having traveled "12 days journey" since entering the great wilderness

On the evening of the 30th of 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 Little Colorado
River. "Here," says he, "arrived an Indian, son of a principal
one of those who came with me, and who had been 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."

*Translated from the Spanish Version of Niza's Relacion,

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

"Tell me," says the friar's narrative, as translated by Bander-
dier, "that, one day previous to reaching Cibola, Estevan sent, as
he was wont to do always, his gourd, in order to show them in what
quality he meant to come. When they reached Cibola and pre-
sered 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 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, pursu-
ed by the people of the city, who were endeavoring killing some of
the people of his company. Seeing this, this Indian concealed
himself and crept up at night to take the road through the desert."*


Commenting upon the gourd incident, Winship recalls the fact re-
corded in the narrative of Cabeza de Vaca, 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 revered 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 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 medicine man of a tribe with which they were at enmity."

But if the so-called rattles were really, as Hakluyt has it, they were doubtless a first note.

On hearing the tale of this fugitive, the Sobrepuros were unwilling to continue toward Cibola, but he distributed among them the merchandise which had been intended for use in Cibola, and they were induced them to accompany him, for only to within a day's journey of that province. There they arrived thus near they met two more fugitives, who had joined Estevan in his attempted flight from the Cibolans, and been more successful than he, in escaping under the shower of arrows by which he was stopped. They had received some arrow wounds that had evidently worse frightened than injured them, now appeared in a blood-stained and hysterical condition; announced with tears and lamentations the hasty presumption that all left with the Cibolans, had perished at the latter's hands; and soon had Nisa'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, not 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 repetition of their predecessor's, which in part also it supplemented. As recorded by Emilio Marcos and translated by Bandelier, 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 rattles—and not the gourd itself—that aroused the chief's ire. It con-
The next day, 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."

From the last two lines of their story, we see that the killing of Estevan with arrows, and "of the rest of those who came with him," was only surmised. We shall see reasons for concluding that the negro was in Cibola in the year following that of his journey. It appears as regards the negro's escort, that the belief was erroneous. Castañeda, who was in Cibola in the year following that of Estevan's journey and who relates that "Estevan reached Cibola with a great number of turquoise and some pretty women, that had been given him and that were brought along by the Indians that accompanied him and followed him from all the settlements that he had passed. These Indians believed that by going under his guardianship, they could traverse the whole earth without any danger. But as the people of this country were more prudent than those who followed Estevan, they lodged him in a certain solitary house which they had outside of the pueblo, and the old men and the chiefs interviewed him and sought to know the reason of his coming to that country. After a period of three days, being well informed, they held their council. From the information which the negro gave them, how that back on the road were coming two white men, sent by a great ruler, who were learned in matters of heaven, and that those men were coming to teach them in divine things, they considered him as probably a spy or guide from some nations that wished to go forth to conquer them; for it seemed to them inconsistent for him, being a negro, to say that in the country whence he came the people were white, and that he was sent by them, and that they were his people. And besides other reasons, it seemed to them a rude thing that he demanded turquoise and women; and they determined to kill him. And this they did, without killing any one of those who accompanied him..."
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, they put them in such a great fright that, though not fully crediting these people with having been 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.


Of the above account by Castañeda, we see that the latter part differs from Miza's in several important particulars, not only in those which the latter gave as hearsay, like the number of Indians included in Estevan's escort, and the fate of that escort, but also in matters in which Miza 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 flatly contradicts.

Melchior Diaz—of whose expedition to investigate Miza'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 Schalipuri Indians who had accompanied him from the San Pedro River Valley; Diaz undoubtedly had his advice from the same source, for he wrote his report in the 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 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 Soculpirus, 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 untruth statements crept into Fray Marcos' _Relación_, where he had to depend on information from others, and while, in his enthusiasm, he himself may even have been betrayed into exaggeration, we are by no means warranted in attributing to the friar so deliberate falshood and so gross a fraud as would be involved in writing an account of a mythical journey _in_ 14 _days_, from the White Mountain Wilderness to within sight of a town of Cibola-Zuni. Since Castañeda was not a participant in the entrada of 1539, and since he tends rather to belittle than extol 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 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, "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 Soculpirus would have allowed Fray Marcos to depart alive, had been killed than a few of those who had been lodged with Estevan in the house outside the city and had run with him in his attempt to escape, but also we shall see that Castañeda's denial of any killing at all, save of Estevan, is supported by an earlier one by Coronado, writing from the first city of Cibola in 1540. Had a wholesale slaughter taken place, the fact could hardly have been concealed from Coronado by the people of Cibola, who told him of the killing the negro.
During his exploration of the lower Colorado River by boat, in August and September, 1540, 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," said and who gave him "quite a fair description of the architecture, dress, mode of life, etc., of the Pueblo Indians."* For the substance of this Indian's description of Cibola and its inhabitants, see Winship's account of the discovery of the Colorado River, which is in the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology.

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

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

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