Escalante.Diario.6.22.1775
      03. GarcesDiario.1.3.1777
      04. Mendinueta.11.9.1777
      05. Croix.12.31.1779
      06. Anza 1780
The Hopi History Project: WHERE 21ST-CENTURY HOPIS MEET 16TH-CENTURY SPANIARDS

By Thomas E. Sheridan

In 1541, Francisco Vásquez de Coronado and his force of more than 1,300 Spanish soldiers and Indian allies conquered the Zuni Indians of northwestern New Mexico. Searching in vain for the fabled Seven Cities of Gold, Coronado interrogated the Zunis about "the provinces that fell near its borders." The Zunis told him about Tusayán, "a province of seven pueblos similar to their own." Coronado ordered Don Pedro de Tovar to investigate.

Tovar and 20 others headed west across the high desert of the Colorado Plateau, entering "the country [Tusayán] so secretly that they were not noticed by any man as they arrived." You can almost hear the muffled sounds of the horses as the party hid themselves in a ravine beneath one of Tusayán's "multistoried" villages. Morning dawned. The Spaniards "were discovered." The people of that land put themselves in order, marching out well armed with bows and shields and wooden clubs, in file, without breaking line." The Spaniards and the Hopi Indians of northern Arizona were about to say hello.

Tovar had one of his Zuni interpreters read the Requerimiento. The Requerimiento was Spanish legalism at its most sur-

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real. Indians had an absolute moral obligation to accept the authority of the Pope in Rome and the king in Spain. If they did not submit, Spaniards had a moral obligation to conquer and enslave them.

The leaders of Tusayán responded by drawing lines in the soil, “demanding that our people not cross those lines toward their pueblos and [that they] deport themselves correctly.” Tovar and his soldiers spurred their horses forward. One man from Tusayán “hit a horse in the cheek pieces of its bit” with his club. The Spaniards shouted “Santiago!” and attacked.

Hopis had never seen horses before. They had just heard terrifying rumors “that Cibola [the main settlement of the Zunis] had been conquered by very fierce people who rode on animals that ate people.” Thrown into confusion, the Hopis quickly changed strategy. They feigned obedience and offered gifts of cotton cloth, turquoise, tanned skins, parched corn, and “native

The Spanish colonial documentary record, like the records of any imperial power, squints at the lives of Native peoples. Soldiers and missionaries were not privy to whole domains of Native culture, such as religious ceremonies or healing practices.

birds.” Hopis and Spaniards spent the next several days trading until Tovar returned to New Mexico.

That, at least, is the Spanish side of the story. It was written by Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera, two decades after the encounter. Castañeda was a soldier in the Coronado expedition, but he did not accompany Tovar. His account is secondhand, after-the-fact, drawn from memory, but it is all we have.

At least on paper.

Four centuries later, Heather McMichael, a graduate student in the Spanish Department at the University of Arizona, staves at Castañeda’s scrawl and slowly pieces the letters together into a literal, line-by-line transcript. Her fellow graduate students in the Office of Ethnographical Research (OER) at the Arizona State Museum—Judith Ca-
of Applied Research in Anthropology and Chief Judge of the Hopi Tribe’s Appellate Court, translates as many of the English translations as he can into Hopi. This is part of Sekaquaptewa’s life’s work, to transform Hopi into a written language and teach Hopis how to write as well as speak it. Sekaquaptewa was cultural editor of the Hopi Dictionary (University of Arizona Press, 1998), a massive compendium of 50,000 entries, all with sentences that put Hopi words and phrases into cultural context. He is now senior consultant for the Hopi History Project, working with Sheridan, Hadley, and ASM Interim Director Hartman Lomawaima, a member of the Hopi Bear Clan, to tell both sides of an old and bitter story.

The work shifts from offices at the University of Arizona to the Hopi Mesas northeast of Flagstaff. Stewart Koyiyumptewa, tribal archivist for the Hopi Preservation Office, reads Castañeda’s account to Hopi elders like Morgan Saukie and Valjean Joshewama, Sr. They speak into a tape recorder, recalling stories that have been passed down for 10 or 20 generations about the Hopis and the Kastiliam (Castilians; Spaniards). This stage of the Hopi History Project has just begun, but already tantalizing glimpses into the past are emerging—Spanish objects incorporated into religious ceremonies, a missionary who only drinks water from a spring many miles away and forces young Hopis to run back and forth with water jugs every day, a bridegroom who tracks Mexican slavers who stole his bride and successfully negotiates with the governor of New Mexico to get her back.

The knowledge of Hopi elders steeped in the oral traditions of their clans and religious societies will correct at least some of the inherent biases in the Spanish and Mexican documentary record.

OER is giving the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office translations in chronological order, even though Project personnel have already transcribed and translated some documents from the late 18th century. Sheridan and Hadley are still searching archives in Mexico and Spain for documents about the Franciscan missionization of the Hopis prior to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, when the Hopis and other Pueblo peoples drove the Spaniards out of New Mexico for 14 years and destroyed many missions and their records.

Now in its third year of funding from the NHPRC, the Hopi History Project follows much of the same methodology established by earlier projects of the Documentary Relations of the Southwest (DRSW), a program founded by Jesuit historian Charles W. Polzer, S.J., at the Arizona State Museum in 1975. Project editors select representative documents to tell the story about important aspects of life in northern New Spain, that vast, shifting frontier of conquest stretching from Louisiana to California. Dr. Tracy Duvall, an anthropologist who also has a master’s degree in Latin American history, is finishing the fifth and final volume in DRSW’s series on the Presidio and Militia on the northern frontier of New Spain. His volume concerns the Marqués de Rubí’s inspection of New Spain’s presidios in the 1760s. Earlier volumes, all published by the University of Arizona Press, traced the development of presidios and militias from the Chichimec wars of the 16th century to the growing militarization of the frontier in the mid-18th century.

The Hopi History Project will produce the third volume in a series focusing on relations between Native peoples and Spaniards. The first, Rarámuri: A Tarahumara Colonial Chronicle, 1607–1791, edited by Sheridan and Thomas H. Naylor (Northland Press, 1979), explores patterns of missionization and rebellion among the Rarámuri, the Tarahumara Indians of Mexico’s Sierra Madre Occidental. The second, Empire of Sand: The Seri Indians and the Struggle for Spanish Sonora, 1645–1803, edited by Sheridan (University of Arizona Press, 1999), examines how small bands of Comcáac, or Seris, suc-

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cessfully resisted Spanish conquest because of their intimate knowledge of the desert and sea along the Gulf of California.

Beginning with the Hopi volume, however, OER is introducing three major changes. Project personnel used to produce Spanish transcriptions that modernized spelling, spelled out abbreviations, and inserted punctuation. On the Hopi project, OER staff and students are producing literal, line-by-line transcriptions. Translations are also more conservative, as OER struggles to strike a balance between preserving the author’s style, even when it is clumsy and convoluted, and making the translation comprehensible to modern readers.

The knowledge of Hopi elders steeped in the oral traditions of their clans and religious societies will correct at least some of the inherent biases in the Spanish and Mexican documentary record.

The third and most radical innovation is the incorporation of modern Hopi commentary. The knowledge of Hopi elders steeped in the oral traditions of their clans and religious societies will correct at least some of the inherent biases in the Spanish and Mexican documentary record. They may also illuminate aspects of Hopi history about which the documents are mute. Did the leaders of Tusayan draw the line in the sand by sprinkling sacred corn meal? Was it a challenge to the Spaniards or an indication that all inside the line was sacred and not to be despoiled?

“For their part, the Hopi Tribe hopes to glean information on a wide variety of subjects including Hopi trading networks and trail systems, Hopi cultural affiliation with other tribal groups, Hopi tribal sovereignty, and the Spanish perception of Hopi land occupation at contact,” co-project director Lomawaima explains. “Hopi people also want to learn more about how the Spanish empire functioned and why it was unable to reconquer and reincorporate the Hopi into the imperial system after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.”

The Office of Ethnohistorical Research hopes to collaborate with the Hopi Tribe in making these documents available to the Hopi community for cultural and educational purposes. Sheridan and Hadley have participated in Hopi Culture and History Week for the past 3 years and in the Hopi commemoration of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt in August 2001. OER hopes that the Hopi History Project will serve as a model of collaboration between Native peoples and ethnohistorians. We also hope it will be the first in a series of documentary histories that include the oral traditions of the peoples themselves.

THOMAS E. SHERIDAN, PROJECT DIRECTOR OF DOCUMENTARY RELATIONS OF THE SOUTHWEST, IS ALSO DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF ETHNOHISTORICAL RESEARCH, ARIZONA STATE MUSEUM, UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA.

Conjectural Reconstruction of the Awanuti Mission by Montgomery
Noticias de El Alcalde, miércoles 10 de noviembre de 1747.

Antonio de Oceñu, quien está en el cargo de los autos del Pbro. del Pbro. de la Reina, en el mes de noviembre,

El día 7 del mes de noviembre, el año de mil cuatrocientos veintiún,,

Antonio de Oceñu, en una orden, dictó la pena de muerte para el Pbro. de la Reina, por

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