

will recollect that the negro who accompanied Fray Marcos had rattles, bells, and plumes on his arms and legs; that he carried with him plates of different colors, and that he went thither a year ago. I desired to know why he had been killed. He said to me, The chief of Cevola having asked him if he had brothers, the negro replied that he had an infinite number of them; that they carried many weapons, and were not far away now. On this report a great number of chiefs had gathered in council and determined upon killing the negro in order that he might not inform his brethren about the country where the people of Cevola lived, and that was the cause of his killing. They cut his body into many pieces, which were distributed among the chiefs to satisfy them of his death. He added, that the negro had a dog similar to mine, but that the chief of Cevola caused it to be put to death some time after.**

Footnote *Translated by Bandelier, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-9, from the French version, ~~as~~ above cited, of Alarcon's report.

Zuñi folk-lore, obtained by Mr. Frank Hamilton Cushing, a few decades since, has disputed the claim of Hawikuh to be the place of the killing of Estevan. Of Kiakima, one of the smaller of the Seven Cities of Cibola, whose ruins are today visible on a high, rounded spur, or talus-knoll, under the southwestern battlements of ~~Corn~~ Mountain,* Mr. Victor Mindeleff wrote in his "Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola" (1881-8), "This pueblo has been identified by Mr. Cushing, through Zuñi tradition, as the scene of the death of Estevanico, the negro who accompanied the first Spanish expedition to Cibola."*

Footnote *Bu. Eth. Ann. Rep. VIII, p. 86. 1891.

The substance of the traditions referred to, ~~Mosquemado~~ is given by Bandelier, in his *Southwestern Historical Contributions*,^(pp. 154-5) as follows:

¶ ~~Mosquemado~~ "One of these folk-tales states that, previous to the first coming of the 'Mexicans' (the Zuñi Indian calls all the Spanish-speaking people Mexicans), a black Mexican made his appearance at the Zuñi village of Kia-ki-ma. He was very greedy, voracious, and bold, and the people killed him for it. After his death, the ^{Their appearance in numbers for the first time, and made} Mexicans, it is said, made war upon the Zuñis, conquering them in the end.

"Another tradition relates that there came to Zuñi a man called 'Nu-é,' accompanied by two dogs. He rendered himself very obnoxious to the people, particularly through his greed. So the wise men of the high order called 'Ka-ka' took him out of the pueblo during the night, and gave him a powerful kick that sped him through

the air back to the south, whence he had come."

But Mindeleff, Rep. cit., p. 15. in discussing some of the traditions of Tusayan, has well remarked, "Such traditions must be used as history with the utmost caution, and only for events that are very recent."* Moreover, the two Zuñi traditions are contradicted

Footnote by the direct statement, not only of Coronado's captain, Juan Jaramillo, but also of Coronado himself, who occupied Hawikuh, (the first or most southwesterly ~~pueblo~~ of Cibola ~~reached~~) reached by the ancient road from Chichilticale, with his army in the summer of 1540, naming it "Granada," and wrote thence to Mendoza on the 3rd of August of that year, "The death of the negro is perfectly certain, because many of the things which he wore have been found, and the Indians say that they killed him here because the Indians of Chichilticale said that he was a bad man, and not like the Christians, because the Christians never kill women, and he killed them, and because he assaulted their women, whom the Indians love better than themselves. Therefore they determined to kill him, but they did not do it in the way that was reported, because they did not kill any of the others who came with him, nor did they kill the lad from the province of Petatlan, who was with him, but they took ~~him~~ him and kept him in safe custody until now."

*Winship's translation of the letter cited; Bu. Eth. Ann. XIV, p. 663.

There is much other evidence that ~~MM~~ Hawikuh, and not Kiakima, was the place where Estevan was killed; and the whole has been well and conclusively presented by Mr. F. W. Hodge in his paper, "The First Discovered City of Cibola,"* to which the reader is referred

Footnote *American Anthropologist, Vol. VIII. 1895.

for farther proof in the matter.

Although the statements of these two blood-stained fugitives, confirming their predecessor's report of Estevan's death and of the Cibolans's hostility, showed Fray Marcos that his effort to discover Cibola had succeeded, at least by proxy, they increased the opposition of his escort to proceeding farther, and made it clearer than ever to him that he would not now be able to enter the city ^{They also brought to him a fresh realization of the danger to his life.} which ~~mmmmmmmm~~ had been his goal. ^{which} But he was determined at least to look upon Cibola with his own eyes, even if at the risk of his life, and thus be able to report something about it at first hand.

"To create a favorable influence upon the Indians he told them that God would punish the inhabitants of Cibola, and that when the viceroy should hear what had happened he would send an army of

Christians to chastise them. But this they did not believe, and said that no man was able to stand against the power of that city." ^{Fr. Mariano} "withdraw a couple of stone-throws for an hour and a half to pray." ^{Or his retinue, an Indian named Marcus,} whom he had brought with him from Mexico, told him that he had overheard those who accompanied him across the desert consulting about putting him to death, because they attributed the death of their friends and relatives at Cibola to him and Stephen. ^{But the friar was equal to the occasion.} "He

Footnote | Davis, op. cit., pp. 136-7.

expounded to them the folly of killing him, since this would do him no hurt because he was a Christian and so would go at once to his home in the sky, while other Christians would come in search of him and kill all of them, in spite of his own desires to prevent, if possible, any such revenge." "In order to avenge them he

Footnote | Winship, Introduction, p. 361.

divided among them the few articles he had retained, which, in some measure, had the desired effect, but they still exhibited great ~~mild~~ grief at the loss they had sustained;" and, for some time, he ~~in vain~~

Footnote | Davis, Conquist, page 137.

urged them to accompany him to Cibola, to obtain farther details, if possible, concerning the ~~disastrous~~ fate of the negro.

Upon their refusal to go with him, "Niza told them that he intended to see the town at all hazards and in spite of the dangers that beset him. ^{**} ~~He~~ ~~had~~ ~~no~~ ~~desire~~ ~~to~~ ~~see~~ ~~the~~ ~~town~~ ~~at~~ ~~all~~ ~~hazards~~ ~~and~~ ~~in~~ ~~spite~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~danger~~ ~~that~~ ~~beset~~ ~~him~~.

Footnote | L. C., stubborn resistance, and two of their chief men agreed to take him within sight of the "city of Cibola."

"With them and with my Indians and interpreters I followed my road till we came in sight of Cibola, which lies in a plain on ~~minimally~~ the slope of a round height.* Its appearance is very

^{Handwritten notes:} "Or, 'in a plain at the slope of a round height,' as the Spanish 'en un llano, a la falda de un cerro redondo,' is rendered by Mr. Hodge, who, in his paper, 'The First Discovered City of Cibola,' calls attention to the significance of this ~~discrepancy~~ identifying the friar's 'Cibola' with Hawikuh, in the following words: 'This ruin ~~was~~ [Hawikuh] was surveyed by Mr. Cosmos Mindeleff, and a carefully prepared ground-plan is reproduced in the memoir, "Architecture of Tusayan and Cibola," by Victor Mindeleff, in the Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology. This author describes (p. 80) the ruin of Hawikuh as 'occupying the point of a spur projecting from a low rounded hill,' a description coinciding precisely with that of Niza."

David J. Cong. of N.M.

b. 136.

good for a settlement, — the handsomest I have seen in these parts. The houses are, as the Indians had told me, all of stone, with their stories and flat roofs. As far as I could see from a height where I placed myself to observe, the settlement is larger than the city of Mexico. I was sometimes tempted to go thither, knowing that I did not risk more than my life, and that life I had already offered to God on the day when I began the journey. But finally I feared, considering the danger, and that if I should die there would be no knowledge of this land which, in my estimation, is the largest and best of all yet discovered.**

¹⁰ Sandifer, Contributions, p. 161. ¹¹ Relacion, as translated by

The comparison with the city of Mexico, was not extravagant. "Mex-
ico in 1539," says Winslow, "was neither
imposing nor populous. The great communal houses, the 'palace of
Montezuma,' had been destroyed during or soon after the siege of
1521. The pueblo of Hawikuh, the one which the friar doubtless
saw, contained about 200 houses, or between 700 and 1,000 inhabi-
tants. There is something naïve in Mr. Bandelier's comparison of
this with Robert Tomson's report that the City of Mexico, in 1556,
contained 1,500 Spanish households. He ought to have added, what
we may be quite sure was true, that the population of Mexico proba-
bly doubled in the fifteen years preceding Tomson's visit, a fact
which makes Niza's comparison even more reasonable."

²Bu. Eth. Ann. Rep. XIV, p. 363.

The farther information which Fray Marcos obtained about Cibola, most of it obviously from the Indians, ~~which~~ is given by Davis as follows: "The inhabitants were of light complexion, and dressed in cotton goods and skins. They slept in beds. Their offensive weapons were the bow and arrow. They possessed many emeralds and other precious stones, but valued turquoises above all others. With these they adorned the porches ^[hatchways] of their houses and their dresses, and used them for many other purposes of ornament. They had vessels of gold and silver, which were said to be in greater use and more abundant than in Peru. There was said to be no other kind of metal in the country, and they were principally obtained from the province of Pintado, in exchange for turquoises, where rich mines were said to exist."*

Conquest, p. 137-8. Province of the Sumas probably were the initial mineral deposit later called the Quilchena mine.

The friar regretted that he could not visit the provinces of Totonteac, Acus, and Marata, which were said to be greater than Gibola; ~~and~~ ^{especially} Totonteac — ~~that~~ is ~~the~~ ^{the} Hopi country — the "greatest

of them all." But he took formal possession of Cibola and ~~of~~ those provinces for the crown of Spain by raising a heap of stones and erecting a rude cross upon it, and named this new northern country "El Nuevo Reyno de San Francisco."

This ceremony performed, Fray Marcos set out on his return journey to New Galicia, "with much more fright than food," as says Bandelier, "he very dryly but truthfully remarks." In two days ^{he reached} the Sosipuris who had remained encamped on the road; and ~~the~~ the reunited party travelled on until it had crossed the ^{of Cibola and} ~~of Chichilticale,~~ ^{altogether a 16 day stretch} great wilderness and ⁱⁿ reached the San Pedro Valley and the ^{in fold} in which, ~~on~~ ^{had rested for three days} on his outward journey, ^{still his pack}

But alas for the former hospitality of that valley! The
Sobapuris were engaged in mourning for ~~the~~ relatives and friends
~~who were supposed to have~~ lost their lives at Cibola, and were in neither mood nor
condition to entertain one whom they regarded as, in a measure, the
cause of their trouble. ^{"And with fear" says the friar. "I} ~~had~~ hastened
~~from the people of this valley and travelled tenne leagues~~
daily eight or ten leagues, ~~without staying~~ until I had
passed the second desert. ^{"*} This "second ~~desert~~" was

the four days' despoilado ~~—~~ that separated the sources of the San Pedro from those of the Rio Sonora, in the valley of which latter stream he was once more able to breathe freely.

As he went on, he bethought himself of the "level valley," ^{when he was on his northward way,} ~~which~~ ^{of "great plaine,"} which the inhabitants of the Yaqui delta ^{had told him was} "four or five days' inland" from them, and "where the sierras are quite obliterated;" a valley ^{or plaine" which as Wahlgren says, he understood to be "inhabited for many days} of which they told him such wonderful stories that he had been greatly tempted to try to visit it, but had deemed it better to postpone until his return journey. ^{now} He turned aside to see this ~~plain~~, but he did not undertake to enter it; for in that there ^{would be} some risk that he might lose his life, and so be unable to render to the viceroy his report upon ~~the~~ Cibola, and moreover, he thought that its exploration could be better effected by those who should be sent to take possession of the country of the Seven Cities of Cibola. But he went to a pass or gap in the mountains, where he could ~~from~~ view it; and ^{from} he saw from this "opening of the valley seven fair-looking settlements in the distance. The valley appeared to be pleasant and of good soil. Considerable smoke was rising from the settlements. I was told that there is much gold there and jewels, some of which are worn in

~~Relacion, as rendered by Hakluyt.~~

the four days' despoilado ~~—~~ that separated the sources of the San Pedro from those of the Rio Sonora, in the valley of which latter stream he was once more able to breathe freely.

the ears, while of others they make little scrapers for the perspiration of their bodies. The people do not allow anybody from this side of the opening ^[pass?] to trade with them. Nobody could tell me the reason why. Here I placed two crosses, and took possession of the entrance and of the valley.^{**}

To the present writer this valley seems to have been that of the Coras Grandes, Chihuahua;

**Niza's Relacion, as translated by Bandelier, Contributions, p. 162.*
but Bandelier regarded it as a low Pima valley on the west side of the Sierra Madre.
 He now hastened on to Culiacan. There he failed to meet Coronado, who was at Compostela. From the latter place he announced his return by letters addressed to the Viceroy and to the Provincial, Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo. On the second day of September (old style) Fray Marcos appeared—in company with the Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, and one 'Oydor' of the Royal Audiencia, at the city of Mexico—before the notary of that Audiencia, Juan Baeza de Herrera, and the royal notary, Antonio de Turcios, and made solemn oath to the truth^{***} ~~of his report~~ of his report, — at the close of which, he wrote, "There are many unimportant details which I do not set down here. I only relate what I saw and what I have been told in the countries which I have travelled through, and what I learned concerning those of which I heard."

**Relacion, as translated by Bandelier, I.c.*

Niza's announcement that the long-talked-of Seven Cities of Cibola had at last been found, and that information had been obtained of other kingdoms and provinces deemed still more important, and particularly those parts of his report that were derived from Indian informants and that told of gold, silver, and precious stones, had a great effect, not only upon the viceroy and the other noblemen of New Spain, but also upon the people at large. Information about it all, was in great demand, and, being disseminated from the pulpit by Fray Marcos himself and his clerical associates, and being rehearsed to others by the audiences of these, it spread like wildfire throughout the land, forming the one universal subject of thought and conversation. As it flew from mouth to mouth, the news became gossip, and was distorted and magnified, and what his report had given as hearsay from the Opatas and Sobatipuris, was often repeated as *if it were on* the authority of the friar himself; and—equally to his discomfiture and loss of prestige ultimately—much was added to it by the ignorant and unscrupulous that the poor friar had never said, written, nor dreamt of.

The viceroy was now fully resolved to send a large expedition for the exploration and conquest of the newly discovered country of the north, and he soon set about taking the preliminary steps to that end; yet the caution which, we have seen, had characterized his action hitherto, was still observed. Although he had great confidence in Fray Marcos, held him in high esteem, and even praised him in one of his letters to the king,* he did not propose,

*His so-called "premiere lettre."

in so promising and important a matter, and in one involving so large expenditures as the equipment and sending forth of an army of conquest, ~~to proceed without~~ circumspection. Therefore, in the fall, ~~not so early, it proved, as should have been~~ while he was engaged in organizing the expeditionary force, he dispatched Melchior Diaz northward with a small scouting party, to see how much he could verify of the news which Fray Marcos had brought. ^{who in 1529-31 had gone to New Galicia with M. de Grijalva,} Diaz was the commandant of the ^{and alcalde mayor of the town of C. Llanos,} post ~~of~~ ^A who by his fair treatment of Cabeza de Vaca's ~~of~~ quartet of forlorn survivors of the Narvaez expedition, on their arrival there in 1536, had shown himself in a much more favorable light than that in which his lieutenants, Alcaraz and Cebreros ^{had} appeared on that occasion.

With a force of fifteen mounted men and some Indians, ^{Diaz} set out on his northern errand, November 17th, 1539, over the same road that Fray Marcos had traveled, and made careful inquiries along the way; particularly ~~among~~ among the natives of the ~~the~~ San Pedro river valley, from whom the friar had obtained most of his information. Winter was approaching and he was moving from lower to higher latitudes; hence increasing inconvenience was experienced, especially by ^{his} Indians, from the cold. He went through all of the portions of the friar's route that were occupied by sedentary tribes, and proceeded as far as Chichilticalli, where wintry blasts from the White Mountain Wilderness forbade farther progress, as is related in a letter of April 17, ^{1540,} written to the king by Mendoza, who, on the 20th of the preceding month, ^{a letter, or report,} had received ~~from~~ Diaz ^{brought by an express} ~~of four horsemen headed by Diaz' lieutenant, juan de Zaldívar.~~ ^{wrote Mendoza,} "In this [letter] he [Diaz] says that after he left Culiacan and crossed the river of Petatlan he was everywhere very well received by the Indians. The way he did was to send a cross to the place where he was going to stop, because this was a sign which the Indians received with deep veneration, making a house