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."


Zuni 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 Mountain, Mr. Victor Mindeleff wrote in his "Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola" (1881-83), "This pueblo has been identified by Mr. Cushing, through Zuni tradition, as the scene of the death of Estevanico, the negro who accompanied the first Spanish expedition to Cibola."*


The substance of the traditions referred to, is given by Bandelier, in his *Southwestern Historical Contributions* as follows:

"One of these folk-tales states that, previous to the first coming of the 'Mexicans' (the Zuni Indian calls all the Spaniards speaking people 'Mexicans'), a black Mexican made his appearance at the Zuni village of Kia-ki-ka. He was very greedy, voracious, and bold, and the people killed him for it. After his death, the Mexican, it is said, made war upon the Zunis, conquering them in the end.

"Another tradition relates that there came to Zuni a man called 'Na-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 (SEP. CIT., p. 13) 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 Zuni traditions are contradicted by the direct statement, not only of Coronado's captain, Juan Jaramillo, but also of Coronado himself, who occupied Hawikuh, (the first or most southerly of Cibola reached by the ancient road from Chichilticahali,) 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 Chichilticahali 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 and kept him in safe custody until now."


There is much other evidence that 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 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' 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 which had been his goal. 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.

*They also brought to him a fresh realization of the danger to his life.

"To create a favorable influence upon the Indians he told them that God would punish the inhabitants of Cibola, and that when the vicarcy 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."

"From Narvaez withdrew a couple of stone throws for an hour and a half to
pray. A fellow of Narvaez, 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 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 appease them he

"worship, introduction,

"pp. 361.

"divided among them the few articles he had retained, which, in some
measure, had the desired effect, but they still exhibited great

wound

grief at the loss they had sustained;"* and, for some time, he

"pp. 136-7.

*Davies, op. cit., page 137.

"urged them to accompany him to Cibola, to obtain farther details,
if possible, concerning the destination of the negro.

"Upon their refusal to go with him, "Niza told them that he in-
tended to see the town at all hazards and in spite of the dangers
that beset him."

"His firmness of purpose finally overcame that of the friar,

""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
the slope of a round height. Its appearance is very

"Or, "in a plain at the slope of a round height," as the Spanish
"en un llano, 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 phrase in identifying
the friar's "Cibola" with Hawikuh, in the following words: "This
ruin and apparently Hawikuh was surveyed by Mr. Cosimo 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 de-
scribes (p. 89) 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."
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.**

Footnote
*Bandelier, Contributions, p. 161.*
*Relacion, as translated by*

The comparison with the city of Mexico, was not extravagant. "The population in 1639," says Winship, "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, that which the friar doubtless saw, contained about 200 houses, or between 700 and 1,000 inhabitants. 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 probably doubled in the fifteen years preceding Tomson's visit, a fact which makes Niza's comparison even more reasonable."**

Footnote

The farther information which Fray Marcos obtained about Cibola, 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 turquoise above all others. With these they adorned the porches 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."**

Footnote
*Conquest, p. 137-8.*

The friar regretted that he could not visit the provinces of Totontepec, Acus, and Marata, which were said to be greater than Cibola. **especially the greatest..."
of them all." But he took formal possession of Cibola and those
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 the Sobalpuris who had remained encamped on the road; and
the reunited party travelled on until it had crossed the "great wilderness" and reached the San Pedro Valley and the
village in which he had rested for three days. So at length the
journey to Cibola was completed.

But alas for the former hospitality of that valley! The
Sobalpuris 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
hastened from the people of this valley and travelled ten leagues
without stopping, daily eight or ten leagues, until I had
passed the second desert." This "second desert was

Footnote

Relación, as rendered by Hakluyt, mentions the four days' desplazamiento 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 betook himself of the "level valley," 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 of which they had 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. However, aside
from his present plans, but he did not undertake to enter it; for in
that there was some risk that he might lose his life, and so be
unable to render to the viceroy his report upon 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 most view it; and 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
the ears, while of others they make little scrapers for the per-
spiration of their bodies. The people do not allow anybody from
this side of the opening to trade with them. Nobody could tell
me the reason why. Here I placed two crosses, and took pos-
session of the entrance and of the valley."

To the present writer this valley seems to have been that of the Casas Grandes, Chihuahua.

"Miza's Relacion, as translated by Bandelier, Contributions, p. 162.

But Bandelier regarded it as a type Pima valley on the west side of the Sierra Madre.

He now hastened on to Sulliacon. There he failed to meet
Coronado, who was at Compostela. From the latter place he announc-
ed 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 'Codor' 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. — 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.

Miza'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 or 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 mag-
nified, and what his report had given as hearsay from the Opata and
Sobaipuri, was often repeated as if it were on

the authority
of the friar himself; and—equally to his discomfort and loss of
prestige ultimately—much was added to it by the ignorant and un-
scrupulous 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 "premier 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 circumpection. Therefore, in the fall, 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. Diaz was the commandant of the post who by his fair treatment of Cabeza de Vaca's 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, Alvarado and Cebreros, appeared on that occasion.

With a force of fifteen mounted men and some Indians, 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 the natives of 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 the 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 further progress, as is related in a letter of April 1540, written to the king by Mendoza, who, on the 20th of the preceding month, had received from Diaz, brought by an express of four horsemen, headed by Diaz's lieutenant, Juan de Gallegos, "In this letter he says that after he left Culuaucan and crossed the river of Pecuillan 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