ing him to Spain, to administer the estate of a deceased brother, was granted permission to return there. With several other persons who had received permission to go and settle their affairs, *"and not a man among them all who could fight,"* he started in November. He


Concerning affairs of the expedition and the regions he had explored, was commissioned to report to the king orally, although Coronado had made a brief written report to the king on the 20th of the preceding month and had probably dispatched it southward by Juan Gallego, who seems to have started about October 1st to New Spain to get reinforcements for Coronado's intended campaign of 1542. Although Coronado's letter shows that, on or before October 20th, he had already decided that García was to return to Spain, the officer seems not to have started until about the 19th of November; and even after that, he met with a serious setback. Between two and three months after he started, he "came back in flight from Suya, because he had found that town deserted and the people [except those who had escaped] and horses and cattle all dead." The bad news which he brought back, it was feared to communicate, until later, to Coronado, on account of a nearly fatal accident which the general had in the meantime suffered. The story of what had happened at Suya is related by Castañeda* as follows:

*Winship's Translation, Eth. XIV, p. 533.

(Continued on page 33)
"The entirely worthless fellows were all who had been left in the town, the mutinous and seditious men, besides a few who were honored with the charge of public affairs and were left to govern the others. Thus the bad dispositions of the worthless secured the power, and they held daily meetings and councils and declared that they had been betrayed and were not going to be rescued, since the others had been directed to go through another part of the country, where there was a more convenient route to New Spain, which was not so, because they were still almost on the direct road. This talk led some of them to revolt, and they chose one Pedro de Avila as their captain. They went back to Culiacan, leaving the captain, Diego de Alcaraz, sick in the town of San Hieronimo, with only a small force. He did not have anyone whom he could send after them to compel them to return. They killed a number of people at several villages along the way. Finally they reached Culiacan, where Hernando Arias de Saavedra, who was waiting for Juan Gallego to come back from New Spain with a force, detained them by means of promises, so that Gallego could take them back. Some who feared what might happen to them ran away one night to New Spain. Diego de Alcaraz, who had remained at Suya with a small force, sick, was not able to hold his position, although he would have liked to, on account of the poisonous herb which the natives use. When these noticed how weak the Spaniards were, they did not continue to trade with them as they formerly had done. Veins of gold had already been discovered before this, but they were unable to work these, because the country was at war. The disturbance was so great that they did not cease to keep watch and to be more than usually careful.

The town was situated on a little river. One night all of a sudden they saw fires which they were not accustomed to, and on this account they doubled the watches, but not having noticed anything
during the whole night, they grew careless along toward morning, and the enemy entered the village so silently that they were not seen until they began to kill and plunder. A number of them reached the plain as well as they could, but while they were getting out the captain was mortally wounded. Several Spaniards came back on some horses after they had recovered themselves and attacked the enemy, rescuing some, though only a few. The enemy went off with the booty, leaving three Spaniards killed, besides many of the servants and more than twenty horses.

"The Spaniards who survived started off the same day on foot, not having any horses. They went forward to Culiacan, keeping away from the roads, and did not find any food until they reached Corazon, where the Indians, like the good friends they have always been, provided them with food. From here they continued to Culiacan, undergoing great hardships. Hernandarias de Saavedra, the mayor, received them and entertained them as well as he could until Juan Gallego arrived with the reinforcements which he was conducting, on his way to find the army."

The attack upon Suya and the abandonment of the town were apparently in December, 1541.*

*To have reached Culiacan by about June 17th, 1542; (a date accounted for, in a footnote) the homeward-bound army must have left Tiguex about March 4th, since the two places were about 410 leagues or 82 days apart. Prior to the latter date Coronado had been making slow recovery from a well-nigh fatal injury; and while he was still sick in bed, — we may say about February 10th, — Cárdenas had gotten back to Tiguex, in flight from Suya the ill-fated Suya. Using this only as a rudely approximate date, and with the same margin of possible error, we find that Cárdenas started from Tiguex about November 19th and reached Suya about December; the journey from either place to the other being about 300 leagues, or 41 days. Juan Gallego, enroute to New Spain, had passed through Suya only a few weeks earlier than the time when Cárdenas found it deserted; and, (as subsequent events, related by Castañeda, show) Gallego had evidently found and left the town still occupied by its garrison of about 40 men. Therefore the abandonment of the town probably took place in December, 1541.

In another chapter, Castañeda relates, "The Captain Juan Gallego, then reached the town of Culiacan with a very small force. There he collected as many as he could of those who had escaped from the town of Hearts, or more correctly, from Suya, which made in all 22 men, (Continued on page 24 A)
and with these he marched through all of the settled country, across which he travelled 200 leagues with the country in a state of war and the people in rebellion, although they had formerly been friendly to the Spaniards, having encounters with the enemy almost every day. * Joined, when he reached the Sonora River, by four or five of the friendly ones from the Indian town of Corazones, he marched up that river, passing in ten days through the settlements, from the valley of Guerra to that of Suyá, and striking them so suddenly and with such fury that they had no time to collect or resist; and especially in the region where the third Spanish town of Hearts (Suyá) had been, he killed and hung a large number of people to punish them for their rebellion.*

From Suyá, Gallego pressed on toward the north, with this small but resolute band, expecting to reach the provinces of Gíbola and Tiguex, and to push on thence to and beyond Quivira, where he hoped that the army was making farther exploration and conquest; for at that time when Gallego had been sent to New Spain for reinforcements, such had been Coronado's plan for the summer campaign of 1542. But in this expectation the brave captain was doomed to disappointment; for the army and its now convalescent though discouraged general were already on their way back to New Spain, and near Chichíllichaltoc met them, and after futile but ineffectual efforts to persuade them to return to the new lands with the reinforcements and supplies that had brought them with such difficulty and danger, at least to form a settlement somewhere in that region until a report could be rendered to the viceroy, such proposals — more or less favored among the gentlemen, but opposed by the soldiers — were at length given up, and the army resumed its march homeward, passing through a region which, for 200 leagues, Gallego had found in rebellion.

Beginning evidently from the upper part of Sonora River near the Suyá valley and then nearly to Matamoros, the hostile natives were more or less aggressive and did to the marching Spaniards such harm as opportunity offered. For Castañeda tells us that "several days before reaching Sonora, the hostile Indians wounded a Spaniard called Mesa;" who "did not die, although the wound of the fresh poison is fatal," his life being saved by an application of quince juice "but the skin rotted and fell off until it left the bones and sinews bare, with a horrible smell. The wound was in the
wrist, and the poison had reached as far as the shoulder when he was cured. The skin on all this fell off." And from Mota Padilla, "Historia del Espanol," book II, chap. XIV, 526 as cited by Winship, we learn that at Señora died one Temino, brother of Baltasar Mendínez, Samuel Batuelos, one of the four miners of Zacatecas; Luis Hernández, Domingo Fernández, and others. And on page 383 of Winship's Translation (i.e. Castañeda) relates that "some of the horses were wounded and killed before Batuco was reached."

With the return of the explorers through the region of Suya and Señora, location of the unfortunate and their arrival at the native village of Batuco, where Coronado was met by some of the ever friendly Indians from the Valley of Hearts, the history of the thrice-founded Spanish "city" of San Hieronimo de los Corazones, was closed.

Resuming now our study of the route by which Coronado on his northward journey had approached the Chichilticalli, we find that Jaramillo, who accompanied him, is our most direct and important authority concerning it.

We introduce here, therefore, the pertinent portions of Jaramillo's account, as translated by Winship, which is as follows:

"Of the Valley of Señora, he says, "It is also irrigated, and the Indians are like the others [that is, like those of the Valley of Hearts] and have the same sort of settlements and food. There are mountains on both sides of them, which are not very fertile."

"From here we went along near this said stream, crossing it where it makes a bend, to another Indian settlement called Ispa," — Coronado's "Arispa," which has become the present Arispe — which Jaramillo tells us "is of the same sort as those we have passed." As Jaramillo also informs us that "it takes one day [about 5 leagues' travel] from the last of these others to this place," it appears that the last Indian settlement passed on Sonora River south of Arispe, was Sinoquipe, and that there was then no settlement where later was the hamlet of Tetuachi.

Following his description of Arispe, Jaramillo continues as follows:

"From here we went through deserted country for about four days to another river, which we heard called Nexpa*, where some poor

*This is probably a Nahuatl name which the Spaniards heard applied to the river by Indians who accompanied them from New Spain and New Galicia. It may have been the Nahuatl rendering of the local-aboriginal name for the same stream. The Bureau of American Republics' map of Mexico (1900) has "Nexpa" as the name of a town in southeastern Guerrero; and D'Anville's North America map (1746) shows a town of "Nexapa" in Oaxaca ("Guaxaca").
of Oaxaca, was in the country of the Zapotec, and in it, while returning from the Mexican capital, died a much-wronged Zapotec king, Cocijo-pij, the last king of Tehuantepec, being the son of the powerful king Cocijo-era by the Mexican princess Palaxilla, (i.e., "cotton flake" in the Zapotec language,) who had been given to Cocijo-era in marriage owing to the need that still existed, for commercial reasons, of allying the Zapotec to the Mexican kings, even after the latter's subjugation of Yoopa (Milla, the city of priests and tombs,) in 1494. Teotzapotlan ("capital of the province of Huaxaca") in MM 1495, and Tehuantepec and other Zapotec cities in years following. In an interesting chapter of his "Wall Paintings of Milla," MM entitled "The Ancient Zapotec Country," MM (pp. 250-265 of the translations made for Mr. Charles P. Bowditch by the Misses Wesselhoeft and Parker, and published in Bulletin 28 of the Bureau of American Ethnology,) Dr. Eduard Seler relates, "The Zapotec submitted unconditionally from the beginning to the Spanish conqueror, turned to him when the Mixtec prince of Tototecpec threatened an attack, and received Cortes with great splendor when he came down as far as Tehuantepec in later years. The Zapotec, nevertheless, very soon became aware of the poor exchange they had made. It was in the territory of the Zapotec that Cortes selected the best lands, the Valle de Oaxaca and the fruitful, well-watered vega of Jalapa, in order to form from them his earldom, his family estate. However, 'Cortes granted a moderate allowance in money (le miro donacion de alguna ayuda de costa)' to the king of Tehuantepec (with which to support the small family which still remained to him); and while the king, who was baptized with the name Don Juan Cortes, built monasteries for the monks with great liberality and furnished them with lands, gardens, fish ponds, etc., the monks seized and imprisoned him because he fell away from the true faith and performed diabolical ceremonies. After long and wearisome processes he was sentenced by the highest court in Mexico to lose his dignities and all his remaining possessions. He died, while returning from Mexico, in Nexapa, just as he had once more set foot on the soil of his former kingdom."

Indians came out to see the general, with presents of little value, with some stalks of roasted maguey and pitahayas. We went down this stream two days, and then left the stream, going toward the right to the foot of the mountain chain in two days' journey, where we heard news of what is called Chichiltic Colli. Crossing the mountains, we came to a deep and reedy river, where we found water and forage for the horses. From this river back to Nexapa, as I have said, it seems to me that the direction was nearly northeast.

As regards Jaramillo's statement that from "Ispa", or Arispe, "we went through deserted country for about four days, to another river which we called Nexpa," whoever will consult Herbert's Mapa Oficial del Estado de Sonora, will, I think, be convinced by the topography of the country on and near the sources of Sonora River, north of Arispe, that the Nexpa could have been no other than the San Pedro.