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Explorations of Hernando Alarcón in the Lower Colorado River Region, 1540

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

The distinction of having been the first European to encounter Indians in what is now the southeast corner of California probably belongs to Hernando Alarcón, a Spanish explorer who played a part in one of the principal searches for the legendary "Seven Cities of Cibola." These explorations on the northern frontier of New Spain had exercised the minds of Spanish adventurers and administrators in the decades following the Conquest by Cortés in 1519.

Unfortunately, Alarcón's full account of his expedition up the Gulf of California (the Sea of Cortés) has never turned up. However, a report in the form of a long letter to the viceroy of New Spain, Don Antonio de Mendoza, somehow came into the hands of one Giovanni Ramusio, who printed it in Italian in 1556. Alarcón promised the viceroy in the letter that a complete report would be forthcoming, but there is no pertinent evidence that such a formal report was ever submitted. The letter reprinted here in English translation, is, by Alarcón's admission, a summary or paraphrase of the full report. We have no way of knowing whether Ramusio accurately translated or transcribed the original letter itself,

as this document, written of course in Spanish, also seems to be lost to scholars. In any event, all subsequently published versions of the letter evidently are based upon Ramusio's copy. Probably the first of these reprints to be widely read after Ramusio's time was a translation by Richard Hakluyt, published in 1600, in Volume 3 of his *Principal Navigations . . .* Hakluyt's works have been reprinted many times since 1600, and other translations also have been taken directly from Ramusio (see especially Hammond and Rey 1940).

H. R. Wagner (1924) has provided an excellent description of the known geography of Alarcón's voyage, including two maps of the Sea of Cortés, one made by Castillo, one of Alarcón's pilots. Regrettably, Alarcón seems not to have left behind any maps of most of the Lower Colorado River region which he traversed. We learn little, therefore, about the physiography of the lower reaches of the Colorado which Alarcón claims to have ascended.

Wagner (1924:384) stated that between "the two interpreters, Alarcón managed to collect a large amount of information of

doubtful [?] value regarding the customs and habits of the Indians." He suggested that the one interpreter who was with Alarcón from the beginning of the voyage spoke a Sobaipuri (Pima) dialect, and that the interpreter encountered up the river was "probably a Maricopa, who understood his [Alarcón's original] interpreter and who in turn understood the Yuma dialect."

In order to understand the reasoning behind this statement of Wagner, and also to explain certain other references in Alarcón's brief account, it seems desirable here to give a short summary of the background of the expedition.

In 1536, A. N. Cabeza de Vaca and a former Moorish Black slave known as Esteban turned up in Sinaloa, with some Indians from the north, after having been gone eight years on a hardship-ridden expedition into what is now the south-central part of the United States. Cabeza de Vaca's words about the lands to the north of Mexico, whether embroidered or not, were probably the effective beginnings of rumors of untold riches in these lands previously unexplored by Europeans. Subsequently, De Soto (1539), looking for wealth and a water passage between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, led a large expedition to the Mississippi River region; the venture realized neither of the two goals.

Also in 1539, Mendoza, the viceroy of New Spain, acquired Esteban, trained some of the Indians who had accompanied Cabeza de Vaca as interpreters, and then sent off another expedition in charge of a Franciscan friar, Marcos de Niza, together with the interpreters. Esteban departed Culiacán with Fr. Marcos, but later left the main body, acting as a vanguard for the expedition. He established himself probably with the Zuñi Indians in the Cíbola region of what is now eastern New Mexico, but after staying there for about two months was put to death by the Indians. Friar Marcos arrived after Esteban's

death, but he did not actually enter any of the Zuñi towns. Turning back, he came away with the idea that one of the settlements he had seen was "larger than the city of Mexico."

Despite the essential shortcoming of the earlier expeditions, enough glowing reports remained to further tantalize the Spanish. Mendoza, accordingly, in 1540 sent another expedition to the north, under command of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, who left from Campostela by land. Alarcón, with two ships, took a supposedly parallel course along the coast, hoping ultimately to establish contact with Coronado, and to find a water route which led to Cíbola and beyond, perhaps to the Atlantic Ocean. Alarcón was not the first to explore the Sea of Cortés, nor probably the first European to see the mouth of the Colorado, but was the first Spaniard to attempt to go up the river, and to write a valuable account of the native peoples he encountered living along its banks. His Indian interpreters were those surviving previous land encounters with the Spanish.

Note on Hakluyt's Translation

Although Hakluyt's translation of Alarcón's letter has been reprinted many times since 1600, I have thought it best to represent here the first and probably most reliable printing, obtained from the Bancroft Library. This version has been chosen also because it preserves the literary flavor of a document originally produced more than 400 years ago (the translation in Hammond and Rey [1940] is rendered in modern English). There are certain discrepancies apart from style even between the original Hakluyt version and that of Hammond and Rey, as one might expect. Since the original Ramusio (Italian) edition was not available to me, as a substitute I obtained also a copy of the letter translated from Ramusio into French (Castañeda de Nagera 1838). With these two additional versions, and excerpts from the

first two chapters of the work also translated directly from the Italian (Alvarez de Williams 1975) I felt that by careful comparison unclear passages or usages in Hakluyt could easily be resolved.

In the several places where glaring discrepancies between the several versions appear, I have referred to them in endnotes. Besides thus utilizing the non-Hakluyt versions as a basis for alterations in ambiguous places, I have taken other liberties with the original Hakluyt transcription: most Elizabethan English spellings have been eliminated,

as well as numbers of now obsolete words and archaic usages. In addition, the appearance of the Hakluyt text, almost as a single long paragraph, has been altered, and many sentences have been split up, mostly by dropping literally dozens of conjunctions, to make for easier reading. All of these changes have been made reluctantly, and in some cases considered as borderline, I have left the original usages despite their sometimes quaint sounds.

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[From pp. 425-439 of Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, Vol. III, London, 1600]

Hernando Alarcón—Trafficking and Discoveries

The relation of the navigation and discovery which Captain Hernando Alarcón made by order of the right honorable Lord Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of New Spain, dated in Colima, a port of New Spain.

Chapter I

Hernando Alarcón, after he had suffered a storm, arrived with his fleet at the port of Saint Iago, and thence at the port of Aguaival. He was in great peril in seeking to discover a bay, and getting out of the same he discovered a river on the coast with a great current, entering into the same. Coasting along, he described a great many Indians with their weapons: with signs he has traffic with them, and fearing some great danger, returns to his ship.

On Sunday, the ninth of May in the year 1540, I set sail with two ships, the one called *Saint Peter*, being Admiral's [i.e. Alarcón's] flag ship, and the other *Saint Catherine*, and we set forward meaning to go to the port of Saint Iago of Good Hope; but before we arrived there we had a terrible storm, in which those who were in the ship called *Saint*

Catherine, being more afraid than was needful, cast overboard nine pieces of ordinance, two anchors, one cable, and many other things as necessary for the enterprize in which we were engaged as the ship itself.

As soon as we arrived at the port of Saint Iago¹ I repaired the losses which I had received, provided myself with necessary things and took aboard the people who had been awaiting my coming; I then directed my course toward the port of Aguaival.

Having arrived there, I understood that General Francisco Vasquez de Coronado had already departed with all his people; whereupon taking the ship called *Saint Gabriel*, which carried victuals for the army, I led her with me to put in execution your Lordship's order. Afterward I followed my course along the coast without departing from that ship, to see if I could find any token, or any Indian who could give me knowledge of him, and in sailing

so near the shore, I discovered other very good ports, for the ships commanded by Captain Francisco de Ulloa² for the Marquis del Valle neither saw nor found them. And when we came to the flats and shoals whence the aforesaid fleet returned it seemed as well to me, as to the other officers that we had firm land before us, and that those shoals were so perilous and fearful that it was a thing to be considered whether with our skiffs we could enter among them.

The pilot and the rest of the company would have had us do as Captain Ulloa did, that is to turn back again. But because your Lordship commanded me to bring you the secret of the gulf, I resolved that, although I had known I should have lost the ships, I would not have ceased for anything to have seen the head of that gulf. Therefore, I commanded Nicolas Zamorano, chief pilot, and Dominico del Castillo each to take a boat, and with lead in hand, to run in among those shoals, to see if they could find out the channel where the ships might enter and where it seemed that the ships might sail up higher (although with great travail and danger). In this manner we began to follow the way which they had taken, and within a short while after we found ourselves fast on the sands with all our three ships in such a way that one could not help the other, nor could the boats succor us, because the current was so great that it was impossible for one of us to come near the other. Whereupon we were in such great jeopardy that the deck of the flag ship was oftentimes under water, and if a great surge of the sea had not come to right our ship and gave her leave, as it were, to breathe awhile, we would have been drowned. Likewise the other two ships found themselves in very great hazard, yet because they were lesser and drew less water, their danger was not so great as ours.

Now it pleased God upon the return of the tide that the ships came afloat, and so we went

forward. Although the company would have turned back, yet for all this I determined to go forward and to pursue our attempted voyage. We went forward with much ado, turning our stems now this way, now that way, in seeking to find the channel. And it pleased God that in this manner we came to the very head of the bay, where we found a very mighty river, which ran with so great a fury of a stream that we could hardly sail against it. In this way I determined as well as I could to go up this river: with two boats, leaving the others with the ships, and twenty men, myself being in one of them with Rodrigo Maldonado, treasurer of this fleet, and Gaspar de Castillo, comptroller, and with certain small pieces of artillery, I began to sail up the river. I charged all my company that none of them should stir nor use any sign but the person whom I appointed, even though we found Indians.

The same day, which was Thursday, the 26th of August, following our voyage by drawing the boats with hawsers,³ we made about six leagues. The next day, which was Friday, at the break of day continuing our way upward, I saw some Indians going toward huts which were near the water. As soon as they saw us, ten or twelve of them rose up furiously, and began crying with a loud voice; other natives, numbering about 50, with all haste carried out of their huts such things as they had to nearby shrubbery. Many of them came running toward the place where we approached, making great signs to us that we should go back again. They made great threats against us, while running on both shores of the river. Seeing them in such a rage, I caused our boats to be taken from the shore to the middle of the river, so that the Indians might be out of fear, and I rode at anchor and set up people in as good order as I could, charging them that no man should speak, nor make any sign nor motion, nor stir out of his place, nor should be offended by anything that the Indians did, nor should they

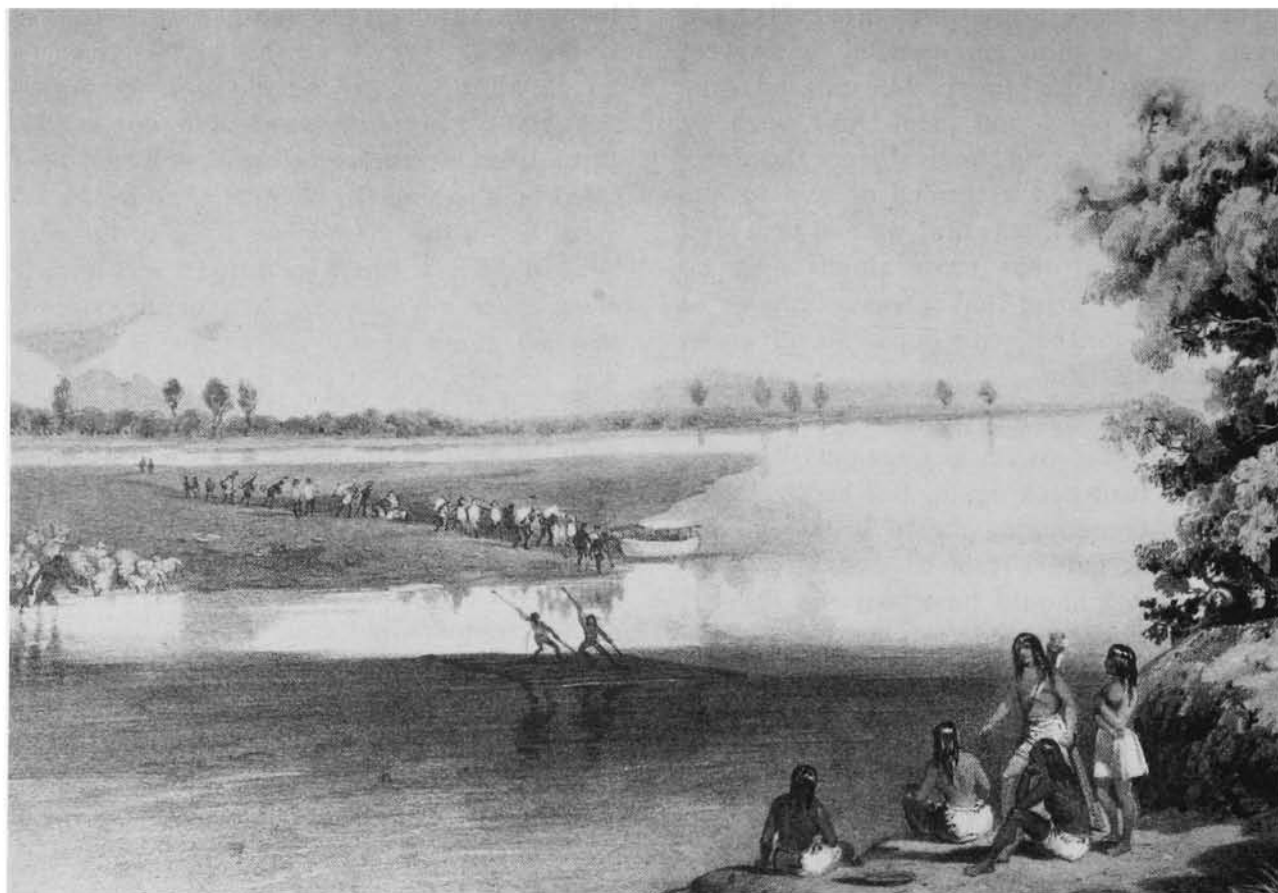


Fig. 1. View of the Colorado River north of the Delta, 1856. This picture gives some notion of the kind of country Alarcón crossed in 1540. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

show any token of war. By this means the Indians came closer and closer to the river bank to see us, and I advanced little by little toward them where the river seemed deepest. During this time, there were more than 250 Indians assembled together with bows and arrows and with warlike banners,⁴ deployed in much the same manner as those of the natives of New Spain. Perceiving that I drew toward the shore, they came with great cries toward us with arrows ready in their bows and with their banner displayed. I went into the stem of my boat with the interpreter I carried with me⁵ and commanded him to speak with them; when he spoke they neither understood him nor he them, although because they saw him to be like themselves, they did not go away. Seeing this, I drew nearer the shore,

and they, with great cries, came to keep me from the shore of the river, making signs that I should not come any farther. They put stakes in my way between the water and the land, and the more I lingered the more people still flocked together. When I had considered this, I began to make them signs of peace, and, taking my sword and round shield, I cast them down in the boat and set my feet upon them, giving them to understand with this and other tokens that I desired not to have war with them, and that they should do the like. Also, I took a banner and cast it down, and I caused my company that were with me to sit down likewise. Taking the wares of exchange which I carried with me, I called them to give them some of them, yet for all this none of them stirred to take any of them, but rather flocked

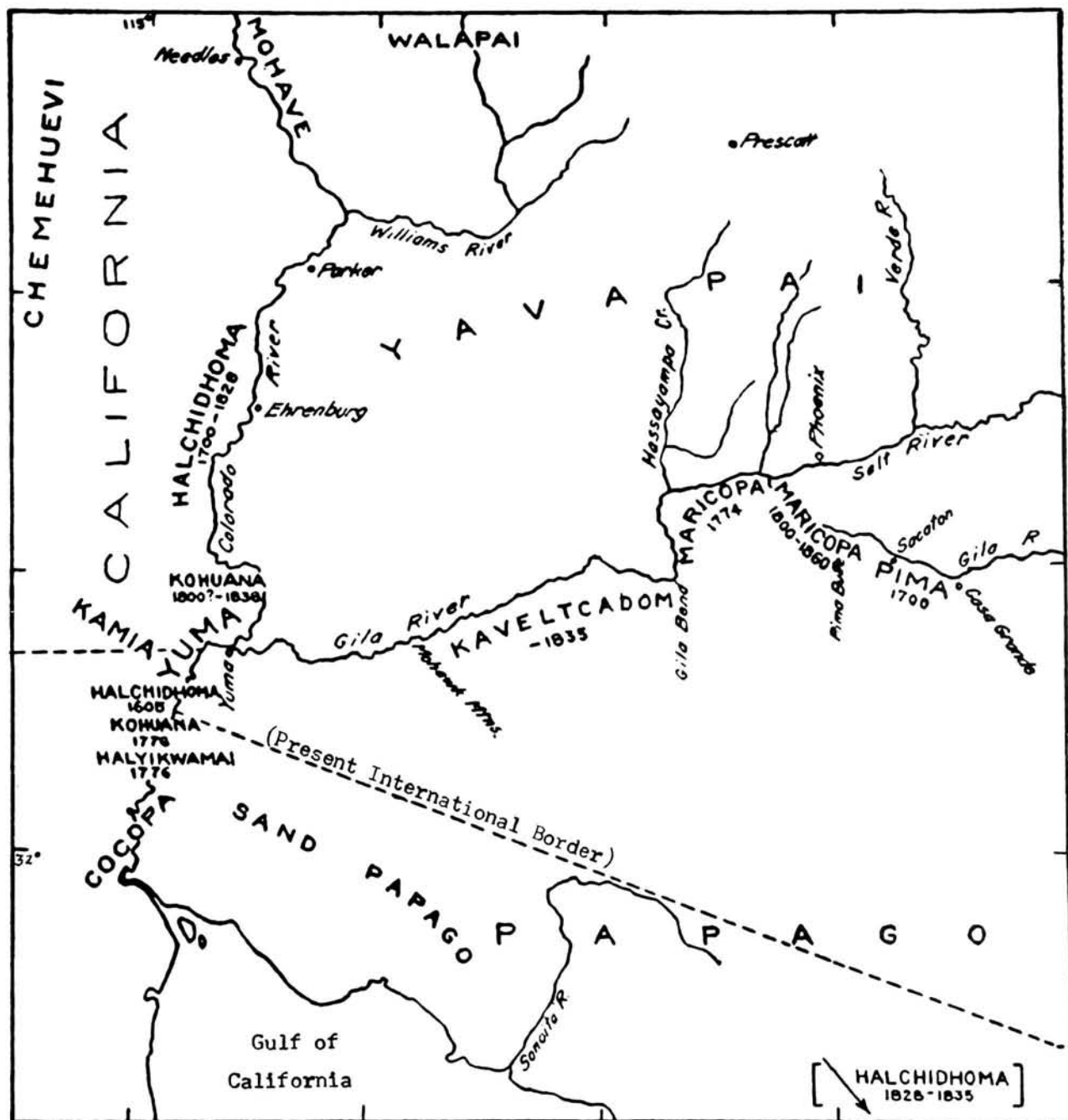


Fig. 2. Recent distribution of tribes along the Lower Colorado and Gila rivers in Mexico, California, and Arizona (after Spier 1933).

together, and began to make a great murmuring among themselves. Suddenly one came out from among them with a staff in which shell rings⁶ were set, and entered into the water to give it to me. I took it, and made signs to him that he should come near to me, which,

when he had done, I embraced him and gave him in recompense beads and other things. He, returning with them to his fellows, began to look upon them, and to parley together, and within a while after, many of them came toward me. To these I made signs to lay down

their banners, and to leave their weapons, which they did incontinently; then I made signs that they should lay them all together and should go aside from them, which likewise they did. Also, they caused those Indians who newly came thither to leave them, and to lay them together with the rest. After this I called them to me, and to all who came I gave some small trifle, using them gently, and by this time there were so many that came thronging about me that I thought I could not stay any longer in safety among them. I made signs to them that they should withdraw themselves, and that they should stand upon the side of a hill which was there between a plain and the river and that no more than ten at a time should approach me.

Immediately the most ancient among them called to them with a loud voice, willing them to do so. Some ten or twelve of them came where I was, whereupon, seeing myself in some security, I determined to go on land, the more to put them out of fear. For my security I made signs to them to sit down on the ground, which they did. But when they saw that ten or twelve of my companions came ashore after me, they began to be angry, and I made signs to them that we would be friends and that they should not fear. Herewithal they were pacified and sat down as they did before, and I went unto them and embraced them, giving them some trifles and commanding my interpreter to speak to them, for I greatly desired to understand their manner of speech and the cry which they made at me. So that I might know what manner of food they had, I made a sign to them, that we would gladly eat, and they brought me some cakes of maize and a loaf of *miziqui*.⁷

They made signs to me that they desired to see an arquebus shot off,⁸ which I caused to be discharged, and they were all wonderfully afraid except two old men among them who were not moved at all, but rather cried out upon the rest, because they were afraid.

Through the speech of one of these old men, they began to rise up from the ground, and to lay hold upon their weapons. Wanting to appease the old man, I offered him a silken girdle of different colors, and he in a great rage bit his lower lip cruelly, and gave me a thump with his elbow on the chest; he then turned in a great fury to speak to his company. After I saw them raise their banners, I determined to return myself gently to my boats, and with a small gale of wind I set sail, whereby we might break [overcome] the current, which was very great, although my company were not well pleased to go any farther. In the meantime the Indians came following us along the shore of the river, making signs that I should come on land, and they would give me food to eat, some of them sucking their fingers. Others entered the water with some cakes of maize to give me in my boat.

Chapter 2

Of the dress, armor, and stature of the Indians. A relation of many others with whom he had, by signs, traffic, victuals, and many courtesies.

In this manner we went up two leagues, and I arrived near a cliff of a hill, whereupon an arbor⁹ had newly been made, where they made signs to me, crying that I should go thither, showing me the same with their hands, and telling me that there was meat to eat. But I would not go thither, seeing the place was apt for some ambush, but followed on my voyage. Within a while after issued out from thence about a thousand armed men¹⁰ with bows and arrows, and after that many women and children showed themselves, toward whom I would not go. Because the sun was almost set, I rode the middle of the river.

These Indians came decked [out] in many different ways: Some came with a painting that covered their faces all over, some had their faces half-covered, but all besmouched with coal¹¹ and everyone as it pleased him best.



Fig. 3. Colorado River Indians (Mohave) drawn by H. B. Möllhausen, *ca.* 1860. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Others carried vizards before them of the same color, which had the shape of faces.¹² They wear on their heads a piece of deer skin two spans broad, set after the manner of a helmet, and upon it certain small sticks with some kinds of feathers. Their weapons were bows and arrows of hard wood,¹³ and two or three kinds of maces of wood hardened in the fire.¹⁴ This is a mighty people, well featured and without grossness. They have holes bored in their nostrils, whereat certain pendants hang; and others wear shells, and their ears are full of holes, whereon they hang bones and shells. All of them both great and small wear a girdle about their waists, of diverse

colors, and in the middle is fastened a round bunch of feathers, which hang down behind like a tail. Likewise on the brawn [biceps] of their arms they wear a tight cord which they wind so often about that it becomes as broad as one's hand. They wear certain pieces of deer bones fastened to one arm, wherewith they strike off the sweat,¹⁵ and at the other certain small reed pipes.¹⁶ They carry also certain little long bags, about one hand broad, tied to their left arms, which serve them also as bracers [wrist guards] for their bows, full of the powder of a certain herb, whereof they make a certain beverage.¹⁷ They have their bodies marked with charcoal;¹⁸ their hair is

cut in front, and behind it hangs down to their waists. The women go naked, and wear a great wreath of feathers behind them, and in front, painted and glued together, and their hair is like the men's. There were among these Indians three or four men in women's apparel.¹⁹

Now the next day being Saturday, very early I went forward on my way up the river, setting on shore two men for each boat to draw them with the rope, and about breaking forth of the sun, we heard a mighty cry of Indians on both sides of the river, with their weapons, but without any banner. I thought good to attend their coming, as well to see what they would have, as also to try whether our interpreter could understand them. When they came over against us they leapt into the river on both sides with their bows and arrows, and when they spoke, our interpreter understood them not: whereupon I began to make a sign to them that they should lay away their weapons, as the others had done. Some did as I willed them, and some did not, and those which did, I willed to come near me and gave them some things which we had to barter. When the others perceived that they might likewise have their share, they laid away their weapons. I, judging myself to be safe, leapt on the shore with them, and stood in the midst of them, who, understanding that I came not to fight with them, began to give me some of those shells and beads, and some brought me certain well-dressed skins, and others maize and a roll [cake] of the same, badly ground, so that none of them came to me that brought me not something, and before they gave it me going a little way from me, they began to cry out violently, and made a sign with their bodies and arms, and afterward they approached to give me that which they brought. And now that the sun began to set, I put off from the shore, and rode in the middle of the river. The next morning before break of day on both sides of the river we heard greater cries, and of more Indians, who leapt into the river to swim, and they came

to bring me certain gourds²⁰ full of maize, and of those wreaths [*round cakes*] which I spoke of before. I showed them wheat and beans,²¹ and other seeds, to see whether they had any of those kinds: but they showed me that they had no knowledge of them, and wondered at all of them.

By signs I came to understand that the thing which they most esteemed and revered was the Sun: and I signified unto them that I came from the Sun.²² Whereat they marveled, and then they began to behold me from the top to the toe, and showed me more favor than they did before: and when I asked them for food, they brought me such abundance that I was obliged twice to call for the boats to put it into them, and from that time forward of all the things which they brought me they threw a part of it in the air toward the Sun, and afterward turned toward me to give me the other part. And so I was always better served and esteemed of them as well in drawing of the boats up the river, as also in giving me food to eat: and they showed me such great love that when I stayed [among them] they would have carried us in their arms unto their houses. And in no kind of thing they would break my commandment: and for my safety, I willed them not to carry any weapons in my sight. They were so careful to do so, that if any man came newly thither with them, suddenly they would go and meet him to cause him to lay them down far from me: and I showed them I took great pleasure in their so doing. And to some of the chief of them I gave certain little napkins [pieces of cloth] and other trifles; for if I should have given something to everyone of them in particular, all the small wares in New Spain would not have sufficed. Sometimes it fell out (such was the great love and good will which they showed me) that if any Indians came thither by chance with their weapons, and if anyone being warned to leave them behind, if by negligence, or because he understood them not at the first

warning, he had not laid them away, they would run to him, and take them from him by force, and would break them in pieces in my presence. Afterwards they took the rope so lovingly, and with striving one with another for it, that we had no need to ask them to do it. If we did not have this help, the current of the river being exceedingly great and our men that drew the rope being not well acquainted with the occupation, it would have been impossible for us to have gotten up the river against the stream.

When I perceived that they understood me in all things, and that I likewise understood them, I thought good to try by some way or other to make a good entrance to find some good issue to obtain my desire. I caused certain crosses to be made of certain small sticks and paper, and among others when I gave anything I gave them these as things of great price and kissed them, making signs to them that they should honor them and make great account of them, and that they should wear them at their necks. I gave them to understand that this sign was from heaven, and they took them and kissed them, and lifted them up aloft, and seemed greatly to rejoice thereat when they did so.

Sometimes I took them in my boat, showing them great good will, and sometimes I gave them of those trifles which I carried with me. At length the matter grew to such issue that I had not paper and sticks to make crosses. In this manner that day I was very well accompanied, until that when night approached I sought to launch out into the river, and went to ride in the middle of the stream, and they came to ask leave of me to depart, saying that they would return the next day with victuals to visit me. Little by little they departed, so that there stayed not above fifty who made fires facing us, and stayed there all night calling us, and before the day was perfectly broken, they leapt into the water and swam to us, asking for the rope. We gave it to them with

a good will, thanking God for the good provision which he gave us to go up the river: for the Indians were so many that if they had gone about to bar our passage, even though we had been many more than we were, they might have done it.

Chapter 3

One of the Indians understanding the language of the interpreter, asks many questions about the origins of the Spaniards; he [the interpreter] tells him that their captain is the child of the Sun, and that he was sent by the Sun unto them, and that they should receive him as their king. They take this Indian into their boat, and he gives them much information of that country.

In this manner we sailed until Tuesday night, going, as we were wont, and having my interpreter speak unto the people to see if peradventure any of them could understand him. I perceived that one answered him, whereupon I caused the boats to be stopped, and called the one who had understood the interpreter. I charged the latter that he should not speak nor answer him anything else, but only that which I said unto him. I saw as I stood still that that Indian began to speak with great fury, whereupon all of them began to draw together. My interpreter understood, that he who came to the boat said to them that he desired to know what nation we were, whence we came, and whether we came out of the water, or out of the earth, or from heaven. At this speech an infinite number of people came together, who marveled to see me speak; and this Indian turned on this side and on that side to speak to them in another language which my interpreter did not understand. To the one who asked me what we were, I answered that we were Christians, and that we came from afar to see them. Answering the question about who had sent me, I said I was sent by the Sun, pointing it out to them as at the first, so that

they should not take me in a lie.²³ He began again to ask me, how the sun had sent me, seeing it went aloft in the sky and never stood still, and seeing that these many years neither he nor their old men had ever seen such as we were, of whom they never had any kind of knowledge, and that the Sun till that hour had never sent any other.

I answered him that it was true that the Sun made his course aloft in the sky, and did never stand still, yet nevertheless that they might perceive that at this going down and rising in the morning he came near the earth, where his dwelling was, and that they ever saw him come out of one place. He had made me in that land and country whence he came, as he had made many others which he sent into other parts. Now he had sent me to visit and view the same river and the people that dwelt near the same, that I should speak unto them and should join with them in friendship, and should give them things which they had not, and that I should charge them that they should not make war one against the other.

Thereupon he answered that I should tell him the cause why the Sun had not sent me sooner to pacify the wars which had continued a long time among them, wherein many had been slain. I told him the cause of this was because at that time I was but a child. Then he asked the interpreter whether we took him with us perforce, having taken him in the war, or whether he came with us of his own accord. He answered him that he was with us of his own accord, and was very well satisfied of our company. He in turn inquired why we brought none save him [the interpreter] only that understood us, and why we did not understand all other men, seeing we were children of the Sun. He²⁴ answered him that the Sun had also begotten him, and given him a language to understand him and me, and others: the Sun knew well that they dwelt there, but that because he had so many other businesses, and because I was young, he sent me no sooner.

And he [the Indian spokesman] turning to me said suddenly: Do you come hither therefore to be our Lord and that we should serve thee? I, supposing that I should not please him if I should have said yes, answered him, not to be their Lord, but rather to be their brother, and to give them such things as I had. He asked me if the Sun had begotten me as he had begotten others, and whether I was his kinsman or his son: I answered him that I was his son. He proceeded to ask me whether the rest that were with me were also the children of the Sun. I answered him no, but that they were born all with me in one country, where I was brought up. Then he cried out with a loud voice, and said, seeing that you do us so much good, and will not have us to make war, and are the child of the Sun, we will receive you for our Lord, and always serve you. Therefore we pray that you will not depart hence nor leave us.

Suddenly he turned to the people and began to tell them that I was the child of the Sun, and that therefore they should all choose me for their Lord. Those Indians hearing this were astonished beyond measure, and came nearer still more and more to behold me. That Indian also asked me other questions, which to avoid tediousness I do not recite. In this way we passed the day, and seeing the night approach, I began by all means I could devise to get this fellow into our boat with us. He refusing to go with us, the interpreter told him that we would put him on the other side of the river. Upon this condition he got aboard our boat, and there I made very much of him, and gave him the best entertainment I could, putting him always at his ease, and when I judged him to be out of all suspicion, I thought it good to ask him somewhat of that country.

Among the first things that I asked him was whether he had ever seen any men like us, or had heard any report of them. He answered me, saying that he had sometime heard of old men, that very far from that country there

were other white men, with beards like us, and that he knew nothing else.²⁵ I asked him also whether he knew a place called *Cevola* [Cíbola], and a river called Totontoac,²⁶ and he answered me no. Upon perceiving that he could not give me any knowledge of Francis Vasquez nor of his company, I determined to ask him other things of that country, and of their manner of life. I began to inquire of him whether they held that there was one God,²⁷ creator of heaven and earth, or that they worshipped any other Idol. He answered me no, but that they esteemed and revered the Sun above all other things, because it warmed them and made their crops grow, and that of all things which they ate, they cast a little upon the air unto him.

I asked him next whether they had any Lord, and he said no, but that they knew well that there was a great Lorde, but they knew not well which way he dwelt. I told him that he was in heaven, and that he was called Jesus Christ, and I went no farther in divinity with him. I asked him whether they had any war, and for what occasion. He answered that they had war, and that very great, and upon exceedingly small occasions, for when they had no cause to make war, they assembled together and some of them said "let us go to make war in such a place" and then all of them set forward with their weapons. I asked him who commanded the army—he answered the eldest and most valiant, and when they said they should proceed no farther, that suddenly they retired from the war. I prayed him to tell me what they did with those men whom they killed in battle. He answered me that they took out the hearts of some of them, and ate them, and others they burned.²⁸ He added that if it had not been for my coming, they should now have been at war. Because I commanded them that they should not war, and that they should cease from arms, therefore unless I commanded them to take arms, they would not begin to wage war against others. They said among

themselves, that seeing I was come to them, they had given over their intention of making war, and that they had a good mind to live in peace. He complained of certain people who lived behind a mountain who made great war on them, and slew many of them. I answered him, that henceforth they should not need to fear any more—if I commanded those people to be quiet, and if they would not obey my commandment, I would chasten them and kill them. He inquired of me how I could kill them, seeing we were so few and they so many in number.²⁹ And because it was now late, and since I saw that by this time he was weary to stay any longer with me, I let him leave my boat, and therewith I dismissed him very well content.

Chapter 4

Of Naguachato and other chief men of those Indians they receive a great store of victuals; they cause them to set up a cross in their countries, and he teaches them to worship it. They have news of many people, of their many languages, their customs in matrimony, how they punish adultery, of their opinions concerning the dead, and of the sicknesses to which they are subject.

The next day, early in the morning, the chief called Naguachato came among them, and wished me to come on land because he had great store of victuals to give me. Because I felt myself in safety, I did so without doubting. Immediately an old man came with rolls [cakes] of maize, and certain little gourds,³⁰ and calling me with a loud voice and using many gestures with his body and arms came near me. Causing me to turn toward the people, and turning toward them himself, he said to them *Sagueyca*, and all the people answered with a great voice *Hu*. He offered to the Sun a little of everything he had there, and likewise a little more to me (although afterward he gave me all the rest) and did the

like to all that were with me. Calling out my interpreter, by means of him I gave them thanks, telling them that because my boats were little I had not brought many things to give them in exchange, but that I would come again another time and bring them, and that if they would go with me in my boats to my ships which I had down at the river's mouth, I would give them many things. They answered that they would do so, being very glad in countenance.

Here, by the help of my interpreter, I sought to instruct them what the sign of the cross meant, and willed them to bring me a piece of timber, from which I caused a great cross to be made, and commanded all those that were with me that when it was made they should worship it, and beseech the Lord to grant his grace that so great a people might come to the knowledge of his holy Catholic faith. This done, I told them by my interpreter that I left them that sign in token that I took them for my brothers, and that they should keep it for me carefully until I returned, and that every morning at sunrise they should kneel before it. They took it immediately, and without suffering it to touch the ground they carried it and set it up in the midst of their houses, where all of them might behold it. I willed them always to worship it, because it would preserve them from evil. They asked me how deep they should set it in the ground, and I showed them. Great numbers of people followed those that carried the cross, and those that stayed behind inquired of me how they should join their hands, and how they should kneel to worship the cross, and they seemed to have great desire to learn it.

This done, I took the chief man of the country, and going to our boats with him, I followed my journey up the river, and all the company on both sides of the shore accompanied me with great good will, and served me in the drawing of our boats and in hauling us off the sands upon which we often fell, for in

many places we found the river so shallow that the boats would not float. As we thus went on our way, some of the Indians whom I had left behind me came after us to entreat me that I would thoroughly instruct them how they should join their hands in the worshipping of the cross: others made me look to see whether they were doing it well in such and such a manner, so they would not let me be quiet. Near the other side of the river was a greater number of people, who called me very often, so that I would receive the victuals which they had brought me. And because I perceived that one envied the other and did not want to leave any of them discontented, I did so.

Here came before me another old man like the former, with like ceremonies and offerings; I sought to learn something of him as I had done of the other. This man said likewise to the rest of the people "This is our lord. Now you see how long ago our ancestors³¹ told us that there were bearded and white people in the world, and we laughed them to scorn. I who am an old man and the rest who are here, have never seen any such people as these. And if you will not believe me, behold these people who are in the river: let us therefore give them meat, seeing they gave us their victuals. Let us willingly serve this lord, who wishes us so well, and forbids us to make war, and embraces all of us. And they have mouth, hands, and eyes, as we have, and speak as we do."

I gave these likewise another cross, as I had done to the others down the river, and said to them the self-same words, which they listened to with a better will, and used greater vigilance to learn that which I said. Afterward, as I passed farther up the river, I found another people of whom my interpreter understood not a whit;³² thus I showed them by signs the self-same ceremonies of worshipping the cross which I had taught the rest. That principal old man whom I took with me told me that farther up the river I should find people who would understand my interpreter.³³ Being now late

[in the day], some of those men called me to give me victuals, and did in all points as the others had done, dancing and playing to show me pleasure. I desired to know what people lived on the banks of this river, and understood by this man that it was inhabited by [people of] 23 languages, and these were bordering upon the river, besides other not far off. There were besides these 23 languages [groups] other peoples whom he did not know, above the river. I asked him whether every people were living in one town together, and he answered me "no," but that they had many houses standing scattered in the fields, and that every people had their own separate territory, and that in every habitation there were great numbers of people.

He showed me a town which was in a mountain,³⁴ and told me that there were great numbers of [miserable] people of bad conditions who made continual war on them. These people, being without a *gouverneur* [sic], and dwelling in that desert place, where very little maize grows, came down to the plains to buy it in truck [exchange] for deer skins. They were apparelled with long garments [of deer skin] which they cut with razors [sic],³⁵ and sewed with needles made of deer bones. They had great houses of stone.³⁶

I asked them whether there were any other (among the river people) of that country. I found one woman who wore a garment like a little mantle, which clad her from the waist to the ground, of a deer skin well-dressed. Then I asked him whether the people who dwelt on the river side dwelt there always or else sometimes went to dwell in some other place. He answered me that in the summer season they lived there, and sowed there; after they had gathered in their crop they went their way and dwelt in other houses which they had at the foot of the mountain, far from the river. And he showed me by signs that the houses were of wood and compassed with earth on the outside.³⁷ I understood that they made a round

house, in which the men and women lived all together.³⁸ I asked him whether their women were (held) in common or not—he told me no and that he who was married was to have but one wife only. I desired to know what order [ceremonies] they kept in marrying, and he told me that if any man had a daughter he went where the people kept [i.e., in public] and said: "I have a daughter to marry. Is there any man here that will have her." If there were any that would have her, he answered that he would have her and so the marriage was made. The father of him who would have her brought something to give the young woman, and from that hour forward, the marriage was taken to be finished, and they sang and danced. When night came, the parents took them, and left them together in a place where nobody might see them. And I learned that brothers, sisters, and kinsfolk did not marry together, and that maids, before they were married, did not converse with men, nor talked with them, but kept at home at their houses and in their possessions, and worked. If by chance anyone had company with men before she was married, her husband forsook her, and went away into other lands. Those women who fell into this fault were accounted naughty packs [lost women]. If ever after they were married, any man were taken in adultery with another woman, they put him to death. No man might have more than one wife, except very secretly.

They told me they burned those who died, and such as remained widows stayed half a year or a whole year before they married [again]. I desired what they thought of such as were dead. He told me that they went to another world, but that they had neither punishment nor glory. The greatest sickness that this people die of is vomiting of blood up the mouth,³⁹ and they have physicians who cure them with charms and blowing⁴⁰ which they make.

The apparel of these people is like that of the former: they carried their pipes with them

to perfume themselves,⁴¹ as the people of New Spain use tobacco.

I inquired whether they had any governor and found that they had none, but that every family had its own master ["had their severall governour"]. These people have, besides their maize, certain gourds,⁴² and another grain like millet.⁴³ They have grindstones and earthen pots, in which they boil those gourds, and fish of the river, which are very good. My interpreter could go no farther than this place, for he said that those which we should find farther on our way were their enemies, and therefore I sent him back well contented. Not long after I espied many Indians to come crying with a loud voice, and running after me. I stayed, [wanting] to know what they would have, and they told me that they had set up the cross which I had given them, in the midst of their dwellings as I had appointed, but that I should know that when the river overflowed, it was wont to reach that place. Therefore they asked me to give them leave to remove it, and to set it in another place where the river would not come at it, nor carry it away. I granted them permission to do this.

Chapter 5

From an Indian of that country they have details of the state of *Cevola*, and of the conditions and customs of the people, and of their governor. And likewise [there were relations] of the countries not far distant from there, one of which was called Quicoma,⁴⁴ and the other Coama.⁴⁵ Of the people of Quicoma, and of the other Indians not far distant, they receive courtesy.

Sailing along, I came where there were many Indians, and another interpreter, whom I caused to come with me in my boat.⁴⁶ Because it was cold, and my people were wet, I leapt on shore, and had a fire made, and as we stood thus warming ourselves, an Indian came and struck me on the arm, pointing with his finger

to a wood, out of which I saw two companies of men coming with their weapons; he told me that they came to set upon us. Because I did not mean to fall out with any of them, I retired my company into our boats, and the Indians who were with me swam into the water, and saved themselves on the other side of the river. In the meantime, I asked the Indians I had with me who these people were that came out of the wood, and he told me that they were their enemies. Therefore these others at their approach, without saying a word, leapt into the water. They did so because they meant to turn back again, being without weapons, because they brought none with them; they understood my will and pleasure that they should carry none. I asked the same things of this interpreter which I had done of the other of the things of that country, because I understood that among some people one man used to have many wives, and among others but one. Now I understood from him that he had been at *Cevola*, and that it was a month's journey from his country;⁴⁷ by a path that went along that river a man might easily travel forty days. The occasion that moved him to go thither was only to see *Cevola*, because it was a great thing. It had very high houses of stone of three or four stories,⁴⁸ and windows on each side; the houses were encompassed with a wall one and one-half men high [ca. eight or nine feet]. Above and beneath they were inhabited with people, who used the same weapons that others whom we had seen used, that is to say, bows and arrows, maces, staves and bucklers. They were appareled with cloaks and with ox-hides; their cloaks had a painting on them.⁴⁹ Their governor wore a long shirt finely tied around with a belt. They wear on the outside several cloaks, and the women wore very long garments; they were white, and covered them entirely. Every day many Indians waited at the gate of their governor to serve him, and they wore many azure or blue stones, which were dug out of rocks.⁵⁰ They had but

one wife, with whom they were married. When their governor died, all the goods that they had were buried with them. And all the while they eat, many of their men wait at their table to court them, and see them eat; they eat with napkins, and they have baths.⁵¹

On Thursday morning at break of day the Indians came with the like cry [as those before] to the banks of the river, and with greater desire to serve us, bringing me meat to eat, and making the like good cheer which the others had done, having understood what I was. I gave them crosses, with the same order that I gave to the others. Going farther up the river, I came to a country where I found better government: for the inhabitants are wholly obedient to one (person) only. But returning again to confer with my interpreter, touching [upon] the dwellings of those of *Cevola*, he told me that the lord of that country had a dog like that I carried with me. Afterward, when I called for dinner, this interpreter saw certain dishes carried in the first and later service, whereupon he told me that the lord of *Cevola* had also such as those were, but that they were green, and that no one else had them save their governor. There were four (plates) which he had gotten, together with that dog and other things, from a black man⁵² who had a beard, but that he did not know from what quarter he came thither. The king caused him afterward to be killed, as he heard say.

I asked him if he knew of any town that was near that place—he told me that above the river he knew some, among others, one where the chief of a village lived: a town called *Quicoma*, and another *Coama*—both had a great number of subjects under them. And after he had given me this information, he craved leave of me to return to his companions.

From here I began again to set sail, and within a few days' sailing I found an abandoned village, where, as soon as I entered, by chance arrived there 500 Indians with bows and arrows, and with them was that prin-

cipal Indian Naguachato, whom I had left behind. They brought with them certain conies⁵³ and yuccas, and after I had entertained them all in a friendly way, left them, giving them license to return to their houses. As I passed along by desert country, I came to certain cottages, out of which many people came toward me with an old man at their head, crying in a language which my interpreter well understood. He said to these men: "Brothers, you see here that lord; let us give him such as we have, seeing he does us pleasure, and has passed through so many discourteous people, to come to visit us." Having said thus, he offered to the sun, and then to me, in like manner as the rest had done. They had certain great bags, and well made, of the skins of fishes called *Sea-bremes*.⁵⁴

I understood that this was a town belonging to the chief of *Quicoma*, to which people came only to gather the fruit of their harvest in summer. Among them I found one who understood my interpreter very well, whereupon very easily I gave them the like instruction of the cross which I had given to others behind. These people had cotton, but they were not very careful to use the same, because there was none among them that knew the art of weaving and to make apparel thereof.⁵⁵ They asked me how they should set up their cross when they were come to their dwelling which was in the mountain, and whether they should hang anything on the arms thereof. I said no—that it sufficed to set it in a place where it might be seen of all men until I returned, and lest peradventure any men of war should come that way, they offered me more men to go with me, saying that they were naughty [mean] men⁵⁶ which I should find above. But I would have none—nevertheless 20 of them went with me, who, when I drew near those who were their enemies, warned me thereof, and I found their sentinels set upon their guard on their borders. On Saturday morning I found great squads of people sitting

under an exceeding great arbor [ramada], and another part of them without. When I saw that they did not rise up, I passed along on my voyage. When they beheld this, an old man rose up who said to me: "Sir, why do you not receive victuals to eat from us, seeing you have taken food of others." I answered that I took nothing but that which was given me, and that I went to none but to such as requested me. Here without any stay they brought me victuals, saying to me, that because I did not enter their houses, and stayed all day and night in the river, and because I was the son of the Sun, all men were to receive me for their lord. [Fr. Seigneur] I made them signs to sit down, and called that old man, whom my interpreter understood, and asked him whose that country was, and whether the lord [Fr. souverain, i.e. chief] thereof were there. He answered, yes, and I called him [the chief] to me. When he came I embraced him, showing him great love. When I saw that all of them took great pleasure at the friendly entertainment which I gave him, I put a shirt on him and gave him other trifles, and willed my interpreter to use the like speeches to that chief which he had done to the others. That done, I gave him a cross, which he received with a very good will, as the others did. This chief went a great way with me, until I was called from the other side of the river, where the old man of whom I have already spoken stood with many other people. To him I gave another cross, using the like speech to them which I had to the others, to wit, how they should use it. Then following my way, I met with another great company of people, with whom came that very same old man whom my interpreter understood. When I saw their chief whom he showed me, I asked him to come with me to my boat, which he did very willingly, and so I continued up the river. The old man came and showed me who were the principal chiefs. I spoke to them always with great courtesy, and all of them showed that

they rejoiced thereat, and spoke very well of my coming thither.

At night I withdrew myself into the middle of the river, and asked him many things concerning that country. And I found him as willing and well disposed to show them to me, as I was desirous to know them. I asked him of *Cevola*; he told me he had been there,⁵⁷ that it was a goodly thing, that the chief there was very well obeyed, and that there were other chiefs thereabout, with whom he was continually at war. I asked him whether they had silver and gold, and he, having perceived certain bells [on the boat?] said they had metal of their color. I inquired whether they made it there, and he answered me, no, but that they brought it from a certain mountain, where an old woman dwelt. I demanded whether he had any knowledge of a river called Totontec—he answered me no, that he, however, knew of another exceeding mighty river in which there were such huge crocodiles⁵⁸ that of their hides they made shields. These people worship the Sun neither more nor less than those whom I had passed, and when they offer to Him the fruits of the earth, they say: "Receive hereof, for Thou hast created them." They loved Him much, because He warmed them and when He did not break forth, they were cold. While talking with him in this manner, he began somewhat to complain, saying to me: "I know not why the Sun useth these terms with us, because He giveth us not clothes, nor people to spin nor to weave them, nor other things which He giveth to many others." And he complained that those of that country [the interior] would not suffer them to come there, and would not give them of their corn. I told him that I would remedy this, whereat he remained well satisfied.

Chapter 6

The Spanish learn from the Indians why the chief of *Cevola* killed the Negro, who went with Friar Marco, and of many other

things. They are told of an old woman called *Guatazaca*, who lives in a lake and eats no food. The description of a beast, from the skin of which they make targets (shields) is given them. The Indians suspect that they conceive of the Spanish as those Christians who were seen at *Cevola*: how the Spanish cunningly save themselves.

The next day, which was Sunday, before break of day, began their cry, as they were wont, and this was the cry of two or three sorts of people, who had lain all night near the river's side, waiting for me. They took maize and other food in their mouths and sprinkled them on me, saying that this was the fashion they used when they sacrificed to the Sun. Afterwards they gave me of their victuals to eat, and among other things they gave me many white peas.⁵⁹ I gave them a cross as I had done to the rest; in the meantime that old man told them great matters of my doing, and pointed me out with his finger, saying this is the lord, the son of the Sun. They made me comb my beard, and to set my apparel handsomely which I wore on my back. And so great was the confidence that they had in me, that all of them told me what things had passed and what did pass among them, and what a good or bad mind they bore toward another. I asked them why they imparted all their secrets to me, and that old man answered me: "Thou art our Lord, and we ought to hide nothing from our Lord."

After these things, following on our way, I began to inquire again of him the state of *Cevola*, and whether he knew that those of this country had ever seen people like us. He answered me no, except one Negro who wore about his arms and legs certain things which did ring.⁶⁰ Your lordship is to call to mind how this Negro who went with Friar Marco [de Niza] was wont to wear bells and feathers on his arms and legs and that he carried plates of various colors, and that it was not much above a year ago since he came into those parts. I

demanded upon what occasion he was killed, and he answered me that the chief of *Cevola* inquired of him whether he had other brethren. He ["the Negro"] answered that he had an infinite number, and that they had a great store of weapons with them,⁶¹ and that they were not very far from thence. Which, when he had heard, many of the chief men consulted together, and resolved to kill him, that he might not give news to these his brethren, where they dwelt. For this cause they slew him, and cut him in many pieces, which were divided among all those principal chiefs, that they might know assuredly that he was dead. Also, he had a dog like mine, which he [the chief] likewise killed a while after. I asked him whether they of *Cevola* had any enemies, and he said they had. And he reckoned to me 14 or 15 chiefs which had war with them; they had mantles and bows like those above mentioned. However, he told me that I should find, going up the river, a people that had no war with their neighbors nor with any other.⁶² He told me that they had three or four kinds of trees bearing most excellent fruit to eat, and that in a certain lake dwelt an old woman, who was much honored and worshipped of them. She remained in a little house which was there, and she never did eat anything. It was there that they made things which did sound [i.e., bells, presumably of metal], and that many mantles, feathers, and maize were given her. I asked what her name was, and he told me that she was called *Guatazaca*,⁶³ and that thereabout were many chiefs who in their life and death used the like orders [customs] which they of *Cevola* did. They had their dwellings in the summer with painted mantles [coverings]; in winter dwelt in houses of wood, two or three lofts [stories] high. He had seen all these things, except the old woman. When again I began to ask him more questions, he would not answer me, saying that he was weary of me. And many of those Indians, coming about me, said among themselves: "Let us

mark him well, that we may know him when he comes back again."

The following Monday, the river was beset with people like them, and I began to request the old man to tell me what people were in that land; he told me he thought that I had already forgotten what he told me. He cited here a great number of chiefs, and people at the least 200. In discoursing with him of their armor, he said that some of them had certain large shields of leather, about two fingers thick. I asked him of what beast's skin they made them, and he described to me a very great beast, like an ox, but longer by a great handfull [palm], with broad feet, the legs as big as the thigh of a man, and the head seven palms long, the forehead of three spans, and eyes bigger than one's fist and the horns of the length of a man's leg, out of which grew sharp points one palm long. The forefeet and hindfeet [are] seven palms big, and they have twisted tails, but very great; holding up his arms above his head, he said the beast was higher than that.⁶⁴ After this he gave me information of another old woman who dwelt toward the sea side.

I spent this day in giving crosses to those people as I had done to the former. This old man that was with me leapt on shore, and fell in conference with another who that day had often called him: here both of them used many gestures in their speech, moving their arms, and pointing at me. Therefore I sent my interpreter out, willing him to draw near them and listen to what they said. Within a while I called him and asked him what they were talking about; he said that he who made those gestures said to the other that in *Cevola* there were others like us with beards, and that they said they were Christians; both of them said that we were all of one company, and that it would be a good deed to kill us, so that those others (Christians) might have no knowledge of us, lest they might come to do them [the Indians] harm. The old man had answered him, this is the son of the Sun and our Chief; he does us

good, and will not enter into our houses, although we request him to do so; he will take away nothing of ours, he will meddle with none of our women. In short, he [the old man] had spoken many other things in my commendation and favor, and for all this the other had steadfastly affirmed that we were all one.

The old man said "Let us go to him and ask him whether he be a Christian as the others, or else the son of the Sun." And the old man came to me and said "In the country of *Cevola* of which you spoke, other men like you dwell." Then I began to make as though surprised, and answered him, that it was impossible; and they assured me that it was true, and that two men who came from there had seen them; they reported that they had things which shot fire, and swords, as we have. I asked them whether they had seen them with their own eyes, and they answered no, but that their companions had seen them. Then he asked me whether I were the son of the Sun; I answered yes. They said that those Christians of *Cevola* said so likewise, and I answered them that it might well be. They asked me if those Christians of *Cevola* came to join themselves with me, whether I would join with them. I answered them that they needed not to fear any white at all, for if they were the sons of the Sun as they said, they must needs be my brothers, and would use towards all men the like love and courtesy which I used. Whereupon hereat they seemed to be somewhat satisfied.⁶⁵

Chapter 7

They tell Alarcón that they are ten days' journey distant from *Cevola*, and that there are Christians there who make war against the chiefs of that country. (They tell) of the sodomy which those Indians use with four young men, appointed for that service, who wear women's apparel. Seeing they (the Spaniards) could not send news of their being there to them of

Cevola, they went back again down the river to their ships.

Then I asked them to tell me how many days that kingdom of *Cevola*, which they spoke of, was distant from that river, and that man answered that there was the space of ten days journey without habitation, and that he made no account of the rest of the way, because there were people to be found.⁶⁶ Upon this advertisement I was desirous to certify Captain Vasquez of my being there, and imparted my mind with my soldiers, among whom I found none who was willing to go thither. Although I offered them many rewards in your lordship's name, only one Negro slave, though with an evil will, offered himself to me to go thither. But I looked for the coming of those two Indians whom they told me of, and herewith we went on our way up the river against the stream in such manner as we had done before.

Here that old man showed me a strange thing: a son of his clad in women's apparel, exercising their office. I asked him how many of these there were among them, and he told me there were four; when any of them died, there was a search made of all the women with child who were in the country, and that the first son which was born of them was appointed to do that duty belonging to women.⁶⁷ The women clad him in their apparel, saying, that he was to do that which belonged to them, he should wear their apparel. These young men may not have carnal copulation with any woman, but all the young men of the country who are to marry may company with them. These men receive no kind of reward for this incestuous⁶⁸ act of the people of that country, because they have liberty to take whatsoever they find in any house for their food. I saw likewise certain women who lived dishonestly among men, and I asked the old man whether they were married. He answered me, no, but that they were common women, who lived apart from the married women.

I came at length after these discourses to

ask them to send for those Indians who they said had been at *Cevola* and they told me that they were eight day's journey distant from that place,⁶⁹ but that notwithstanding there was one among them who was their companion and who had spoken with them as he met them on the way, when they went to see the kingdom of *Cevola*. They told him that it was not best to go any farther, for he should find there a fierce nation⁷⁰ like us, and of the same qualities and making, who had fought much with the people of *Cevola*, because they had killed a Negro of their company; they said "Why have you killed him? What did he do to you? Did he take any bread from you, or do you any other wrong?" and such like speech. And they [the Indians] said, moreover, that these people were called Christians, who dwelt in a great house, and that many of them had oxen like those of *Cevola*, and other little black beasts with wool and horns.⁷¹ Some of them had beasts which they rode upon, which ran very swiftly.

One day before their [the Indians'] departure, from sunrise to sunset, these Christians were all day in coming hither, and all of them lodged in that place where others had lodged. These two met with two Christians, who asked them whence they were, and whether they had fields sown with corn. They told them that they dwelt in a far country, and that they had corn, and that then they [the Christians] gave each of them a little cap, and they gave them another to carry to their other companions, which they promised to do, and departed quickly.

When I understood this, I spoke again with my company, to see if any of them would go thither, but I found them unwilling as the first, and they laid against me greater inconveniences. Then I called the old man to see if he would give me any people to go with me, and victuals to travel through that wilderness, and he laid before me many inconveniences and dangers which I might incur in that voyage, showing me the danger that there was

in passing by a chief of *Cumana*, who threatened to make war upon them, because his [the old man's] people had entered into the others' country to take a stag [deer]; I should not depart thence without seeing him [the Cumana chief] punished. When I replied that in any wise I must needs go to *Cevola*, he willed me to surcease from that purpose, for they looked that that chief without a doubt would come to annoy them, and that therefore they could not leave their country naked to go with me. It would be better that I would make an end to that war between them, and that I might have their company to *Cevola*. And upon this point we grew to such variance that we began to grow into a choler, and in a rage he would have gone out of the boat, but I stayed him and with gentle speeches began to pacify him, seeing that it was important to me to have him my friend. But for all the courtesies which I showed him, I could not alter him from his mind, wherein he still remained obstinate. In the meanwhile I sent a man away to my ships, to give them knowledge of the journey that I had determined to make. After this I asked the old man to fetch him [the messenger] back again, because I had determined, seeing I saw no means to be able to go to *Cevola*, and because I would stay no longer among those people, because they should not discover me [i.e., might find me out], in person to visit my ships. I was determined to return again up the river, carrying with me other companions, and leaving there some whom I had sick.

Telling the old man and the rest that I would return, and leaving them satisfied the best I could (although they always said that I went away for fear), I returned down the river.⁷² That way which I had gone against the stream up the river in 15 and one-half days, I made in my return in two and one-half days, because the stream was great and very swift. In this wise going down the river many people came to the banks, saying "Sir, why do you leave us? What discourtesy has been done you?

Did you not say that you would remain continually with us and be our Lord? Turn back again: if any man up the river has done you any wrong, we will go with our weapons with you and kill him." Such were their words, full of love and kindness.⁷³

Chapter 8

When they came to their ships the Captain named that coast *La Campannade de la Cruz*, and built a chapel to Our Lady, and called the river El Rio de Buena Guia. He returned up the river, and when he came to Quicoma and Coanna the chiefs of those places used him very courteously.

Upon my arrival at my ships I found all my people in health, although very heavy [apprehensive] for my long stay, and because the current had fretted [parted] four of their cables, and that they had lost two anchors, which were recovered. After we had brought our ships together, I caused them to bring them into a good harbor, and to give the careen to the ship called *Saint Peter*, and to mend all things that were needful. And here assembling all by company, I revealed to them what knowledge I had received of Francis Vasquez, and how it might be that in those sixteen days' space which I was in sailing up the river, he might perhaps have some knowledge of me.⁷⁴ I was minded to return up the river once again to try to find any means to join myself with him. Although some spoke against my determination, I caused all my boats to be made ready, because the ships had no need of them. I caused one of them to be filled with wares of exchange, with corn [wheat] and other seeds, with hens and cocks of Castile, and departed up the river, leaving order that in that province called Campanna [sic] de la Cruz they should build an oratory or chapel and call it the Chapel of Our Lady de la Buena Guia, and that they should call this river the Rio de Buena Guia because that is your Lordship's device [emblem]. I carried with me Nicolas

Zamorano, chief pilot, to take the height of the pole.⁷⁵ I departed on Tuesday the fourteenth of September, and on Wednesday I came to the first dwellings of the first Indians, who came running to hinder my passage, supposing that we had been other people, for we carried with us a fifer and a drummer, and I was clad in other apparel than I went in before when they saw me first of all. When they knew me, they stayed, though I could not grow into perfect friendship with them; whereupon I gave them some of those seeds which I brought with me, teaching them how to sow them.

After I had sailed three leagues,⁷⁶ my first interpreter came even to my boat, to seek me with great joy. I demanded of him why he left me—he told me that certain companions of his had led him away. I made him good countenance and better entertainment, because he should bear me company again, considering how important it was to have him with me. He excused himself because he stayed there to bring me certain feathers of parrots, which he gave me. I asked him what people these were, and whether they had any chief. He answered me, yes, and named three or four to me, and twenty-four or twenty-five names of peoples which he knew, who had houses painted on the inside, and who had traffic with those of *Cevola*, and that in two moons he came into the country.⁷⁷ He told me moreover the names of many other chiefs, and other people, which I have written down in a book of mine, which I will bring myself to your lordship.⁷⁸ But I thought good to deliver this brief relation to Augustine Guerriero [Agostino Guerrero] in this port of Colima, that he might send it overland to your lordship, to whom I have many other things to impart.

But to return to my journey, I arrived at Quicoma, where the Indians came forth with great joy and gladness to receive me, advising me that their chief waited for my coming. When I came to him, I found that he had with

him five or six thousand men⁷⁹ without weapons, from whom he went apart with some two hundred only, all of whom brought victuals with them. And so he came towards me, going before the rest with great authority, and before him and on each side of him were certain who made the people stand aside, making him way to pass. He wore a garment close before and behind and open on both sides, fastened with buttons, wrought with black and white checker work—it was very soft and well made, being of the skins of delicate fishes called Seabreams.⁸⁰ As soon as he came to the water's side, his servants took him up in their arms and brought him to my boat, where I embraced him and received him with great joy, showing him much kindness, upon which entertainment his people, standing by and observing the same, seemed to rejoice not a little. This chief, turning himself to his people, willed them to consider my courtesy, and [how] of his own accord he entrusted himself to a strange people, that they might see how good a man I was, and with such great love I had entertained him, and that therefore they should take me for their master, and that all of them should become my servants, and do whatsoever I should command them. There I caused him to sit down, and to eat certain conserves of sugar which I had brought with me, and willed the interpreter to thank him in my name for the favor he had done me in vouchsafing to come to see me.

I recommended to him the worshipping of the cross and all such other things as I had recommended to the rest of the Indians; namely that they should live in peace, and should leave off wars, and should continue always good friends together. He answered, that for long they had continued in wars with their neighbors, but from thence forward he would commend his people that they should give food to all strangers that passed through his kingdom, and that they should do them no kind of wrong.⁸¹ If any nation should come

to invade them, he said that he would tell them how I had commanded that they should live in peace, and if they refused the same, he would defend himself, and promised me that he would never go to seek war, if others did not come to invade him. Then I gave him certain trifles, as well of the seeds which I brought, as of the hens of Castile, with which he was not a little pleased. At my departure, I carried certain of his people with me, to make friendship between them and those other people who dwelt above the River. Here the interpreter came to me, to crave leave to return home; I gave him certain gifts with which he departed greatly satisfied.

The next day I came to Coama, and many of them did not know me, seeing me clad in other apparel, but the old man who was there, as soon as he knew me, leapt into the water, saying to me: "Sir, lo here is the man whom you left with me." [The Spaniard] came forth very joyfully and pleasant, declaring to me the great courtesies which that people had shown him, saying that they had striven together who should have him to his house, and that it was incredible to think what care they had at the rising of the sun to hold up their hands and kneel before the cross. I gave them of my seeds, and thanked them heartily for the good entertainment which they had showed my man, and they besought me to leave him with them, which I granted them until my return, and he stayed among them very willingly.

Thus I went forward up the river, taking that old man in my company, who told me that two Indians came from *Cumana*, to inquire for the Christians, and that he had answered that he knew none such, but that he knew one who was the son of the Sun, and that they had persuaded him to join with them to kill me and my companions. I wished him to lend me two Indians, and I would send word by them, that I would come to them, and was desirous of their friendship, but if that they on the contrary would have a war, I would make such a

war with them which should displease them. And so I passed through all that people, and some came and asked me, why I had not given them crosses as well as the rest, and so I gave them some.

Chapter 9

They go on land and see the people worship the cross which they had given them. The captain causes an Indian to make a map of the country. He sends a cross to the chief of *Cumana*, and, going down the river with the stream, he arrives at his ships. Of the error of the pilots of Cortez as touching the situation of the coast.

The next day I went on land to see certain cottages, and I found many women and children holding up their hands and kneeling before a cross which I had given them. When I came thither I did the like myself. While conferring with the old man, he began to inform me of as many people and provinces as he knew. When evening was come I called the old man to come and lodge with me in my boat; he answered that he could not go with me because I would weary him with asking him questions of many matters. I told him that I would ask him nothing else but that he would set me down in a chart as much as he knew concerning that River, and what manner of people those were who dwelt there on both of the banks: which he did willingly.

And then he requested me that I would describe my country to him, as he had done his to me. In order to content him, I caused a draft [map] of certain things to be made for him. The next day I entered between certain very high mountains, through which the River passes with a straight channel, and the boats went up against the stream with difficulty, for want of men to draw the same.⁸² Here certain Indians came and told me that in the same place there were certain people of *Cumana*, and among the rest an enchanter,⁸³ who

inquired which way we would pass. They, telling him that we meant to pass by the River, he set certain canes [reeds] on both sides thereof,⁸⁴ through which we passed without receiving any kind of damage which they intended against us.

Thus going forward, I came to the house of the old man who was in my company, and here I caused a very high cross to be set up, upon which I engraved certain letters to signify that I had come thither; I did this because if by chance any of the people of the General Vasquez de Coronado should come thither, they might have knowledge of my being there. At length, seeing that I could not attain to the knowledge of that which I sought, I determined to return to my ships. And being ready to depart, there arrived two Indians, who, by means of the interpreters of the old man, told me that they were sent to me, and that they were of Cumana,⁸⁵ and that their chief could not come himself, because he was far from that place and desired me to signify to him what my pleasure was. I told them that I wished that he would always embrace peace, and that I was coming to see that country, but being inforced to return down the river, I could not now do it, but that hereafter I would return, and that in the meantime they should give that cross to their chief. They promised to do this, and they went directly to carry to him that cross with certain feathers which were on the same. Of these [Indians] I sought to understand what people dwelt upstream on the banks of the River; they gave me knowledge of many people, and told me that the River went far more by the land than I had yet seen, but that they did not know the head thereof, because it was very far into the country and that many other rivers fell into the same.

Having learned thus much, the next day morning I returned down the River, and the day following I came where I had left my Spaniard, with whom I spoke, and told him that all things had gone well with me, and that

at this time and the former I had gone about 30 leagues⁸⁶ into the country. The Indians of that place inquired of me what the cause was of my departure, and when I would return. I answered that I would return shortly. While thus sailing down the stream, a woman leapt into the water, crying to us to stay for her, and she came into our boat and crept under a bench, whence we could not make her come out. I understood that she did that because her husband had taken to himself another wife, by whom he had children; she said that she meant not to dwell any longer with him, seeing he had taken another wife.

Thus she and another Indian came with me of their own accord, and so I came to my ships. Making them ready, we proceeded home on our voyage, coasting and oftentimes going on land, and entering a great way into the country, to see if I could learn any news of Captain Francis Vasquez and his company, of whom I could have no other knowledge, but such as I learned in the aforesaid River. I bring with me many acts of taking possession of that coast. And by the situation of the River and the height [latitudes] which I took, I find that those which the masters and pilots of the Marquesse [Marquis del Valle—see Chapter I] took, were deceived by 2 degrees,⁸⁷ and I have sailed beyond them above 4 degrees. I sailed up the River 85 leagues,⁸⁸ where I saw and learned all the particulars before mentioned, and many other things, of which when it shall please God to give me leave to kiss your Lordship's hands, I will deliver you the full and perfect relation. I think myself to have very good fortune, in that I found Don Luis de Castilia and Augustine Ghenero in the port of Colima, for the galiot [galley] of the Adelantado [Governor of the Province] came upon me, which was there with the rest of the fleet, and commanded me to strike sail. This seemed a strange thing to me, and, not understanding in what state things were in New Spain, I went about to defend myself, and not to do it. In

the meanwhile came Don Luis de Castilia in a boat and conferred with me, and I lay at anchor on the other side of the harbor where the said fleet rode, and I gave him this relation.⁸⁹ To avoid strife, I determined to sail away by night. The relation I carried about me briefly written, for I always had a purpose to send the same, as soon as I should touch upon New Spain, to advertize your Lordship of my proceedings.

NOTES

1. According to Castillo's map, (see Editor's Introduction) Santiago de Buena Esperanza is fairly far north up the Gulf of California, in about Latitude 31 degrees North.
2. Ulloa's expedition was undertaken in 1539.
3. Hammond and Rey (1940:126) state that the Italian word is 'alzana,' which seems to correspond with 'alzaia,' a towing cable: "The meaning however is not very clear and in some places it seems they used oars and poles." Figure 1 depicts Mohave Indians to the north along the Colorado River and boats still being drawn by cables or hawsers in the 1850's. Probably the delta of the Colorado River traversed by Alarcón, especially its northern reaches, resembled the country shown in the drawing of the Mohave Indians.
4. These may have been feathered staves or lances, used as war standards by Colorado River peoples (see Kelly 1977:132).
5. The Indians encountered almost undoubtedly were Cocopa, of the Yuman linguistic stock, while the interpreter was perhaps Pima or Papago (Uto-Aztecan stock), "trained" by the viceroy. Figure 2 herein (after Spier, 1933) shows the disposition of native groups in Arizona and surrounding regions at various times in the recent past. This great moving about reflected in the map is an indicator of the warlike propensities of the Colorado River peoples noted by Alarcón. Some estimates of the extent of his ascent of the river place him as far north as the present town of Parker, but all seem to agree that he got at least as far as the present town of Yuma.
6. The Castañeda translation (1838:304) makes the point that the Italian reads "cappa," probably mistakenly, but from another context taken to signify "rings," or by extension, shell rings.
7. This is probably bread of Mesquite (*Prosopis juliflora*), commonly used by peoples of the Lower Colorado River region.
8. Here is the first hint that the Indians had somehow previous experience, or at least knew from afar, about the fiendish devices of the White intruders (see Chapter 6).
9. A sun-shade, or *ramada*, another characteristic of the Lower Colorado River Indians. In later times, such *ramadas* were also an integral part of the Cocopa houses (Kelly 1977:47).
10. This seems like an inordinately large number of Indians to be gathered together in one spot, but at least indicates what becomes obvious farther on, that is, that the Lower Colorado was heavily occupied by different dialect or language groups south of Yuma in the sixteenth century. The people mentioned here may have been distinguishable from the first group Alarcón saw, but are probably still Cocopa. The immense population of Indians on the Lower Colorado is confirmed by later accounts. Wilke (1978), in an archaeological study of the Salton Basin of southeastern California, notes that prior to A.D. 1500 the Colorado River flowed not into the Gulf of California but into the Salton Basin where it formed a lake over 100 miles long. This lake, Lake Cahuilla, overflowed across the Colorado River delta into the gulf. Re-routing of the river in its delta around A.D. 1500 resulted in the lake being deprived of its inflow and drying by evaporation. The complete desiccation of the lake is thought to have occurred in little more than 50 years. Wilke's study suggests that part of the Indian population of the Lower Colorado may have moved there within the previous half-century from the drying Lake Cahuilla, a suggestion made earlier by Aschmann (1959).
11. Evidently the men and women of the river region were fond of painting themselves in elaborate fashion, as in Fig. 3, showing Mohave Indians in 1856. Yuma-Mohave material culture, even in

post-sixteenth century times, had many strong resemblances to that of the downriver peoples like the Cocopa. This suggests that common customs were well-rooted in the past or encouraged by frequent, albeit sometimes hostile, contact.

12. I can find no ethnographic references to painted masks or visors in everyday use in the immediate region. Perhaps what are being referred to here are the Cocopa equivalents of decorated cowls or even images of the dead used in mourning ceremonies, for example by the Yuma (Forde 1931:230). Spier (1933:232) states that the Maricopa used masks in recent times in certain dances. Forbes (1965:605) notes that "masks, skin helmets, a sash around the waist and arm bands, appear to have dropped out [among the Yumans] after 1540."

13. Gifford (1933:273) reports for the Cocopa bows of willow (*Salix* sp.) and arrows of cane (*Phragmites* sp.) with hardwood (probably greasewood [*Sarcobatus* sp.] foreshafts). Note that willow bows are not recurved at the ends (cf. Fig. 3) as are the (usually) cedar or yew bows of California to the north and west.

14. These are probably the "potato masher" clubs used by the lower Colorado peoples (cf. Gifford 1933:328; see also Fig. 3 herein).

15. Bone "sweat scrapers" or strigils are items commonly identified as such and found in northern California archaeological sites. The well-known sweathouse of (Alta) California Indians was not used by the later Colorado River peoples nor, probably, by the sixteenth century Cocopa or their neighbors along the river.

16. Hakluyt (p. 427) here refers in a marginal note to pipes and bags of tobacco (see Note 17 below). Gifford (1933:269) reports that the Cocopa neither grew nor gathered tobacco, but got wild species from neighbors to the west and smoked it in reed (*Phragmites* sp.) pipes or corn husk wrappers.

17. There is no evidence from later ethnography that the Cocopa or their neighbors used tobacco to make drinks. Perhaps there is no relation between the reed pipe and the small bags, as Hakluyt assumes, although in Chapter 4 is another significant reference to "perfuming"

(Note 41). Casterter and Bell (1951:204) list several plants (none of them tobacco) which Colorado people might use, crushed or powdered, to mix with water for a pleasant drink.

18. Cf. Fig. 3.

19. The transvestitism which Alarcón mentions so casually here is gone into at some length in Chapter 7, referring there to another group of people farther up the river.

20. Probably the cultivated Bottle Gourd (*Lageneria siceraria*), usually used for containers and rattles.

21. He probably showed them Cowpeas, or Black-eyed Peas (*Vigna* sp.), which the Spanish had brought from Europe. The Cocopa or their near neighbors almost certainly were cultivating at this time the Tepary Bean (*Phaseolus acutifolius*), hence the passage is not altogether clear: the Indians must have been familiar with certain species of beans.

22. Alarcón's casual attempt here at deifying himself, as it were, seems to be accepted literally and without question. This behavior by the Indians contrasts strongly with that of the next group encountered farther up the river (Chapter 3). The latter began immediately to ask embarrassing theological questions.

23. Commendable honesty indeed.

24. Presumably Alarcón was putting most of these sophistries in the mouth of the interpreter. Here he is perhaps also trying to make it sound as if the interpreter ("he") is answering for himself. There is a kind of unreal aura to these reported conversations anyway; as will be seen later, these Indians, or at least their neighbors to the north, probably were vaguely aware of Alarcón's true mission, which seemingly was to pacify the Indians so that they could be exploited with a minimum of trouble.

25. This is the second statement about previous knowledge of strangers. (cf. Note 8). There is a suggestion here that the Indian is not telling all he knew, or at least is carefully vague. Another alternative is that the statement is a distant echo of the Aztec myth about Quetzalcoatl, the God of

Civilization, who had departed at some indefinite time to the east and was to return. Quetzalcoatl may or may not have been thought of as white-skinned, but is usually described as being bearded, unlike the Cocopa men, who plucked their face hairs.

26. The reference to Totontec derives from the Marcos de Niza report. It was described as one of three kingdoms, not one of the "seven cities of Cibola." The Totontec River is either the Upper Colorado or one of its tributaries.

27. Hakluyt's frequent usage of "Lord," or "Lorde" several lines farther along is slightly confusing, as it does not properly distinguish a celestial god or an earthly chief, master, or ruler. In Chapter 4 he begins to use words like 'chief' and 'governour' for native headmen.

28. The Lower Colorado River tribes all apparently scalped their enemies after battles. I can find no references to the ethnographic Cocopa or their neighbors taking out the hearts and eating them. Spier (1933:125) records that dead foeman were eaten by the Yavapai, but that the Yuma or Mohave did not do so, for fear of crippling the eater. Cremation was the usual method of disposal of the dead by the Colorado River Yumans.

29. Note 8 herein gives the hint that the Indians somehow were previously aware of the spectacular explosions of firearms. Perhaps they had not yet made the connection between the explosion itself and the flesh-rending bullet that could accompany it.

30. Cf. Note 20.

31. Cf. Note 25. This would be grounded either in myth or possibly in the recent history of Mexico. Cortés had arrived in the New World only a little more than 20 years before Alarcón was on the Colorado River.

32. Thus far, the different people encountered probably all spoke different dialects of the Cocopa language. These new people may have been intrusive along the river. Possibly they were the people known as the *Akwa'ala* or *Paipai*, whom Kroeber (1920:476) identifies as hill dwellers having a Yuman speech, according to his Mohave informants "close to the Walapai dialect [not to Cocopa]."

33. I.e., people who spoke a Cocopa dialect.

34. The mountains are undoubtedly the Cocopa Mountains, today about 5 miles west of the banks of the Colorado River. However, it is not clear how a "town" could be seen so readily unless the river then ran closer to the mountains.

35. These must have been sharp stone blades. The Castañeda translation (1838) refers to them as "rasoirs" and Hammond and Rey (1940:138) leave the reference out entirely.

36. I am unable to find any ethnographic reports which mention stone houses in the region. Perhaps there were simply low walls in rock shelters, where these virtually non-agricultural people lived part of the time.

37. This is the "old style" earth-covered house. Gifford (1933:271) states that the recent Cocopa houses, "with walls of hardened mud held together by horizontal sticks," was a Mexican innovation, i.e., it was probably derived from the region south of present-day Sonora.

38. Probably houses "compassed with earth" had a rounded appearance, but the "men and women living all together" does not correspond with what follows in the next sentence.

39. This disease cannot be precisely identified. Tuberculosis, for example, introduced by Europeans, conceivably could have spread in 20 or so years' time since contact, but it seems unlikely.

40. These same techniques, along with many other curing methods were also used by more recent Cocopa (Kelly 1977:74).

41. Cf. Note 17.

42. Perhaps Alarcón is referring here to squash or pumpkins (*Cucurbita* spp.)—see Kelly (1977:29).

43. Probably a "semi-cultivated" species of Panic Grass (*Panicum hirticaule*), according to Castetter and Bell (1951:177).

44. The Quicoma or Quicama are known to later ethnographers as the *Kalyikwamai*—they are related (see Note 32) to the Cocopa (Kelly 1977:4).

45. The *Coama* or *Coana* are today designated *Kahwan*, also related to the Cocopa (Kelly, *ibid*).

46. By this, Alarcón must have meant a person who could understand the interpreter he had been traveling with all along.

47. This statement has about the same sense in all the versions I have examined, but is not clear in any case. There is no way of telling whether 30, 40 or 70 days would be required to make the journey to Cibola. Perhaps the man meant that it was 10 days' travel to his country, then another 30 days along the river. Alarcón never mentions the Gila River or any stream that could correspond to it; the Gila would probably offer the shortest route to the upper Little Colorado River and the Zuñi villages in western New Mexico.

48. These large "apartment houses" of masonry blocks and adobe were used by the ancestors of Zuñi Indians at this time, in the so-called Pueblo IV period (ca. 1300-1700).

49. Probably deer hides.

50. I.e., turquoise.

51. These are undoubtedly "sweat houses"; the Puebloan people used *kivas* as sweathouses. Castañeda (1838:325), like Hakluyt, translated these as "baths," but he adds in a footnote "Probablement des étuves [lit. "sweathouse"]."

52. This was certainly Esteban (see Editor's Introduction and Note 46).

53. Conies—probably jackrabbits (*Lepus* sp.).

54. The reference to bags made of fish-skins in Hakluyt's translation is probably a misunderstanding. Both Hammond and Rey and Castañeda here refer to bags woven from plant materials. Later Cocopa (Kelly 1978:53) had cordage fish nets from plant materials, but no fish-skin bags are reported. The fish called sea-bream are not known to occur in the Gulf of California (W. I. Follett, personal communication).

55. Castetter and Bell (1951:247) state that, in contrast to the Pima and Papago, "On the Lower Colorado . . . aboriginal cultivation of cotton was an incipient and sporadic trait. Moreover, loom weaving of cotton was nearly, if not entirely, lacking among the Colorado River Yumans."

56. Probably the men of Coana.

57. Another indication that Cibola must have been a fairly well-known place along this part of the river.

58. This was probably a deliberate lie or exaggeration—there is no record of any water creature in the Colorado River itself which has hide which could be made into shields. Probably the story about the old woman and her gold can equally be taken with a grain of salt, unless the man was thinking about metal bells, not necessarily of gold, which he had seen or heard of in Cibola.

59. Presumably Tepary Beans (*Phaseolus* sp.)—see Note 21. It appears that the people downstream had not recognized beans (or peas), but that here (in the north) they were growing beans.

60. These must have been the bells which the old man compared to the bells Alarcón had.

61. Cf. Note 8.

62. Possibly these were the Halchidhoma, who were later also known as a peaceful group.

63. This "old woman" was probably a mythological creature.

64. From the description, the buffalo or American Bison (*Bison* sp.) is the animal in question. Hakluyt's marginal note here refers to the "crook-backed ox of Quivira." Quivira was a fabulous land sought by Coronado, probably in present-day Kansas, and therefore in territory of Plains Indians.

65. This exchange of ideas is puzzling. There have been hints of people down-river knowing of other White men at Cibola, but here for the first time the idea comes out in the open, and strongly. Perhaps the Indians were merely appearing to be "somewhat satisfied" at the specious explanation given by the Spanish.

66. This story of the distances (in days) from Cibola obviously does not jibe with that offered before; cf. Note 47.

67. Although most (possibly all) of the Colorado peoples were familiar with transvestites, this action of "keeping up the full complement" of such persons is not mentioned in the later ethnographies. Transvestites of either sex, according to

both Gifford (1933) and Forde (1931) were not necessarily despised, but were not, in effect, recruited.

68. Hammond and Rey (1940:148) refer to this act as "work," while Castañeda (1838:336) renders it, in French, as "abominable."

69. Cf. Note 66.

70. Hammond and Rey (1940:148) use "people" instead of "nation"; Castañeda (1838:337) terms them "people brave" (brave people).

71. Sheep; and below, horses.

72. Both Hammond and Rey (1940:149) and Castañeda (1838:339) comment that the words "to Cibola" were added here in the original Italian translation, and that this was done in error—the return was not to Cibola but to the vessels at the mouth of the river.

73. Was Alarcón here being ironical?

74. Judging from the information we have already received about native communication, this does not seem an idle speculation.

75. I.e., take the latitude.

76. Castañeda translates this "trois jours" (three days).

77. This seems to say that Cibola was a two months' journey for him (cf. Note 47).

78. This is a reference to Alarcón's full report which seems either never to have been completed or to have disappeared.

79. Another indication of the huge Colorado River population, even if the number may not be exact.

80. Again probably a mistake in Hakluyt's translation. The garment, according to Hammond and Rey, and to Castañeda, was of a woven plant material; cf. Note 54.

81. In view of subsequent events (cf. Fig. 2) this seems like a kind of hypocrisy, intended only to lull or impress the Spanish.

82. This rocky area possibly was the "Pilot Knob-Yuma area, where the river is pressed upon by mountains and hills for the first time" (Forbes 1965:88).

83. I.e., a shaman or medicine man.

84. Hammond and Rey (1940:154) translate, more clearly, that "he placed some reeds clear across the stream."

85. These people, otherwise unidentified, were probably Coana (cf. Note 45).

86. Probably Alarcón is conveying the idea that he went inland 30 leagues (90 miles) into the country from the spot where he had left the Spaniard.

87. According to Hammond and Rey (1940:155) "All Spanish explorers made errors of this nature as they went northward. It was a common mistake in the sixteenth century and was due primarily to errors in the tables of declination of the sun then in use." The title of "Marquesse" was that conferred on Hernando Cortés.

88. If Alarcón indeed went this distance inland he would have been somewhere in the neighborhood of Parker, Arizona. Presumably the only ways of calculating such distances would have been by guessing or by "taking latitudes." However, he may have estimated the distance traveled along the winding river: Forbes (1965:88) notes that "In 1857 Joseph Ives (on an expedition sponsored by the U.S. Government) recorded the distance from the head of the Gulf to Fort Yuma as 150 miles by the river."

89. This must be the letter which made its way to Madrid, ultimately, where it was copied by Ramusio.

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