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THE DISCOVERY OF NEW MEXICO BY FRAY

MARCOS OF NIZZA

BY AD. F. BANDELIER

(The result of the research work of Ad. F. Bandelier, has stood the test of time and later discoveries, in most instances. His scholarship and scientific methods were thorough and most of his writings, now available only in research libraries will bear republication. The following appeared originally in *The Magazine of Western History*.)

The tale told by Cabeza de Vaca and companions¹—of their wanderings through the southwest, attracted attention, but it was not necessary in order to stimulate Spanish advance towards the heart of North America. Such an advance was already in progress since 1529, although it had not reached yet beyond southern Sonora. Confused rumors about a vast river flowing into the Pacific Ocean (Lower California was yet deemed an island) were gathered by Spanish outposts. That river was the Colorado of the West.²

The tribes of central Mexico knew nothing about the north, beyond that it was inhabited by fierce and savage tribes, and that somewhere in that northern country they themselves had possibly originated. The great quadrupeds of our west were unknown to them. One author affirms that, in 1530, Nuno de Guzman, then ruler of New Spain, heard of seven towns, lying forty days north of New Mex-

1. Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca.

2. The expedition of Nuno Beltran de Guzman, successor to Cortéz, began in 1529. Garcia del Pilar *Relacion de la Entrada de Nuno de Guzman*, (Vol. II. of "Col. de Doe para la Hist. de Mexico," 1866, p. 248): "y mas de que salió ano de 29, tres dias antes de la Pascua de Navidad." The notice of the river is contained in the same volume on p. 303. *Segunda Relacion anonima de la Jornada de Nuno de Guzman*. It cannot have been any other than the Colorado, for the Spaniards had already discovered the Yaqui then.

ico, and which were rich in gold and silver. That story, it is said, prompted him to undertake his famous expedition to Sinaloa, and occasioned the spread of Spanish arms beyond the Mayo river.³

It should not be overlooked, that the story of the "seven cities," was in a measure of European origin. Even prior to Columbus, the tale of the island "Antilia" to which a Portuguese bishop fled with some Christians in the ninth century and where he founded seven settlements, circulated among cosmographers.⁴ It was a church legend. The discovery of the Antilles established that the seven cities were not there, but the story was not forgotten, and the mainland appeared vast enough to harbor, in some unknown nook, remnants at least of the legendary towns. Public mind was, therefore, prepared to find them.

The stimulus given to Spanish enterprise by the relations of Cabeza de Vaca did not arise so much from the fact that they conveyed startling intelligence. But the adventurers confirmed, in a measure, beliefs previously entertained thoughts long harbored. Whether the fixed abodes which they had seen, still more considerable ones of which they had heard, lay in the very distant north or in some other direction, the fact of their existence sufficed. But above all, it was considered that among those few men who had suffered so much, and had acquired such intimate acquaintance with country and inhabitants, one at least might prove invaluable as guide to further exploration. Such thoughts at once pervaded the mind of Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy of New Spain, and one of the greatest administrators America ever possessed.

3. Castaneda *Relacion du voyage de Cibola*, (Chap. i, pp. 1, 2, 3.) *Segunda Relacion anonima*, (p. 303): "La demanda que llevabamos cuando salémos á descubrir este rio era las Siete Cidades, porque el gobernador Nuno de Guzman tenia noticia dellas."

4. See the inscription on the map of Jan Ruysch: *Universalior cogniti Orbis Tabula*, 1508. Also Fray Gregorio Garcia *Origen de los Indios* (second edition, 1729. Lib. iv., Chap. xx, p. 189.) The notice is inserted by the editor, Barcia.

The three Spaniards were unavailable. They returned to the mother country and Estevanico the negro, alone remained. Before however an expedition was started the viceroy cautiously determined to reconnoiter the country, with smaller apparatus, less risk of lives and minor expenditure. No better scouts could the Spanish administrator secure than missionaries of the church. They were wont to risk everything, to penetrate everywhere, regardless of danger. For one who perished, many were eager to follow. Such men could be implicitly trusted; they harbored no afterthought beyond the crown of martyrdom, which was their most glorious reward.

Ere the negro could be associated with any enterprise, it was prudent to test the truth of his statements. In 1538 two monks, Fray Pedro Nadal and Fray Juan de la Asuncion, traveled north as far as the Gila (or the Colorado⁵) river, but returned, being unable to cross it. They had started in January and came back the same year.⁶ This was the discovery of Arizona.

Meanwhile, Don Antonio de Mendoza had cast his eyes upon another friar who, he thought, would be specially

5. There exist but four notices of the trip, and they are very brief. The oldest one in my possession is from 1598. It is found in Fray Gerónimo Mendieta, *'Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana'* (Lib. iv, Chap. xi, pp. 399-400). It is quite confuse and looks suspiciously like a copy of the report of Fray Marcos. Shorter, but very positive, is the notice given by Fray Juan Domingo Arricivita *'Cronica Serafica y apostolica del Colegio de Propaganda fide de la Santa Cruz de Queretaro'* (1792.) He gives the names of the two frairs and says they struck the river in 35° latitude, north, whereas Fray Marcos, who called it Rio de las Balsas, put it in 34°. The Gila flows, on an average, along the thirty-third parallel, and the error of one to two degrees is the usual one in determinations of latitude at those times. Arricivita (prologo) says it was the Colorado of the west; but Fray Marcos never reached that stream. Still it is possible, and at all events the fathers discovered Arizona. Finally José Cortés *'Memorias sobre las Provincias del Norte de Nueva Espana'* (1799, MSS. fol., 87) mentions Fray Juan de la Asuncion.

6. For a biography of Fray Marcos compare Mendieta *'Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana'* (pp. 400, 541, etc.) Fray Juan de Torquemada *'Los veinte i un libros rituales i Monarchia Indiana'* (second edition 1723, Vol. III, pp. 499-500). Fray Augustin Vetancurt *'Menologio franciscano'* (Reprint of 1871, pp. 117-119). Compare also my *'Historical Introduction to Studies Among the Sedentary Aborigines of New Mexico'* (p. 7, note 3.) He died at Mexico on the twenty-fifth of March, 1558.

fitted for an arduous task like the one northern explorations implied. Fray Marcos of Nice, in the Duchy of Savoy, had acquired considerable experience in Peru, Quito and Guatemala. He resided in Mexico since several years and was highly esteemed.⁷ To him the viceroy committed the enterprise, giving him as chief-guide, the negro Estevanico, and several Indians of the lower Pima tribe, who followed Cabeza de Vaca into northern Sinaloa. Those Indians had been brought to Mexico and taught the Spanish language on purpose that they might afterwards serve as interpreters and introduction with unknown Indians. Elaborate instructions were issued to the Franciscan monk in writing, those instructions speak highly in favor of the viceroy's perspicacity and tact. As an evidence I merely refer to the following sentences:

You shall always seek to travel with the greatest possible safety, to inform yourself of whether the natives are at war with each other. You shall avoid giving them any occasion to harm your person, lest it might in which case, in place of doing them good and enlightening them, the contrary would arise.

You will take the greatest care to note the strength of the people, if they are numerous or not, if they live scattered or together, the appearance of the country, its fertility, climate trees, plants, wild animals, the nature of the soil, if dry or traversed by rivers and whether those rivers are large or small, the stones and metals which that soil contains. If you can secure samples of all these objects, bring them along, or send them, in order that His Majesty may become thoroughly informed.⁸

Thus instructed—confirmed subsequently by a formal power and authorization of Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, Franciscan provincial, (which document bears date:

7. Fray Marcos de Nizza '*Relacion*' (in '*Cibola*' appendix p. 206). Antonio de Mendoza ('*Lettre, etc.*,' Idem p. 288). '*Histria General*' (Dec. vi, Lib. vii, Chap. vii, p. 155), "seis Indios de aquella Tierra, que eran Esclavos, i dió el visorrei al P. Fr. Marcos para su compania, que les havia tenito en Mexico, para que se hiciesen ladinos, i tomasen amor á las cosas de los Christianos."

8. Don Antonio de Mendoza '*Instruction donnée, au pere Marcos de Niza*' ('*Cibola*,' p. 251). Herrera '*Hist. General*' (Vol. II, p. 156).

Mexico, August 27 [old style], 1539), Fray Marcos left San Miguel de Culiacan (Sinaloa) on the 7-19 of March 1539. His companions were a lay brother of the Franciscan order called Onorato, the negro Estevanico, and a number of well-trained Indians.⁹ The negro was instructed by the viceroy, "to obey you in all matters as if you were myself. Should he fail to do it, he would render himself liable to the punishments inflicted to persons guilty of disobedience against officers invested by His Majesty with the right to command".¹⁰

Well-treated by the few Indians who occupied the country, the missionary reached Petatlan, on the confine of Sinaloa.¹¹ In that village he remained three days and here brother Onorato, having fallen sick, was obliged to return to Culiacan, while Fray Marcos, the negro, and the Indians moved onwards, traveling so far constantly near the coast. He now moved among natives belonging to the Yaqui stock. The country was thinly settled, sometimes uninhabited. The people told him that, four or five days beyond and inland, there were large towns whose inhabitants dressed in cotton. He showed his informants specimens of various metals which he had taken along. Their attention was at once attracted by gold which they pointed out saying: that the inhabitants of those settlements had bowls, also nose and ear pendants, made of that material.¹²

After moving for three days among people who received him in the most friendly manner, he arrived at a considerable village called "Vacapa." This was in all pro-

9. Fray Antonio de Ciudadrodrigo 'Attestation' ('Cibola,' p. 254). Marcos of Nizza 'Relacion' (p. 256).

10. Mendoza 'Instruction, etc.' (p. 250).

11. 'Relation' (p. 257). Herrera 'Hist. General' (p. 156). The Rio de Petatlan is at present the Rio del Fuerte.

12. 'Relation' (p. 259). Herrera 'Hist. General' (II, p. 156) "dixeron, que á quatro jornadas la Tierra adentro se remataban las Cordilleras de las Sierras se hacia una Abra llana, i de much Tierra, donde la Gente andaba vestida, que tenian Vasijas de el Oro, que los mostr*, i lo traian colgado de orejas, i narices."

bability "Matape" of to-day.¹³ At all events it was about the centre of the present state of Sonora, and its inhabitants were "Eudeves." Here he resolved to send the negro ahead with directions to explore the country north of it for fifty or sixty leagues (135 to 162 miles). "I convened with him that if he learned of populous, rich, and extensive countries he should not advance any farther, but return in person or dispatch me some Indians with a token which we had agreed upon. In case that country was of ordinary size, he was to send a white cross of a hand's length, if more important the cross was to be twice that size, and if it was larger than New Spain the sign was a large cross."¹⁴ Estevanico left in the afternoon of "Passion Sunday,"¹⁵ and very soon Fray Marcos received a message from him in the shape of a cross or crucifix as high as a man. The Indians who carried it urged the priest to start after the negro at

13. 'Relation' (p. 260) says that Vacapa was forty leagues (108 miles) from the sea. Compare on the location of the place the map of Father Eusebio Kino (Kunhoe) in P. Joseph Stocklein 'Der neue Weltbote' (Vol. I, second edition, 1728). 'Noticia breve de la expedición militar de Sonora y Sinaloa, etc.' (Vol. I, "Documentos para la Historia de Méjico," fourth series, Chap. viii. Trip of Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra and F. Eusebio Kino twenty-seventh of February to sixteenth of April, 1701. p. 327, no title). Bacapa is placed thirty leagues N. W. and six leagues N. and N. E. of Caborca, and the writer says: "y parece es por lo que pasó el ejército de Francisco Vasquez Coronado el año de 1540." He bases his opinion on the name and on the distance from the coast. The name proves nothing. Pima names, as well as Opatá names, occur in Sonora and Arizona, sometimes half a dozen times. I know, from personal visit, two "Bamori," two "Bamochi," two "Nacori, etc., etc. Neither is the distance a criterion. Matape is not one hundred and twenty miles from the sea-shore. It is an old mission, having been founded among the "Eudeves" (a dialect of the Opatá) in 1620. Orozco y Berra 'Geografía de las Lenguas' (p. 344). The distance from Vacapa to the "desert" (112 leagues or 312 miles) points strongly to Matape, so does the description of the country. But there is still another proof in favor of Matape. While sojourning along the coast, inhabitants of two islands, a larger and a smaller one, came to see the father, and they also visited him while at Vacapa (p. 262). The "Isia del Tiburon" and "del Angel de la Guardia" lie almost in the parallel of Matape, whereas from the Bacapa of Kino they are at least two hundred miles due south. It is not likely that Fray Marcos, having had intercourse with the Indians of these islands, would have waited until he was far to the north to send his people back after them.

13a. Orozco 'Geografía, etc.' (p. 344.)

14. 'Relation' (p. 260).

15. Idem (p. 260) "le dimanche de la Passion apres diner." Easter fell that year on the nineteenth of April, therefore Passion-Sunday on the fifth.

once, since the latter "had found people who spoke to him of a country, the biggest in the world, and he had with him Indians who had been there." One of these came to Vacapa with the others, and the substance of his tale was, that thirty days' march from the place where Estevan remained (about two journeys north of Vacapa a country called *Cibola* was to be found. He further said that "In this first province there are seven cities, very large ones, who all belong to one sovereign. There are large houses whose terrace walls are of masonry, the smallest are one story high with a terrace, there are others of two and three stories, and that of the ruler has four well-arranged floors. At the doors of the principal houses there are many ornaments of turquoises, which stones are quite common in that country."¹⁶

Fray Marcos was anxious to leave at once, still he had to wait yet for the return of messengers which he had dispatched to the coast. When these came they brought him shields of "cowhides," very large, and some of the coast people accompanied them. They were very poor, belonging evidently to the tribe of Guaymas,¹⁷ a branch of the "Seris."¹⁸

Leaving Vacapa two days after Easter Sunday, the missionary entered the Opatá country, on the valley of the Sonora river. In his company went three Indians of a

16. Idem (p. 261) '*Hist. General*' (pp. 156-157).

17. The "Guaymas" were a branch of the "Seris" and spoke a dialect of their language. Orozco '*Geografía*' (p. 354). The Seris occupied, in the early part of the seventeenth century, the coast of Sonora from Guaymas north. Compare P. Ribas '*Hist. de los Triunfos de nuestra Santa Fee*' (Lib. vi, Chap. i, p. 359) "es sobremanera bozal, sin pueblos, sin casas, ni sementeras."

18. Compare '*Relation*' (p. 263-266) with the statements of Ribas '*Hist. de los Triunfos*' (Lib. vi, Chap. xviii, p. 392). It is the only valley in Sonora that could correspond to the description of Fray Marcos. I have examined it closely, under the auspices of the Archaeological Institute, as far south of the line as Babia-cora and am convinced that the friar took this route. This is further proven by the well established fact that, the next year, he led Coronado and his forces up the Sonora valley. Castaneda '*Cibola*' (pp. 44, 157, 158, etc.). Juan Jaramillo ('*Relation, etc.*' *Cibola*' appendix, p. 367). Castaneda says that when Coronado went from Culiacan to Cibola (by way of Sonora) all the Indians on the line of march knew Fray Marcos (p. 40). That the Opatas were, and still are, the inhabitants of the valley is a well known fact which requires no further proof.

tribe living east of Matape, and distinguished by the paint on their faces, chests and arms. "Relatives of theirs reside in the vicinity of the seven cities." These Indians were Pimas.¹⁹

While traveling up the Sonora river, (which he found well inhabited) Fray Marcos gathered further information about Cibola. All agreed about the number of turquoises found there, that the people dressed in long shirts of cotton and in cow-skins; the Opatas themselves owned greenstones and robes of cowhide which they acquired by trading at Cibola. "They added that besides the seven cities, there were three other kingdoms called Marata, Acus, and Totonteach." But however earnestly the priest followed in the wake of his negro guide, the latter, disobeying orders, never stopped to wait for him, eager to reach Cibola first, regardless of the commands of the viceroy, Estevan, gradually increased the distance between him and his superior, limiting himself to messages urging the friar to greater haste.²⁰

The gray cloth in which the monk was dressed attracted the attention of the Opata Indians. They told him that at Totonteach there was much of the same material, made out of the hair of animals as large as the two small grey-hounds which accompanied the negro, and that the people dressed in that cloth.²¹

The friar's route was constantly to the north. Beyond Bacuachi he left the Opata settlement behind and, entering a region which though, uninhabited, was by no means a waste, crossed the Arizona line of to-day. After four days of travel through this deserted country, reaching the valley of the San-Pedro river, he fell in with the villages of

19. The Pimas of Arizona inhabited, and still inhabit, the Gila within two hundred miles of Zuni. They paint themselves in a striking manner. East of Matape—or rather southeast—are the lower Pima missions and the "Valley of the Hearts."

20. 'Relation' (p. 264).

21. *Idem* (p. 267). Herrera (II, p. 157).

the Sobaypuris;²² a branch of the northern Pimas.²³ Here Cibola was almost a household word, and he received further information. It was stated:

(1). That the chief place of Cibola was called "Aha-cus." (2). That Totontec lay to the west of the "Seven Cities." (3). That there existed another "kingdom" named "Acus." (4). That Marata was south of Cibola, and that its power had greatly decreased on account of war with the people of the "Seven Cities."²⁴

This information he obtained from an old man, a fugitive from Cibola, who dwelt among the Sobaypuris in southeastern Arizona. The last village of these people, the priest estimated to be one hundred and twelve leagues (three hundred and eight miles) north of Vacapa; beyond lay a desert which it required fifteen long journeys to traverse until Cibola was reached.²⁵

On the 9-21 of May he began this last painful march. On the first day he had to cross a river. Then followed eleven days more through an uninhabited country with abundance of game. It was consequently about the second of June, 1539, that he was "met by an Indian, son of one

22. The ruins of any consequence begin at Los Fresnos, but they are old, and Mutuaicachi, about ten miles north of Bacuachi, was probably the last settlement of the Opatas along the Sonora to the northward. The village was abandoned in consequence of the Apaches. Beyond it the country was deserted until to the middle course of the San Pedro in Arizona, near Contention, a difficult stretch of fifty miles in a straight line, but of seventy at least in following water-courses.

23. *'Relation'* (p. 267-269). "At this latitude," he says, "the coast turns and the Gulf of California terminates." "Elle tourne à l'Quest." This is absolutely true, though his altitude (35°) is of course wrong. It should be 32° latitude, north.

The Sobaypuris are a branch of the Pimas. Joseph Antonio de Villa-Senor y Sanchez *'Theatro Americano, etc.'* (1748, Vol. II, Lib. v, Chap. xvi, p. 396): "hablan el Idioma de los Pimas, aunque alguna diferencia en la pronunciacion." They inhabited two valleys near Tucson (Id., p. 375), one of which was the San Pedro, but had to leave it in 1763 on account of the Apaches and retire to the vicinity of Tucson. *'Rudo Ensayo, tentativa de uno prevencional Description Geographica de las Provincia de Sonora'* (1761-62, published by Mr. Buckingham Smith, p. 102, 103, 105). Aricivita *'Cronica serafica y apostolica, etc.'* (p. 410) says they compelled abandonment of the Sobaypuri mission in 1769. There are many ruins still extant on the Rio San Pedro and on the Arroyo Babocomari.

24. *'Relation'* (p. 263, 267, 269, 271). Herrera *'Hist. General'* (II, p. 157). These names are found yet in all the maps published as late as 1657, which shows what a firm hold the nomenclature of Fray Marcos had acquired.

25. *'Relation'* (p. 272.) This would leave it in the neighborhood of Fort Grant.

of the chiefs who accompanied me, and who had followed Estevan, the negro. His face was all dejected and his body covered with perspiration; his whole exterior betokened great sadness." He indeed told a frightful tale, too often repeated to need detailed mention. Estevan had reached Cibola and its people had killed him.²⁶

It was a terrible blow to Fray Marcos of Nizza. At the very threshold of the promised land entrance to it was forbidden by the unexpected hostility of its inhabitants. His own Indian companions refused to go further, they rebelled against his weak authority. The course of prudence would have been to yield to their determination and turn back, but mindful of the instructions of the viceroy, Fray Marcos cut the cords which bound the boxes containing cloth and objects of exchange, and inviting his escort to help themselves, beseeched them to take at least one step further, enabling him to catch a glimpse of the "Seven Cities," and thus report to the viceroy on what he had actually seen.

His inducements prevailed. Even at the risk of their lives the whole party moved on toward Cibola. On their way they met two of the companions of Estevan. They arrived covered with blood and wounds. Here his Indians again refused to go further, and even decided to kill him, but he succeeded in appeasing them and finally came in sight of the desired place. "It is built in a plain on the slope of a hill of round shape; it appears very pretty; it is the most important that I have seen in these countries." He noted that the houses "were built as the Indians had told me, all of stone, of several stories and covered with terraces. This town is more considerable than Mexico; several times I was tempted to go into it, for I knew I was

26. The catastrophe has been often enough described.

only risking my life which I had offered to God the day I began my journey. At last, considering the danger, I feared that if I should be killed, the knowledge of the country might be lost." So he limited himself to take formal possession of "the seven cities, the kingdoms of Totontec, Acus and Marata," in the name of Don Antonio de Mendoza, erected a cross, and left, regretfully though hurriedly.²⁷

The return was a flight. The Sobaypuris were angry at the death of their relatives at Cibola and received him with marked unkindness. Only among the Opatas he felt safe again, and further on he thought of reconnoitering the towns of which he had heard in southern Sonora as being inhabited by the people who knew and used gold. From the neighborhood thereof he observed, "seven villages of reasonable size and tolerably distant, a handsome and very fresh-looking valley, and a very pretty town whence much smoke arose. I learned that there was gold in quantity, that the natives manufacture bars, jewels for the ears, and little scrapers out of it."²⁸ Here also he planted two crosses and took formal possession. On the 2-14 of September, 1539, Fray Marcos handed in his official report, written on nine leaves or sheets of paper, consequently he must have returned to Mexico already in August, if not in July, of the same year.

On the strength of the official report, about whose genuineness there is not the slightest doubt, Fray Marcos of Nizza, has been, since more than three centuries, repeatedly accused of cowardice and of mendacity!

The accusation of cowardice is too silly to merit much attention. In not persisting to enter Cibola, the friar acted faithfully and judiciously. He exposed his person enough during the whole journey to show that he was true to his mission, to the letter and spirit thereof. The simple words: "I feared that if I should be killed, the knowledge of the

27. 'Relation' (pp. 274-280).

28. *Idem.* (p. 281). Herrera.

country might be lost," explains his action and justifies it.

Now to the question of veracity. There is no doubt but that the Franciscan monk reached Cibola, for the following year he accompanied Francisco Vasquez Coronado thither. That commander took the route which the friar led him, and arrived safely and swiftly. But once there, the Spaniards grew angry at the priest, charging him with having grossly misrepresented the state of the country, enormously exaggerated both resources and culture of its inhabitants.²⁹ Therefore, Fray Marcos must have been a great liar and deceiver. He retired to Mexico, and his order honored him for what he had done.

Where was Cibola? The name furnishes no clue. There is "Civonaroco," the "rock where people slide or fall." In the Opata Idiom, there is "Chivano-ki," the house of Civano, in the Pima dialect of Arizona, and the proper name of Casa grande. But Casa grande was abandoned long before the sixteenth century.³⁰ There is "Shi-wa-na," the name by which the Zuni Indians designated their home, their tribal range. In 1583, Antonio de Espejo positively asserts: "Zuni, which the Spaniards call Cibola."³¹ Mr. Frank Hamilton Cushing, whose model ethnological researches have thrown such a flood of light on the Indians of New Mexico, and on Zuni in particular, has determined that in the sixteenth century the Zuni tribe dwelt in seven villages. Six of these are named in an official Spanish document of 1598.³² The statement that Cibola was Zuni is repeated after 1583.

It must be remembered that Fray Marcos always tram-

29. See the certificate of Juan Baeza de Herrera, notary, appended to '*Relation*' (Civoli,' pp. 282-284.)

30. Castaneda ("*Voyage de Cibola*," pp. 13, 42, 48) is very bitter. He slanders the friar even by the incorrect statement that he knew nothing about Cibola but what the Indians had told him.

31. Compare my report in the '*Fifth Annual Report*' of the Archaeological Institute of America (1884, pp. 67-72, 80-82).

32. Espejo '*Relacion del Viaje*' (Vol. XV, p. 177) has: "Amé, y por otro nombre Cibola." Hackluyt's version says: "Zuny, y la llaman las Espanoles Cibola."

ped as near as possible due north. We have followed him from the Culiacan to the Yaquis, to the Pimas of central Sonora, the Opatas of northern Sonora, into the valley of the San Pedro in Arizona, to the banks of the Gila river, where he camped. Thence, fifteen days of march would bring him to Cibola.

In the sixteenth century, only two groups of Indians, dwelling in houses of stone and mud, lay north of the Gila: the Moquis or Arizona and the Zunis of western New Mexico. All the other "Pueblos" were far to the northeast. In a straight line, the Moqui villages are only about one hundred and eighty-five miles from Fort Thomas, where the friar probably forded the river Zuni, only one hundred and sixty. But the straight line is utterly impracticable, even for Indians. The shortest trip from Zuni to the Gila is about two hundred and forty miles, if we take Fort Thomas or "San Jose del Pueblo Viejo" as terminal point. On his flight, Fray Marcos made at most ten leagues (twenty-seven miles) daily.³³ During the advance, when he proceeded cautiously and slowly, with Indians carrying on their backs casks and bales filled with goods for exchange, fifteen to eighteen miles would be a good average. It could have brought him to Moqui as well as to Zuni.

Aside from the fact that the Indians of Sonora, trading as they did periodically with Cibola, would, in case of going to the Moqui villages, scarcely have passed Zuni unnoticed—the report that a similar cluster, called Totonteac, lay still to the *west* of Cibola, points to Zuni, and not to Moqui settlement. In the following year the Spaniards visited "Tusayan," west of Cibola, and thence reached the Colorado river, but found no villages between that river and the for-

33. *Obediencia y vasallaje a Su Magestad por los indios de la Provincia de Aguascobi* (Zuni, 9. November, 1598, in Vol. XV of "Documentos inéditos," pp. 132-133).

mer. No Pueblos existed west of Moqui in the sixteenth century. Totontecac is an old word in Zuni Idiom.³⁴

South of Cibola, Marata was another tribe, similarly organized, but in condition of decadence from war. Marata, as Mr. Cushing has ascertained, is properly "Ma-tyata," and is the Zuni name for the group of Pueblos around the salt lakes *south of Zuni*, whose well preserved ruins are still visible. These villages lay abandoned in 1540, but it must be considered that Fray Marcos reports, not from ocular inspection, but after the story of an old fugitive who probably spoke of times long past. Still, the fact is interesting as intimating when and how the Pueblos at "el Carrizo" were given up.

"Hacus" is Acoma, the nearest Pueblo east of Zuni. Its proper name is "A-qo," the Zuni call it "Ha-cu-quin," the Navajos, "Hacu."

"Ahacus," designated as the largest Pueblo of Cibola, re-appears under the name "Aguascobi," as the principal Zuni village—in 1589.³⁵ It is the "Aguico" of Espejo³⁶ the "Havico" of Fray Geronimo de Zarate—Salmeron,³⁷—the "Ha-vi-cu" of the Zuni Indians, whose ruins are still visible at the hot springs, fifteen miles southeast of the Zuni-Pueblo.

All this points strongly to Zuni as the Cibola of old. It also indicates that, so far, Fray Marcos, allowing for the insufficiency of his sources, is *singularly reliable*.

The description of the houses applies perfectly to the many-storied, terraced, Pueblo-buildings. The custom of

34. In 1600. Also in 1626. Fray Gerónimo de Zárate-Salmeron: "Relacion de todas las cosas que en el Nuevo Mexico se han visto y sabido, asi por mar como por tierra, desde el año de 1538, has a el do 1626." (In Vol. I of third series of "Doc. para la Historia de Mexico," p. 7) Coronado: "Llegó á la provincia de Cuni alojó su réal en el pueblo de Zivola que es la cabecera de aquella provincia."

35. 'Relation' (p. 281): "Le premier jour, je fis dix lieues, puis huit, puis dix."

36. In November, 1539, the viceroy sent out an expedition to test the credibility of Fray Marcos. The report of its commander, Melchior Diaz, is contained in the second letter of Don Antonio de Mendoza ("Cibola," pp. 292-297). It mentions Totontecac and fully confirms the missionary's statements.

37. 'Obediencia p Vasallaje a Su Magestad' (p. 132).

laying in the frames of trap doors with small turquoises prevailed at Zuni in former times, as Mr. Cushing has found out. The Zuni dressed in cotton and had buffalo robes, which they obtained plentifully through trade. Turquoises they always had in abundance, and as there was a communication between Sonora and the north, the statement of Fray Marcos: that the Opatas and Sobaypuris wore them, is very rational and highly probable. Indian commerce goes slow but reaches remarkably far.

The cloth, woven from the hair of the quadrupeds about as large as small greyhounds, and worn at Totontec, can be found to-day at Moqui. It is no cloth, but a heavy blanket, woven with strips of *jack-rabbit* hair wound around a core of *Yucca*-fibre. That garment was abundant at Tusayan and even at Cibola when Coronado reached the latter place.³⁸

Lastly, we come to a statement which seems to place the mendacity of Fray Marcos beyond the possibility of palliation or doubt. It is his assurance: that Cibola was larger than the city of Mexico. But how large was Mexico in 1539? The Indian settlement had been destroyed in 1521; its ruins even were obliterated. The Spanish town sprang up in 1524, and it is questionable whether in 1539 it had much over one thousand inhabitants.³⁹ A many-storied Indian-Pueblo always looks, from the distance, twice as large as it really is, and even if Mexico had two thousand souls, the comparison far from being exaggerated, was very proper and truthful indeed.

When Coronado captured Cibola in the succeeding year, the largest Pueblo of the seven was called "Macaqui."⁴⁰ The ruins of "Matza-ki" lie four miles east of the present Zuni

38. '*Relacion*' (p. 118).

39. '*Relacions*' "El pueblo mayor y Cabeza de todas es el pueblo de Cibola, que en su lengua se llama Havico" (p. 30.)

40. Fray Toribio Motolinia '*Relacion posterera de Sivola y de mas de quatrocientas leguas adelante*' (MSS. 1549, in "Libro de Oro," unpublished): "tambien hacen mantas de pellejos de Liebres y de conejos."

'*Voyage de Cibola*' (the French translation, p. 163) has "Muzaque," but the original MSS., on fol. 107, has very plainly "Macaque."

village, at the foot of the high mesa. The place was inhabited until 1680, then permanently abandoned."

In view of all these facts, it appears absolutely certain that Zuni was the Cibola of the sixteenth century, of Fray Marcos and of Coronado.

But where, in which one of the Zuni villages, was this negro Estevan killed? Mr. Cushing tells the tale. There are two traditions to that effect among the tribe. One relates that the first "Mexican" whom they saw was accompanied by two dogs, that his greedy insolence angered the people and they did away with him during the night. The other, more positive one, was that a "black Mexican" arrived at the Pueblo of "Caquima" and was killed there for his outrageous conduct. Soon after the "Mexicans" came in numbers and made war upon the Zunis. Estevan had two dogs with him, he was black, and the year after his death Coronado took Cibola by storm.

Caquima lies in a niche of the southern slope of the great mesa of Zuni, and is plainly visible from the south side only, whence Fray Marcos approached Cibola. His description of a plain—a hill or height on whose slope the village was built—agrees completely with Caquima, as it is seen from a distance.⁴²

It is noteworthy that Fray Marcos never mentions mineral wealth in connection with Cibola—Zuni; only tur-

Vetancurt '*Cronica de la provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*' (p. 321) mentions "Mazaquia" as a hamlet, still extant in 1680. I know the place well, having surveyed the Ruins in 1883.

41. Herrera '*Hist. General*' (Vol. I, "Descripcion," p. 17) says that at his time (1610, about) Mexico had four thousand Spanish settlers. At the time of Sir Francis Drake, Mexico, and its surrounding towns, harbored seven thousand Spanish families, three thousand unmarried Spaniards and two hundred thousand Indians. Even this appears an exaggeration. Sebastian Munster '*Cosmography*' (1623, p. 1714).

42. Herrera '*Hist. General*' (II, p. 159) says: "en la falda de un Cerro redondo." This is even more appropriate than the French translation, and applies perfectly to Caquima as seen from the south. I surveyed the Ruins in 1883, while enjoying the hospitality of Mr. Cushing. It is well situated for defense.

43. The father was deceived by his own experience in Peru, where the natives knew gold as gold and not simply judged by the color.

quoises. When he mentions gold, it is only in southern Sonora. He speaks of it from hearsay, and may have been deceived. The Indians judged of the metal by its looks, and not after qualities unknown to them.⁴³

Cabeza de Vaca never having trod New Mexican soil, Fray Marcos of Nizza must stand in history as the real discoverer of New Mexico, and of its Pueblo Indians. Long mistrusted, often criticized, assailed, nay defamed, he appears at last as a courageous, devoted, sagacious, and thoroughly truthful man.