

calls our attention (l. c.) to the friar's conscientiousness in not allowing himself "to speak of all this except as from hearsay."

From the Yaqui delta-plain onward, the course of Fray Marcos diverged considerably from the now more westerly inclining coast, and ere long he reached <sup>provingo and</sup> a village called Vacapa, ~~Spelled also~~

*Footnote* "Vacupa" and "Bacapa", which ~~was in central Sonora~~ was in central Sonora, "forty leagues distant from the Gulf of California. It is described as being situated in a fertile region, in which the inhabitants raised crops by irrigation, and which was therefore plentifully supplied with food."\* Bandelier places it near

*Footnote* \*Bandelier, Contributions, p. 122.

Matape, a village of the Eudeves.\*

*Footnote* \*See his Contributions, p. 123; The Gilded Man, p. 139; etc. The Jesuit mission of San José Matape was founded at Matape in 1629, by the veteran padre of Sinaloa, Pedro Mendez. In 1678, Matape was a Jesuit college town of 482 inhabitants. (Bancroft XV, pp. 246 and 228.)

Fray Marcos does not account for quite all of the leagues of his journey. When we sum up the number of leagues and the number of days of travel that he accounts for between San Miguel de Culiacan and the village of Vacapa, reducing the days also to leagues at the usual rate of 5 leagues per day, we find only 95 ~~leagues~~ of the 150 leagues, or thereabout, which are necessary for the journey between these two places, by the route over which we have traced him;\* assuming here

*Footnote*

"The first stage of his journey, that to Petatlan, we have shown was about.....	30 leagues
The interval from Petatlan River to the river (del Fuerte) where he met the first islanders, did not exceed .....	30 "
The "desert" of "four days march", which he crossed between the rivers Mayo and Yaqui, is equivalent to .....	20 "
which brought him to the Indians who called him "Sayota";	
And beyond his meeting with these Indians, he accounts for only 3 more days, equivalent to .....	15 "
which brought him to "Vacapa": .....	95 leagues.

that the village of Vacapa was near Matape. It is therefore obvious that Fray Marcos' "Relacion del Descubrimiento" is far from being a diary of his journey. It gives

*Footnote* \*A discussion of this rate will be found in the Early Far West Paper, No. 2.



us only chief parts of his itinerary and certain incidentally mentioned place-names, omitting <sup>many</sup> details which he deemed it needless to ~~repeat~~ repeat, since <sup>geographic data</sup> had been reported in another document, now lost. Farther south, he omitted to tell us his distance or time <sup>(about 30 leagues, or 6 days)</sup> between the place (Rio Fuerte) where he met the first, and that (Rio Mayo) where he met the second lot of islanders. And here, before reaching the village of Vacapa, he has again ignored a small quota of days. Since, owing to the topography <sup>of the country</sup> northeast of Yaqui delta, he probably traveled at first about north, to Rio Matapa near La Misa, and then up that not wholly straight stream, it <sup>was, by his road</sup> probably not less than 40 leagues, or 8 days' travel, from Belen — or say from Bapolibampo,\* where he began

Footnote

\*At the mouth of the Yaqui delta distributary, Rio del Muerte, ~~some~~ a few miles northwest of Belen. The name is also spelled "Mabolibampo."

to leave Yaqui territory — to the village of Matapa. But Fray Marcos tells us that after leaving <sup>(Yaqui delta)</sup> the Indians who called him "Sayota", ~~he reached Vacapa in "three days."~~ he reached Vacapa in "three days." The 5 days, however, that at first appear missing, are not far to seek; for the name "Vacapa", like many other place-names, was used both as the name of a ~~district~~ district, or province, and as that of a chief town in that province, and it was in the provincial sense that Fray Marcos used it here, <sup>while</sup> ~~the~~ the village which gave name to that province was yet farther northeastward and to be reached by some 5 days more of travel through that province, which 5 days he forgets to mention. The friar seems to say that after traveling "three days,— the inhabited points" ~~being of~~ [being of] "that same sort of people, by whom he was received as by those behind, — he reached a reasonably well-peopled <sup>settlement (or settled village?)</sup> which is called Vacapa."\* If this province <sup>included</sup> ~~included~~

Footnote

\*The Spanish, as quoted by Bandelier (Contrib., page 124), is: "Y ansi anduve tres dias, poblados de aquella misma gente, de los cuales fui rescibido como de los atras, llegué á una razonable poblacion que se llama Vacapa."

as I see no reason for doubting that it did, all the more habitable extent of Rio Matapa Valley, from ~~the~~ the neighborhood <sup>present</sup> of La Misa to that of Matapa, Fray Marcos could ~~possibly~~ have reached its southwestern border from either Belen or Bapolibampo in three days without exceeding ~~the normal~~ <sup>the</sup> journeying rate of five leagues per day. In our study of Coronado's Expedition, in Early Far West Paper, No. 2, we shall find that Coronado's army crossed the northeastern part of this province of Vacapa, which Castañeda, a member and chronicler of that expedition, mentions <sup>as a "province"</sup> under the Aztec variant form of the name, "Vacapan."\*

Footnote

\*See also page — in the present Paper.



Reaching Vacapa (apparently the village) "two days before Passion Sunday" or about the middle of April,\* a halt was made, and Fray

*Footnote* So says Bandelier (*op. cit.*, page 122); but Winship (Introduction, page 355) considers this an error, and says, "two days before Passion Sunday, which in 1539 fell on March 23." As there is no reason for supposing that Fray Marcos traveled more than 5 leagues a day, it would have taken him about 30 days to travel the approximately 150 leagues of his somewhat indirect route between Culiacan and the village of Vacapa. To this we must add the 3 days of his detention at Petatlan, not to speak of other probable delays. And as his party left Culiacan on March 7th, it is hard to see how it could have reached the village of Vacapa before about the 8th or 9th of April; the chances being that delays not mentioned in his narrative, would have made his arrival even a few days later.

Marcos sent Indian messengers to the coast "by three different routes to bring to him some of the inhabitants of the main-land and the adjacent islands, in order that he might learn from them direct the facts regarding their country",\* and especially <sup>perhaps</sup> those regarding

*Footnote* \*Prince, Historical Sketches of New Mexico, 1883, p. 103.

the pearl fisheries of which Cabeza de Vaca had heard. From Vacapa also, he sent Estevan ahead, with orders to go 50 or 60 leagues northward, and at intervals to send back word as to whatever he might find that was favorable to the objects of the expedition.

I regret my inability here to consult the original Spanish <sup>or the Italian version</sup> of Fray Marcos' Relacion, to ascertain whether it implies necessarily, or not, that all of these couriers were despatched from the village of Vacapa; for the sendings of the Indian messengers were probably to ~~the Guaymas~~ <sup>and the Yaboa Bay region (Tiburones and Tepic) and the Guaymas or Upangwaymas,</sup> the ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> Seris ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> Tiburon island, and it would seem natural that the sending to the Guaymas <sup>group</sup> would have been made from that southwestern part of the province of Vacapa in which he first arrived and in which he was nearest to it, ~~and~~ <sup>although</sup> he may have sent ~~himself~~ <sup>representatives of</sup> from the village of Vacapa for all three tribes, in order to compare and sift their statements. ~~when they were all together~~ <sup>probably translated</sup>

The sending forward of Estevan was evidently from Vacapa village, since the negro seems to have reached the ~~the~~ Sonora River ~~by~~ <sup>by</sup> about three days' northerly travel from his point of departure, as did the friar himself when, later, he set out to follow him.

Bandelier's placing of the village of Vacapa near Matape, seems to stand all ~~the~~ <sup>present</sup> tests, ~~and is well accepted~~. The location of the ancient village may possibly have been that of <sup>present</sup> Nacori, a cross-road location\*.

*Footnote* \*According to Herbert's Map of Sonora (1904), Nacori is where the main road northward to Ures-Corazones crosses Matape River, and is also on a trail to Babiaca, <sup>to</sup> Sonora Valley proper. ~~It is also on the trail from Babiaca to Ures.~~ but the view that it was the site of Matape itself, would seem better to



comport with Fray Marcos' statement of distance from the sea, and with the relatively greater importance of Matape in history and in population. A few words, however, should perhaps be said, in view of the fact that there are certain points which, at first sight, seem to give ground for suspicion that

"Vacapa" may have been <sup>villages and</sup> the valley of Ures, and not <sup>distinct</sup> from the place to which Cabeza de Vaca and the chroniclers of Coronado's expedition apply the Spanish commemorative name "Corazones".\* The

\*On "the vicinity of Ures" as the locality of Corazones, see Hodge, Coronado's March to Quivira, pp. 35 and 36. See also Early Far West Paper, No. 2.

latter, like Matape, is about 40 leagues from the coast, ~~located~~ and was probably at least as fertile, well irrigated, and plentifully supplied with food as was Matape; and ~~that all of these other writers speak only of Corazones, and Fray Marcos only of Vacapa, it is to say the least a curious point, although its significance is uncertain in view of the fact that the friar~~ <sup>the friar</sup> ~~of the fact that~~ <sup>the friar</sup> ~~omits nearly all place-names of his route to Cibola, delegating them to a geographical paper whose present whereabouts are unknown.~~ <sup>the friar's</sup> ~~the party could easily have reached either Matape or Ures-Corazones~~ <sup>before</sup> ~~mid-April.~~ It would even seem reasonable to suppose that the place in which the friar would have chosen to halt and await tidings from his advance-courier north, and to send west after information of a pearl-oyster fishery (which was probably that of Tepoca Bay, anciently known as the "placer de perlas"),\* would have been the rancheria-cluster of the Corazones, of whose hospitality Cabeza de Vaca had brought to New Spain so favorable an account in 1536. As Ures also is about 3 days' travel below Sonora Valley proper, and as a 50- or 60-league journey thence up Sonora River by Estevan would have been virtually in accord with the friar's instructions to the latter "to go north fifty or sixty leagues",\* it seems not outside the pale of possibilities <sup>on fairly consistent evidence from Fray Marcos alone,</sup> that "Vacapa" may have been the native name of the Indian village in the Valley of Ures, to which Cabeza de Vaca had given the Spanish name of "Corazones." It may even be said that if Estevan's <sup>river from the</sup> way up the <sup>latter</sup> valley must needs have been more east

than north for the first two days, it was none the less the main route thence northward for Zúñi-Cibola; and farther, that, ~~even from Matape,~~ <sup>owing to</sup> the rugged topography, ~~a perfectly~~ <sup>a perfectly</sup> straight course northward was impracticable. Yet, if we assume that the river was approached <sup>over the trail that leads to it</sup> by way of what is now called Mata Vaca, in the region of the gorge, the fact that the first ~~three~~ <sup>three</sup> days' course from Matape, though somewhat devious, would have averaged ~~about~~ north, is, so far as it goes, in favor of Matape or some other point in the upper

\*Rudo Ensayo, p. 197. "Corazones" is a name of the Tepoca Bay.

\*See p. 197.



quarter of Matape River basin.

But even if we admit that in many respects Corazones agrees with the ~~description of the Matape River basin~~ friar's Vacapa, all possibility that the two are identical ~~is virtually vetoed by Castañeda,~~ who, having discoursed upon Corazones as the stopping-place of Coronado's rear army, ~~and with which, under Arellano,~~ he had marched northward in 1540, returns to the subject of that army's march and mentions an incident ~~in the Early Far West Papers, (May 2) of its passage through~~

*Footnote* \*Noticed more fully in Early Far West Paper, No. 2.

"a province which is called Vacapan", evidently not the same as what he elsewhere calls "a province which Cabeza de Vaca had named Corazones."\*

*Footnote* \*Or, in the <sup>old</sup> Spanish, his references to the two provinces are, "una prouincia que se dice uacapan", and "una prouincia que cabeza de uaca puso por nombre corazones." See Bu. Eth. Ann. XIV, pp. 425 and 427; and for the translation, ~~Winship~~ (Winship) pp. 484 and 487.

**T** ~~Castañeda~~ Castañeda does not tell us the location of his province of Vacapan, and mentions it in such a connection that one might be led to infer that it was reached after the army had left Corazones; ~~but~~ <sup>his reference to</sup> ~~it is merely the first of several anecdotes~~ reminiscent of Arellano's march from Culiacan, to which subject ~~Castañeda~~ <sup>Castañeda</sup> returns in an anecdotal mood, after he has spirited the army forward to Corazones and the founding of San Hieronimo, and there is no doubt in the mind of the present writer that this "Vacapan" refers to the same province ~~as~~ <sup>as</sup> Fray Marcos' "Vacapa", — namely, that on Matape River. With Corazones thus ruled out, the ~~location of the~~ <sup>probably</sup> ~~location of the~~ <sup>location of the</sup> village of Vacapa is narrowed down to the question whether it ~~was at Matape or at~~ <sup>was at Matape or at</sup> Nacori, of to-day. ~~Whatever its precise location, it is clearly impossible, as Bandelier~~ <sup>Whatever its precise location, it is clearly impossible, as Bandelier</sup> ~~has indi-~~



cated from time and place considerations, to identify it with the northwestern "SQ Ludov. de Bacapa" of 1698 to 1701, entered on Father Kino's <sup>map</sup> Tabula Californica.\*

*Footnote* \*See, ~~and the following pages and the following pages~~ on this latter point, Bandelier, Contributions, pp. 123-125; also notes by Coues and Hodge in the former's Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés, pp. 481 and 487.

It was on the afternoon of Passion Sunday, ~~two~~ two days after ~~the~~ the arrival at Vacapa, that Estevan was sent forward, with instructions, says ~~the~~ Fray Marcos, "To go to the north fifty or sixty leagues, to see if in that direction there might be observed something great, or some rich country and well settled; and if he found anything or heard of anything of that kind, to stop, and to send me a message by some Indians. That message was to consist of a wooden cross of a white color. In case the discovery was of medium importance, he was to send me a cross of one span in length; if important, the cross was to be two spans in length; and if more important than New Spain, he should send me a large cross."\*

*Footnote* \*~~As translated by Bandelier~~ <sup>See list.</sup> As translated by Bandelier (Cont., p. 127) from the French version, Relation du Voyage de Cibola, p. 20.

The negro seems to have traveled rapidly; for but four days later ~~an~~ Indian messenger returned from ~~the north~~ <sup>River</sup> Sonora, with a very large cross as tall as a man; and they told me, by order of Estevan, that I should now follow him at once, since he had met people who gave him information of the greatest thing in the world, and that he was with Indians who had been there, of whom he sent me one; and this one told me so many things of the greatness of the country, that I refused to believe it until I saw it myself, or obtained further proof. He said that from where Estevan now was it was thirty days' march to the first city of the country which was called Cibola. He further affirms and says, that in this first province there are seven very large cities, all under one lord, with houses of stone and lime, large, the smallest ones of two stories and with a flat roof, and others of three and four stories, and that of the lord with five, all placed together in order; and on the door-sills and lintels of the principal houses many figures of turquoise stones, of which he said there was a great abundance; and that the people of these cities are very well clothed; and many other particulars he told me, as well about these Seven Cities as of other provinces beyond, of which he said that each one was much more important than the Seven Cities. In order to find out how he came to know all this, I questioned him a great deal, and found him very reasonable."\*

*Footnote* \*As translated by Bandelier (op. cit., pp. 129-130) from the Relation.



But desirous as he was of hastening on, the friar awaited the return of the messengers he had sent to the coast and the natives who should come thence with them. The latter, as already said, were of the Seri and related peoples. The messengers ~~returned~~ got back to Vacapa "on Easter day, bringing with them some of the inhabitants. They also brought back some shields made of cow-hides, very well dressed, and large enough to cover the entire person from head to foot, with a hole in the top to look through. They were made so strong it was said a cross-bow could not pierce them. They informed Niza that both the islands and the coast were scarce of provisions; ~~but~~ but that gold abounded in great quantities, and the inhabitants wore shells of pearls upon their foreheads. The people of the islands traded with those of the ~~main-land~~ main-land, crossing over on rafts."\*

*Footnote* \*Davis, Conquest of New Mexico, p. 121.

~~The friar showed to these coast Indians the sign of the cross. They were "at once struck with the token. The cross is an original symbol of the American aborigines. It is used by them to indicate a star, and the crosses of the morning and evening stars are particularly distinguished, among the Pueblos of New Mexico at least, by shape and color. The crucifix which the friar carried, and his manner of crossing himself, attracted the natives; and not only did they see no harm in imitating the gesture and in manufacturing small crosses for themselves, but they considered it profitable, as a reinforcement of the charm which their own primitive token of the cross was supposed to possess under certain circumstances. Since the monk accompanied every salutation, every address to others with a gesture of the cross, that figure hereafter remained as a manifestation of peace and friendly welcome."~~

*Footnote* <sup>South West. Cont.</sup> \*Bandelier, ~~South West. Cont.~~, pp. 128-9.

On the same day on which the Indians arrived from the coast, there came also to Vacapa to visit Fray Marcos, three other Indians, of the sort called Pintados <sup>literally, painted Indians - i.e. tattooed</sup>, "their faces and chests and arms decorated with incisions. These live around by the way of the east, and people of their number get as far up as the Seven Cities. They said that they had come to see me because they had heard of me, and, among other things, they gave me much information concerning the Seven Cities and Provinces of which the Indian of Estevan has spoken, and their reports were almost the same as those sent by Estevan."\*

*Footnote* \*Translated by Bandelier ~~ibid.~~ (ibid., p. 129) from the original Spanish version of Fray Marcos' Relacion; from which latter, in a footnote on p. 132, he gives the following extract: "Este dia me vinieron tres indios de los que llaman pintados, labrados los rostros y pechos y brazos."