



The Visits of the "Lady in Blue": An Episode in the History of the South Plains, 1629

Author(s): Nancy P. Hickerson

Source: *Journal of Anthropological Research*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (Spring, 1990), pp. 67-90

Published by: University of New Mexico

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3630394>

Accessed: 26/10/2008 18:29

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/action/showPublisher?publisherCode=unm>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit organization founded in 1995 to build trusted digital archives for scholarship. We work with the scholarly community to preserve their work and the materials they rely upon, and to build a common research platform that promotes the discovery and use of these resources. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



University of New Mexico is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Journal of Anthropological Research*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

THE VISITS OF THE "LADY IN BLUE": AN EPISODE IN THE HISTORY OF THE SOUTH PLAINS, 1629

Nancy P. Hickerson

Department of Anthropology, Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX 79409

A remarkable—and seemingly inexplicable—episode in the early history of the Southwest consists of the reported appearances of a mysterious figure, a "holy woman" (santa) wearing the habit of a nun with a blue overgarment. This "Lady in Blue" was said to have proselytized and made converts among several Indian tribes. Contemporary theologians identified the visitant as Mother Maria of Agreda, a cloistered Spanish nun who claimed to have been mystically transported, while in a trance state, to the New World on a number of occasions between 1620 and 1631. The "Lady in Blue" became a legendary figure over a wide area in the Southwest; the earliest account, however, was contained in the 1630 Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, who recounted events of 1629 involving the Jumano Indians of the South Plains, east of New Mexico. This series of events is recapitulated and discussed as it relates to the interests of the principal parties involved—chiefly, Franciscans and Jumanos.

IN 1598 SPANISH RULE was imposed on the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. Along the periphery of the colony, the conquerors found themselves confronted by two distinctive non-Pueblo peoples. Almost surrounding the sedentary communities were seminomadic and often hostile bands of the Apache. In addition, along the southeastern margins of New Mexico, the Spaniards had frequent dealings with the Jumano, who ranged, hunting and trading, over a wide area in the southern Plains. There were also Jumanos among the sedentary population of New Mexico; they had a foothold in the Saline region, east of the Manzano Mountains, where their pueblos of Cueloce, Patoece, and Genobuey are attested in early colonial documents (Hammond and Rey 1953, vol. 1:342–47). One of these—it is not clear which—must have been the community later called "Las Humanas"; this was a center for the trade which the Jumanos conducted with tribes, both nomadic and sedentary, located to the south and east of the Pueblos (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:314–15; Schroeder 1979:240).

The cultural identity and linguistic affiliation of the Jumano have long been debated (Hodge 1911; Bolton 1911; Sauer 1934; Scholes and Mera 1940; Forbes 1959). It now appears that they spoke a Tanoan language, one probably closely affiliated with the Piro and Tompiro languages of the southern Pueblos (Hickerson 1988b).¹ The historic Jumano occupied a marginal position between the Rio Grande valley and the southern Plains, where they operated in the specialized role of traders (Kelley 1955, 1986; Hickerson 1988a). Trade linked Jumano enclaves, at La Junta de los Rios (the confluence of the Rio Grande and the Rio Conchos) and in New Mexico, with regions to the east as far as

the Quivira (Wichita) and Tejas (Hasinai) confederacies, the valleys of eastward-flowing rivers (Red, Brazos, Colorado, etc.) providing the natural routes along which this east-west trade moved.

At the time of the Spanish Conquest, the Jumanos east of New Mexico were under attack by Apache "Vaqueros" (presumably ancestral to the more recent Lipan). Their ongoing warfare is intimated in the accounts of both the Cabeza de Vaca and Coronado *entradas*, each of which reveals the presence of two contending groups in this region (Covey 1961:112; Winship 1904:210).² In 1598, the year of the conquest, a party led by Vicente de Zaldívar encountered Apaches trading at Pecos Pueblo; on this occasion, a group of the Indians requested (but failed to get) Spanish support in an attack on their enemies, the Jumanos (Bolton 1908:225). In the 1620s Jumanos were found in virtually the same locations. They were still at war with the Apache but were apparently very hard-pressed. Apaches had established dominance over much of the territory east of New Mexico, having, in effect, driven a wedge between the Jumanos remaining in the High Plains and those in or near the Pueblo villages.

BENAVIDES'S MEMORIAL OF 1630

The most important single source of information about New Mexico in the third decade of the seventeenth century has been Alonso de Benavides's *Memorial of 1630*, which was prepared as a report on the state of the missions and the colony (Ayer 1900-1901; Forestal 1954). Fray Alonso was present in New Mexico between 1626 and 1629, serving as *padre custodio*, or *custos*, of the Franciscan order and as the first commissioner of the Inquisition for the colony.

Alonso de Benavides was born in the Azores sometime before 1580; the exact date of his birth is not known, but in 1609 he stated his age to be "over thirty." In 1598 he travelled to Mexico, where he entered the priesthood. Benavides rose through a series of ecclesiastical offices; by the time he was elected as *custos* for New Mexico, in October of 1623, he had built a reputation as an able, intelligent administrator. His appointment to New Mexico covered an interval during which Fray Estevan de Perea, who had served in that remote outpost for a number of years, was rotated to Mexico. In 1629 Perea returned, replacing Benavides as *custos*. Benavides's relatively brief appointment may have been intended as an opportunity for both service and information gathering; from New Mexico he was immediately posted to Spain, to deliver his report to the minister-general of the Franciscan order and to King Philip IV (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:1-5).

Benavides was a man of obvious competence, energy, and missionary zeal. He may have been assigned to the unsettled colony of New Mexico, in part, as a troubleshooter; relations between the religious establishment and the colonial government, never easy, seem to have improved during his term of office (Sanchez 1987:94-95). His double appointment gave him exceptional power and doubtless facilitated his ability to follow through with the projects

of reorganization, construction, and recruitment that were initiated during his years in the colony.

The *Memorial of 1630* describes the route between Mexico and Santa Fe, enumerates the resources of the colony, names and describes the several native population groups, and discusses the state of the missionary enterprise. On his trip north, accompanying the supply train which made the six-month-long trip at three-year intervals, Benavides brought with him a group of twelve Franciscan friars to complement those already in New Mexico; most of these were dispatched to work in the southern Pueblos, which had not, until that time, been intensively missionized (Kessell 1987:240; Sanchez 1987:95). He himself became actively engaged in missionary work in the provinces of the Piros and Tompiros; the latter province included the three Jumano pueblos. At the end of his period of appointment, Benavides noted that six mission churches were in existence in the province of the Tompiros, the earliest, in the village of Chilili, having been established in 1613. All of the Tompiros, he reported, had been converted. Further, it is indicated that Benavides personally began the conversion of the "great pueblo of the Xumanas"; here he established a church "dedicated to the glorious San Isidro, because of having made . . . the conversion on his day" (Ayer 1900:285).³

In addition to work in the Pueblo villages, Benavides threw his energies into attempted conversion of the Apache. The tone of his writing conveys what must have been the Spaniards' impression of the numbers of the Apache, who appeared to hem in the New Mexican pueblos on all sides: "The pueblos of New Mexico . . . are on the banks of the Rio del Norte, in a stretch of a hundred leagues, on one and the other bank. All of which are surrounded on all sides by the huge Apache nation. And without exaggeration, it alone has more people than all the nations of New Spain together, even including the Mexican" (Ayer 1900:438). Despite his disclaimer, Benavides's estimates of Apache numbers were obviously wide of the mark; however, the sense he imparts that New Mexico was surrounded by seemingly limitless territory in which Apache bands prevailed is perhaps more accurate.

The province of the Vaqueros Apaches stretched, according to Benavides, "more than 150 leagues" along the eastern borders of New Mexico, joining the lands of the Apaches of Perrillo at the southern extreme of the colony (Ayer 1901:43). Although he indicated that Apaches ranged along the entire eastern frontier of the colony, it is apparent that they were not, at that time, in complete and exclusive possession of this stretch of territory, for the Jumanos living in the southern Plains were in trading contact with the Tompiro provinces and are known to have made several visits to the Franciscan mission at Isleta.

Toward the end of the *Memorial of 1630*, an account is given of the journey of two Franciscan priests—Juan de Salas and Diego Lopez—who, in 1629, crossed through the country of the Vaqueros Apaches to visit a Jumano outpost. It must be emphasized that this narrative, along with later writings of Benavides, constitutes the sole body of primary information for all subsequent accounts of the "miraculous conversion" of the Jumanos and their neighbors.

THE "MIRACULOUS CONVERSION OF THE XUMANA NATION"

A Jumano outpost in the Plains east of New Mexico—probably in the Panhandle or South Plains region of Texas—was the scene of a celebrated, reputedly miraculous occurrence: the reported appearance of the "Lady in Blue" (Figure 1). A mysterious figure, a woman in the costume of a Franciscan Conceptionist nun—a grey habit with a blue overgarment—is said to have appeared to a number of Indian tribes, preaching to them in their own languages,



Figure 1. Mary of Agreda Preaching to the Indians of New Mexico
From an eighteenth-century engraving (reproduced in Forestal 1954:31).

giving instruction in Christian rituals, and adjuring the Indians to seek baptism. This apparition—if such it was—is most closely associated with the Jumano, because they were apparently the first to witness, or at least to report, the visits of the “holy woman” (*santa*). It is in connection with her visitation that the Jumano have been most frequently mentioned in both historical and theological literature; it is the Jumanos’ main claim to fame. Fray Alonso de Benavides recounts the events of this “miraculous conversion” in his *Memorial of 1630* (Ayer 1901:46, 137–39; see also Forestal 1954).

The “Xumanas,” living “more than a hundred and twelve leagues to the East” of Santa Fe, on the far side of “the Apache nation of the Vaqueros,” had for several years been importuning Fray Juan de Salas, a missionary and interpreter among the “Tompieros and Salineros” (Tompiero Jumano), to come live with them. Personnel shortages prevented his going, but when additional missionaries were sent to the New Mexico province in 1629, Frays Juan de Salas and Diego Lopez were dispatched to the Xumanas.

The Indians had told the Franciscans that they were so desirous of a missionary and baptism because “a woman like *that* one whom we had there painted—which was a picture of Mother Luisa de Carrion—used to preach to each one of them in their own tongue, telling them that they should come to summon the Fathers to instruct and baptise them, and that they should not be slothful about it. And that the woman who preached to them was dressed precisely [*ni mas, ni menos*] like her who was painted there; but that she was young and beautiful,” with the face “of a young and beautiful girl.”

Benavides relates that “the Demon,” fearing the imminent deliverance of the Xumana souls should missionaries find them, “dried up the lagoons of water that they drank,” thereby dispersing “the great herd of bison which was there, by which all these nations sustain themselves. . . . by the medium of the Indian sorcerers, he broadcast the word that they should change their location to seek food.”

“And so the Captains ordered that they should strike their tents to go the next day at dawn. And at the break of day the Holy Woman spoke to each one of them individually, and told them that they should not go, for already the Religious . . . were drawing near.” Twelve Xumana “captains” sent to look for the priests found them, asked to see a picture of Mother Luisa de Carrion, and again commented that “the woman that used to preach to them . . . was dressed like that one, but that she was more handsome and young.” The Xumanas then came out to meet the priests “in procession, with two Crosses in front, as they were so well instructed by heaven.” When the priests showed their crucifixes, “all came to kiss it and to venerate it, as if they were very old Christians. And the same they did to a very pretty Infant Jesus, that they [the priests] . . . carried, putting their mouth and eyes to His feet with much devotion.”

Eventually a crowd of “more than ten thousand souls” had gathered around the priests in the field “to hear the word of the Lord. . . . only for that . . . they had come together.” Fray Juan de Salas asked those who wished to be

Christians to lift their arms. "A marvelous thing! For with one great cry all uplifted their arms, rising to their feet, asking for the holy baptism," and mothers even lifted the arms of their babies.

While the priests remained with the Xumanas, "preaching the divine word and teaching them to pray," messengers came "from the rest of the neighboring nations [including the 'Iapes' and 'Xabatoas'] to summon them to go and teach them likewise; since there likewise went that Holy Woman, preaching to them." Seeing that the Indians "were disposed to settle down and make their churches," the priests decided to return to New Mexico to report that permanent missionaries should be sent. Until the new missionaries arrived, Fray Juan de Salas told the Indians that "they should flock every day, as they were wont, to pray to a Cross which they had set up there upon a pedestal." Before the priests left, the Xumanas entreated them to cure the sick. The two priests prayed over each sick person, which took from midafternoon until the next morning, and "instantly they rose up well."

On their return journey to New Mexico, the priests met "Embassadors" from "the Kingdom of Quivira" and "of Aixaos, which were thirty or forty leagues" to the east. These Indians asked for missionaries "to teach them and baptise them. Saying how the same Holy Woman went there preaching to them that they should come to summon them." These ambassadors accompanied the priests to New Mexico and "told us all of the concern with which they were begging for baptism."

Several comments may be made on the terminology in this narrative. Benavides uses "Tompiro" as the name of the entire administrative province made up of the southern Pueblos east of the Manzanos range; this province included Piro-speaking villages as well as some which may have been Tiwa-speaking (Schroeder 1979 argues that all spoke Piro). Throughout the *Memorial*, he reserves the word "Xumana" (Jumano) for the Tanoan-speaking Plains-dwellers; he asserts that the "great Pueblo of the Xumanas" was so called because of the trade conducted with that "nation" (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:65–66). However, records from the conquest period and later indicate that the population of the Saline pueblos included both Jumanos (*rayados*) and Tompiros (*gente sin rayas*) (Hammond and Rey 1953, vol. 1:342–47; Scholes and Mera 1940:285).

Within the Tompiro province, Benavides also, as in this passage, appears to distinguish between "Tompiros" and "Salineros," i.e., occupants of the Saline region; the latter segment may be roughly identified with the Pueblo Jumano population. Distinctions among these groups, in any case, would be cultural rather than linguistic: both Jumanos and Tompiros spoke Piro with, at the most, a dialectic separation from one another and from the Piro of the Rio Grande valley (Scholes and Mera 1940; Schroeder 1964; Hickerson 1988b). The linguistic continuity of these populations is reflected in Fray Juan de Salas's ability to preach to both Pueblo and Plains-dwelling communities within, and east of, the Tompiro province.⁴

BENAVIDES IN SPAIN

Alonso de Benavides was relieved of custodial duty in the summer of 1629 when Estevan de Perea returned from Mexico with twenty-nine missionary friars newly recruited for work in New Mexico (Ayer 1901:48; Kessell 1987:140). He remained head of the Inquisition and apparently also continued missionary work in New Mexico during the interval between the arrival of the supply train and its departure six months later, the same period during which Juan de Salas led his mission to the Jumanos. Perhaps during this period he also wrote the first draft of his *Memorial*. Benavides left New Mexico in the fall and must have taken ship for Spain very soon after reaching Mexico, since he arrived in Madrid in August of 1630 (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:5).

The *Memorial* was lucidly written, conveying the author's boundless energy and optimism, and filled with lively anecdotes about encounters with the natives—including the story of the “miraculous conversion of the Xumanas.” It appears to have been an overnight success. Benavides wrote to the friars back in New Mexico: “Not only did he [King Philip] read it, but the members of his council all read it. They liked it so well that they have repeatedly asked me for other copies. To satisfy these demands I have distributed four hundred copies” (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:137). A second printing was quickly under way.

Besides his announced objective of presenting his report to the superiors of his order and to the king, Fray Alonso Benavides's sojourn in Spain had several additional, more personal goals. Although the *Memorial* was an official report on the state of the colony and on the missionary enterprise, it was far more positive than was warranted as an objective assessment; rather, Benavides undertook to promote and propagandize, to raise the Spanish court's awareness of New Mexico, its resources, and its potential for development. In this effort he seems to have been substantially successful (Kessell 1987:144–50; John 1975:81).

A second aspiration, contingent on the success of the first, was that his efforts on behalf of the colony and the missionary enterprise would result in the establishment of a bishopric for New Mexico. Benavides had promised to return to the colony; he evidently had determined to do so as bishop. A revised and expanded *Memorial of 1634* was prepared; in Rome, Benavides submitted it to Pope Urban VIII, apparently with this objective in mind; in this, however, he was frustrated (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:14–16).

A third objective, undertaken in Spain, was a visit to Agreda, where he was able to arrange a meeting with Mother Maria de Jesus (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:95–96, 138). It is now known that Benavides, while still in New Mexico, had become aware of the nun and of reports of her activities in relation to missionizing in the New World; his account of the interview with Mother Maria (a communication of May 1631 addressed to his fellow Franciscans in New Mexico, which was published in 1730) did much to establish the credulity

of these reports and served, in addition, to focus attention on—and thus to promote—the Franciscan enterprise in New Mexico and its environs (Kendrick 1967:35; Kessell 1987:144; John 1975:83). As a result of Benavides's account, the name of Maria de Jesus de Agreda is firmly linked with the "legend" of the "Lady in Blue."⁵

MARIA DE JESUS DE AGREDA

Maria Fernandez Coronel was born on April 2, 1602, in Agreda, a village in the province of Burgos, in central Spain. She was a member of a devotedly religious family and determined to become a nun while still in childhood. Maria took her vows in 1619; subsequently, her mother and younger sister also became nuns, and the family home was converted into a monastery. Here she lived as a cloistered nun of the Franciscan Conceptionist order, more commonly known as the Poor Clares. This order, which was founded by St. Francis of Assisi himself, followed—and still follows—a regimen of contemplation, fasting, flagellation, and self-denial, which encourages trance and promotes various types of ecstatic and visionary experiences. At the monastery of La Concepcion in Agreda, Mother Maria advanced to the position of abbess in 1627, at the age of 25; there she remained until her death in 1665 (Pond 1967:212–13).

In the course of her life, Maria de Agreda became a well-known Christian mystic and also a person of considerable political influence. Her most enduring fame rests on *The Mystical City of God*, a controversial biography of the Virgin Mary, which was based on revelations which Maria received while in trance. In her later years she was a correspondent of King Philip IV, who made her a confidante and advisor on both religious and secular political matters (Kendrick 1967). Mother Maria had a long, successful career as abbess, author, and theologian. By those who knew her, she was considered a strong and captivating personality; she would hardly appear to have been, as one historian suggests, a "sensitive and confused nun" (Kessell 1987:144).

A field of endeavor with which Maria de Agreda was identified through much of her life was her "encouragement of missionary activity, especially among the Franciscans" (Encyclopaedia Britannica 1974, vol. 1:143). She frequently indicated that God had revealed to her his desire for the conversion of the North American Indians. Through her writings, she charged the Franciscans to take the lead in this apostolic mission, assuring them of success in their endeavors. Her mystical "journeys" to North America are intelligible in this context: though cloistered in Spain, she was still a leader, and a vicarious participant, in the missionary work of her male counterparts.

As a Franciscan nun with a passionate interest in the missionary work of that order in the New World, Mother Maria would surely have read and partaken avidly of the reports of the exploits of the earlier priests and martyrs, such as Juan de Padilla, the "protomartyr" of the Coronado entrada, and Agustin Rodriguez, who died in New Mexico among the Tewa in 1581. Having heard such accounts, she could hardly have been ignorant of the harsh climate and rugged

terrain of New Mexico, the major landmarks, the distinctive animals, the Indian tribes among whom the Franciscan fathers had worked and died, or the fabled kingdoms which were yet to be discovered.

Details of Mother Maria's life are known primarily through the work of Fray Ximenez Samaniego, a Franciscan priest who was present at her death and who wrote her biography soon thereafter (Kendrick 1967:23). He described the onset of her visionary experiences:

One day after having received the holy sacrament, transported in ecstasy, the Lord showed her all the world. . . . Among such a variety as the Lord showed her who did not profess the faith, . . . His Majesty declared to her that the creatures who had the least disposition to be converted, and to whom His mercy was most inclined were the heathen of New Mexico and of other remote kingdoms in that region. . . .

This revelation was repeated, the Lord showing her still more distinctly those provinces which His Majesty desired to be converted. . . . She observed the appearance of the people, their condition, and their need for ministers who might instruct them in one faith. . . .

On one occasion . . . the Lord unexpectedly transported her in an ecstasy. Without perceiving the means, it seemed to her that she was in another and different region and climate, and in the midst of . . . those Indians who, on other occasions, had manifested themselves to her by means of disembodied visions. It seemed that . . . she saw them with her own eyes, and noted the temperature of the land. . . . Preaching her faith to those people, it seemed to her that she was actually preaching . . . in her own Spanish language; and that the Indians understood her as if it were their own; . . . and that the Indians were converted and she catechized them.

. . . On these occasions it seemed to her that by the efficacy of her preaching . . . an extensive kingdom and its prince were converted to His holy faith. It seemed . . . that while passing through New Mexico she saw and became acquainted with the religious of Saint Francis who were working in that conversion. . . . she counselled the Indians to send someone to go in search of these religious . . . so that the religious might baptize them and send workers. . . . (Samaniego 1759:132-33; English translation in Hackett 1934:485-92).

After Mother Maria had described experiences of this sort, recounting her vivid impressions of travelling, preaching, and other activities, Samaniego indicates that other clergy became "convinced . . . that she was transported bodily."⁶ Her confessor, Father Sebastian Marcilla, declared the experience to be authentic, and "other learned persons to whom he communicated this were of the same opinion, and soon the news spread among the religious and nuns that Mother Maria de Jesus had been transported to the Indies" (Samaniego

1759:34). Father Marcilla was moved to dispatch a letter to the archbishop of Mexico, Don Francisco Manso y Zuniga, describing these events.

Fray Alonso de Benavides met with Mother Maria in April of 1631, more than six months after his appearance at the royal court; it seems reasonable to assume that one or more copies of his *Memorial* may have reached the hands of interested parties in Agreda before his arrival. Maria was interviewed under a command of obedience from Minister-General Bernardo de Sena; she was instructed to reveal all that she knew about New Mexico. Both Father Marcilla and Maria's present confessor, Fray Andres de la Torre, were in attendance (Kendrick 1967:34–35). As Benavides later recalled, in the letter "Tanto que se Sacó" of May 1631, the nun gave him a convincing account of her visits:

She . . . told me all we know that has happened to our brothers and fathers, Fray Juan de Salas and Fray Diego Lopez, in the journeys to the Jumanas, and that she asked the latter . . . to go and call the fathers, as they did. She gave me all their descriptions, adding that she assisted them. She knows Captain Tuerto [a Jumano chief] very well, giving a detailed description of him and of the others. She herself sent the emissaries from Quivira to call the fathers. . . . I asked her why she did not allow us to see her when she granted this bliss to the Indians. She replied that they needed it and we did not, and that her blessed angels arranged everything. However, I trust in divine providence that by the time this letter reaches the hands of your paternities some of you will have succeeded in seeing her, for I asked it of her most earnestly and she promised she would ask God, and that if He granted it, she would do it most willingly. . . . She has preached in person our holy Catholic faith in every nation, particularly in our New Mexico. . . . (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:140–41)

Benavides's letter to his New Mexican colleagues also contained a personal message of encouragement and gratitude from Mother Maria to the Franciscans in New Mexico. The Lord, she assured them, "will be highly pleased by the conversion of souls. This very thing I have seen . . . and I have heard His blessed angels tell me that they envied the custodians of souls who devote themselves to conversions" (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:145).

Although there are clear indications that Benavides asked leading questions and that Maria's replies were given under great duress, Benavides left Agreda even more confirmed in his convictions (Kendrick 1967:35). He was now convinced not only that Maria de Agreda had been physically present in the New World, but also that her visits had continued until that same year, 1631 (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:140–41).

Benavides travelled to Rome and remained there for much of the period between 1632 and 1635, awaiting the expected appointment as bishop and lobbying on behalf of the mission establishment in New Mexico. Late in this

period he presented the revised *Memorial of 1634* to Pope Urban VIII (Forestal 1954:xvi). It may be that he returned to Spain only when the bishopric was not forthcoming. Back in Spain, he addressed several petitions to the crown, obtaining royal decrees for the protection of the Indians from various abuses and restrictions. However, in 1635, he evidently abandoned his plans to return to New Mexico and removed to Portugal, where he accepted an appointment as assistant bishop of Goa, thus terminating his connection with the New World (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:13–15; Kessell 1987:150).

BENAVIDES'S MEMORIAL OF 1634

The *Memorial of 1634* gives a somewhat more complete and, evidently, more forthright account of events leading up to Fray Juan de Salas's mission to the Jumanos than does Benavides's earlier work.⁷

The Franciscans

This account reveals that when Father Perea and the new recruits, some of them come recently from Spain, arrived in New Mexico in the spring of 1629, they carried the rumors about the mystical journeys of Maria de Agreda. They also brought a letter of inquiry from the archbishop of Mexico, which contained the following counsel, apparently taken directly from Father Marcilla's earlier communiqué:

It is very probable that in the course of the discovery of New Mexico and the conversion of those souls, there will soon be found a kingdom called Tidan, more than four hundred leagues from the City of Mexico, to the west, or between the west and north, which it is understood is between New Mexico and La Quivira. If perhaps cosmography is at fault, it will be of assistance to obtain information concerning three other kingdoms, one called Chillescás, the other that of the Jumanes, and the third that of Carbucos, which border upon the said kingdom of Tidan. These being discovered an effort shall be made to ascertain whether or not in them, particularly in that of Tidan, there is any knowledge of our holy faith, and in what manner and by what means our Lord has manifested it. (Hackett 1934:469)⁸

The archbishop charged the friars in New Mexico to conduct an inquiry into the matter and to inform him of the results. By referring to the archbishop's letter, Benavides makes it clear that he was well aware of the suggestion of outside intervention in Indian affairs. And even though the letter itself contained no details about the kind of intervention and made no mention of Maria de Agreda by name, Benavides's account further reveals that this information was conveyed orally and that it was a matter of much discussion among the clerics (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:92–94).

Estevan de Perea and the other friars had travelled north with the supply

train which left Mexico City on September 5, 1628. They crossed the Rio Grande at El Paso in early April of the next year and arrived at Santa Fe "at Eastertide" (Hodge, in Ayer 1900:286). It is likely that they paused at Isleta on the way north, since this southern mission, located on the main road, was a popular overnighting place for official travellers approaching and leaving Santa Fe (Sanchez 1987:88). The formal arrival in the colony, in any event, would have come in Santa Fe, with a welcome by the governor and other officials. Here the friars may have sojourned briefly before proceeding to the chapter house, the headquarters of the order, which was at that time located in the village of Santo Domingo.

At the chapter meeting, with missionary friars gathered from all over the colony, the new arrivals would have been introduced, briefed on mission affairs, and given their assignments to various New Mexican provinces and villages. Fray Juan de Salas, a senior and much-respected priest, must have been in attendance from his church in Isleta. By Perea's account, the Franciscans began their chapter meeting at Pentecost, fifty days after Easter (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:211). It was at this time that the letter from Archbishop Manso was finally delivered and its content made known to the assembled clerics. At this point, Fray Juan de Salas may have been reminded of the Jumanos' repeated requests for baptism.

The Indians

That summer, perhaps while the friars were still gathering, a party of Jumanos and other Indians came to Isleta Pueblo to visit with Fray Juan de Salas, as they had on other occasions, and to wait for a decision by the padre custodio concerning a missionary to their people. The Jumano party is reported to have arrived at Mission San Antonio in Isleta on July 22, 1629 (Vetancurt 1961[1692]:260). Groups of Jumanos had visited at about the same time, "every summer," for the previous six years, each time calling on Fray Juan de Salas. In 1629 around fifty Indians were in the party, led by Captain Tuerto ("One Eye").

We know nothing about Captain Tuerto beyond his name; however, based on what is known of his descendant, Juan Sabeata, who led the Jumano fifty years later, Captain Tuerto was probably a man of many parts, at home in the open plains and in the villages of New Mexico, and well acquainted with numerous tribes as far east as Quivira and the Tejas. He probably had travelled to La Junta de los Rios and the Rio Conchos of Mexico, as well as to the valley of the "Nueces"—the Concho and Colorado rivers of Texas. Like Juan Sabeata, too, Captain Tuerto apparently knew how to galvanize indecisive Spaniards into action.

The party Tuerto led to Isleta—which included twelve "captains" (chiefs)—may have contained representatives of other tribes, allies of the Jumano; this is intimated in Benavides's 1630 account (quoted above), which indicates that "a woman . . . used to preach to *each one of them in their own tongue*" (emphasis added). The Indians had come, according to Benavides, asking for baptism and

requesting that missionaries be sent to their country. On each of the previous visits, they had been refused, ostensibly because of a lack of available priests (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:92). It would appear, then, that Benavides was already well aware of their requests and was eager to undertake the conversions of the Jumano and other "nations of the north."

The Confrontation at Isleta

The Jumanos, according to Benavides, "had already come a few days earlier and were lodged in the pueblo" (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:94). The reference, apparently, is to Isleta, where the Jumanos visited every summer; this year their meeting with Salas may have been delayed by the chapter meeting and other events attending the arrival of the Franciscans from Mexico. In any event, the Jumano party was at Isleta for a period of several days, during which they could have learned what the Indian residents of the pueblo doubtless already knew—the gossip which the newcomers had brought from Mexico.

At Isleta there must have been a number of persons attached to the mission with whom the Jumano captains could communicate freely (assuming that none of them were fluent in Spanish): Indian sacristans, catechists, and other native functionaries; the household staff of the priests, servants, and clients of the mission, etc. From such native sources, if not from the priests themselves, the Jumanos must have learned about the subjects of current interest. They would have learned, in short, that the Spaniards believed that a certain nun—a young woman whose appearance could be imagined from the picture which hung in the mission—had been present in their country. It was said that the woman was sent by God and had mysterious powers, that she claimed to have preached to the Indians and to have taught them how to pray. It was evident that the priests believed in the woman and wanted to have news of her. Several days of waiting gave the Indians time to appraise the situation and perhaps to integrate it into a scenario of their own.

Some time after Archbishop Manso's letter was received, then, an audience took place, possibly at the initiative of Benavides and/or the new custodian, Father Perea, who may have accompanied Fray Juan de Salas on his return to Isleta.⁹ According to Benavides, the inquiry by Archbishop Manso, together with the news carried by the friars from Mexico, had already led to speculation about the Jumanos' motives: "We soon noticed that the great care and solicitude with which the Xumana Indians came to us every summer to plead for friars to go and baptize them must have been through inspiration from heaven" (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:94).

At this juncture, then, one or more of the clerics confronted the Indians and solicited a response which was, in its general content, already anticipated: "We called them to the convent and asked them their motive in coming every year to ask for baptism with such insistency." Some one of their number—perhaps Captain Tuerto—made the strategic reply: "Gazing at a portrait of Mother Luisa in the convent, [he] said: 'A woman in similar garb wanders among us

over there, always preaching, but her face is not old like this, but young” (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:94).¹⁰

The effect was electric. The fondest hopes of the Franciscans had come to pass; Father Benavides’s faith in a miraculous source of assistance for the colony was justified. Fray Juan de Salas and a young Fray Diego Lopez—possibly one of the new arrivals who volunteered for the mission—were quickly dispatched to accompany the Jumanos to their home. A military escort was secured, and the mission was under way “immediately.” We do not know the actual date, but it cannot have been earlier than the end of July 1629; it may have been somewhat later.

THE EXPEDITION TO THE PLAINS

It seems likely that the decision for such an undertaking—in this case an entrada of more than two hundred miles into territory which was, at that time, virtually unknown to the Spaniards—must have been sanctioned by secular as well as by religious authorities. A military escort was required, and this would have been difficult to justify on purely religious grounds. According to the royal edict of 1573, expeditions of exploration or conquest were required to have a religious component; conversely, on a practical basis, explorations undertaken as religious missions would have had to serve, or be compatible with, political ends (Simmons 1979:179; John 1975:10–11). This operational approach is seen in the composition of the entradas of the 1580s and 1590s into New Mexico; it is also seen in the 1629 mission to the Jumanos.

Custos Benavides had argued the strategic advantages of missionizing the “nations of the north” (a term usually applied to Quivira and its neighbors) in the reports which he had directed to Mexico; such benefits appear, at least in part, to have been the basis for the large number of friars assigned to New Mexico in 1629 (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:201; Scholes 1930:97). Benavides makes this position very clear in the earlier *Memorial* when he follows the account of the “miraculous conversion” with a paragraph outlining the practical importance to Spain of the country of Quivira and Aixaos. Believing that the coast of the North Sea is not far distant, he indicates that a Spanish presence is needed to defend the mineral wealth and other resources of New Spain from “the Flemings and the English,” who otherwise will come to barter with the Indians. He mentions the trade in buffalo hides and the possibility of developing a commercial market for buffalo wool, along with other potentially valuable resources of the region, such as pearls and amber (Ayer 1901:139–40).

Thus, even for a representative of the interests of the Church, spiritual and secular objectives are inseparable. Benavides presents conversion of the Jumanos and, through them, the powerful Caddoan confederacies as an opportunity for the salvation of souls; however, the strategic location of these groups and the geopolitical consequences of seizing—or neglecting—the opportunity are also clearly of concern.

In this case the religious community had a clear interest in the establishment of a mission among the Plains Jumanos. The civil government must have given at least tacit approval, since the regions east of New Mexico were believed to be of some strategic importance. An immediate impetus or rationale for the move, however, was provided by the Jumano request for baptism. The tantalizing suggestion of a spiritual or divine presence at work served to make the invitation irresistible.

For their part, why were the Indians so eager for missionaries? Why had they gone to such efforts, making so many appeals, in order to obtain them? Secondary accounts have echoed Benavides's own expressed assumptions: that they took this step out of a righteous desire for the "water of baptism" after learning about the Catholic faith; that they were influenced by the virtuous reputation of the Franciscans; and, finally, that they acted out of a special fondness for Fray Juan de Salas (Castañeda 1936:195-96; Donahue 1953:293). Later, of course, Benavides concluded that the visits were actually initiated by Mother Maria herself, who had been with the Indians since 1620, repeatedly urging them to seek baptism (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:94).

It should be noted that the report which the Indians gave the Franciscans bears at least a superficial resemblance to a religious movement which had its beginnings in central Mexico in the decade after the conquest—devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe.¹¹ It is not unreasonable to suggest that, almost a century later, the Jumanos would have felt some repercussions of that cult; indeed, with trading contacts extending into Nueva Vizcaya and Coahuila, they may have played a part in introducing the cult into the regions north of Mexico. Kendrick (1967:51) has already suggested that the idea of the "Lady in Blue" may have originated "in Indian respect for a colored statuette or painting of the Virgin"; in native worship of the Virgin of Guadalupe, we can identify a known syncretistic cult which embodies this idea (Kendrick 1967:51).

However, the presence of a cult of this sort among the Jumanos and their neighbors does not account for the timing of the Jumano visits to Isleta or the identification of the female cult figure with the Spanish nun. It appears that the Jumano moves were opportunistic; that is, Captain Tuerto was able to analyze the Spaniards' understanding of the situation and to accommodate his own actions to it.

Moreover, the Indians, like the Spaniards, must have been moved by secular considerations. The phenomenon of Indians asking for missionaries to live among them or expressing a desire to be gathered into mission communities was not at all unusual, especially in frontier areas where the natives were confronted with contending forces stronger than their own and where missions offered a degree of protection. In other areas of the Americas, Catholic missions long served to shelter Indians against both slavers and encroaching settlers. In the Southwest, too, they provided such a haven and, at times, also helped to gather and resettle the remnants of bands which were displaced or decimated by the aggression of other native groups—most notably, the several divisions of the Apache.

The Jumano were apparently in a very difficult, perhaps desperate, situation. By 1629 they would have been in contention with the Apaches for a century or more. They had evidently been displaced from much territory in which they had earlier been able to hunt and travel freely and had lost access to the northern pueblos of Pecos and Taos. The trade routes to the Tewa and Piro pueblos were now in jeopardy. The Jumano must have been motivated by a need to maintain access to hunting grounds and to defend the remaining routes between New Mexico and the tribes (including the Tejas) which were located to the east and south beyond the Apache strongholds.¹²

By this date, three decades after the founding of the Spanish colony, the Jumano had also developed a trade relationship with the Spaniards in New Mexico; they apparently aspired to an alliance. Captain Tuerto (the only Jumano leader mentioned by name) would have reasoned that the location of a permanent mission among his people would be one way to facilitate that goal. If a mission were established in the Plains, then Spanish soldiers would be on hand to defend the priests and to keep the road to the mission secure. From what had been seen and heard in the villages of New Mexico, Captain Tuerto would have known that the presence of missionaries could bring material goods, opportunities for trade, education in new skills, and military protection.

The Plains Jumano had kin and allies in the New Mexican pueblos; they could have observed and even participated in Catholic worship—some may already have been baptized. They may, at this time, have been more than willing to undertake the same contract that Indians elsewhere had made: conversion in exchange for security. The message of the “Lady in Blue”—or the Virgin of Guadalupe—made the contract more attractive.

It seems evident that certain Spaniards shared the Jumanos' aspirations; Fray Juan de Salas, at least, must have understood their situation. From the mission in Isleta, which he founded in 1613, Salas had worked among the Tompiros and Jumanos in the Salines for many years (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:315). He had a reputation for skill with native languages and had become acquainted with the Jumano leaders, including Captain Tuerto. Benavides indicates that the Jumanos admired Fray Juan de Salas and that Salas had been ready and willing to undertake an earlier mission to them—it had been Benavides's decision that he should not (Ayer 1901:46).

The Timing of the Expedition

It is not difficult to conclude that the timing of the expedition was largely contingent on the habitual annual movements of the Jumano. Their trading parties regularly came to Isleta in midsummer, evidently after wintering in the Salines and before journeying to their base in the Plains. They remained for a customary period of time, perhaps ten to fifteen days; during this time, as we have seen, the Jumano leaders had cultivated the friendship of the resident Catholic priest. After the midsummer visit at Isleta, the Indians would normally have moved on eastward, making other stops and arriving in the High Plains in late summer or early autumn. These movements were part of a cycle of

economic activities related to seasonal changes—activities largely dictated, in this prevailing arid region, by precipitation patterns and keyed to the annual migration of the buffalo.

In the High Plains region of western Texas, summer—often late summer—is the season of the heaviest and most predictable rainfall; similar patterns prevail in New Mexico. In the present century, precipitation in west Texas has tended to peak in early summer, to decline in midsummer, and to peak again between August and October, reaching a maximum as high as four inches (of an annual twenty or so) in one or more of these months (Kingston 1987:115). In earlier years this period of seasonal rains and the resultant growth of fresh vegetation preceded the autumnal migration of buffalo, which moved into the southern Plains as temperatures declined from midsummer highs (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:54–55).

Hunting parties from several tribes—including sedentary agriculturalists who lived year-round in river valleys further east—converged in the region along with the herds. For this reason the fall season was a time for intertribal gatherings and for trade fairs. The Jumano, who carried a variety of goods (such as mineral pigments, turquoise and other stones, salt, and agricultural products) from the Pueblo area, were prime movers in the trade; on their return trip to New Mexico, they would have transported pelts, meat, and other products of the hunt (Hickerson 1988a).

The trek of the two Franciscans and the accompanying party of Indians from New Mexico into the Texas plains was a journey of 250 miles or more. It is hard to believe that the friars, travelling on foot, could have covered more than 25 miles per day; the distance may have been, on average, considerably less. The duration of the journey, then, can be estimated at no less than ten, and perhaps closer to twenty, days; arrival at the Jumano base could have come between late August and early September. Messengers would surely have preceded them, travelling more rapidly, perhaps on horseback, to inform the inhabitants of the *rancherías*. The progress of the mission would have been monitored, and the priests' arrival anticipated. The "twelve captains" who contacted the Franciscans' entourage three days before arrival at the base no doubt constituted a welcoming party.

In 1629 the seasonal rains may have been short or late; Benavides's narrative suggests that the land was dry and that the buffalo were not yet to be seen. The herds must have been anticipated, however, and may have been in the vicinity, since representatives of several tribes arrived during the time of the Franciscans' presence. These tribes were, no doubt, also apprised of the arrival of the padres and were aware of the importance of their visit.

A crowd had gathered from several scattered sites, assembled—as Benavides believed—in anticipation of the mission ("only for that . . . they had come together"), but also, perhaps primarily, in anticipation of the traders' return from the Pueblos. In any event, preparations had been under way for the friars' visit; flowers were gathered, and crosses and garlands were made ready. The Franciscans, who would have arrived apostolically, on foot, were given a grand welcome.

The Location of the Jumano Camp

A history of disagreement has arisen about locations ascribed to Jumano groups in this and other original accounts; the disagreement is related to a continuing discussion of the cultural identity and linguistic affiliation of these people (Hickerson 1988b). The location indicated by Benavides as "a hundred and twelve leagues to the East" of New Mexico has been variously assigned to areas almost 200 miles due north (Hodge 1911) and approximately 600 miles to the southeast (Bolton 1911; Kelley 1986; et al.). However, there is no apparent reason to doubt that the priests and their military escort made reasonably accurate assessments of distance and direction. Assuming this to be the case, the Jumano camp would have been located, roughly, 250 to 300 miles east of Santa Fe. The trail may have followed the Canadian River valley for much of the distance.

For buffalo hunting and trading, the two main occupations of the Jumano, a location on the High Plains near the Canadian River and the headwaters of several branches of the Red and Brazos rivers seems an optimum situation. In this general vicinity a protected site in a canyon or *barranca* such as Palo Duro Canyon—possibly the same locale in which Coronado's party visited the "Teyas"—would have been a permanent base where buffalo pelts and other goods were warehoused and where seasonal trade was conducted during the autumnal period when many people gathered for the hunt. The placement of Quivira at forty leagues further to the east confirms the location of the Jumano base, since the southern border of Quivira (assumed to be the Wichita) appears to have been the juncture of the Canadian and Arkansas rivers. The identity of the Aixaos (or Aijados) is uncertain, though Hodge (1911:258) equates them with the Tawehash, the largest of the several groups later incorporated into the Wichita Confederacy.

The Encounter in the Plains

The Jumanos' apparent familiarity with Christian ritualistic behavior (like "old Christians"), which so impressed the priests as an indication of the nun's influence, actually can be seen as evidence for the contacts which had long existed between the Plains Jumanos and Jumano enclave communities in the Rio Grande valley, both in the Tompiro pueblos and at La Junta de los Rios. In any case, the Jumanos must have had prior familiarity with priests and missions, either directly or at second hand. We cannot know how accurately the Franciscans reported, or what interpretations they read into, the Jumanos' behavior. The genuflections, cheers, and great show of hands with which the Indians responded certainly constituted an overwhelming vote for the presence of the priests, whom they may have seen as rescuers. The intensity or genuineness of their enthusiasm for the religious message cannot be estimated. Feelings, all around, were apparently positive. The ritual of mass healing, if it did occur on anything like the scale reported by Father Benavides, appears remarkably similar to that described almost a century earlier in the narrative of Cabeza de Vaca (Covey 1961:102).

If the Indians had hoped that the priests would settle in and remain among them, they were disappointed. They must have understood, however, that the fathers were making a tour of inspection, and they could only hope that a decision would be in their favor. In any event, after an indefinite period of time—a month at most—during which they worked at catechizing, erected a large cross, conducted healing sessions, and met with the “embassadors” from neighboring tribes, the priests departed. Assuming that they had been two to three weeks en route on each leg of the journey, they could have been back in New Mexico no earlier than late September, just before Benavides’s departure for Mexico.¹³ On the way back to New Mexico, the priests were accompanied by some members of the High Plains tribes; it is not known how many Indians made the trip or whether they remained in New Mexico.

When Fathers Salas and Lopez left the Jumano camp, they evidently intended to return. In a 1631 report addressing Franciscan requests, the Marques de Cerralvo still refers to “the Jumano who live a hundred leagues from Santa Fe, at the portal of the much sought for Kingdom of Gran Quivira.” The viceroy then recalls the events of 1629 and appears once more to anticipate establishment of a permanent mission in Jumano territory (Scholes 1930:97).

It is certain that Spain maintained contact with the Jumano for the rest of the century; it also seems certain that the High Plains area was soon, perhaps immediately, abandoned by the Jumano, either on their own initiative or on that of the Spaniards. The Franciscans may even have made another journey, planned as a relief effort but leading to an evacuation of the Jumano camp and removal of its residents to New Mexico.¹⁴ According to Vetancurt (1961[1692]:261), the Jumano, “because of the invasions and continuous wars with their enemies, the Apaches . . . , accompanied the Christians to a place near Quarac where they ministered to them.” Here, “many times the venerable mother, Maria de Jesus, abbess of the convent of Agreda, appeared to them.” Thus, apparently, some part of the High Plains Jumano population was resettled in the Salines, adding at least temporarily to the Jumano element in the Tompiro province.

EPILOGUE

In 1632 Fray Juan de Salas set out again, together with Pedro de Ortega, another veteran missionary father, on a journey some 250 leagues to the southeast (Fernandez Duro 1882:55; Hackett 1934:359).¹⁵ This time the priests sojourned among the Jumanos on the “Rio Nueces”—the Concho River, a tributary of the Colorado of Texas. This is, as Bolton (1911:69) demonstrated, the same location in which Jumanos were visited by several Spanish military and trading parties between 1652 and 1684. Some of the Jumano refugees from the High Plains likely accompanied—perhaps guided—Salas and Ortega to the Nueces base in 1632. Salas evidently returned to New Mexico, while Ortega remained on the Nueces and died there six months later (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:99; Kessell 1987:142).

When Captain Tuelto failed to obtain effective Spanish support, the Jumanos were, in effect, forced to abandon their base of operations in the High Plains; thereafter, Apache strength went unchallenged in that area for almost a century. A Jumano enclave continued to exist in the Tompiro province for several decades; however, that entire province became depopulated due to famine and to Apache attacks, and the villages were evacuated around 1670 (Hackett 1937:271-72; Schroeder 1979:231). According to Scholes (citing church records), many of the Jumanos were eventually evacuated to the Manso mission which had been founded near El Paso in 1659 (Scholes and Mera 1940:283-84).

In December of 1683, half a century after the first appearances of the "Lady in Blue," a series of events remarkably parallel to those of 1629 occurred. Led by the renowned Jumano captain Juan Sabeata, a group of Jumanos and allied Indians, including representatives of the Tejas (Hasinai) Confederacy, came to El Paso to appeal for missionaries and military aid in a desperate attempt to maintain their remaining lines of trade and communication along the Concho and Colorado rivers. On this occasion, once more, the Jumano leader offered the Spaniards a religious motivation: he claimed that his people had been led to victory in battle against their Apache enemies by a wonderful cross which miraculously descended from heaven. Once more, however, the Indians' efforts were fruitless in the long run. The Spanish mission was aborted, and the forces led by Juan Dominguez de Mendoza returned to El Paso before a planned rendezvous with the Indian allies could be accomplished; this time, the claim of heavenly intervention was denounced as fakery (Vetancurt 1961[1692]:262; Hackett 1934:227). By the end of the century, the Concho/Colorado region was occupied by Apaches, and the earlier inhabitants were scattered. Thereafter, the Jumano, as a people, effectively ceased to exist (Hyde 1959:43-45; Campbell 1983:345; John 1975:194).

NOTES

1. "Jumano" is a standardized designation, following the usage of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Hodge 1907-1910). It may have originated as a Hispanicized form of the native designations variously recorded as Xumana, Humana, Umana, Sumana, Shuman, Chouman, etc. The Jumano and Suma (also extinct) were closely related peoples, probably speaking different dialects of the same southern Tanoan language; the first term is generally applied to groups east of the Rio Grande, the second to those extending over a large area to the west (Sauer 1934). Archaeologists indicate the likelihood of a relationship between the Jumano and the prehistoric Jornada Mogollon culture (Vivian 1979; Campbell 1983).

2. The Coronado expedition found Querechos and Teyas at war in the plains east of the Rio Grande; the Querechos are generally believed to have been Apaches, while there has been disagreement about the identity of the Teyas (who may have been Jumanos). If one accepts, as I do, the route traced by Hallenbeck (1940), the Cabeza de Vaca party was guided toward the Rio Grande by people, possibly Apaches, who indicated that the "People of the Cows" (Jumanos) were their enemies (Hodge 1911).

3. The Pueblo of the Xumanas (Jumanos) has been identified with the archaeological site called Gran Quivira, now part of a national monument near Mountainair, New Mexico (Vivian 1979:8). The ruins of the church of San Isidro may be viewed, alongside those of the later church of San Buenaventura.

4. A few decades later, in the 1660s, there are again indications that priests who preached in the language of the Piroos were able to make themselves understood to both Tompiros and Jumanos (Scholes and Mera 1940:283; Vivian 1979:10–11).

5. Several published collections of Texas and New Mexico regional folklore include references to the “Lady in Blue,” identified as Mother Maria de Agreda, which seem to be based, directly or indirectly, on Benavides’s account (e.g., Heimsath 1964; Hal-lenbeck and Williams 1938; Rose 1980).

6. This opinion amounts to bilocation, since she was physically present, in trance (“levitation”), at her monastery in Spain. Alternative explanations offered were that she might have been transported in spirit and then materialized, or (as she herself was initially inclined to believe) that an angel had appeared to the Indians in her form and then conveyed the impressions to her (Samaniego 1759:133–34; Hackett 1934:466).

7. The revised *Memorial of 1634* was long known to exist; but it lay undiscovered in the Vatican archives until 1909 and was not published until 1945. It was therefore not available to many of the authors who have written about these and other matters relating to Benavides’s tenure in New Mexico (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:30–33).

8. The Indian “nations” most frequently mentioned by Maria de Agreda were these: the Chillescas, Cambujos (Carbucos), Jumanas, and the Kingdom of Titlan (Tidan) (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:142, 143). Of these, only the Jumanas are clearly identifiable; however, Pichardo, a nineteenth-century scholar, argued that Tidan (Titlan) was a misreading of Techas (Tejas) (Hackett 1934:465–99).

9. The confrontation between Jumanos and Franciscans apparently did take place at Isleta; this is the usual interpretation of Benavides’s account, although the sequence of events is unclear. As another possibility, Benavides’s text does not seem to preclude the possibility that the Indians travelled from Isleta to Santo Domingo to petition for missionaries, perhaps accompanying Fray Juan de Salas (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:92–94).

10. This scenario is speculative; it does not preclude the possibility the Indians did have a religious basis for their appeals, as indicated below, reflecting the influence, direct or indirect, of Christian teaching. It also seems possible that the identification of the “holy woman” as the Spanish nun could have been provided by Benavides or another of the friars.

11. The Virgin of Guadalupe is a figure who appears to combine attributes of the Virgin Mary and of the Aztec goddess Tonantzin, associated with the earth and fertility. Worship of the Virgin of Guadalupe began with a vision received by Juan Diego, a Christianized Indian, at Tepeyac in the Valley of Mexico. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this syncretistic cult spread widely in Mexico, both within the context of the Catholic church and as a folk movement (Wolf 1958).

12. In other papers I have dealt with the configuration of the Jumano trade network and its changes over time (Hickerson 1988a, 1988b, 1989). It appears that direct contact between the Plains Jumanos and the Tompiro pueblos ceased around 1650, after which time Spaniards from New Mexico travelled annually to the Jumano post on the Rio Nueces (Concho/Colorado) (Scholes and Mera 1940:287–88).

13. Benavides must have received a firsthand report on the 1629 mission, presumably

from Fray Juan de Salas. However, the account in the *Memorial of 1630* reflects an assumption that the priests would return permanently, to reduce the Indians, build churches, etc. By the time he composed the *Memorial of 1634*, Benavides had evidently been apprised of the failure of these plans and informed of subsequent events, including the journey of Salas and Ortega to the "Rio Nueces."

14. On the basis of a single allusion at the end of Perea's *Relación* of 1631, Bloom (1933:235) inferred that "evidently . . . the missionaries to the Jumanos had come in to Santa Fe and were planning to return the following March (1630) with supplies and equipment in some of the king's carts."

15. Although little can be learned about the details, it appears that Ortega and an unidentified companion undertook a mission to Quivira at about the same time that Salas journeyed to the Jumanos; evidently—like Fray Marcos de Niza—Ortega approached, but did not reach, his destination (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:141; Kessell 1987:142).

REFERENCES CITED

- Ayer, Mrs. E.E., trans., 1900–1901, The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630. *Land of Sunshine* 13 (1900):227–90, 345–58, 435–44; 14 (1901):39–52, 131–48, 227–32.
- Bloom, L.B., 1933, Fray Estevan de Perea's *Relación*. *New Mexico Historical Review* 8:211–35.
- Bolton, H.E., 1908, *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest, 1542–1706*. New York: Scribner.
- Bolton, H.E., 1911, The Jumano Indians, 1650–1771. *Texas Historical Association Quarterly* 15:66–84.
- Campbell, R.G., 1983, Some Possible Kiowa Origins. Paper presented at the Kiowa Symposium, Texas Tech University, Lubbock.
- Castañeda, C.E., 1936, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*, vol. 1. Austin: Van Boeckmann-Jones.
- Covey, C., trans., 1961, *Cabeza de Vaca's Adventures in the Unknown Interior of America*. New York: Collier Books.
- Donahue, W.H., 1953, Mary of Agreda and the Southwest United States. *The Americas* 9(1):291–314.
- Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1974, Agreda, Maria de. *Micropaedia* 1:143. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc.
- Fernandez Duro, C., 1882, *Don Diego de Peñalosa y su descubrimiento del reino de Cuivira*. Madrid.
- Forbes, J.D., 1959, Unknown Athabaskans: The Identification of the Janos, Jcome, Suma, Manso, and Other Indian Tribes of the Southwest. *Ethnohistory* 6(2):97–159.
- Forestal, P.P., ed., 1954, *Benavides' Memorial of 1630*. Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History.
- Hackett, C.W., ed., 1934, *Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas*, vol. 2. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Hackett, C.W., ed., 1937, *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, vol. 3. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 330(2). Washington, D.C.
- Hallenbeck, C., 1940, *Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca: The Journey and Route of the First European to Cross the Continent of North America, 1534–1536*. Glendale, Calif.: Arthur C. Clark.

- Hallenbeck, C., and J. Williams, 1938, *Legends of the Spanish Southwest*. Glendale, Calif.: Arthur C. Clark.
- Hammond, G.P., and A. Rey, eds. and trans., 1953, *Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595–1628*. 2 vols. Coronado Historical Series 5–6. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Heimsath, C.H., 1964, *The Mysterious Woman in Blue*. Pp. 132–35 in *Legends of Texas* (ed. by J.F. Dobie). Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates.
- Hickerson, N.P., 1988a, *The Jumano and Trade in the Arid Southwest*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Social Science Association, Denver, Colo.
- Hickerson, N.P., 1988b, *The Linguistic Position of Jumano*. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 44(3):311–26.
- Hickerson, N.P., 1989, *The Decline and Fall of the Jumano Trade Empire*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Washington, D.C.
- Hodge, F.W., ed., 1907–1910, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*. 2 vols. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 30. Washington, D.C.
- Hodge, F.W., 1911, *The Jumano Indians*. *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* (n.s.) 20:249–68.
- Hodge, F.W., G.P. Hammond, and A. Rey, eds., 1945, *Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Hyde, G.E., 1959, *Indians of the High Plains*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- John, E.H., 1975, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds*. College Station: Texas A & M Press.
- Kelley, J.C., 1955, *Juan Sabeata and Diffusion in Aboriginal Texas*. *American Anthropologist* 57(5):981–95.
- Kelley, J.C., 1986, *Jumano and Patarabueye: Relations at La Junta de los Rios*. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, *Anthropological Papers* 77. Ann Arbor.
- Kendrick, T.D., 1967, *Mary of Agreda: The Life and Legend of a Spanish Nun*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Kessell, J.L., 1987, *Kiva, Cross and Crown: The Pecos Indians and New Mexico, 1540–1840*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Kingston, M., ed., 1987, *Texas Almanac, 1988–1989*. Austin: Texas Monthly Press.
- Pond, K.E., 1967, *Mary of Agreda*. *The New Catholic Encyclopaedia* 1:212–13. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Rose, S.S., ed., 1980, *Hispanic Legends from New Mexico*. *Folklore and Mythological Studies* 31. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Samaniego, X., 1759, *Relación de la vida de la V. Madre Sor María de Jesús*. Madrid.
- Sanchez, J.P., 1987, *The Rio Abajo Frontier, 1540–1692*. Albuquerque: The Albuquerque Museum.
- Sauer, C.O., 1934, *The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern Mexico*. *Ibero-Americana* 5. Berkeley, Calif.
- Scholes, F.V., 1930, *The Supply Service of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century*. *New Mexico Historical Review* 5:93–115, 186–210, 386–404.
- Scholes, F.V., and H.P. Mera, 1940, *Some Aspects of the Jumano Problem*. *Contributions to American Anthropology and History* vol. 6, no. 34. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 523. Washington, D.C.
- Schroeder, A.H., 1964, *The Language of the Saline Pueblos: Piro or Tiwa?* *New Mexico Historical Review* 39:235–49.

Schroeder, A.H., 1979, Pueblos Abandoned in Historic Times. Pp. 236-54 in Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9: Southwest (ed. by A. Ortiz). Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Simmons, M., 1979, History of Pueblo-Spanish Relations to 1821. Pp. 178-193 in Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9: Southwest (ed. by A. Ortiz). Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Vetancurt, Fr. A. de, 1961[1692], Teatro Mexicano: Descripción breve de los sucesos. . . , vol. 3. Colección Chimalistac de libros y documentos acerca de la Nueva España 10. Madrid: J. Porrúa Turanzas.

Vivian, R.G., 1979, Gran Quivira: Excavations in a Seventeenth-Century Jumano Pueblo. U.S. National Park Service Archeological Research Series 8. Reissue. Albuquerque.

Wallace, E., and E.A. Hoebel, 1952, The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Winship, G.P., trans, 1904, The Journey of Coronado, 1540-1542. New York: Al-lerton.

Wolf, E., 1958, The Virgin of Guadalupe: A Mexican National Symbol. Journal of American Folklore 71:34-39.