

observation of the latitude of the "deep river" of southern Arizona, there is some doubt; for Motolinia's ^{almost} ~~contemporary~~ narrative and the other early accounts give no such name, and mention as Juan de la Asuncion's ecclesiastical companion, only an unnamed lay brother who fell sick and returned at an early stage of the journey, beyond which, those narratives imply that the advance was made by Fray Juan, unaccompanied save by his native attendants. Fray Pedro ~~and~~ and his geographical record are introduced to us by Arricivita, only in 1792, and may ~~easily~~ be a confusion with the personnel of some other expedition.

We have seen that Mendoza designed to provide Dorantes with forty or fifty horses and with all other equipment needful for discovering the country, and for attaining certain objects which he thought "would redound to the glory of God and ~~the~~ to the profit of His Majesty the King", ~~and~~ and as he emphasizes his ability to do this without drawing on the royal treasury, and of his willingness to expend several thousand pesos on the project, if need be, we naturally infer, as is consistent with the ~~and~~ narratives of Motolinia and Mange, that the ~~and~~ main secular object of the expedition was to replenish the King's treasury by the discovery of mines.

Captain Dorantes seems to have been placed in command of a company of twelve mounted soldier-miners, not less than eight of whom were Spaniards; and with the expedition, we infer from Mendoza's letters, there went, besides the two monks, black Stephen, and a number of natives of the country, some of whom were provided as interpreters.

How the ~~and~~ ^{amply equipped} secular part and object of the expedition failed, is bemoaned by Mendoza in his "première lettre"; and the same, and how the humble and feebly appointed religious wing succeeded —though Mendoza ~~and~~ passes over it in silence, in his chagrin at the mining fiasco — is well told in the narratives of Motolinia and Mange.

As the expedition started in January, and the return of the ecclesiastical party was nine months later, Juan de la Asuncion must have gotten back in October, 1538. But in September of that year Fray Marcos ~~and~~ had already been despatched to Culiacan with the then recently appointed governor of New Galicia, Coronado, and formal viceregal instructions overtook the friar at Tonalá for a new northern reconnaissance, upon some of whose lines perhaps Mendoza did not decide until ~~and~~ a month or so after Marcos' departure from the capital — Fray Juan de la Asuncion arrived and reported. On his way to Culiacan, Fray Marcos, who in January had only procured the sending of Juan de la Asuncion because

he himself could not then be spared from church duty for the exploration he would fain have made personally, must have met Fray Juan at not many days' travel from Mexico, and had from him at least whispers of a story of northern lands and peoples that kindled his zeal anew. And the viceroy's letter of instructions that overtook him at Tonala, may have been brought thither by Fray Juan, who, on his arrival in Mexico with his report to Fray Rodrigo, the Provincial, we are told, was sent by the latter ~~to submit the same report to Fray~~ Marcos. The governor and Fray Marcos having arrived at Culiacan, and Coronado having sent out interpreters to notify the Indians, in accordance with the viceroy's instructions, that they were no more to be hunted as slaves, and that their former oppressors had been punished, and these interpreters having returned in ten days with a large delegation with which peace was soon confirmed on behalf of all the natives, and twelve days having been spent in his needful preparations, Fray Marcos set forth at about the end of 1538, to confirm the discoveries ~~and~~ reported by Fray Juan de la Asuncion.

Such intimations as we have concerning this ~~journey~~ ^{first excursion} of Fray Marcos, ~~in~~ do not indicate that ~~he~~ ^{Fray Marcos} went ~~so~~ so far north as the "deep river" of southern Arizona, ~~to which the latter had~~ ~~but~~ ^{went} ~~apply a fair test to the report of~~ ~~the~~ ^{rivers and Tescoripa.} ~~he~~ ^{possibly} ~~had~~ ^{learned} ~~the truth concerning the latter's further progress and services.~~ From Mendoza's "première lettre" we have seen that, in starting out, ~~the~~ ^{instructions} Fray Marcos had instructions to go as far as the "town called Corazones, one hundred and twenty leagues from Culiacan", and that in fact "he reached" at least the border of what was then considered "that province". ~~At 120 leagues he would have reached, not the partly Lower Pima (Novome) town of~~ Corazones (which was near Ures, 150 leagues from Culiacan), but the southern part ~~of the Lower Pima province~~, ~~which was~~ ^{which} ~~Novome~~ ^{which} ~~bordered~~ ^{bordered} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~territory~~ ^{territory} ~~of the~~ ^{of the} ~~Lower Pima~~ ^{Lower Pima} ~~territory~~ ^{territory} ~~which he entered~~ ^{which he entered} ~~so soon as he was beyond~~ ^{so soon as he was beyond} Yaqimi, and which ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~called~~ ^{called} in the winter of 1538-9 ~~the name of its northern and best known village,~~ ^{the name of its northern and best known village,} ~~the town of Novome~~ ^{the town of Novome} "Corazones," ~~the Town of Hearts, made~~ ^{the Town of Hearts, made} famous throughout New Spain by its tales of pearls and gifts of

emeralds and turquoises, and by its remarkable hospitality in ~~the~~

~~I have not been able to consult the original Spanish of this part of Cabeza de Vaca's narrative; but according to W. W. H. Davis (Spanish Conquest of New Mexico, p. 103) the village in which the raids were carried was the "Town of Hearts."~~

~~him~~ deers' hearts to Cabeza de Vaca's party in 1536. From Mendoza's appointment to meet Fray Marcos in that town, as a part of the former's intended trip for personal investigation of the favorably reported mining region of Topira or Topia*, it would seem that it was

"D' Anville's map, "Amerique Septentrionale", 1746, shows a considerable province of "TOPIA" east-northeast of that of Culiacan and separated from it by the crest of the Sierra Madre. The same map shows also a village of "Topia" at the head of the Rio de Culiacan. South of the province of Topia, is shown the town of "Durango." The province of Topia therefore seems to have been coincident with a large northern portion of the present state of Durango; but the spine of ²⁵ *Mazatlan* ²⁶ *Sierra Madre* ²⁷ *extended* ²⁸ *southward* ²⁹ *from* ³⁰ *the* ³¹ *Sierra Madre* ³² *into* ³³ *the* ³⁴ *state* ³⁵ *of* ³⁶ *Durango* ³⁷ *and* ³⁸ *the* ³⁹ *state* ⁴⁰ *of* ⁴¹ *Sonora* ⁴² *and* ⁴³ *the* ⁴⁴ *state* ⁴⁵ *of* ⁴⁶ *Sinaloa* ⁴⁷ *and* ⁴⁸ *the* ⁴⁹ *state* ⁵⁰ *of* ⁵¹ *Nayarit* ⁵² *and* ⁵³ *the* ⁵⁴ *state* ⁵⁵ *of* ⁵⁶ *Coahuila* ⁵⁷ *and* ⁵⁸ *the* ⁵⁹ *state* ⁶⁰ *of* ⁶¹ *Chihuahua* ⁶² *and* ⁶³ *the* ⁶⁴ *state* ⁶⁵ *of* ⁶⁶ *San Luis Potosi* ⁶⁷ *and* ⁶⁸ *the* ⁶⁹ *state* ⁷⁰ *of* ⁷¹ *Puebla* ⁷² *and* ⁷³ *the* ⁷⁴ *state* ⁷⁵ *of* ⁷⁶ *Mexico* ⁷⁷ *and* ⁷⁸ *the* ⁷⁹ *state* ⁸⁰ *of* ⁸¹ *Tlaxcala* ⁸² *and* ⁸³ *the* ⁸⁴ *state* ⁸⁵ *of* ⁸⁶ *Queretaro* ⁸⁷ *and* ⁸⁸ *the* ⁸⁹ *state* ⁹⁰ *of* ⁹¹ *Guanajuato* ⁹² *and* ⁹³ *the* ⁹⁴ *state* ⁹⁵ *of* ⁹⁶ *Mexico* ⁹⁷ *and* ⁹⁸ *the* ⁹⁹ *state* ¹⁰⁰ *of* ¹⁰¹ *Michoacan* ¹⁰² *and* ¹⁰³ *the* ¹⁰⁴ *state* ¹⁰⁵ *of* 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the original intention that the ~~work~~ should remain in Corazonas until Mendoza should come there with ^{prospecting} ~~his~~ party, but that, ~~he~~ before ^{the town itself} finding the conditions unfavorable, ~~he~~ ^{the Marcos returned} and reported the scarcity of food* and the barriers of

⁸In the five years following Diego de Gúzman's expedition, scarcely any crops were planted ~~and~~ by the natives in the country between Culiacán and ~~and~~ the Yaqui River, owing to fear of the Spanish slave-raids; but these raids were prohibited at the end of 1538; and in 1539 planting was resumed, ~~and~~ and food more was plentiful.

the mountains; and that this led the viceroy to alter his plan, and instead of going in person, to send Fray Marcos back for the more extensive northern exploration contemplated in his original letter of instructions to him*; of which ~~should~~ exploration.

¹⁰ In his Southwestern Historical Contributions (pp. 109 to 112), Bandelier gives a translation of those instructions, which were highly suitable to the character and intelligence of the Indians.

the latter's hasty winter trip toward Corazones may be regarded as only a preliminary run or false start. The ~~highest~~^{first} mountain-barriers that turned Fray Marcos back, ^{and those of the later Tolima province with the} may have been the wilderness of sierras to the east and north of Cumuripa, in which it would seem that Mendoza had hopes that rich mines might be found. Through that same forbidding labyrinth, indeed, Cabeza de Vaca had found his way, bringing word that the mountains bore good sign of mineral, and that in variety; but into it, the canny friar seems to ^{had} ~~have~~ ^{sithof} no desire to penetrate or to encourage the viceroy to do so; ^{the rather, he seems} ~~but~~ to have thought it wise to return and prepare at once for what he deemed ~~more~~ more important—the discovery of the far northern ^{nations} ~~nations~~ and ~~the~~ great and rich cities ~~in~~ which Fray Juan had been told were to be found far beyond the "Iape river."

It is probable that Fray Juan's statement that "on nearly the whole route" he "had notice of a country inhabited by many people who were clothed, and who have houses constructed of sod and of many stories," on the shores of a great river at "ten days" beyond the "deep" river, the account of their possessions, and the statement that "beyond that river there are other villages, larger and more wealthy", were the moving considerations that led to the viceroy's prompt instructions for northern exploration by Fray Marcos, and to the celerity with which the latter entered upon ~~his~~ his winter excursion, and that his partial verification of ~~his colleague's~~ statements, by this excursion, greatly quickened his preparation for his second expedition, the start of which followed that of ~~his~~ other within less than three months.

Be that as it may, this zealous Gray Friar set forth in the early spring of 1539 with one white companion ~~and many Indians~~ (a lay brother who, like the one earlier accompanying Fray Juan, soon ~~soon~~ became ill and returned), ~~the negro Esteban, and half a dozen~~ native guides and interpreters. Many native followers voluntarily joined them at points along the way. ^{Esteban} From Vacapa ~~and~~ onward, preceded the

friar, reached the Zuñi country, and was killed at Hawikuh, one of the Seven Cities of Cibola. The friar himself followed and, ^{in the northern border} of the White Mountain Wilderness of Arizona, met the survivors of the negro's Indian retinue fleeing southward for their lives; ^{some of whose kindred} after much persuasion, and at no little risk of his life, which they at first threatened—, he induced to accompany him to the border of Cibola-Lani, and to an eminence whence he could glimpse one of the Seven Cities; whereupon, with such knowledge as he had been able to gain at first hand and such as he had gathered from ~~the~~ natives along ^{the} way, he hastily, and "with far more fright than food," returned to New Galicia.

Of this ~~his~~ second and main northern exploration we have Fray Marcos' own narrative: a report entitled ^{"Relacion del} ~~descubrimiento de las~~ ^{por el p. Fr. Marcos de Niza} ~~siete ciudades~~, which was submitted to Mendoza, and by the latter transcribed and communicated to the king. It has been discussed at greater or less length by many authors; of whom the most important are Bandelier and Winslow.* It has been several times treated of by

^{footnote} *Of other writings on this expedition, mention need here be made only of those in Bancroft's Works, in Winslow's Narrative and Critical History of America (reference here being to Haynes, in Volume II), and in Prince's Historical Sketches of New Mexico.

the former, who has given to it more prolonged and zealous study than has ~~done~~ any other writer, and whose ^{classic} ~~seventy-three pages upon it, accurately transcribed~~ ^{and of the present study of it} memoir ^{of} appeared in 1890 in one of the Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America.* A somewhat more advanced review of it,

"For these writings of Bandelier, see ~~Mathematical~~ article headed "Cibola" in one of the Sunday issues ~~of~~ of the New York Staats-Zeitung, 1885; Revue d' Ethnographie, Tome V, 1886; Magazine of Western History, Volume IV, 1886; The Gilded Man (El Dorado) and Other Pictures of the Spanish Occupancy of America, 1893; and especially Southwestern Historical Contributions, 1890.

based in part upon Bandelier's fundamental studies, is given by Winship in the Historical Introduction to his "The Coronado Expedition, 1540-42". ~~in the Twentieth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology~~

Of ~~Mad~~ Fray Marcos de Niza,^{~~He stayed~~} aside from his northern travels,
^{~~Spent~~ from the name.} In Italian, Fra Marco di Nizza; in French, Frère Marc de Nice;
and in English, Friar Mark of Nice.

not a great deal is known. The following has been gathered from the above-named two sources, as per initial in parenthesis, and from Bancroft, concerning him:

"Fray Marcos was, according to the political configuration of Southern Europe in his day, a Savoyard. Nizza then belonged to the Duchy of Savoy. He is mostly designated by clerical contemporaries as a Frenchman. He was manifestly a shrewd and very able man, of no ordinary attainments for the period in which he lived, and wholly devoted to duty. The great principle of his Order (and of the Catholic Church in general), obedience, ruled his actions. He obeyed implicitly the Viceroy, as well as the Superiors of his own brotherhood." (B.) He had "taken part in the memorable journey which culminated in the conquest of Peru by Francisco Pizarro", "was present at Caxamarca, and at the death of Atahualpa." (B.) He "was well adapted for a tour of exploration, from the standpoint of personal experience and of practical knowledge of the nature of Indians. Nevertheless, his acquaintance with the natives of Peru and Quito exposed him to misleading conclusions". (B.) "Returning to Central America, very likely with Pedro Alvarado, he had walked from there barefooted, as was his custom, up to Mexico." (W.) "After his arrival in Mexico, he was sent to the Northern Provinces. When Cabeza de Vaca suddenly appeared in Sinaloa, Fray Marcos had already had some 'frontier' experience in that country. He knew Indians of Jalisco, and probably of Sinaloa; he was acclimatized, and in a measure familiar with the ways of the aborigines." (B.) "A member of the Franciscan brotherhood, he had already attained to some standing in the order, for he signs his report or personal narration of his explorations, as vice-commissary of the Franciscans. The father provincial of the order, Friar Antonio de Ciudad-Rodrigo, on August 26, 1539, certified to the high esteem in which Friar Marcos was held, and stated that he was skilled in cosmography and in the arts of the sea.

as well as in theology"; which "certification, with the report of Friar Marcos and other documents relating to him, is printed in the Pachaco y Cárdenas Colección, vol. iii, pp. 325-351." (W.) In 1547, he was elected to succeed Fray Antonio as Father Provincial. Bancroft gives citations in which Fray Marcos is said to have been the founder of the Franciscan provincia of Lima, and "the author of several works on the conquest and native races of Quito and Peru. In '40-3 he was provincial of his order in Mexico, though most of the time absent in the north, where he lost his health. He lived later in Jalapa," where Mendieta met him in 1554, "and died at Mexico in 1558."

¹⁰History of New Mexico and Arizona, 1889, p. 28.

The original instructions to Fray Marcos, which we have seen the viceroy sent to him in the fall of 1538, "directed that the Indians whom he met on the way should receive the best of treatment, and provided for the scientific observations which all Spanish explorers were expected to record. Letters were to be left wherever it seemed advisable, in order to communicate with a possible sea expedition, and information of the progress of the party was to be sent back to the viceroy at convenient intervals. These instructions are a model of careful and explicit directions, and show the characteristic interest taken by Mendoza in the details of everything with which he was concerned. They supply to some extent, also, the loss of the similar instructions which Coronado must have received when he started on his journey in the following February."²

^{Historical} Winship, *Introduction*, pp. 354-5.

The expedition which was to make Fray Marcos famous as the first European to reach the border-land of the Seven Cities of Cibola, and to enter within the limits of present New Mexico, left Chilaca on ^{San Miguel de} March 7th, 1539. It traveled northwesterly, nearly parallel with the coast and ~~the mountains intervening between~~ ^{not far from it.} "The inhabitants of the country through which they passed treated them with great kindness and hospitality. They made entertainments for them on the roadside, furnished them with provisions, and gave them presents of robes, flowers, and many other articles. In the parts of the country where there ~~were~~ were no houses the Indians made bowers of the boughs and branches of trees plaited together for them to rest and sleep under." At the ^{river and}

The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico, W. W. H. Davis, Doylestown, Pa., 1869; page 115.

The pueblo of Petatlan, ^{delimitated with} some 35 leagues on its
The pueblo of Petatlan was on a stream now known as Rio Sinaloa; perhaps a
league or two below the present town of Sinaloa, and about 4 (or 5) leagues above Bamea.
way, the party was detained for three days by the illness of the lay

brother, Fra Onorato. The latter proved unable to continue the journey, and it became necessary for Fray Marcos to proceed upon an exploration of unknowable length and dangers without a single white companion." But his faith was in God, and he humbly remarks in his

Footnote
 "Castafeda mentions "Friar Daniel, a lay brother," and "Friar Antonio de Santa Maria", as having been brought with Friar Marcos by Coronado to New Galicia, and as having been sent ^{to Cibola} by him with Friar Marcos and the negro; but Castafeda confuses the time of arrival of Coronado and Friar Marcos in New Galicia with that of the latter's going to Cibola, and there is no evidence that the alleged going of the two other friars beyond the limits of New Galicia is anything more than a mere supposition on Castafeda's part, unless indeed it be possible that *this* Friar Daniel, who went later with Coronado's expedition, was the same as Fra Onorato, both being lay brothers.

report, "I continued my journey whither the Holy Ghost directed me, although I did not deserve it."

As he journeyed on, he was everywhere received with "the same uniform kindness" by the ~~Indians~~ ; but he found "a great scarcity of provisions throughout all the country, and the Indians informed him that rain had not fallen for three years. They had almost ceased cultivating the land, having fled to the mountains and concealed themselves from fear of the Spaniards, who were in the habit of making incursions from the town of Saint Michael and carrying them off into captivity."

Footnote
 "Davis, *op. cit.*, page 118.

Of the ~~submarino~~ border region between Sinaloa and Sonora, Fray Marcos ~~says~~ says, "On this whole stretch, which may be twenty-five to thirty leagues on the other side of Petetean, I saw nothing worthy of being recorded here except that there came to me Indians from the island in which the Marques del Valle has been, from which Indians I ascertained that it was really an island, and not, as some pretend, terra firma. The distance from this island to the mainland may be one-half league by sea, more or less, and I saw that they crossed over on rafts to the mainland, and from the mainland back to the island."

~~There also came to me Indians from another isle larger than the first one, and situated farther ahead. I learned from them that there were thirty more islands—small ones—settled, but destitute of food, except two, where they say that they have maize. These Indians were many—conch shells suspended to their necks, in which they used to be pearls, and when I showed them a pearl which I had taken along they said that there were some of these on those islands—but I did not see any.~~

Footnote
~~Descubrimiento, p. 231, as~~
~~translated by Bandelier, Contributions, p. 118.~~