

from ~~an~~ ²⁴ ~~active~~ ^{by} Banditry.

Footnote

[illegible]

Footnote

Commenting upon the gourd incident, Winship recalls the fact recorded in the narrative of Cabeza de Vaca, ~~that~~ that when the latter, with his two white companions and the negro Estevan, were wandering

cludes, "The next day, [after the day of his arrival in Cibola.] ~~was~~
after the sun had risen to the height of a lance, Estevan went out
of the house and some of the principal men of his escort with him.
Forthwith there came many people from the city, and as soon as he
saw them he fled, and we with him. Then it was that they gave us
these wounds with their arrows, and we fell. Others fell on top
of us dead, and so we remained until night, afraid to move. We
heard a great uproar in the city, and saw on the flat roofs many
men and women who were looking; but we saw nothing of Estevan, and
believe that he was killed with arrows, like the rest of those who
came with him, and that we alone escaped."

Southw. Hist. Cont., p. 154.

From the last two lines of their story, we see that the killing of Estevan with arrows, and "of the rest of those who came with him," was only surmised. We shall see reasons for this ~~from the account of the death of the man~~

Cibola in the year following that of Hiza's journey it seems that as regards the negro's ^{main part of the} ~~escort~~ ^{such} belief was ~~ferro-~~ ^{ferro-}neous. ~~Castro~~ ^{Castro} ~~relates that~~ ^{relates that} "Estevan reached Cibola with a great number of turquoises and some pretty women, that had been given him and that were brought along by the Indians that accompanied him and followed him from all the settlements that he had passed. These Indians believed that by going under his guardianship, they could traverse the whole earth without any danger. But as the people of this country were more prudent than those who followed Estevan, they lodged him ⁱⁿ a certain solitary house which they had outside of the pueblo, and the old men and the chiefs interviewed him and sought ~~to~~ to know the reason of his coming to that country. After a period of three days, being well informed, they held their council. From the information which the negro gave them, how that back on the road were coming two white men, ^{*} sent by a great ruler, who were learned in matters of heaven, and that those men were coming to teach them in divine things, they considered him as probably a spy or guide from some nations that wished to go forth to conquer them; for it seemed to them inconsistent for him, being a negro, to say that in the country whence he came the people were white, and that he was sent by them, and that they were his people. And besides other reasons, it seemed to them a rude thing that he demanded turquoises and women; and they determined to kill him. And this they did, without killing any one of those who accompanied

Will have seen that ^{two} crystallized, but one
had fallen ill and that my Master
had continued alone.

him. And they kept some boys; and bade the rest, who were about sixty persons, return free to their home-lands. Then, when these who were returning in flight, greatly frightened, ~~when they had~~ had gotten far enough to find themselves with the friars in the wilderness, 60 leagues from Cibola, and told them the sad news, they put them in such a great fright that, though not fully crediting these people with having been ⁱⁿ company with the negro, they opened the packs they had with them and distributed to them all they were bringing, so that there remained to them only the sacred vestments for saying mass; and from this place they gave word for the return, and traveled by double days' journeys, prepared for anything, without learning more of the country than what the Indians told them beforehand."*

Footnote

*Translated ^{by the writer} from the copy of Castañeda's Relacion reproduced in the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, from the Lenox Library MS. See Rep. cit., pp. 418-419.

Of the above account by Castañeda, we see that the latter part differs from Niza's ^{and belittles it} in several important particulars, not only in ~~those~~ which the latter gave as ~~nothing~~ hearsay, like the number of Indians included in Estevan's escort, ^{and} the fate of that escort, but also in matters ~~in~~ which Niza was the chief person concerned; such as whether he was the only white man in the northern part of his journey, or had in the White Mountain Wilderness, as Castañeda implies by the word "friars," another friar with him, and the claim of Fray Marcos to have gone within sight of one of the cities of Cibola, which claim Castañeda ^(certainly not from prejudice) flatly contradicts.

Melchior Diaz—of whose expedition to investigate Niza's account of Cibola we shall hear more anon—reported in the winter of 1539-40, "The death of Esteban the negro took place in the way the father, Fray Marcos, described it to your lordship." The friar, as we have seen, had received his information from Sobáipuri Indians who had accompanied him from the San Pedro River Valley; Diaz undoubtedly had his advices from the same source, for he wrote his report in the ^{last inhabited Indian} village of the friar's route, ^{which was the Village of St. Francis Rest, in San Pedro River Valley,} and interviewed many of its natives who had been much in Cibola, and even "one of the Indians that accompanied the negro Esteban."* The corroboration by Diaz

Footnote

*Winship's Translation of the Letter from Mendoza to the King, April 17, 1540; Bu. Eth. Ann. Rep. XIV, pp. 551 and 550. ~~There is evidence that Diaz wrote from the San Pedro Valley, see page 44 of the present paper.~~

therefore merely signified that Fray Marcos had truthfully recorded

what he was told, of the negro's fate; it did not bear upon the questions of fact in the matter, as between the account of it which the friar had from these Sobáipuris, and that which Castañeda must have had, either directly or indirectly, from the Cibolans, or in part possibly from the lad of Petatlan whom the Cibolans took captive at the time of the killing of Estevan (see beyond) and released to Coronado a year later.

While untrue statements crept into Fray Marcos' Relacion, where he had to depend on information from others, and while, in his enthusiasm, he himself may even have been betrayed into ~~some~~ exaggeration, we are by no means warranted in attributing to the friar so deliberate falsehood and so gross a fraud as would be involved in writing an ~~account~~ account of a mythical journey ~~from the White Mountain Wilderness to within sight of a town of Cibola-Zuñi.~~ ~~Castañeda takes it, (3) days, from~~ ^{through} the White Mountain Wilderness to within sight of a town of Cibola-Zuñi. Since Castañeda was not a participant in the entrada of 1539, and since he tends rather to belittle than exalt the friar's achievement in it, our most charitable course is to suppose that, in so far as his data conflict with those which Fray Marcos gives as matters of his own experience and observation, Castañeda was misinformed. In data, however, which neither author could ~~give~~ obtain save as hearsay from Indian informants, Castañeda may have been right quite as often as Fray Marcos. Thus, in the matter of Estevan's escort, ^{about} "sixty" seems more reasonable for its number than "more than three hundred"; and as to the wholesale massacre of so large a number as the latter, not only does it seem unreasonable to believe that the Sobáipuris would have allowed Fray Marcos to depart alive, ~~had~~ ^{possibly} had been killed than a few of those who had been lodged with Estevan in the house outside the city and had run with him in his attempt to escape, but also we shall see that Castañeda's denial of any killing at all, save of Estevan, is supported by an earlier one by Coronado, writing from the first city of Cibola in 1540. Had a wholesale slaughter ~~taken place~~ taken place, the fact could hardly have been concealed from Coronado by the people of Cibola, who told him of their killing the negro.

~~Associated from the copy of Castañeda's Relation reproduced in the~~
~~the fourteenth annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, from the~~
~~the same source. (See Rep. 1894, p. 118-119.) He has~~
~~had here, concluding most of Castañeda's account of Niza's journey,~~
~~but we translate and discuss it somewhat farther on.~~

During his exploration of the lower ~~part of the~~ Colorado River by boat,
 in August and September, 1540, ~~discovered in boats, when he found~~
~~the river to be too shallow to pass the ships in~~
~~the lower part of the river.~~

Hernando de Alarcon sought to obtain all possible information concerning
 Cibola. ~~He found that it was unknown to the Cocopas, who dwelt near the mouth~~
 He found that ~~it~~ was unknown to the Cocopas, who dwelt near the mouth
 of the river, "but higher up (probably among the Mojaves) he met
 an old Indian who had been at Cibola," ~~and~~ and who gave him
 "quite a fair description of the architecture, dress, mode of
 life, etc., of the Pueblo Indians." ~~Winship's account of the~~
~~discovery of the Colorado River, which is given in a later paper~~
~~found in the possession of a dog similar to the one owned by~~
~~the chief of Cibola, who had been told that the chief of~~
~~the country had been killed.~~

*Bandelier, *Southw. Hist. Cont.*, p. 157. For ~~the substance~~ of ~~this~~ Indian's
 description of Cibola and its inhabitants, see Winship's account
 of the discovery of the Colorado River, ~~which is given in a later paper~~
 in the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*.

Wrote Alarcon in his report to the viceroy, "He told me that the
 chief of this country [Cibola] had a dog like that which I took
 with me. Having expressed a wish to eat, this man saw some
 plates brought and carried away. He said that the chief of
 Cevola had some that were similar, but that they were green, and
 that this chief was the only one who possessed any; that he had
 four of them, and that a bearded black man had given them to him
 with this dog and other things; that he did not know whence this
 black man had come, and that he had been told that the chief of
 Cevola had had him killed."*

*Here translated from a passage of the "Relation de la Navigation
 et de la Découverte faite par la Capitaine Fernando de Alarcon (in
 Cibola, Appendix, p. 326)," ~~given in the Spanish~~ on page 158 of Bandelier's
 Contributions.

~~Alarcon~~ Alarcon gives also the following account of what
 he learned from this Indian about the killing of Estevan:

"I asked him if the inhabitants of that country had ever seen
 people similar to us. He answered, No, excepting one negro, who
 wore on his feet and arms something that sounded. Your lordship