

On the evening of the 20th or morning of the 21st, the friar had accomplished four-fifths of the 15 days journey which it required to cross the great wilderness, and must have reached a point on or near the ~~summit~~ of the divide between the ~~Sierra~~ Little Colorado River. "Here," says he, "arrived an Indian, son of a principal one of those who came with me, and who had been ~~with~~ in the party of Estevan, the negro, and came in haste, his face and body covered with sweat, and who wore an air of utter dejection."

<sup>from ~~unpublished~~ Bandelier</sup>  
\*Translated from the Spanish Version of Miza's Relacion, ~~in~~ on page 151 of ~~in~~ Southw. Hist. Contributions.

This fugitive reported that the negro had reached Cibola and had been slain by its inhabitants; that, of his Indian escort, some had been ~~with~~ killed and the remainder had sought safety in flight.

"He told me," says the friar's narrative, as translated by Bandelier, "that, one day previous to reaching Cibola, Estevan sent, as

<sup>he was wont to do always, his gourd, in order to show them in what quality he ~~was~~ was coming.</sup> When they reached Cibola and present

<sup>ed the gourd to the person whom the lord has placed there in charge, he took it into his hand, and, seeing the rattles, with great wrath threw the gourd on the floor, and said to the messengers that they should forthwith leave the town, that he knew what kind of people those [the strangers] were, and that they should tell them not to enter the place lest they should all be killed. The messengers returned and reported to Estevan what had happened, who said that this was nothing,—that those who at first displayed anger always received him in the kindest manner. So he continued his road until he reached the city of Cibola, where he met ~~the~~ people who refused to allow him to enter, and placed him in a large house outside, taking from him all he carried of objects for exchange, turquoises, and other things received from the Indians on the journey. There he was all night, neither food nor drink being given to him nor to his escort. On the following morning this Indian [the one who was telling the tale] felt thirsty, and went out of the house to get a drink of water at a stream near by, and a short while afterwards he ~~saw~~ Estevan endeavoring to escape, pursued by the people of the city, who were ~~now~~ killing some of the people of his company. Seeing this, this Indian concealed himself and crept off stealthily up the said stream, and finally crossed over to take the road through the desert."</sup>

<sup>attached to it?</sup>  
<sup>holding it suspended.</sup>

Footnote \*Southw. Hist. Cont., pp. 151-2.

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

across the plains of western Texas in 1535, he obtained from some of the Indians of that region "some gourds or rattles, which were greatly reverenced among these Indians and which never failed to produce a most respectful behavior whenever they were exhibited," and the statement in Castañeda's narrative of Coronado's expedition of 1540-42, <sup>Isclito to the effect</sup> that "some of these plains Indians came each year to Cibola to pass the winter under the shelter of the adobe villages, but that they were distrusted and feared so much that they were not admitted into the villages unless unarmed, and under no conditions were they allowed to spend the night within the flat-roof houses;" and he suggests, "The connection between these Indian rattles and the gourd which Estevan prized so highly can not be proven, but it is not unlikely that the negro announced his arrival to the Cibola chiefs by sending them an important part of the paraphernalia of a

<sup>medicine man of a tribe with which they were at enmity."</sup>  
<sup>But if the so-called rattles were bells, as Hakluyt has it, they were doubtless for Mexico, and may have recalled</sup>  
<sup>work with kings of that country.</sup>

Footnote

\*Bu. Eth. Ann. XIV, p. 360.

On hearing the tale of this fugitive, the Sobairuris were unwilling to continue toward Cibola; <sup>they reported much, and</sup> ~~the friars~~ <sup>begon to fare for his life.</sup> But he distributed among them some of the merchandise which had been intended for <sup>traffic</sup> in Cibola, and <sup>shouting them not to be afraid, he</sup> ~~the friars~~ <sup>finally</sup> induced them to accompany him, <sup>they were soon on Zuni River.</sup> <sup>They were soon on Zuni River.</sup> <sup>They had</sup> <sup>Arrived thus near Cibola,</sup> <sup>and they</sup> <sup>had</sup> joined Estevan in his attempted flight from the Cibolans, and <sup>had</sup> been more successful than he, in escaping under the shower of arrows by which he was stopped. They <sup>had</sup> received some arrow wounds that had evidently worse frightened than injured them, <sup>and they</sup> now appeared in a blood-stained and hysterical condition; announced with tears and lamentations the hasty ~~intention~~ presumption that all left with the Cibolans, had perished at the latter's hands; and soon had Niza's whole party bewailing the supposed loss of more than three hundred of their relatives and friends who were said to have formed the escort of the negro, — ~~and~~ to say nothing of their supposed loss of traffic, since "now they would not dare to go to Cibola, as was their wont."

The story told by these two, was in part a ~~similar~~ repetition of their predecessor's, which in <sup>part also</sup> it supplemented. As recorded by <sup>Fray</sup> Marcos and translated by Handelier, it reveals that Estevan's messengers were sent to announce at Cibola that he was coming "to treat for peace" with the lord of the place, "and cure the sick," and that it was the make of the attached <sup>or bells</sup> rattles — and not the gourd itself — that aroused the chief's ire. It con-

cludes, "The next day, [after the day of his arrival in Cibola,] ~~when~~ 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."\*

~~Footnote~~ <sup>1870</sup> <sup>1871</sup> <sup>1872</sup> <sup>1873</sup> <sup>1874</sup> <sup>1875</sup> <sup>1876</sup> <sup>1877</sup> <sup>1878</sup> <sup>1879</sup> <sup>1880</sup> <sup>1881</sup> <sup>1882</sup> <sup>1883</sup> <sup>1884</sup> <sup>1885</sup> <sup>1886</sup> <sup>1887</sup> <sup>1888</sup> <sup>1889</sup> <sup>1890</sup> <sup>1891</sup> <sup>1892</sup> <sup>1893</sup> <sup>1894</sup> <sup>1895</sup> <sup>1896</sup> <sup>1897</sup> <sup>1898</sup> <sup>1899</sup> <sup>1900</sup> <sup>1901</sup> <sup>1902</sup> <sup>1903</sup> <sup>1904</sup> <sup>1905</sup> <sup>1906</sup> <sup>1907</sup> <sup>1908</sup> <sup>1909</sup> <sup>1910</sup> <sup>1911</sup> <sup>1912</sup> <sup>1913</sup> <sup>1914</sup> <sup>1915</sup> <sup>1916</sup> <sup>1917</sup> <sup>1918</sup> <sup>1919</sup> <sup>1920</sup> <sup>1921</sup> <sup>1922</sup> <sup>1923</sup> <sup>1924</sup> <sup>1925</sup> <sup>1926</sup> <sup>1927</sup> <sup>1928</sup> <sup>1929</sup> <sup>1930</sup> 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<sup>201671</sup> <sup>201672</sup> <sup>201673</sup> <sup>201674</sup> <sup>201675</sup> <sup>201676</sup> <sup>201677</sup> <sup>201678</sup> <sup>201679</sup> <sup>201680</sup> <sup>201681</sup> <sup>201682</sup> <sup>201683</sup> <sup>201684</sup> <sup>201685</sup> <sup>201686</sup> <sup>201687</sup> <sup>201688</sup> <sup>201689</sup> <sup>201690</sup> <sup>201691</sup> <sup>201692</sup> <sup>201693</sup> <sup>201694</sup> <sup>201695</sup> <sup>201696</sup> <sup>201697</sup> <sup>201698</sup> <sup>201699</sup> <sup>201700</sup> <sup>201701</sup> <sup>201702</sup> <sup>201703</sup> <sup>201704</sup> <sup>201705</sup> <sup>201706</sup> <sup>201707</sup> <sup>201708</sup> <sup>201709</sup> <sup>201710</sup> <sup>201711</sup> <sup>201712</sup> <sup>201713</sup> <sup>201714</sup> <sup>201715</sup> <sup>201716</sup> <sup>201717</sup> <sup>201718</sup> <sup>201719</sup> <sup>201720</sup> <sup>201721</sup> <sup>201722</sup> <sup>201723</sup> <sup>201724</sup> <sup>201725</sup> <sup>201726</sup> <sup>201727</sup> <sup>201728</sup> <sup>201729</sup> <sup>201730</sup> <sup>201731</sup> <sup>201732</sup> <sup>201733</sup> <sup>201734</sup> <sup>201735</sup> <sup>201736</sup> <sup>201737</sup> <sup>201738</sup> <sup>201739</sup> <sup>201740</sup> <sup>201741</sup> <sup>201742</sup> <sup>201743</sup> <sup>201744</sup> <sup>201745</sup> <sup>201746</sup> <sup>201747</sup> <sup>201748</sup> <sup>201749</sup> <sup>201750</sup> <sup>201751</sup> <sup>201752</sup> <sup>201753</sup> <sup>201754</sup> <sup>201755</sup> <sup>201756</sup> <sup>201757</sup> <sup>201758</sup> <sup>201759</sup> <sup>201760</sup> <sup>201761</sup> <sup>201762</sup> <sup>201763</sup> <sup>201764</sup> <sup>201765</sup> <sup>201766</sup> <sup>201767</sup> <sup>201768</sup> <sup>201769</sup> <sup>201770</sup> <sup>201771</sup> <sup>201772</sup> <sup>201773</sup> <sup>201774</sup> <sup>201775</sup> <sup>201776</sup> <sup>201777</sup> <sup>201778</sup> <sup>201779</sup> <sup>201780</sup> <sup>201781</sup> <sup>201782</sup> <sup>201783</sup> <sup>201784</sup> <sup>201785</sup> <sup>201786</sup> <sup>201787</sup> <sup>201788</sup> <sup>201789</sup> <sup>201790</sup> <sup>201791</sup> <sup>201792</sup> <sup>201793</sup> <sup>201794</sup> <sup>201795</sup> <sup>201796</sup> <sup>201797</sup> <sup>201798</sup> <sup>201799</sup> <sup>201800</sup> <sup>201801</sup> <sup>201802</sup> <sup>201803</sup> <sup>201804</sup> <sup>201805</sup> <sup>201806</sup> <sup>201807</sup> <sup>201808</sup> <sup>201809</sup> <sup>201810</sup> <sup>201811</sup> <sup>201812</sup> <sup>201813</sup> <sup>201814</sup> <sup>201815</sup> <sup>201816</sup> <sup>201817</sup> <sup>201818</sup> <sup>201819</sup> <sup>201820</sup> <sup>201821</sup> <sup>201822</sup> <sup>201823</sup> <sup>201824</sup> <sup>201825</sup> <sup>201826</sup> <sup>201827</sup> <sup>201828</sup> <sup>201829</sup> <sup>201830</sup> <sup>201831</sup> <sup>201832</sup> <sup>201833</sup> <sup>201834</sup> <sup>201835</sup> <sup>201836</sup> <sup>201837</sup> <sup>201838</sup> <sup>201839</sup> <sup>201840</sup> <sup>201841</sup> <sup>201842</</sup>

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, ~~had gotten far enough to find themselves with the friars in the wilderness, 60 leagues from Cibola, and told them the sad news,~~ 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 <sup>in</sup> 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 <sup>by the writer</sup> 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 <sup>and belittles it</sup> in several important particulars, not only in ~~those~~ which the latter gave as ~~misleading~~ hearsay, like the number of Indians included in Estevan's escort, <sup>and</sup> the fate of that escort, but also in matters <sup>in</sup> 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 <sup>(evidently not from personal knowledge)</sup> 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, Friar Marcos, described it to your lordship." The friar, as we have seen, had received his information from Sobaipuri 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 <sup>last inhabited Indian</sup> <sup>which was the village of Fray's Rest, in San Pedro River Valley,</sup> village of the friar's route, 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

\*Winslow's Translation of the Letter from Mendoza to the King, April 17, 1540; Bu. Eth. Ann. Rep. XIV, pp. 551 and 550. <sup>and</sup> ~~vidence that Diaz went from the San Pedro Valley, see page~~ <sup>the present paper</sup>

Footnote

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 Sobairuris, 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 ~~untrue~~ account of a mythical journey ~~from~~ (over) ~~crossed~~ ~~across~~ ~~it,~~ 13 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 Sobairuris would have allowed Fray Marcos to depart alive, ~~had~~ ~~had~~ ~~more~~ ~~of~~ ~~their~~ ~~people~~ ~~had~~ ~~been~~ ~~killed~~ ~~than~~ <sup>possibly</sup> 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 ~~been~~ taken place, the fact could hardly have been concealed from Coronado by the people of Cibola, who told him of their killing the negro.

~~Extracted from the copy of the original collection reproduced in the  
1934 fourteenth annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology, from the  
Inca manuscript copy. (See Rep. 614, pp. 110-111.) It is a  
text in Quechua, including part of a statement to account of Hizan's journey  
but is fragmentary and difficult to interpret fully.~~

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 of the river. "but higher up (probably among the Mojaves) he met an old Indian who had been at Cibola," and who gave him "quite a fair description of the architecture, dress, mode of life, etc., of the Pueblo Indians." It is interesting to note that the king of Cibola was in possession of a dog similar to the one owned by the Indians of the region.

\*<sup>the substance</sup> ~~the substance~~ <sup>this</sup>  
Bandelier, Southw. Hist. Cont., p. 157. For <sup>the substance</sup> ~~the substance~~ <sup>this</sup> Indian's  
description of Cibola and its inhabitants, see Winship's account  
of the discovery of the Colorado River, with a description of the  
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."\*

<sup>1</sup>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. 325)," <sup>from the Spanish</sup> on page 158 of Bandelier's Contributions.

~~REDACTED~~ 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