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## FATHER ESCOBAR'S RELATION OF THE OÑATE EXPEDITION TO CALIFORNIA

(Here made known and published for the first time.)

A serious gap in the documentation of the early history of the Southwest has at last been filled through the discovery of the diary of Father Escobar here published. In 1604 Juan de Oñate, Governor and Adelantado of New Mexico, and founder of the province, made an important expedition from the Río Grande to the Gulf of California. Hitherto our principal source of information regarding the event has been Father Zárate Salmerón's *Relaciones*,<sup>1</sup> written many years after the expedition by a person who did not take part in it. Though Zárate's account bears on its face evidence that it was based on first-hand information, in our ignorance of his source it has manifestly been unsatisfactory.<sup>2</sup> The discovery of an original narrative of the expedition, therefore, is a long step toward placing Oñate's journey on a reliable basis. It adds to our satisfaction to learn that Zárate's account is founded directly on the diary by Escobar, and that our anchor heretofore has been more secure than we knew. It is only fair to say, moreover, that Zárate adds numerous details not given by Escobar, which must have been obtained from eyewitnesses.

Father Escobar's diary came to light recently in the Archivo General de Indias, that vast fountain of information concerning early American history.<sup>3</sup> It is given here in English translation. Its contents will be more intelligible if it is preceded by a brief sketch of Oñate's activities previous to the expedition of which the diary is an account.

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<sup>1</sup> *Relaciones de Todas las cosas que en el Nuevo Mexico se han visto y Savidó, asi por mar como por tierra, desde el año de 1538 hasta el de 1626.* (Printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, tercera serie, Mexico, 1856. Translated by Charles F. Lummis in *Land of Sunshine*, Vols. xi and xii, 1899-1900. The part relating to the California expedition was retranslated and published by Bolton in *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*, pp. 268-280. This version contains portions which Lummis, by oversight, omitted.)

<sup>2</sup> Apparently in 1626.

<sup>3</sup> It is contained in a file of papers entitled: *Carta del Marques de Montesclaros a S. M. Acompaña varias copias.* A. G. I. 58-3-9. Through the Newberry Library a transcript has recently been acquired by the Bancroft Library.

Having been entrusted in 1595 with the conquest of New Mexico, in the summer of 1598, Oñate reached the region of the Pueblo Indians with a colony of some four hundred persons and seven thousand head of stock. In his company he brought eight Franciscan missionaries, led by Fray Alonso Martínez as commissary, to undertake the conversion of the natives.

Headquarters were first fixed at San Juan, and later at San Gabriel.<sup>4</sup> On August 23 a church was begun at San Juan and its completion was celebrated on September 8. Next day a general assembly was held of representatives from all the country thus far explored; rods of office were given to some of the chiefs, and the various pueblos were assigned to the eight Franciscan missionaries, who soon afterwards departed for their respective charges.

The colony having been established and the pueblos having been placed under the friars, Oñate turned his attention to a search for more attractive fields beyond. Three regions especially beckoned to him and tugged at the adventurous spirit within him. These were the Llanos de Cíbola, or Buffalo Plains, Gran Quivira, and California, for the exploration of each of which expeditions were organized, in spite of the Adelantado's slender means.

In the middle of September Oñate sent Vicente de Zaldívar, accompanied by sixty men, to hunt buffalo on the plains to the northeast. Going through Pecos, where they left two missionaries, they continued to a point seventy leagues from San Juan, reaching the Texas Panhandle. Though they failed in their attempt to capture buffalo alive, they obtained a large supply of hides and meat and made the acquaintance of the Vaquero Apaches and of a large stretch of country.

While Zaldívar was away, Oñate, accompanied by the Father Commissary, went southeast and visited the great salines and the Jumano pueblos, then turned west with the intention of going to the South Sea, where Oñate hoped to find wealth in pearls. He made his way to Zuñi, and to the Moqui towns, whence he sent Captain Marcos Farfán with a party of followers to find the

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<sup>4</sup> It has recently been shown that by June, 1601, the Spanish settlement and capital had been moved across the river to San Gabriel, below the junction of the Chama with the Río Grande. BOLTON, *op. cit.*, 203, footnote. In 1609 Santa Fé was founded.

mines discovered by Espejo eighteen years before. Farfán made the journey to Bill Williams Fork, found mineral veins, staked out claims, and brought back detailed reports. In the course of the expedition he visited Jumano Indians near San Francisco Mountains, and the Cruzados further southwest.<sup>5</sup>

In November Juan de Zaldívar followed Oñate, intending to join him in his expedition to the South Sea, but at Ácoma he was killed, with fourteen companions, by the Indians. News of this misfortune reached Oñate while on his way back to San Juan, in December, and in January, 1599, he sent Vicente de Zaldívar to avenge his kinsman's death. After a two days' assault, with hand-to-hand fighting, the Indians surrendered. The official diary laconically adds: "Most of them were killed and punished by fire and bloodshed, and the pueblo was completely laid waste and burned."

A few months later (1599) Vicente de Zaldívar, with twenty-five companions, made a three-months journey in another attempt to reach the South Sea. On the way he had difficulty with the Jumanos, and Oñate found it necessary to go in person with fifty soldiers to punish the offenders. Zaldívar continued his journey till he reached impassable mountains and a hostile tribe, at a point which, he was told, was three days from the sea. Exact data concerning this journey have not yet been acquired. So interested was Oñate now in the project of reaching the South Sea that he planned to go in person with a hundred men and prepared to build vessels. In April, 1601, he was all ready to start, but he changed his plans and went northeast instead.

His goal now was Gran Quivira, to find which he set forth in June (1601). He was accompanied by two friars and more than seventy picked men; he had in his caravan more than seven hundred horses and mules, eight carts, four cannon, and a retinue of servants to carry the baggage. His guide was an Indian named Joseph, who had led Zaldívar to the Llanos de Cíbola and who had accompanied Humañá on a previous expedition to Quivira. Going by way of Galisteo, Oñate crossed the Pecos to the Río de la Madalena (Canadian River). Descending that stream to a great bend 111 leagues from the pueblo of San Gabriel, he

<sup>5</sup> The interesting custom which gave rise to the name "Cruzados" is described below.

continued northeast to a point on the Arkansas River more than 220 leagues from the starting point. Forging the Arkansas, he visited the extensive settlement called Quivira, through which Humaña had passed. It was evidently at Wichita, Kansas. The Quiviras appearing hostile, the journey was now discontinued.<sup>6</sup>

The next two years were for Oñate a time of grave trials. When he returned from Kansas he found that most of his colony had gone back to Mexico, to avoid starvation, as they claimed, but as deserters, Oñate asserted. Just as he was pleading for three hundred additional men, under royal pay, to enable him to continue his explorations, grave charges of mismanagement and misconduct were made against him. He was ruined in fortune and his reputation was under a cloud. The great expectations with which the conquest of New Mexico had been begun had failed to materialize, and the province was already regarded as a "white elephant" on the government's hands. Moreover, just at this moment new interest was attached to California through the successful expedition of Vizcaíno, who returned in 1603 reporting the discovery of Monterey Bay.<sup>7</sup>

It was therefore with the hope of "making a hit" and restoring his prestige that Oñate again set out for the West in 1604. For the undertaking he raised a company of thirty men, most of them raw recruits, says Zárate. With him he took the new Father Commissary, Fray Francisco de Escobar, and Fray Juan de Buenaventura, a lay brother. Escobar, according to Zárate, was a very learned man, with a special gift for languages. That he was an interesting person his own diary attests.

Leaving San Gabriel in October, the party followed in the footsteps of Espejo and Farfán to Bill Williams Fork. Descending that stream to the Colorado they skirted its left bank to the Gulf of California, returning to New Mexico in April, 1605. Oñate had now re-explored practically all of the ground covered by the Coronado and Espejo expeditions and had opened new trails.

On his return to San Gabriel, Oñate set out for Mexico to make

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<sup>6</sup> The foregoing sketch is based on the writer's account, *op. cit.*, 109-206.

<sup>7</sup> This paragraph is based on an unpublished study by the author entitled "The Last Years of Oñate's Rule and the Founding of Santa Fe," written in 1916.

known his success and retrieve his fortunes. Reporting his approach on August 7 from San Bartolomé, he was ordered back to New Mexico by the viceroy. In consequence, he sent Father Escobar forward to the capital, where he made the report here printed. New interest was now aroused in California, and in the "famous port" which Oñate had discovered, but it profited Oñate little, and two years later he resigned, discouraged. It seems quite certain, too, that the reports of the Oñate expedition, which depicted the Gulf as extending indefinitely north, had much to do with restoring the old belief that California was an island.

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### RELATION

No. 12. This is a copy, well and faithfully made, of a Relation which Fray Francisco de Escobar, of the order of San Francisco, and said to be Commissary-General of the provinces of New Mexico, appears to have given and delivered to the Most Excellent Marqués de Montesclaros, viceroy in this New Spain, of a certain exploration and of declarations made by the said Fray Francisco. Its tenor is as follows:

Three hundred and sixty leagues from the City of Mexico toward the north pole, on the banks of a large river called Río del Norte (since it flows toward the south) there are seven or eight provinces or nations of people of different languages, commonly called by the Spaniards "New Mexicans." There must be as many as thirty thousand souls. It is a very poor and cold country, with heavy snows, but is quite habitable for a small number of Spaniards if they have clothing with which to dress, and if they take from the pacified country<sup>9</sup> cattle with which to sustain themselves and cultivate the soil, for the country produces none of these, although cattle taken to it multiply rapidly, though it is too barren to raise great numbers of them.

The people of these provinces are very affable and docile. All are settled in pueblos, which, for Indian habitations, are very convenient, having many good *estufas* in each pueblo, which, with little fire, are very warm, and wherein they pass the cold and snows of winter.<sup>10</sup> Their dress consists of *mantas* of cotton, which they make in these pueblos, and of white and very well dressed buckskins, of which they have enough for their mode of living, for they are content with little. But they have far from enough to give them as tribute to the

<sup>9</sup> *Tierra de paz*, meaning conquered or settled country, as distinguished from the unsubdued frontier.

<sup>10</sup> *Estufas* were primarily ceremonial chambers, but it is noticeable that nearly all of the early Spanish chroniclers who had been in New Mexico regarded them as being designed in part to afford protection from the cold. Their opinion was, no doubt, founded on careful observation. Escobar, for example, had been in New Mexico many months and had been in most intimate contact with the Indians when he wrote the above.

Spaniards,<sup>11</sup> and this burden is so heavy for them that many desert their pueblos during the time for the collection of this tribute, and for this reason the amount collected is very small, although it is a great impediment to their conversion. If they were relieved of this tribute, and there were interpreters to preach to them and teach them our Holy Faith, I believe that most of them would receive it readily, but it will be with no little difficulty if the collection of tribute is continued. It is very harmful to them and of so little consequence to the Spaniards that, although collected each year, they suffer extreme nakedness, and that those who may have to live in these provinces, escorting the ministers of the Gospel, will be in no way able to forego the necessary aid of clothing to dress and protect themselves, and of cattle for food and to work and cultivate their farms and fields.

The Indians of this country plant maize, which is their ordinary food, and also frijoles and calabashes.<sup>12</sup> In the winter they use skins or hides of the buffalo, tanned and very well dressed, with very soft hair, which are brought to these provinces to exchange for cornmeal and cotton *mantas*, by the Indians who come with the buffalo,<sup>13</sup> and who live customarily in tents or portable houses made of the same hides.<sup>14</sup> Their ordinary pack-animals are dogs,<sup>15</sup> which they drive along the roads loaded.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Twenty-five years later Father Benavides wrote: "The tribute which the Indians pay them is for each house one *manta*, which is one *vara* of cotton cloth, and one *anega* of corn each year, wherewith the needy Spaniards maintain themselves." Ayer, Hodge, and Lummis, *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides*, p. 23. A *vara* is 33 inches, or a little less than a yard. A *fanega* varied at the time from a bushel and a half to two bushels and a half.

<sup>12</sup> *Calavasas*, variously used for pumpkins, squashes, or gourds.

<sup>13</sup> *Vacas de Cibola*, literally, Cibola cattle.

<sup>14</sup> The following description of the tents of these Indians of the plains is given by Vicente de Zaldívar, in a report of his journey to the east in 1598: "He camped for the night at that river, and on the following day, on his way back to the camp, he found a ranchería in which there were fifty tents made of tanned hides, very bright red and white in color and bell-shaped, with flaps and openings, and built as skilfully as those of Italy and so large that in the most ordinary ones four different mattresses and beds were easily accommodated. The tanning is so fine that although it should rain bucketfuls it will not pass through nor stiffen the hide, but rather upon drying it remains as soft and pliable as before. This being so wonderful, he wanted to experiment, and, cutting off a piece of hide from one of the tents, it was soaked and placed to dry in the sun, but it remained as before, and as pliable as if it had never been wet. The *sargento mayor* bartered for a tent and brought it to this camp, and although it was so very large, as has been stated, it did not weigh over two *arrobas*." Zaldívar, "Account of the Discovery of the Buffalo," in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 226-227.

<sup>15</sup> Zaldívar gives the following description of the dog teams, or *travois*, of these Indians. "To carry this load, the poles that they use to set it up, and a knapsack of meat and their *pinole*, or maize, the Indians use a medium-sized shaggy dog, which is their substitute for mules. They drive great trains of them. Each, girt round its breast and haunches, and carrying a load of flour of at least one hundred pounds, travels as fast as his master. It is a sight worth seeing and very laughable to see them traveling, the ends of the poles dragging on the ground, nearly all of them snarling in their encounters, traveling one after another on their journey. In order to load them the Indian women seize their heads between their knees and thus load them, or adjust the load, which is seldom required, because they travel along at a steady gait as if they had been trained by means of reins." *Ibid.*, p. 227.

<sup>16</sup> Everything to this point is omitted from Zárate's account.

From these provinces of New Mexico their Governor and Adelantado, Juan de Oñate, set forth on October 7 of the year 1604 with thirty soldiers, to discover the South Sea or Gulf of California. I went in his company, being commissary of the religious who were in the said provinces. Having journeyed fifty<sup>17</sup> leagues almost directly west, we arrived at the province of Cuñi, which contains six pueblos,<sup>18</sup> four of them being almost destroyed, although all are inhabited. The largest and chief one is called by the Spaniards Scibola, and the Indians know it by this name, although in their own language it is called Hauico.<sup>19</sup> All the pueblos together contain less than three hundred inhabited houses.<sup>20</sup> The people are very affable and tractable. They take to their houses and pueblos the Spaniards who pass through this province, and with great pleasure and affability serve and feed them with the foods which they possess. These consist of maize, frijoles, hares, and rabbits, in which the country greatly abounds.<sup>21</sup> They clothe or cover themselves with buckskins, and in winter with buffalo hides, which they carry from the provinces where the Spaniards now are; but what they use most commonly are *mantas*, which they make from a small palm, netted, like *ystea*<sup>22</sup> in New Spain or hemp in Spain, but not so strong. The houses in which they live are excellent, for Indians, all being of stone, and there being very good *estufas* in each pueblo for the cold of the winter, which is very severe.

Having journeyed about twenty leagues almost northwest, we reached the province of Moqui, a country as poor and cold as the province of Cuñi or as those of New Mexico. It has five pueblos only, four of them being half destroyed and in ruins. Altogether they have less than five hundred inhabited houses.<sup>23</sup> The people are very friendly toward the Spaniards when they pass through this province, serving and feeding them with great pleasure and friendliness. Judging from what is exhibited by the Indians living in these pueblos, they plant and gather much maize and have more than those of the province of Cuñi. They also plant frijoles, calabashes, and cotton, of which they make *mantas*, coloring<sup>24</sup> them better than in other provinces, though the best *mantas*.

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<sup>17</sup> Zárate says sixty leagues. *Ibid.*, p. 268.

<sup>18</sup> Zárate adds that in all six pueblos "there are no more than three hundred terraced houses of many stories, like those of New Mexico." "Journey of Oñate to California by Land," in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, p. 268.

<sup>19</sup> Hawikuh. See Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, I, p. 539.

<sup>20</sup> Zárate says "three hundred houses of many stories." "Journey of Oñate to California," in Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

<sup>21</sup> Zárate says "more inhabited by hares and rabbits than by Indians." *Ibid.*, p. 268.

<sup>22</sup> *Iztlí*. Zárate, *ibid.*, p. 268.

<sup>23</sup> Zárate, writing twenty years later, says "four hundred and fifty." *Ibid.*, p. 268.

<sup>24</sup> Here Zárate adds a paragraph on colors, but leaves out most of Escobar's descriptive matter, as well known in his day. *Ibid.*, p. 269.



of this land are coarse, and these, together with very well tanned buckskins, and in the winter with buffalo skins, constitute the clothing with which they cover or clothe themselves. There is very little wood and less water. In all this province there are very good *estufas* in each pueblo, so that with little fuel they are very warm all winter. The houses are not so good as those of the province of Cufi, but are not very bad for their mode of life. Moreover, in this province, as in all the rest, they use no temples for their worship, although some houses in which they live have been seen to be dedicated to their ceremonies and worship, and to have in them some little idols of stone or wood, with figures of little animals, simple and ill-shaped, according to what I have been able to gather. I do not think that these houses are much frequented, nor by everybody, but only by the principal and oldest Indians.

Ten leagues from this province toward the west we arrived at a river called San Joseph,<sup>25</sup> because on its banks that feast was celebrated. At this point it runs from southeast to northwest. It is a river with dense groves, but does not carry much water except in the season when the snows melt, which is between March and June or July, during which time I should think one could take by this river to the Gulf of California and the Port or Bay of the Conversion,<sup>26</sup> many planks and beams, from some great pine forests which are not far from the stream. From the forests to the sea it must be more than one hundred and twenty leagues,<sup>27</sup> more or less, for I am sure that this river empties into another large one which enters the Port of the Conversion, of which I shall treat farther on.

Seventeen leagues from this river toward the West we reached another called San Antonio.<sup>28</sup> It ran from north to south between great mountain chains. From this stream onward the country is more temperate and warmer, and has plentiful pasturage and water. The river does not carry much water, although it runs all the year. It had many good fish.

Five leagues from this river toward the West we saw another as large as it and with as many fish. It is called the Sacramento. It ran from northwest to southeast along the skirts of a high range whence the Spaniards have obtained many copper ores from some mines discovered by Antonio de Espejo.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Zárate says San José or Colorado, and adds: "They called it thus because the water is nearly red." *Ibid.*, p. 269.

<sup>26</sup> The Gulf of California. See below.

<sup>27</sup> Zárate says that "from here to where it empties into the sea there are more than a hundred leagues of pine forests." *Ibid.*, p. 269. This is not what Escobar says and is not exactly true to fact.

<sup>28</sup> Zárate states that before reaching the San Antonio River they crossed a "range of pine forest which was eight leagues across, on whose southern slope runs the San Antonio River, seventeen leagues distant from San José." *Ibid.*, p. 269. The San Antonio was clearly a western branch of the Río Verde of today.

<sup>29</sup> This point, adding new light on Espejo's journey, is omitted by Zárate. The latter, on the other hand, adds a description of the region of the Sacramento River. *Ibid.*, pp. 269-270.

In this country there are Indians whom the Spaniards call Cruzados,<sup>30</sup> from crosses made of cane which most of them wear on their foreheads. The origin of this custom is not known, but is thought to have come from Christians,<sup>31</sup> for when there are Spaniards in their country they wear them more commonly. The people are very friendly amongst themselves. They neither plant nor harvest maize nor frijoles, but live on the flesh of deer and wild sheep, for they have the skins of deer and the heads and horns of sheep, although the horns of the latter are very disproportionate in size. Of these there are many in this country, and of deer, from whose skins they make buckskin, with which all the men and women clothe themselves, for it constitutes their ordinary dress. They also eat maguey, tunas, mesquite, and a little fruit which grows on the cedars, of which there are great forests.<sup>32</sup>

We traveled ten or twelve leagues along the banks of this river to its source;<sup>33</sup> and having journeyed from there almost sixteen leagues west, we came to another river, which was called San Andres,<sup>34</sup> because it was discovered on that day. It runs toward the west between the high and very rough ranges, which are bare and without vegetation, all being almost bald rock. This may be due to the heat of the summer, which, judging from the appearance of the country, is great. Ordinarily the river does not carry water, except for short distances, where it bursts or gushes out from the sand, although it shows signs of great freshets.<sup>35</sup> From this river onward the country has a different climate, for it does not snow and has no manner of cold, nor did we feel any, although it was midwinter, being in the month of December.

Traveling along this river, almost always in its bed, for its banks were almost all of rocky cliffs, we arrived, after traveling twenty leagues,<sup>36</sup> at another river,

<sup>30</sup> The Yavapai.

<sup>31</sup> Zárate, writing twenty years later, adds: "The origin of this custom was not known at that time; subsequently it has been learned that many years ago there traveled through that land a religious of my father San Francisco, who told them that if at any time they should see men bearded and white, in order that they might not molest or injure them they should put on these crosses, as a thing esteemed by them. They remembered it so well that they have not forgotten it." *Ibid.*, p. 270.

<sup>32</sup> Zárate adds: "The men are well featured and noble; the women are handsome, with beautiful eyes, and are affectionate. These Indians said that the sea was distant from there twenty days' journey, such as they travel, which are calculated at about five leagues. It is to be noted that none of these nations was caught in a lie. They also said that two days' journey beyond there was a river of little water [Bill Williams Fork] by which they went to a very large one which enters the sea [the Colorado] and on whose banks there was a nation called Amacava [Mohave], and, a short distance beyond, many nations who plant and gather maize, beans, and gourds." *Ibid.*, p. 270. The Yavapai women are still noted for their good looks.

<sup>33</sup> The account here is more precise than the summary of it given by Zárate, who does not state that the journey was along the river. *Ibid.*, p. 270. Their distances likewise disagree.

<sup>34</sup> The main stream of Bill Williams Fork.

<sup>35</sup> The details contained in the last two sentences are omitted by Zárate. He, on the other hand, mentions the *pitahayas* of the Colorado.

<sup>36</sup> Zárate says twenty-four leagues. *Ibid.*, p. 271.

large like the Duero in Spain. It was named Río de Buena Esperanza, because we reached it on the day of the expectation or hope of the most happy parturition of the Virgin Mary, our Lady.<sup>37</sup> Where it joins the San Andres it flows from northwest to southeast, and from here turns northeast-southwest<sup>38</sup> to the sea or Gulf of California, bearing on either side high ranges, between which it forms a very wide river bottom, all densely populated by people on both sides of the river, clear to the sea, which seemed to me fifty leagues from there, a very little more or less, during all of which distance the river appeared to be navigable, according to men who understand navigation and as was inferred from its very gentle current.

The first nation of people whom we saw on this river was called Amacava.<sup>39</sup> We found them very friendly. They gave us maize, frijoles, and calabashes, which is the ordinary food of all the people of their river, and which they plant in all its bottom lands; but it did not seem to me that they had a great abun-

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<sup>37</sup> The stream was the Colorado River. Zárate adds the statement that at its mouth the stream was called Río del Tizón.

<sup>38</sup> "Northeast" has become "northwest" in the Zárate account as printed.

<sup>39</sup> Zárate adds two very interesting paragraphs at this point, recounting incidents which may have been related to him by members of the party, or, perhaps, traditions which may have grown up in the course of twenty years. Zárate's account at this point is so different from Escobar's that it is inserted here. It is as follows: "The next day after having arrived, the adelantado sent Captain Gerónimo Márquez with four soldiers up the river to discover this nation of the Amacavas Indians. In a short time he brought two Indians, whom the adelantado regaled and sent to call the rest. They said that they would do it and that they would bring something to eat. On the day following, as the adelantado saw the Indians were making loads, he ordered that twelve soldiers should prepare to go to the settlement for provisions; but before the soldiers went, there arrived more than forty Indians loaded with maize, beans, and gourds. Then arose an Indian who was called Curraca, which in their language means Lord, and made a long speech, giving to understand, as was supposed, that he was pleased to have seen the Spaniards and that he desired their friendship.

"Here was heard the first news of the Lake of Copalla, whence they suppose the Mexicans set out who settled this New Spain. They described this lake and land and all its banks as densely populated. An Indian said Copalla very plainly and Captain Gerónimo Márquez told me that, hearing those Indians talk to a Mexican Indian, servant of a soldier, one of them asked, Whence comes this man? Is he perhaps from Copalla? because those from there talk thus. And those Indians also said that those of that language wore bracelets of gold on the wrists and on the fleshy part of the arms and in their ears, and that from there they were fourteen days' journey, of those which they traveled. They pointed to this language between west and northwest. The Indians also said that the Spaniards could travel by this river bottom all the way to the sea, and that it was ten days' journey, of those which they travel, and that it was all populated. This river can be navigated.

"They set out from here and traveled five leagues without seeing Indians, because the mountain was very rough and the road narrow and steep; but beyond this narrow pass there is a wide river bottom, very thickly settled. Here as many Indians came out with food to receive the Spaniards as in the last ranchería. They are of the same nation. Being asked about the sea they said that down the river it was nine days'

dance of maize, and I attribute this to their laziness, for the very spacious bottoms appeared to offer opportunity to plant much more, and for fields and Spaniards, although it had very little grass for cattle, since all the mountains and hills are bald, there being no grass except in the river bottom and not everywhere there. These Indians also obtain much food from mesquite, with which the entire bottom is covered, and from the seeds of grass which they gather in great quantity, which does not argue a great abundance of maize. Although we saw many and large corn patches, they were small in proportion to the large population.

Adjacent to this nation there is another on this same river called Bahacecha.<sup>40</sup> They speak a somewhat different language, although the difference, being slight, is no impediment, the dealings and communication between them being as if they were of the same language. As a people they are as friendly and tractable as the Amacava, if not more so. They welcomed us with great affability and pleasure, giving us of their slender stock of provisions in all the rancherías through which we passed, a great multitude of Indians, men, women, and children, accompanying us on the roads, with a desire to see guests never seen before, because one ranchería was not far from another of their own nation.<sup>41</sup>

The people of these two nations and of all this river are very fine looking and of good disposition, tall in stature, and well made. The custom among all the people who live along this river in regard to clothing is to wear none, but to go naked from the sole of the foot to the top of the head, the women merely covering their loins with two handfuls of grass or with twists of grass ready to hand,

journey, but if they crossed the river it was only four. This river they kept on the north and they traveled toward the northwest. It did not seem proper to the adelantado to leave off following the river down stream, so he continued, traveling through its bottom lands, seeing always many Indians, asking all of them about the sea, which they now knew was called 'acilla,' and all answered pointing to the west, northwest, north, northeast, and east, saying that thus the sea curved, and was rather near, for they said that from the other side of the river it was only four days' journey, and that that Gulf of California is not closed, but is an arm of the sea which corresponds to the North Sea and coast of Florida. All the Indians of this river are comely and good-featured; and the women are handsome, and whiter than those of New Spain, being people of whom the men go naked and the women in skins, having the loins covered. Always when these Indians travel they carry a lighted firebrand in the hand, for which I think it should be called Tizon River. Thus declared a soldier of this journey who had gone with Sebastian Vizcaino to California; he said that he went in search of the Tizon River, and I believe that had he reached it he would not have returned, as he did, for lack of food, because there is much here." "Journey of Oñate to California by Land," in BOLTON, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 271-273.

<sup>40</sup> Bandelier regarded this tribe as either a branch of the Mohave or of the Hualapais. Arch. Inst. of Am. Papers, III, p. 110.

<sup>41</sup> Zárate adds some details here, and has some variations. He describes the dwellings of the Bahacechas, and recounts an interview with chief Cohota, who welcomed the Spanish party, and whose village was passed before Otata's was reached. Some of the reports ascribed by Escobar to chief Otata are ascribed by Zárate to Cohota.

without taking the trouble to cover any other part of the body. All wear their hair loose, and reaching only to the shoulders. This shelterless costume is possible because the country is not cold, for we did not feel cold during the whole time we were there, which was during the heart of winter. The language appeared to me easy, with no difficulties of pronunciation.

A principal Indian of this nation of Bahacecha, for he who is greatest among them is very unimportant and his occupations do not differ from those of the rest, told us, and after him many others of this river, we having shown him a coral, that they procured this substance not far from there, toward the south, and that the Indians extracted it from the sand during low tide. The Governor found some among the Indians of this river, and more in the province of Suñi when we returned, because the Indians who live toward the coral coast deal more with those of this latter province than with those of Buena Esperanza River. The corals are not fine. I do not know whether or not the reason is that this sea contains no finer, or whether those which the Indians bring are unseasonably cut by the waves, for they say that when they extract them from the sand they are already broken because the sea ejects them.

We learned also from this Indian, and from many others, by showing him some buttons of silver or iron, that, not far from here toward the west, five of their day's journeys, which are not more than five or six leagues each, this metal was to be found; and they said the same when they were shown a spoon made of silver, of which metal they declared they made large bowls in which they cooked meat, placing them on the fire, over the flames and coals. Placing in that way a plate of silver which we showed them, they declared that the bowls were like that, but larger and deeper; that they had the same sound as the plate; and that they would not break when thrown on the ground, and were not of clay like the bowls and jugs from which they eat. They gave us to understand that they dug this metal from a mountain on the other shore of the sea in front of an island<sup>42</sup> five days from where we were, toward which they pointed in the west, and to which they go in canoes or pirogues, whose form and shape they indicated on the ground.<sup>43</sup> They gave us to understand that the bowls

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<sup>42</sup> Zárate calls the island Ziñogaba. He does not mention the mountain in front of the island.

<sup>43</sup> Zárate adds: "To this island one goes by sea in canoes or boats, and since from the coast there it is only one day's sail, they set out in the morning and are there before sunset. They showed on the ground the size of the boat, drawing a line on the ground; he commenced to measure, and the boat was seventy feet long and twenty wide. On asking them if the boat carried a sail in the middle, the Indian took a stick and put it in the middle of the boat which he had drawn, with an Indian at the stern, making as if he managed the rudder. He then took a cloth and, stretching out his arms on the stick that he had set up, started to run as fast as he could, saying that thus the others ran through the water, and much faster. It is certain that if the Indians had not seen it they would not know how to draw it so perfectly. They said also that the inhabitants of that island all wear around the neck and in the ears pearl shells, which they call *xicullo*. They also told of an instrument with which they

were hollowed by digging out the bar and not by beating it, which caused me to fear that the metal of which they make them was tin, for the method of cutting and making them, according to my opinion, argues both great abundance and softness in the metal. There was the Indian who even told me that the metals of this island were like this, or that he had seen in it some of this metal, even though not all were like it. This is a sign that there was great abundance of it, from which it is to be suspected that it is tin, although all the Indians of this nation of Bahacecha declared it to be the same as the silver plates, and to have the same sound, and that they placed the bowls on the fire to cook meat in, all of which leave me in great doubt as to whether it may be tin or silver, a doubt which will be removed only by sight of the metal, if there is any, as so many Indians declare. They called this metal *naño querro*.<sup>44</sup>

We also learned from the same Indian chief who told us the foregoing, and who was called Otata, that near there, at a distance of nine or ten days' journey, there was a lake on whose banks lived people who wore on their wrists yellow manacles or bracelets, which they made us understand, from *punsones*<sup>45</sup> of gold and of brass which we showed them.<sup>46</sup> Putting them on and wearing them on the wrists or arms, they said they were the same as that metal which those Indians wore on the wrists, and afterwards two old Indians asserted the same. When shown a small bar of brass they gave us to understand that the other metal was darker and that they called it *anopacha*, which name afterwards other Indians, who were three or four and more leagues distant from these, gave to a little brass watch which I carried, without being asked any questions at the time about this matter, from which it is clearly to be inferred that there is yellow metal in this country. Indeed, there is a name common in all the nation which signifies this yellow metal, but only among the Indians of the Bahacecha and Amacava nations, for when I asked about it of the other Indians whom we saw on the same river nearer the sea, they could tell me nothing about it, either because they did not understand me or did not know it. But in Bahacecha and Amacava there were so many who said it that they almost convinced me beyond doubt that there are both yellow and white metal in the country, although it is not certain whether or not the yellow may be gold and the white silver, for of this I have very grave doubts.

Having passed this nation of Bahacecha, whose ranchería extends seven or eight leagues<sup>47</sup> along the river bottom, on both banks, we arrived at another large river, which, though smaller than the Buena Esperanza, reached the

make the sound when they dance. It is a long stick from which are pendant many pieces of that metal of which they make dishes from which they eat; and, making a great noise, they dance in pairs to the sound." "Journey of Oñate to California by Land," in BOLTON, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, p. 274.

<sup>44</sup> *Naño querro*. Zárate, *ibid.*, p. 273.

<sup>45</sup> *Punzón*, "The ring and shaft of a key worn on the flap of the coat-pocket by gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the King of Spain." VELAZQUEZ, *A New Pronouncing Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages*. Part I, p. 526.

<sup>46</sup> By Zárate this incident is told of Cohota, before Otata was reached. Zárate. *op. cit.*, p. 273.

<sup>47</sup> An important detail omitted by Zárate.

saddle-pads of the horses. It was called *Nombre de Jhezus*.<sup>48</sup> This river joins the Buena Esperanza from the southeast twenty leagues above the sea. Above the junction, the River Buena Esperanza makes a turn of four or five leagues from north to south, because of a mountain chain which it cuts through.

Near this river there were four or five *rancherías* (for because the houses of all this river are *ranchos* I call its settlements *rancherías*) of people of a different language, from whom I learned that a continuous settlement extended all along the River *Nombre de Jesus* already mentioned, and that they planted maize, frijoles, and calabashes like the *Amacavas* and *Bahacechas*, and made *mantas* of cotton, some of which I saw, which are stitched like those of the provinces of New Mexico. The people or nation of the river of *Nombre de Jesus* are called *Osera*,<sup>49</sup> and from words which I learned from them I suspect (though having learned only a few I do not affirm it positively) them to be *Tepeguanes*, for seeing in the villa of *Sonbrerete*<sup>50</sup> a religious who was a *Tepeguane* interpreter, I learned that the dress of the *Tepeguanes* was the same as those of *Osera*; and I saw likewise that they agreed in the two or three words which I remembered,<sup>51</sup> for, having found these Indians less friendly, and more importunate and more ill-favored than any of those who lived on the River of Buena Esperanza, I learned fewer words of their language than of the *Amacava*.

The costume of the women of this nation of *Ocara* was the same as that of those encountered heretofore. That of the men differed only in the hair, which these wear very long, tied with a maguey cord twisted round the head.<sup>52</sup> Otherwise they go naked like all the rest. Near the *rancherías* of these last, twenty or more horses were left, since there was good grass for grazing, in order that they might make up for the lack of it which they had suffered, and that they might be able to return to the provinces of New Mexico; but when we returned from the sea we found that the Indians had killed and eaten thirteen of them.<sup>53</sup> We had almost certain evidence that they and no others were the guilty ones, although they denied it in great fear, and unanimously placed the blame on others; and we were forced under the circumstances to bear the loss in patience, since they inflicted it on us at the time when no one was rude in our presence, and when it was considered unnecessary to watch the horse-herd at night, as was true from the time when we set out from the provinces of New Mexico until we returned, so great was the friendliness of the Indians.

From the river of *Nombre de Jesus* to the sea, which I have said is twenty leagues, the river bottom appeared wider, the mesquite groves thicker, and the people much more numerous than heretofore, but of the same nation, with now and then a different one, although in dealings and communication the differ-

<sup>48</sup> This stream was, of course, the Gila River.

<sup>49</sup> Given as *Ozaras* by Zárate, p. 275. In Kino's time, a century later, the lower Gila River was inhabited by the *Cocomaricopas*, farther up, by the *Pimas*, and near the head, by the *Apaches*. The *Oseras* were probably the *Cocomaricopas*, or *Mari-copas*.

<sup>50</sup> A city in the state of *Zacatecas*.

<sup>51</sup> This comparison of *Oseras* with the *Tepeguanes* is omitted by Zárate.

<sup>52</sup> Zárate adds that they wore their hair braided.

<sup>53</sup> This incident is omitted by Zárate.

ence was very slight, all having the same dress, the same friendliness, disposition, and nice courtesy as those of Amacava and Bahacecha. Like those encountered heretofore, they plant maize, calabashes, and beans, and gather much mesquite, and the river bottom is as good for Spanish crops. It appeared as fertile, but the land was also as devoid of grass and the hills and mountains as bald. It was impossible to determine whether the country had rain for the crops. We only saw many corn patches, none of them being irrigated. The river has some branches which all the year carry water, and from which, if the rain should fail, irrigating ditches might be constructed.<sup>54</sup>

The first settlement which we saw beyond the River Nombre de Jesus was called Alebdoma.<sup>55</sup> I learned from an Indian that it had eight rancherías,<sup>56</sup> not all of which could be seen, although all were in the bottom lands of the river. The first and largest of these eight rancherías had one hundred and sixty houses. I judged it to have two thousand souls, and the whole settlement, with its eight rancherías, as many as four or five thousand.

Following this there is another settlement called Coguana.<sup>57</sup> It has nine rancherías, all within a short distance. We saw some of them, and although we did not see them all we saw many people from all of them, who came to visit us. This settlement had another five thousand souls.

Near this is another settlement called Agalle. It had five rancherías,<sup>58</sup> and near it there was another called Agalequamaya,<sup>59</sup> with six rancherías. These two settlements contained another four or five thousand souls.

Two leagues beyond this we saw another settlement called Cocapa. It extends to the sea, or to the place reached by the salt water, which enters the river from the sea some four or five leagues. This settlement has nine rancherías, and appeared to me the largest of all. We saw only two of the rancherías, one of which must have had a full thousand souls and the other less than five hundred.

It appeared to me that the entire population of the Cocapa would reach five or six thousand souls, because while we were there so many Indians assembled to see us that all judged them to exceed three thousand souls, whereas it seemed to me that there were no more than sixty women among them and very few

<sup>54</sup> This paragraph is omitted by Zárate.

<sup>55</sup> Halchedoma in Zárate's account, p. 276. The tribes from the Gila to the Gulf were of Yuman stock.

<sup>56</sup> In this passage Zárate uses the word *pueblo* where Escobar says *ranchería*. *Ibid.*, p. 276.

<sup>57</sup> *Coguana* in Zárate's account. They were the Cuchan, or Yuma proper. *Ibid.*, p. 276. Zárate adds: "A great many of these went along with the Spaniards. There must have been more than six hundred men and women. They camped for the night with the Spaniards." *Ibid.*, p. 276.

<sup>58</sup> Zárate says *Haglli*, and that it had "one hundred pueblos." This number must be a mistake due to some corruption of the document. *Ibid.*, p. 276. Regarded as part of the Halliguamayas (HODGE, *Handbook*, I, p. 520.)

<sup>59</sup> *Talliquamallas* with six pueblos, according to Zárate. *Ibid.*, p. 276. These people are regarded as the Quigyumas. (HODGE, *Handbook*, II, p. 340). The Cocapa, mentioned below, are still so-called.



children, while from the *rancherías* farther back there were only seven Indians who had come with us as guides, for being two or three leagues from those farther back, and through fear of hostile Indians, as were all those of the other side of the river, who in that uninhabited forest might come out to kill them, those of the *rancherías* behind did not dare to go forward with us as hitherto had been the case, for there had been days when more than three hundred persons went with us along the roads.<sup>60</sup>

It seemed to me that the settlements and *rancherías* of people whom we saw on the river Buena Esperanza would number more than thirty<sup>61</sup> thousand souls, not counting those of the other bank of the river, who were hostile. Because they were hostile they did not cross over to see us. We heard that there were many people on the Río de Ocera and the Indians of this river told us of eighteen or twenty *rancherías*, all called by their names.<sup>62</sup> These are the ones who live toward the coral coast and who profit by the corals.

After having passed all these nations and all these settlements or *rancherías*, by whom we were welcomed with great friendliness and joy, being given in all of them maize, frijoles and calabashes (not great in amount nor in proportion to the great multitude of the people nor to our needs until we returned to the province of Moqui, for it was necessary to eat seven or eight horses before we arrived there on our way back),<sup>63</sup> on the day of the Conversion of the Glorious Apostle St. Paul, we arrived with great joy at the sea or Gulf of California, where we saw, according to the declaration of seamen, the finest bay, or port (for it is called by both names) which any of them ever had seen.<sup>64</sup> We called it the Port of the Conversion, since it was discovered on that day. It is formed by the Buena Esperanza River, where it enters the sea, with a mouth three or four leagues wide, according to the statements of the seamen who with me saw it. The mouth of the river is divided into two by a small isle which is in the middle, and is a league and a half or two leagues long. It runs from southeast to northwest, and provides a fine shelter for the bay, leaving each mouth a league and a half or two leagues wide. The island seemed to be of clay, which is the case with all the beach or coast of the bay. In it there are neither pebbles nor sand, nor reef, nor any sign of them. The bay appeared to be of good depth, even close to the shore. The Buena Esperanza River enters the sea from west to east, by the skirt of a mountain chain which runs toward the sea almost from north to south, or from north-north-west to south-southeast. A spur of the mountain chain enters the bay about six leagues farther inland. It ends in three points, low and round, the last higher than the other two. Beyond these, toward the land side, there is a

<sup>60</sup> Most of this paragraph is omitted by Zárate.

<sup>61</sup> Zárate says twenty thousand. *Op. cit.*, p. 277.

<sup>62</sup> By Zárate this item is transferred to the account of the Ocera tribe, above. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

<sup>63</sup> Omitted by Zárate.

<sup>64</sup> According to Zárate only Oñate, the two friars, and nine soldiers descended to the sea at first, having left the rest in camp at the head of salt water. Later the rest descended. Zárate adds here: "So large is this port that more than a thousand vessels can anchor in it without hindrance to one another." *Ibid.*, pp. 277-278.

more elevated point, after which the mountain chain forms a spur which runs more than twenty leagues north-northwest, south-southeast, from which separately one may judge how the mountain chain enters the sea. On this coast the sea runs east and west, and makes a turn behind this mountain chain toward the north and northwest according to the assertions of the Indians, none of whom knows its terminus.<sup>65</sup>

Among the Indians of this coast there were found many white shells, and others green, of various shades, from which some of the Indians to whom we put questions said that they were accustomed to obtain large pearls, but we were unable to find any of them among the Indians, although the Governor made great efforts to do so.<sup>66</sup>

When we returned from the sea and had reached the Vacecha nation, where the Indian chief, called Otata, had told us of the islet containing the silver or tin which they told us were there, and of the yellow metal of which the Indians of the Laguna made bracelets, he and many others reaffirmed the same things which

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<sup>65</sup> While Zárate's description of the harbor is taken from Escobar, the language is quite different, and in some places it helps us to understand this passage. *Ibid.*, p. 277. Zárate adds interesting items regarding the ceremony of taking possession, and gives other data regarding the stay at the Gulf, as follows:

"The adelantado, Don Juan de Oñate, took possession of this port in the name of his Majesty, and gave possession in his Majesty's name to the Father Commissary, Fray Francisco de Escobar, in order that our sacred religion may settle and people the land and the others next to it and round about, and that we may occupy ourselves in the conversion of the natives in the place and places most suited to our mode of life.

"We took this possession on the 25th of the month of January, day of the conversion of the Apostle St. Paul, patron of those provinces and of the Custodia of New Mexico, in the year of our Lord, 1605, for the glory and honor of God our Lord.

"This done, the adelantado and those who had gone with him returned to the camp, in order that the rest of the soldiers might go and certify to the sea. They did so, the space of four days being spent therein. Some soldiers stated that they had seen tunny-fish, and that they knew them because they were men from Spain. Having seen this, they came back by the same way they had gone, being as well received by the Indians and with the same hospitality as when going." "Journey of Oñate to California by Land," in BOLTON, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, p. 278.

<sup>66</sup> This paragraph is omitted by Zárate, but he adds a paragraph regarding the return visit to the Oceras which Escobar omits entirely. It is as follows: "Having arrived among the Ozaras Indians, as they had already inquired of the other nations, and all had said that this nation is very extensive and runs along the coast, and that these are the ones who get from the sea the coral which they call *quacame*, they made inquiry and found a few. They said that since they were a long distance from the coast they did not have many; but further up the Buena Esperanza River, among Indians of this same nation, a few more were found, and in the province of Zuñi still more were found and bartered for. They said the Indians of the valleys of Señora [Sonora] brought them there to sell; and that they are no more than seven days' journey from there, and that they get them out of the sea, and are not far from there; and that this nation extends to that place. This sea they pointed out toward the south and southwest. Father Fray Francisco de Escobar found that from the

they formerly had told us, without any contradictions,<sup>67</sup> although it had been more than forty days since they had first told us, there being added the testimony of many other Indians, who affirmed it anew, some of whom were nearer the island and who had come to see us. They are seen to be of different language and costume, are friends of the Vahacecha, and know their language.

This Indian Otata also told us of all the people who live on the Buena Esperanza River, clear up to its source, showing this to be close to the sea, toward the northwest, as did many others likewise, all asserting that the Gulf of California makes this complete turn. He told us also of the people who live between the Buena Esperanza River and the sea, making a drawing of the country on a piece of paper, on which he indicated many nations of people so monstrous that I will make bold to affirm them with no little fear of being discredited through not having seen them, which I was unable to do, on account of the lack of men and horses, and particularly of supplies, which the Governor experienced, and on account of the little or no grass which the country promised, so that for horses so weak and worn out as were most of those which we had, the enterprise appeared almost impossible, and that to hope to achieve it with such lack of means appeared no little temerity; and although to some it must appear temerity for me to recount things so monstrous and never seen in our times (nor even in the past if it is remembered that they have been seen always by witnesses so far away that the door is always left open for each one to believe what he pleases), nevertheless, I make bold to relate what I have heard stated to a great multitude

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province of New Mexico to the sea, on the road alone, there were ten different languages. This priest was so able and had so fine a memory that wherever he went he promptly learned the tongue, and so on the return journey he talked with all the nations and they all understood him." *Ibid.*, p. 278-279.

<sup>67</sup> Zárate adds intimate data here. "On examining them again, they made the same statement as on the journey going, without varying it in any respect. They went through the same performance with the plate of silver as on the outward journey, as has been said; only they added that this silver was taken out of the top of a hill which was on the further side of the island behind which the sun hides when it sets; and they said that they cut it out with a hard instrument. Being asked if it was of the same they said no, and gave to understand that it was something dark-yellow; and being shown a small sheet of brass, they said it was not of that material. Seeing that they were not understood, one of them rose and went to the adelantado's kitchen and took hold of a copper kettle and said that the instrument with which was cut the metal of which they made their bowls and pots was like that.

"The Spaniards set out from here, and Chief Otata came forth to the road to receive them, with a great following and a tumult of ceremonies, as is their custom, flinging their bows and arrows to earth. He gave the Governor a string of white beads which he wore on his neck, and the Father Commissary another, which among them is a great gift. These he had sent to the island of Ziñogova to purchase with some cotton *mantas*, which on going the Governor had given him for that purpose. It is plainly to be seen that the island is near, since he had gone and returned in so short a time. They again examined them about everything and in nothing did they contradict themselves." *Ibid.*, p. 279-280.

of Indians in my presence, for since I affirm as true only what I saw with my eyes, I may dare affirm it.<sup>68</sup>

The Indian Otata told us in the presence of many others, who corroborated his story, of a nation of people who had ears so large that they dragged on the ground, and big enough to shelter five or six persons under each one. This nation was called in its own language Esmalcatatanaaha, and in the language of this Bahacecha nation Esmalca, which means "ear," the etymology of the word indicating the characteristic of the nation.

Not far from this nation, he said, there was another whose men had virile members so long, they wrapped them four times around the waist, and that in the act of generation the man and woman were far apart. This Nation was called Medará Qualchoquata.

Likewise, we learned from this Indian and the others that near the foregoing people there was another nation with only one foot, who were called Niequetata people.

They told us of another nation, not far from the last, who lived on the banks of a lake in which they slept every night, entirely under the water. These people, they said, were the ones who wore handcuffs and bracelets of yellow metal, which they called *anpacha*.<sup>69</sup> This nation was called Zinoes, which with more propriety we might call Hamaca Coemacha Fish. We learned from all these Indians that near this last nation there is another which always sleeps in trees. The reason we could not ascertain, whether it was for fear of wild beasts or insects, or from some natural characteristic or custom of theirs. This nation they called Ahalcos Macha.

The monstrosities of another nation, which they said was near this one, did not stop here, for they sustained themselves solely on the odor of their food, prepared for this purpose, not eating it at all, since they lacked the natural means to eliminate the excrements of the body. This nation they called Xamoco Huicha.

They told of another nation not far from this one which did not lie down to sleep but always slept standing up, bearing some burden on the head. This nation they called Tascaña Paycos Macha.

Here we learned from all these Indians what we had learned many days before from many others, great and small, that the principal person obeyed by

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<sup>68</sup> Zárate, who wrote after two decades had passed, balks at the tales told by Otata and repeated by Escobar. He closes with the following paragraph: "They told of many prodigies of nature which God had created between Buena Esperanza River and the sea, and which have caused incredulity in the hearers. When we see them we will affirm them under oath; but in the meantime I refrain from mentioning them, and pass them by in silence. And to put an end to this journey, I will say that after having endured much hardship and hunger (even coming to eat their horses) which, lest I be too long, I do not recount, they reached the villa of San Gabriel on their return, all sound and well, and not a man missing, on the 25th of April of the year 1605. There they rested, and were as well received as they had been anxiously awaited." *Ibid.*, p. 280.

<sup>69</sup> These are the people who, according to Zárate, lived on the Lake of Copalla.

the people who lived on the island was a woman called Cñaca Cohota,<sup>70</sup> which signifies or means "principal woman" or "chieftainess." From all these Indians we learned that she was a giantess, and that on the island she had only a sister and no other person of her race, which must have died out with them. We learned that the men of this island were bald, and that with them the monstrosities ended.

It appears to me doubtful that there should be so many monstrosities in so short a distance, and so near us, for the Indians asserted that they were all on one river, which it was necessary to cross in order to go to the island, which was only five days' journey away (this would be twenty-five or thirty leagues). But, even though there might be still greater doubt of all these things, it seemed yet more doubtful to remain silent about things which, if discovered, would result, I believe, in glory to God and in service to the King our Lord; for although the things in themselves may be so rare and may never before have been seen, to any one who will consider the wonders which God constantly performs in the world, it will be easy to believe that since He is able to create them He may have done so, and that since so many and different people, in a distance of two hundred leagues testify to them, they cannot lack foundation, being things of which these Indians are not the first inventors, for there are many books which treat of them, and of others even more monstrous and more wonderful.

And if they do cause wonderment, it does not seem to me that the way to their verification or to that of the other reports, of riches and of the communication of the seas, is very difficult. If perchance they do communicate, by the favor of heaven, with less than one hundred men it will be possible to verify the truth of all these things, both of the silver and the tin, or whatever metal it is on the island; of the gold, copper, or brass bracelets or handcuffs worn by the Indians of the Laguna; of the coral; of the pearls which the Indians declare are contained in the shells which we found, and which the Governor and so many Spaniards declare there are in the Gulf of California; and of the turn which the Indians say the Gulf makes toward the north and northeast, not a person being found who knew its terminus; as well as of the monstrosities reported by so many Indians of ten different nations, scattered through more than two hundred leagues, some saying that they had seen them and others that they had heard of them.

We learned likewise from the Indian Otata and many others that on the River of Buena Esperanza, toward its source, there were many buffalo, and very large deer, who wander amongst them<sup>71</sup> And they said that from a point six days from the source to the mouth, which is where it enters the sea or the Port of the Conversion, it was thirty days, the entire distance being settled by people who plant maize like the Amacava. This being the case, as the Indians testify, wherever the buffalo lives there can be no lack of grass, and the country must be colder. And thus it seems to me, saving a better judgment, that the exploration could be better made by land and by sea from the source of the River Buena Esperanza, for since the Indians say there are so many buffalo, there must be

<sup>70</sup> In Zárate's account as printed the name becomes Cñacacohola. *Ibid.*, p. 276.

<sup>71</sup> For Zárate's mention of this see note 68.

grass for us and for the horses and even for farms. The Indians gave us to understand, also, that the maize was better and grew higher, and that the calabashes were better. And there would be the same convenience for making the exploration by water, for the Indians declare that the river rises near the sea, although there is no more reason to believe them in this than in other matters of which they told us. And it might be more convenient to build there some barks or some sort of bergantine, for in the Port of the Conversion there is no timber, unless it is brought from the pineries which are on Río de San Joseph, and whence I think it can be carried by its current clear to the sea, although I do not affirm it, as I have not seen what obstacles there may be.

After we had passed from the River Buena Esperanza into the country of the Cruzados, when we asked about all the nations of monstrous people, some of the few whom we saw there when we returned told us of them and in the province of Moqui three Indians of this same Cruzado nation who were there, gave us the same report, saying that they had heard it from people of their own nation who had come from the sea. Another Indian of another nation, called Tacabuy, who lived on the Río de San Joseph, gave the same report, declaring, when he was questioned, that he already knew it. Some Indians of the provinces of Moqui and Çuñi and many of these provinces of New Mexico, when we returned and questioned them through the interpreter, declared that they had already heard, before the Spaniards came to their country, of some of the monstrous nations. And two chiefs of the Theguas nation also declared that they had heard of them, and had seen in these provinces of New Mexico savage Indians all covered over with hair, on body, arms, and legs, who had come from the west, with many shells like those which we had brought from there. When we were at the Río Buena Esperanza some of the soldiers told me they had heard from the Indians that there were some of these savages between the Buena Esperanza River and the sea, but because I was not able properly to verify the story, and because the Indian chief Otata said nothing about them, I paid no attention to the report.

This is the outcome of our expedition, and what during it we saw and heard of the Río de Buena Esperanza, and of the sea coast. May it please the Majesty of our sovereign God that such sufferings as were endured on our journey from hunger, cold, snow, and a thousand other inconveniences, borne for His divine love and through zeal for the conversion of souls, may not be lost, but that they may have been to some purpose, in order that His divine Majesty may be served, and His holy Faith extended, and that so many people who are blind and ignorant of the road to Heaven, and of their salvation, may know it, and that the royal crown of the King our Lord may be amplified and augmented.

When we returned from the journey, in the province of Moqui, which is seventy leagues distant from the site now occupied by the Spaniards, the Governor found among the Indians some stones which appeared to be minerals. Looked at in different ways they presented different colors. Their colors commonly are two, red like garnet and green like emerald, but the natural color appeared rather to be red, some being better than others. The stones of themselves, it is well known, being small, are of no value, and appear to be little esteemed, but because the mines or mine whence they are obtained might be of

value, they were brought here in order to see if some lapidary might know them. The Governor, not knowing what they might be, made no effort to discover them, although in one of the pueblos where the Spaniards now live there is a mine which seems to be the same stones. Likewise, some pebbles, or small stones, were found, three of the largest of which were the size of chick-peas, and more sparkling and of brighter color than garnet. They appear to be from the same mine where the said stones are, although this could not be verified, because the Indians would not admit it nor disclose the mine.<sup>72</sup>

FRAY FRANCISCO DE ESCOBAR,  
*Commissary.*

In the City of Mexico on the 25th day of the month of October, 1605, before His Excellency, the Marqués de Montesclaros, Viceroy of this New Spain, appeared Father Fray Francisco de Escobar, and declared that this memorial and relation, which was shown to him, was presented to His Excellency, and that the signature in it, where it says "Fray Francisco de Escobar, Commissary," is his, and that he made it, and recognizes it. Likewise, he swore *in verbo sacerdotis*, placing his hand on his breast, that what he has said in this memorial is the truth, and what took place on the expedition, and what he thinks about it. And he signed it with his name, in the presence of the secretary, Pedro Diaz de Villegas, and Martin de Santiyusti, being in this city. The Marqués de Montesclaros. Fray Francisco de Escobar. Before me, Martin Lopez de Gauna.

And immediately, on the said 25th day of October, 1605, His Excellency ordered to appear before him four men, who said their names were Captain Francisco Rascon, Captain Juan Belarde Colodro, Alferez Pedro Sanches Monrroy, and Sergeant Francisco Bido. And at the command of His Excellency, I, the present notary of government, was ordered to receive the oaths of the before-named men, and that they be shown this memorial and relation of Father Fray Francisco de Escobar, Commissary. And they, having sworn before God and Holy Mary, and with the sign of the cross, which they made in due legal form, and having promised to tell the truth, and being shown the said memorial and relation, of the said Father Fray Francisco de Escobar and the signature upon it, and having read it through paragraph by paragraph they declared that its entire contents were true, and that they knew this because they were in the places and parts named, in company with Don Juan Oñate, Governor of New Mexico, and the said Father Commissary, and that this is the truth, under charge of the oath which they have taken and signed. And they signed it with their names, except Pedro Sanches Monrroi, who said that he did not know how to write. The Marqués de Montesclaros. Francisco Rrascon. Juan Velarde. Francisco Bido. Before me, Martin Lopez de Gauna.

And immediately they were asked by his Excellency how many people they had left in the camp of the Spaniards, and each one separately replied that there must have remained about fifty or fifty-three persons of all ages. They were asked about how many Indians had been baptized, and they said that since the camp had been established in the villa which they called San Gabriel, more than nine years ago,<sup>73</sup> there had been baptized from five to six hundred persons, big and little, but that of these they do not know how many are still living, except that they understand that

<sup>72</sup> This paragraph is omitted by Zárate.

<sup>73</sup> Oñate entered New Mexico in 1598, or only seven years before the date of this declaration.

some of them have died, and that the failure to be baptized is not due to the Indians, but to the fact that the religious refrain from baptizing them through not knowing the language.

On being asked if, when they reached, at the mouth of the river, the sea which they saw toward the south, they sounded the mouth of the river in order to ascertain its depth, they replied that they did not sound it, since they had no instruments for this purpose, and knew only that the mouth appeared to be soundable, and that a soldier named Juan Rruiz dived into the water and said that it was of good depth.

Being asked if there was anyone who ascended any high point or peak to look toward the sea to find out if they could see the land in any other direction than that of the coast where they were, they said that this attempt was not made because the country was level.

Being asked if the shells and stones which had been shown them were the same as those of the journey, they replied in the affirmative, and that as such they recognized them; and likewise that the Indians of that province gave them some pieces of metal which they brought, being the ones shown them. All of which they declared, under the oath which they had taken, to be the truth, and they signed with their names. The Marqués de Montesclaros. Francisco Rrascon. Juan Belarde. Francisco Bido. Before me, Martin Lopez de Gauna.

This transcript I have had made at the command of His Excellency the said Viceroy Marqués de Montesclaros, of the City of Mexico, on the 27th day of the month of October, 1605, and it is correct, being witnessed by Alonso Pardo and Melchor de Maturana, citizens and residents of Mexico.

And at the end I made my sign, in testimony of the truth.

Martin de Gauna. (*Rubic*)

Corrected. (*Rubic*)

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