

century maps, ranging from Sebastian Cabot's New World map of 1544 to Wytfliet's New Granada and California of 1597, and one seventeenth century map of the world by Matthias Quasus (1608), in which the Sea of Cortés, — nameless or under its alternative names of "Mar Vermeio" (Red Sea) and "Californiæ Sinus" (Gulf of California), — is shown as a gulf, and the land on the west of it as a peninsula. And of similar import is Lok's map (1582), reproduced in Volume XV of Bancroft's Works (page 151); the peninsula bearing the name "S. Croce" opposite the fundus of a bay well southward on its eastern coast, and having a cape named "C. Californo" at its southern end. But in ~~several~~ ^{many} later maps, as the Dutch map of 1624-5 cited by Bancroft (XV, 169) from Purchas, and those of Fredericus de Witt (1662), Peter van der Aa (1690), William Dampier (1699), John Harris (1705), ~~and~~ ^{Edward Wells (1722), etc.,} Herman Moll (1708), ^{the} original error of 1533-8, of making California an island, an error which had its origin in a search for islands of the Asiatic Indies northwest of Mexico, was revived and perpetuated. * The revival of this error was largely—perhaps primarily—due to a geographical misunderstanding on the part of Oñate's expedition, in 1605; *

Footnote

"In 1604-5, Juan de Oñate led an expedition of thirty men from San Juan de los Caballeros, New Mexico, by way of the Zuñi and Mogui towns, the upper Rio Verde country, and Bill Williams Fork, to the Colorado River, which he descended. Says Bancroft (XVII, 156) "Oñate reached tide-water on January 23, 1605, and on the 25th, with the friars and nine men, went down to the mouth. Here he found a fine harbor, formed by an island in the centre, in which he thought 1,000 ships might ride at anchor. That the sea extended indefinitely northwestward behind a range of hills, the Spaniards believed on the authority of the Indians."

but its effective rehabilitation and perpetuation was the work of the Dutch, who were the leading map-makers of the seventeenth century. *

Footnote

"During the 17th century very considerable progress was made in the art of navigation, and in systematizing and delineating the vast mass of material that was accumulated by the ceaseless activity of explorers. The Dutch took the lead as map-makers." (Encyc. Brit., Ninth ed., Vol. 3, article "Geography.")

Though rejected by most French geographers, so prevalent did this error become, that even Father Juan Maria ~~was~~ ^{was}

Supplement

For reductions of four maps (Purchas, De Witt, Seney, Wells) showing Lower California ^{and of three earlier ones (Hondius, 1609, Ortelius, 1589, and Zaltieri, 1568) showing it as a peninsula, see Vol. I}

Footnote

A late catalogue (No. 46) of The Museum Book Store, London, lists "A new and most exact Map of America, described by N. Vischer and don into English, enlarged and corrected according to J. Blaeu, and others, with the habits of ye people and ye manner of ye Chiefe Sitties, ye like never before, London, printed and are to be sold by John Overton, at ye White Horse, in Little Brittain, near the Hospitall, 1668," which shows the "Island of California," and says, "This California was in times past thought to be one a part of ye Continent and so made in all maps, but by further discoveries was found to be an Island long 1,700 leagues." The "J. Blaeu," is probably for J. Blaeuw, publisher of "Le grand atlas ou cosmographie Blaviane contenant L'Amérique," by W. J. Blaeuw and Jan Blaeuw, Amsterdam 1667. (See Phillips' "List of Maps of America," p. 561.)

Geographical Report of the U.S. Geographical Survey along West of the 100th Meridian.

Salvatierra*, the famous Jesuit apostle of California Baja, who had

Footnote

*For a brief biography of Salvatierra, see footnote on page 278 of Volume XV of Bancroft's Works. ~~For~~ For a history of his work in Lower California, see succeeding pages of the same volume.

founded the mission of Loreto on that peninsula in 1697, and dwelt there, supposed for several years that he was living on an island, and only in 1701, by hearing of the then recent observations of his still more noted contemporary, Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino (Eusebius Kuhn)*, and later by accompanying that father on a northward expedi-

Footnote

*For Kino and his work and travels in Sonora, Arizona, etc., see Vols. XV and XVII of Bancroft's Works; ~~and the~~ Appendix in Vol. II of Coues', "On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer." ^{Belton's "Spanish Explorations in the Southwest," 1916; and his forthcoming translation of Kino's "Farras Celestiales."}

tion, did he become convinced that the land then known as California was a peninsula. Even after the appearance of Kino's map, the "Tabula Californica," in 1702, many were still not convinced; Salvatierra himself was anxious, some years later, to join an exploratory expedition to further confirm his somewhat halting opinion; ^{John Senax, in 1710, was evidently in doubt; for his map of that date omits the northwestern or critical part of the coast of "the Sea of California";} and expeditions by Ugarte in 1721 and by Consag in 1746 were necessary before the people of northwestern Mexico and geographers abroad were fully convinced, and the California Island myth was forever exploded.*

Footnote

*In a letter of March 20, 1747, Father Sedelmayr, a Jesuit missionary of Tubutama, northern Sonora, wrote that Father Consag's voyage of the preceding year was "deemed conclusive as to the peninsular character of California, lately called in question by reason of Campos' theories." (Bancroft, XV, 539.)

Returning now to the route of Coronado from Culiacan to Cibola, a few words may first be said as to the leading authorities concerning it.

While the ~~previous~~ essay of 1869 by James Hervey Simpson*, was a

Footnote

*"Coronado's March in Search of the 'Seven Cities of Cibola' and Discussion of their Probable Location." By Brevet General J. H. Simpson, Colonel of Engineers, U. S. A. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1869, ~~published in 1872~~ pp. 309 to 340. (Published in 1872.)

useful contribution, and the arduous and fruitful researches of the '80s by Adolph Francis ~~(Alphonse)~~ Bandelier* at length blazed the way

Footnote

*Published ~~in~~ in Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series, Vols. I-V, 1883-1892; and in his "The Gilded Man," New York, 1893; and elsewhere.

to a correct knowledge of Coronado's route; and while the documents, translations and studies presented by George Parker Winship in the

volume already cited, will long remain the greatest repository of information concerning the expedition as a whole; ~~it is not necessary to~~ Frederick Webb Hodge's critique, entitled "Coronado's March to Quivira", — occupying forty-five closely printed quarto pages of Volume II (Harahey) of Brower's Memoirs, published in 1899, — is ~~by far~~ the ^{most detailed geographical} study ~~that~~ that has yet appeared of the route of that remarkable expedition.

^{It} should not, however, forget that in 1848, preceding all of these, Ephraim G. Squier published an account of Coronado's explorations, in Volume VIII of the American Review; and ^{that} in the same year, to accompany Albert Gallatin's Introduction to Hale's "Indians of Northwest America," ^{he} prepared a map, which was published in that year in Volume II of the Transactions of the American Ethnological Society, and which not only identified Cibola (correctly, as we shall see) with present Zuñi-land, but ^{made the position of} ~~also a~~ Chichilticalli ~~about as far east as any~~ ~~and certainly a good deal of the time~~ ~~is almost the very~~ ~~of the more recent~~ ~~studies~~ ~~which the latest results of modern~~ ~~research~~ have claimed for it. ^{particularly,} I shall cite all of these writers more ~~fully~~ ~~farther on.~~ ~~in this~~ ~~chapter.~~

Coronado's route from Culiacan to Cibola, as traced by Mr. Hodge in Brower's "Harahey," ~~but with some notable details here omitted,~~ was substantially as follows:

From Culiacan it led northwesterly to Sinaloa; thence north to Fuerte; thence northwesterly to Alamos; thence to the Yaqui River in the vicinity of Buena Vista or Cumuripa; thence across the upper part of the Rio Matape, in the vicinity of ~~Matape~~ Matape, to the

~~This Batuco is an ancient Eudeve village on Rio Matape, below the Eudeve village of Matape and not far from Nacorri; it should not be confounded with the Opata village of the same name on Rio (Oposura) Moctezuma.~~

~~the village which Cabese de Vega, in 1554, had named "Pueblo de~~ ~~the~~ valley and settlement of 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 and kept him in safe custody until now.* When I tried to secure him, they made excuses for not giving

Footnote

*For discussion of Estevan's ~~death~~ fate and the attending circumstances, ~~see~~ see Early Far West ~~paper~~ Paper No. 1.

him to me, for two or three days, saying that he was dead, and at other times that the Indians of Acucu had taken him away. But when I finally told them that I should be ~~was~~ very angry if they did not give him to me, they gave him to me. He is an interpreter; for although he can not talk much, he understands very well. Some gold and silver has been found in this place, which those who know about minerals say is not bad. I have not yet been able to learn from these people where they got it. I perceive that they refuse to tell me the truth in everything, because they think that ~~now~~ I shall have to depart from here in a short time, as I have said. But I trust in God that they will not be able to avoid answering much longer. I beg Your Lordship to make a report of the success of this expedition to His Majesty, because there is nothing more than what I have already said. I shall not do so until it shall please God to grant that we find what we desire. Our Lord God protect and keep your most illustrious Lordship. From the province of Cevola, and this city of Granada, the 3d of August, 1540. Francisco Vasquez de Coronado kisses the hand of your most illustrious Lordship."*

Footnote

*The portions of Coronado's letter that ~~are~~ are ~~quated~~ quoted above, in relation to what transpired in Cibola after the occupation of Hawiku, and concerning Cibola and surrounding provinces, are from Winship's Translation of it in the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, and especially from pages 558-563 of the latter.

Blades

With the above extracts and discussions of Coronado's Letter to Mendoza, we close our study of Coronado's Expedition to the Seven Cities of Cibola. ¶ The branch expeditions to Tusayan, to the Grand Canyon and other parts of the Colorado River, to Acoma and Tutahaco, to Tiguex, Cicuye, Taos, and other parts of the Rio Grande and Rio Pecos valleys; the army's operations in the valley known soon afterward as New Mexico and destined to be the heart of the present great state of that name; and the famous ^{New Mexico} march in ~~the~~ Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas, ~~known~~ ^{known} as Coronado's Expedition to Quivira;— all of these, belong to other

~~"Desert of Shichiltic Galla," i.e., the White Mountain region, in which~~
 by way of ~~the~~ Gila Bonito Creek, calling it "San Juan" because they
 reached it on St. John's day; Salt River, calling it "Rio de las Balsas"
 because they had to cross it by means of rafts; and to the source of
 the Little Colorado River, their "Rio Frio," or Cold River; and from the
 Little Colorado to a stream which they called "Rio Bermejo," ^{he believes} which was
 the Zuñi River, ~~and was~~ reached some 15 miles below the present New
 Mexico-Arizona line; and up this river to the Zuñi pueblo of Hawikuh,
~~which became Coronado's headquarters~~ which became Coronado's headquar-
 ters and was given the Spanish name of "Granada."

Hawikuh, as Bandelier and Hodge have shown, was the most southwest-
 erly of the Zuñi pueblos, or "Seven Cities of Cibola;" it was farther
 to the southwest than any of the Zuñi pueblos of today, being near the
 Ojo Caliente, where its ruins may still be seen.

The identity of the province of Cibola with what is now generally
 known as "the Zuñi country," has been thoroughly established. ~~While~~

While Messrs. Gallatin and Squier, in their above-cited studies of
 1848, were, I believe, the first of modern writers to identify the

province with that of Zuñi,* a definite statement of such identity was
 made about ^{and} three ^{and a} quarter centuries ago by Espejo, in the report of his
 expedition of 1583. ^{Of that statement, Simpson (1869) cites Hakluyt's translation.} Writes Bandelier (1880) in his "Historical

Introduction to Studies among the Sedentary Indians of New Mexico",
 page 16, "The original text of Espejo's report distinctly says,.....
 'a province of six pueblos, called Zuñi, and by another name Cibola,'
 thus positively identifying the place."

In his "Coronado's March" (1899), Hodge has a discussion of the iden-
 tity of Zuñi with Cibola, from which (pages 45 and 46) we here quote ^{part:}
 "By Castañeda it is recorded that 'after the army reached Cibola'
 [on the return ^{to Mexico}], "it rested before starting across the wil-
 derness, because this was the last settlement in that country. The
 whole country was left well disposed and at peace, and several of our
Indian allies remained there' (page 536). 'The natives' [of Cibola] kept

following the rear of the army for two or three days, to pick up any
 baggage or servants, for although they were still at peace and had
 always been loyal friends, when they saw that we were going to leave
 the country entirely, they were glad to get some of our people in
their power, although I do not think they wanted to injure them, from
 what I was told by some who were not willing to go back with them when
 they teased and asked them to. Altogether they carried off several
 people besides those who had remained of their own accord, among whom
good interpreters could be found to-day' (page 537).

"In other words, Castañeda, while preparing his narrative twenty years
 after the expedition, noted the presence still at Cibola of a number
 of Mexican Indians left there by Coronado — a fact which again became

* Gallatin in 1847 is understood to have identified the province of Cibola with the Zuñi country. See his letter of Oct. 1, 1847, to Dr. S. M. Emery in the Journal of the American Geographical Society, Vol. 1, p. 107. But since then many have been misled, and have thought Emery's discovery of Cibola was the Zuñi River. See the following studies of the Rio Grande, p. 107.

[than the expedition]

known forty years later when Antonio de Espejo, during an expedition in 1583 to a province which, he says, 'they call Zuni, and by another name, Cibola,'¹ found 'crosses placed near the pueblos, and three

Footnote

¹ Documentos Ineditos de Indias, XV., 180: 'Que la provincia llaman Zuni, y por otro nombre Cibola.' The relacion of Espejo appears twice in this volume; in the other copy (p.117) Zuni (frequently misspelled 'Guni' in the sixteenth century documents) becomes 'Ame'. The misprint is obvious." [Footnote by Hodge.]

Christian Indians called Andrés of Cuyacan, Gaspar of Mexico, and Anton of Guadalajara, who said that they had come with the said Governor, Francisco Vasquez [Coronado].

"Espejo's account of his startling discovery at Zuni is confirmed by a statement made in a Discurso de las jornadas' (misdated 1526) bearing on the expedition of Juan de Onate in 1597-1598, when he visited the province of 'Juni', there finding 'crosses of former days, to which the Indians paid devotion, and offered to them their idols; here were found children of the Mexican Indians who were left by Coronado!'"³

Footnote

³ Documentos de Indias, XVI., pp. 273-274." [Footnote by Hodge.]

-That the identity of Zuni with Cibola was still recognized in the eighteenth century, is indicated by the following from Simpson's essay of 1869 ~~published~~ (page 332):

by the Senex map (1710), which has "Zuni or Cibola" and

"I have seen in the excellent library of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore an atlas entitled 'The American Atlas, or a Geographical Description of the Whole Continent of America, by Mr. Thomas Jeffreys, Geographer, published in London in 1773.' On map No.5 of this atlas, Zuni and Cibola are laid down as synonymous names, and the locality they express is precisely that of Zuni of the present day. Again, on a 'Carte contenant le Royaume du Mexique et La Floride,' in the 'Atlas Historique par Mr. C * * * avec des dissertations sur l' Histoire de chaque etat par Mr. Guendeville,' tome vi, second edition, published in Amsterdam, 1732, I find Zuni and Cibola laid down as synonymous."

subsequently

But ~~many~~ years, until quite recent, ~~all~~ of these early identifications ~~seem to have~~ ^{were} ~~been~~ lost sight of, and the earlier of the modern writers who have recognized that these two names are synonyms, have reached their conclusion from considerations mainly geographical.

As regards the origin of the name, Cibola, Bandelier says, "I am

Footnote

*Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States, p. 167.

convinced, from what Mr. ~~James~~ Cushing has told me, that the origin of Cibola is "Shi-uo-na," the name of the range claimed by the whole Zuni tribe, ancient and modern"; and he adds, "the name Shi-uo-na is sometimes applied to the whole tribe."

We will now notice some of the views that have been held by other modern writers than Hodge, concerning Coronado's route from Culiacan to Cibola.

While Gallatin and Squier, as we have seen, both identified the province of Cibola with that of Zuñi in 1848, the former seems to have paid scant attention to the route of Coronado thither, and none whatever ~~nowhere~~ to Chichilticalli, so far as concerns locating these according to recent geography; but the latter, in Volume VIII of the American Review, page 521, locates Chichilticalli on Gila River,* and on his Map of the Valleys of the

Footnote

*In an article entitled, "New Mexico and California," or "The Ancient Monuments, and the Aboriginal Semi-civilized Nations of New Mexico and California; with an Abstract of the Early Spanish Explorations and Conquests in those Regions, particularly those falling within the Territory of the United States;" American Review for November, 1848, pp. 503 ~~and~~ to 528.

Rio Grande and Rio Gila, (1848,) in Volume II of the Transactions of the American Ethnological Society, he traces a location of Coronado's route from the Sonora River to "Zuny or Cibola," which, in its broader features, is a remarkable approach to those worked out ^{by Hamilton and Hodge} with the fullest