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Sedlmayr's Relation of 1746

Translated and edited by
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EDITOR'S PREFACE

Sedelmayr's *Relación* of 1746 is a valuable summary of explorations in Pimería from about 1690 to 1746. Its value to the historian is obvious, for, although parts of it have been duplicated by other workers, and much of Sedelmayr's exploration was actually reexploration, the impressions and observations recorded by Sedelmayr will help to fill the hiatuses in other accounts.

To the anthropologist, the geologist, and the student of Indian legends this narrative should prove of great value, for it covers much of the period between the work of Kino and his contemporaries and that of the Anza expeditions. The migrations of the Indian groups, the progress of the mining industry, and the changes in the various legends can be more accurately followed by the use of Sedelmayr's observations.

In several cases, alternative translations, having different meanings, are possible. In this translation the meaning most nearly fitting into the context was used. In a few cases it was necessary to make use of maps, other accounts, and modern field data to obtain the probable meaning.

This translation, made for the purpose of securing information, is probably not a contribution to literature. The translator was more concerned with what happened, and who did it, than with securing the smoothest wording.

Obvious references in agreement with generally available translations¹ have been omitted from the footnotes. Complete notes, references, and discussion of this narrative would comprise a history

¹ Obvious references to the following generally available works and translations have been omitted: H. E. Bolton: *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*; Anza's *California Expeditions*. Eusebio Guiteras: *Rudo Ensayo*. C. E. Chapman: *The Founding of Spanish California*. H. H. Bancroft: *North Mexican States and Texas; Arizona and New Mexico*. G. P. Winship: *The Coronado Expedition*. Elliott Coues: *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*. The maps included in Anza's *California Expeditions* will be found useful in locating the places described and referred to by Sedelmayr.

of Pimería Alta from 1690 to 1746, with some references to more recent occurrences. Only notes that will clarify the narrative are included with it.² Suggestions, assistance, and criticism have been generously given by a number of workers. Responsibility for errors in this work is assumed by the translator. Special mention is due Dr. F. W. Hodge, of the Southwest Museum, who, using references unavailable to the writer, secured translations of several troublesome Nahuatl terms in this narrative.

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² The Spanish version of this relación from which the translation was made is contained in "Documentos para la Historia de Mexico," series 3, vol. 1, part II. Mexico—not dated.

RELACIÓN MADE BY PADRE JACOBO SEDELMAYR, OF THE COMPANY OF JESUS, MISSIONARY AT TUBUTAMA, ON A VISIT TO MEXICO CITY IN THE MONTH OF FEBRUARY, IN THE YEAR 1746, TO SOLICIT WORKERS FOR THE FOUNDING OF MISSIONS ON THE GILA AND COLORADO RIVERS, DISCOVERED ON TWO JOURNEYS WHICH HE MADE TO THE GENTILE TRIBES TO THE NORTH OF HIS MISSION, ETC.

Before beginning the account of the lands, rivers, and nations of gentiles, whose conversion I seek, it will be desirable for me to say a few words about the Pimería Alta which is adjacent to the discoveries, and where were and are the missionary fathers who have visited the discovered lands.

The light of the Holy Faith first dawned upon the Indians of Pimería Alta through the medium of Padre Eusebio Kino, a native of Trent and a son of the Company of Jesus in Bavaria. After spending 18 months in California in the company of the Admiral D. Isidro de Otondo y Antillan as cosmographer for his Majesty Charles II and superior over two or three fathers who went with the fleet, the enterprize of the settlement of the island was deferred. Following the orders of his superiors, he went to the new fields of Pimería, to which work he devoted himself promptly, because of his zeal and his desire to work in a mission for gentiles. He also hoped to ascertain whether there was a land passage to California from Pimería in order to undertake its conversion with the help of the padres of Sonora.

He entered Pimería Alta on the 13th of March, 1687. With the help of the Indian named Coxi, and baptized D. Carlos, in honor of King Charles II of holy memory, a native of the town of Dolores with a following in the neighboring rancherías, he began his travels among the Pimas, carrying to them the light of the Holy Faith, explained by means of dependable interpreters, whom his reverence brought from the mission of Ures in lower Pimería, during the time when he was mastering their language.

The suavity and good grace of the padre, together with various little gifts, together with the divine dispensation which had already opened the gates of heaven to these unfortunates, began to make an impression on their hearts, which were free from idolatry, and not

submerged in the vices of other nations.³ The seed of the Holy Faith found a place in their hearts, and they began to offer their children for the holy baptism, and occasionally the adults begged it. Many of them would willingly gather to form towns, and build houses and churches, as was first done at the town of Dolores, then at Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, San Jose de Imuri, Nuestro Padre San Ignacio, Santiago de Cocospera, San Pedro y San Pablo de Tubutama, and other places.

At other times other padres came, who, although they did not remain long in this Pimería, assisted padre Kino with good success, progressed in the faith, made baptisms, started houses and churches, and appointed governors, justices, *fiscales* and *topiles*.⁴ Together with instruction in the faith, they taught the Pimas political life and rational customs. In 1693 padre Agustin de Campos, being assigned to the mission of Nuestro Padre San Ignacio, started his various entradas from there, sometimes in company with Padre Kino, sometimes alone. One and another worked so gloriously that in a little while they had traversed all of Pimería, making many baptisms, with well-founded hopes of its total conversion and a staff of five padres. In the year 1695 the common enemy of the good of the souls armed his hosts to impede the progress with the deaths of the ministers of the faith.

The Indians of Tubutama, Uquitua, and other evildoers, having risen in rebellion, assembled in Caborca on Holy Thursday, March 13, where on Holy Saturday padre Francisco Javier Saeta was killed by cruel blows from their clubs and 22 arrow wounds.

The rebellion lasted all of one year with various incidents, until general José de Gironza, foreseeing that the conspiracy might spread to the other Christian and gentile tribes, sent a message to the general of the kingdom, D. Gabriel del Castillo, telling what had happened and asking help in the form of more soldiers. Captains D. Juan Fernandez de la Fuente and D. Domingo Teran de los Rios came with those in their charge, and the three companies marched upon the rebellious nation, punishing various accomplices, and surrounding the rest with so many soldiers that they died of hunger, thirst, privation and fear, until they surrendered and peace followed.

Everything being quiet, in November of the year 1696 Padre Eusebio Kino set out for Mexico City and arranged with the father superior for new workers. New padres, who followed their work

³ Recent studies indicate that Kino was surprisingly blind to native religions. The Papagos have a well-organized tribal religion, whose chief deity is *Iitoi*, or Elder Brother. Menje, in *Luz de Tierra Incognita* refers to this deity as *Jitoy*.

⁴ These terms for municipal officers are still in use in the more primitive parts of Mexico. A *fiscal* corresponds to the tax collector in more civilized communities. The *topil* (from the Nahuatl *topiltli*) is the village peace officer, who combines the duties of balliff and policeman.

fervently, came to this new vineyard. Four missions had been founded in Pimería prior to 1730—Dolores, Tubutama, San Ignacio, and Caborca. About that year others were added—Santa Maria Suamca, Guevavi, and San Javier del Bac. If all of these missions had always been supplied with ministers, now today there would be no heathen in Pimería Alta. But since ordinarily on account of various circumstances few workers remained in said Pimería its complete conversion was delayed. But in spite of this, in the pueblos and rancherías situated at the springs and in the meadows of the rivers which the seven missions comprise, in some parts there are few and in others no heathen; and even in these last years many rancherías situated in the interior in dry and sterile country where they could not be ministered to were brought down by the efforts of the Fathers and settled in missions already founded where they have been catechized and baptized. It is certain that in the last six or seven years more than 14 of these rancherías have become congregations of the missionary fathers, and if the royal officers of the provinces would assist in so pious a work the conversion of the last of these rancherías would quickly follow.

The Pimas Altos having in the year 1694 informed Capt. Don Mateo Mange of a large river and large houses toward the north and northeast at the edge of Pimería, Padre Kino was at first incredulous, but there came to see him at Dolores some Indians of San Javier del Bac, who, on being questioned, verified the report, and accompanied him to go and see and discover them. He met many people on the journey, which there and back was more than 200 leagues. The same padre repeated the journey to the Gila River at the special order of his visitor, to inform the Padre Provincial and His Excellency, who ordered that the new conversions should be promoted and that a hand should be lent in the Northwest to Father Juan Maria Salvatierra, who was working in California. His reverence went to the Pima rancherías on the Gila, assembled the neighboring Cocomaricopas, who brought the *fiscal* of their nation, to whom Padre Kino, during his first journey, had given the rod of office. This Indian understood both the Pima and Cocomaricopa languages well. The dress of the men and women, as well as the language here, is different from the Pima, but the padre says the people are friendly and well-featured, closely related to the Pimas, and wish to be Christians like the Pimas. In three or four rancherías, where all know both languages, the padre on this occasion gave to the one who is *fiscal* the rod of office of captain, and to another that of *fiscal mayor*, and sent them with very good messages to their great nation.⁵

⁵ The Spanish version reads *tlatoles* (Nahuatl *tlatolli*—words).

In the year 1697 Padre Kino, Capt. D. Mateo Mange, and 22 soldiers made another journey to the Gila River, which was carrying much water, and the Casas Grandes. Some years later, Padre Kino explored the Gila farther down, near its junction with the Colorado, where the Yuma nation lives.

Padre Agustin de Campos followed Kino's footsteps, but since the two padres then had so much to explore in this same Pimería, and on this side of the Gila, they never crossed it again. There also came Padre Ignacio Javier Keler, who crossed it, and went a little distance to the junction of two other rivers, the Salado and the Verde. The river formed by their union is called the Río de Asunción, which joins the Gila. He passed the junction, went to the first Cocomaricopa rancharia, and returned.

In the year 1744 Padre Jacobo Sedelmayr went by the Papago trail⁶ to the Gila, and also to the middle of the Cocomaricopa nation. In the year 1744, on another journey, he crossed it farther up at Casas Grandes, and farther north he crossed the great Río de Asunción and saw that farther on the Gila joins the Asunción, and he saw that the Gila now having been joined by the Asunción, makes a great bend to the north, which bend he explored, examining everything and noting minutely all the Cocomaricopa nation and their rancherias. He went straight down the banks of the Gila to the Colorado, on which he went 40 leagues from the Gila, discovering on its plain a very beautiful water hole. Tracing the Colorado farther up, he came near where it joined another blue river,⁷ and near to the boundaries of the famous province of Moqui. These are the discoveries made by the Jesuit Fathers, from the accounts which are most certainly correct, especially about the Gila River.

The Gila River then rises to the south of the rock of Acoma, a pueblo in New Mexico, runs some distance this way (south) and, having other arroyos as its tributaries, turns its course to the west, where the Apache nation, perpetual enemy of the Spanish and of the missions of Sonora, lives primitively, and from whence they conduct their raids and thieveries. In 34 degrees of the the north pole (N. Lat.) the river of the Pimas joins the Gila River, which comes in from the south. From this junction it is 22 leagues to Casas Grandes. The distance from Acoma to this junction cannot be verified, for the course lies through enemy country.

One of the Casas Grandes is a large building,⁸ the principal room in the center being four stories high, and its adjacent rooms

⁶ Probably the present Camino del Diablo, which goes from Caborca through Sonoyta and across the Pinacate lava flows to Tinajas Altas and Wellton, Ariz.

⁷ Probably Bill Williams Fork.

⁸ The extreme similarity of this description to Manje's leads to the conclusion that Sedelmayr copied it from Luz de Tierra Incognita.

on the four sides three. Its walls are 2 varas thick (about 5 feet), of fine mortar and clay, and so very smooth on the inside that it seems to have been planed or polished, so that it shines like Puebla pottery. The corners of the windows, which were made with a mold or form, are very straight, and there are no hinges or crossbars of wood. The doors are similar and very narrow. From this we know that the building is the work of Indians. The structure, 37 paces long and 22 wide, is of good architecture.

An arquebus shot away one sees 12 other houses, half-fallen, with thick walls and the roofs fallen in, except in one quarter, where there are some brown beams, rounded, smoothed and not thick, which appear to be of cedar or juniper. On top of these beams are some very uniform canes, and on top of these canes is a layer of mortar and hard clay, making a very curious high roof.⁹ Within a radius of 2 leagues of this place are many other buildings, ruined by earthquakes, and many broken pottery jars and plates of fine clay, painted in various colors and resembling the jars of Guadalajara in this New Spain. From this it is inferred that there was a great settlement or city, of civilized and governed people. This is verified by the presence of an irrigation canal, going from the river across to the plain, in whose center is the city, which is 10 varas wide and about 4 deep, and which carries the greater part of the flow of the Gila River. Not only does this canal serve as a defensive moat, but it provides water to the vicinity and gives irrigation to the lands nearby. About 12 leagues farther down there are two other edifices with smaller buildings nearby and an irrigation ditch, and on the last trip I discovered toward the north the ruins of another building, with smaller buildings nearby, between the Gila and Asunción Rivers, all of which are said to have been built by a people who came from the north.

The chief of this tribe was named *El Ciba*,¹⁰ which in the language of the Pimas means "the cruel and bitter man". They waged bloody wars with the Apaches and the 20 nations confederated with them, many on both sides being killed. The tribe became disgusted and broke up, some of them returning to the north, from whence they came many years before, the others going to the east and south. There is also a reservoir 7 leagues distant from the river toward

⁹ An interesting and accurate description of a typical adobe-house roof, still in use today. The "otates muy parejos" were probably saguaro ribs.

¹⁰ This legend may be an actual description of the wanderings of the ancestral Aztecs. The group that went to the south and east were almost certainly the builders of the Casas Grandes in Chihuabua. Recent work in the Gila Valley indicates that the reservoir herein described may have been an Aztec ball court. The Moctezuma legend of the southwest, long thought to have been introduced by the members of the Coronado expedition, may be, in view of recent archeological discoveries, an actual legend of the Gila tribes, of pre-Columbian origin.

the south, which is hand-made, almost square or rectangular, and 70 varas long by 40 wide. Its banks appear to be walls or breastworks of mortar or stone and mortar, from the hardness and strength of the material. At its four corners are gates which admit rain water. The Indians say that this reservoir was made by the same people who built the Casas Grandes. Considering this information, it is probable that these people were the ancestors of the Mexican nation, especially when we consider the buildings. Those cited in 34 degrees are similar to those near the country of the Janos,¹¹ in 29 degrees, which are also called Casas Grandes, and we know of many others which are as far north as 37 and 40 degrees.

It appears to me that Moctezuma resided in Casa Grande; and, in other buildings on both sides of the Gila, his governors lived: for always, in this type of ruin, one building is outstanding, and dominates the others. We will now leave to the consideration of the individual reader the problem of whether these lands, in which we know Moctezuma kept so many subjects, and even where he wanted to found his empire, were bad. Today there lives on the plain of the Gila, not very far from the Casa Grande, a branch of the Pima nation, divided into three rancherías. The most easterly is called Tuquisan; 4 leagues farther downstream is Tusonimo; and still farther down, where the river is greatest in hot weather, and where it begins to show itself, is the great ranchería of Sudacson. All of these rancherías have much land in cultivation; their Indians raised corn, frijole beans, squash, melons, and cotton when I visited them; those at Sudacson raised wheat by irrigation. From these rancherías there goes a road directly north to the province of Moqui, but very close to it on the east side is a mountain range inhabited by enemy Apaches. In the year 1743 they fell upon Padre Ignacio Keler, of the Company of Jesus, and stole his horses, so that his reverence returned with great difficulty. These Pimas of the Gila are enemies of the Apaches, as has been previously stated, so that it should be possible to establish in these three rancherías a flourishing mission (combining with them also the nearest Papago rancherías, whose principal Indian, and governor at the time, 1697, left the camps and went to Santa Maria Basarac, more than 150 leagues, for the sole purpose of asking baptism. He was baptized with the name Juan de Palacios, in honor of the provincial of the time). The Pima Indians of these rancherías have been there for 50 years, so that they are used to the presence of the padres. For this reason, and in the hope that they have been given some religion, I baptized them, and the padres baptized the children who were

¹¹ Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, R. M. Described by Lumholtz in "Unknown Mexico", vol. 1, pp. 85-93. Also by A. F. Bandelier, J. R. Bartlett, and others.

offered. Leaving the Pima rancherías, and going 5 leagues down river, one comes to a beautiful water hole with some canebrakes in its surrounding meadow. At this place is Santa Teresa; and, going 5 or 6 leagues farther in sight of the river and its trees, one comes to its junction with the Asunción, composed of the Salado and Verde. At this junction is a very pleasant country with estuaries, swamps, canebrakes, and many alder and poplar trees. At this junction starts the great curve of the Gila from northwest to south, the course turning to the west. This curve I discovered and traveled along during the whole of the year 1744.

From the junction to the first ranchería is about 12 leagues; this populous ranchería being Stue Cabitic, inhabited by both Pimas and Cocomaricopas, most of whom understand both languages. Going down the Gila Valley, on both sides of the river, with little separation are: Norchean, Gohate, Noscaric, Guias, Cocoigui, Tuesapit, Comarchdut, Yayahaye, Tuburh, Caborh, Pipiaca, Oxitahibuis, Aicatun, Pitaya, Soenadut, Aopomue, Atiahigui, Cohate, San Felipe de Uparch, Aritutoc, Urchaoytac, Tubutavia, Tahapit, Amoque, Shobotarcham, Aqui, Tuburh, Tucsaes, Cuaburidurch, Oitac, Toa, Caborica, Cudurimuitae, Sudac, Sasabac, Sibrepue, Aycate, Aquimundurech, Toaedut, Tuburch, Dueztumach, near which is a spring of hot water which flows into the Gila, and from which a road turns off to the Colorado, 40 leagues distant. Here ends the Cocomaricopa nation of the Gila, whose lands extend along the river for 37 leagues from Stue Cabitic. From here it is 45 leagues to the junction of the Gila with the Colorado, through the lands of the Yuma nation. From this junction to the mouths of the six rivers in the Gulf of California, in 33 degrees and minutes, it is believed to be 30 leagues. Here lives the Quicamopa nation.

The previously mentioned Colorado River, which is not the Rio del Norte, for the Rio del Norte is known to empty into the Gulf of Mexico, is one of the major rivers which drain North America. It is very deep and without fords, capable of navigation and unvisited in one stretch of 20 leagues, where the banks are very high. Although the land is not very moist, the river carries much water, a sign that its source is far away. I came near the fissure in the mountains into which the river enters from the north and leaves in a southward turn to join the Gila. The river, when I discovered it in November of 1744, was muddy. Some Indians said that in March or April it is reddened, for then there are rains in the red lands, of which there are many, which color the water. This is a good explanation, it seems to me. The Pimas named it *buqui aquimiti*—red river; the Cocomaricopas call it Rio Grande, a name which those far from here, who have never seen the Colorado, apply to the Gila. The inhabitants say that it comes out from the land, carrying pieces of lichen,

corn, etc., so that is not its source, but that it runs underground for a distance before it appears.¹²

The nation which inhabits its banks in one part and another where I went is Cocomaricopa, allied with the Cocomaricopas of the Gila River, with whom they communicate by the road over which I came. Farther down, near the junction with the Colorado, are the Yumas, and farther up to the north are the Nijores, who are found in 37 degrees of the north pole (N. Lat.). These last I did not visit, but the Cocomaricopas have very friendly and affectionate relations with them. They have a large trade in food—watermelons, melons, squash, beans of various colors, corn and other grains which grow at the side of the river and which resemble sand when milled. This is called *ohiaca*. They raise wheat in the moist lowlands. An ever-increasing number came to look me over from head to feet, passing from one side of the river to the other by swimming, at which they were very skillful. They were not afraid on seeing us, although they had never seen a white man before. From the information we had last year, they were on the Gila River with their relatives to see the strange people. The Moquis went into temporary camps to trade with them, as previously stated.

These discovered nations are confined to the Gila and Colorado Rivers. In the south are the Sobaipuri and Papago Pimas; to the east are the enemy Apaches, Moquis, and Nijores; to the north are nations even less known; and to the west is the Gulf of California. There are no cannibal Indians, neither are they as brutal as we were informed, nor are they unamenable to human treatment; but they are affectionate, happy, liberal, obsequious, docile, and respond to human treatment.

On my first entrada to the Gila River, they were not afraid and did not hide in fear of the people whom they had never seen. On my second visit they were not only unafraid, but tried to find opportunities to talk with me and the men of my party, chiefly because rods of office had been given to their principal men in the name of His Majesty, to start and organize law, obedience, and government among them. The clothing of the young is that of innocence, although already in many places where the padres have entered their lands, and by their instruction, they grow no little cotton, with which they weave good blankets, which some of them wear, mostly in my presence. They sell many other blankets to our Pimas for horses, knives, *chomites*,¹³ pack needles, etc.

¹² This legend was current as recently as 1865, and was heard by Maj. J. W. Powell shortly before he made his memorable journey down the Colorado. It is probably a misunderstood description of a *karst outlet*, of which there are a number on the edge of Mogollon Mesa.

¹³ *Chomites* is believed by Dr. F. W. Hodge, of the Southwest Museum, to be derived from the Nahuatl-*tzomiti*—wool, silk, hair cloth, or horsehair.

Their blanket in cold weather is a burning firebrand, which they hold to the pit of the stomach when traveling in the morning, and, when the heat of the sun comes out at about 8, they throw away the firebrand. There are so many discarded firebrands along the trails that they serve as guides to travelers. It is certain that from this custom these rivers were all named *Rios de Tizon*, a name which some maps give to only one. The women all go about modestly covered, most of them covering themselves from the waist to the knees with the inner bark of the willow, which, when beaten and decorated, is made into a kind of skirt. They are a well-fed and strong people, brownish in color, who do not stripe their faces like the Pimas and other nations, but use ocher only to cover the body with various colors, which they remove only when they wash. They cut their hair all around like a tonsure, so that it falls to the tops of the ears like a friar's. They decorate themselves with necklaces of sea shells intermixed with other things, and with round colored shells resembling coral, which they work and pierce. Their arrows and darts are very large and their bows are stiff and so long that they are nearly half a vara higher than a man, and the men are large. With twisted fibers they bind together reeds and small sticks, fastening them at the ends to make a kind of small boat,¹⁴ from which they catch fish from the infinite number which there are in the river, such as trout or salmon, on which they sustain themselves.

They make bouncing balls of spherical shape from a black substance¹⁵ that resembles resin, and inlay in them various sea shells with which they work and with which they play and make wagers. Throwing the ball with the point of the foot, they run 3 or 4 leagues, and the important feature is that he who first makes the circuit and returns to the starting point is the winner of the game. Their camps for their numerous people are reduced to one or two houses, with a roof of clay and grass, supported on many pillars of forked sticks with small beams from one to the next. These houses are so large that each holds more than 100 persons, and each house is divided into three parts, the first being a shelter as large as the house, but lower, for sleeping in the summer, the second being a hall, and the third a bedroom, in which the aged and children are put for protection. The Pimas living among them have a separate hut for each family.

The hatchet with which they cut wood for the building of their houses is the fire. They burn the bottoms of the poplar and alder trees until they fall, then burn the top until the beam is the length

¹⁴ A *balsa*. Illustrated and described in detail in "The Seri Indians" by W. J. McGee, Seventeenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 1-128. Also by A. L. Kroeber and others.

¹⁵ Probably *guayule*.

they want. Although the Company (of Jesus) does not excuse itself from work even in sterile lands to win souls to God, it must not be forgotten that for better reduction, teaching, and quieting of the Indians, it would be better for them to cultivate a land which would maintain them better. Their maintenance reduces itself to fish, some little corn which they plant in the well-watered river meanders, beans, and other seeds which the land produces without cultivation, like weeds, and a sweet-tasting fruit like a screw bean, the size of the little finger. On the Colorado grow squash, melons, corn, some wheat, and the grain which they call *ohiaca*. They impound river water and lead it to their cultivated fields for irrigation. There is a great abundance of supplies in all the Gila Valley, from its plains and fertile fields to the banks of the river and its islands.

They have no religion; no idols, nor temples, nor public cult, although since our missionary journeys, they have knowledge of the true God, and they give the salutation in their language: *Dios manegue quia*, *Dios te ayude*, they use, or *su amigo*. There are no sorcerers among them as there are among all the other nations. The sorcerers are the greatest obstruction of the conversion. One of them described to me, and I saw, in the wall of the Casa Grande, a niche, in which there was an image of a man, who was burned in front of a crowd of Indians at Sudacson for saying that they should not believe in such witchcraft.

The language of all these nations—Cocomaricopa, Yuma, Nijora, Quicamopa—is one soft to hear, and as easy as the Pima is not, for they have the soft *e* which the Pima lack, using the repeated *u* instead. They chant their language. There live among them a number of Pimas who also know another language: these were my interpreters on my entradas, although on my last trip to the Colorado I took for an interpreter a Christian Yuma Indian, whom the Cocomaricopas had raised, sold to the Pimas, who sold him to the Spanish, who gave him to me. The reason that these nations, although of the same language and customs, have differences, is because of the little wars which they have among themselves, which amount to spying on the people of a distant rancheria, killing them, and saving the children, which they covet to sell to the Pimas for things of little value. The Pimas sell them to the Spanish for ten things which they want, which include a knife, a yard of ribbon, etc.

All of these captives here are called *Nijores*, although there is another nation hereabouts called *Hijeras*. There are, on the Colorado, some bones placed in a high tree as a trophy of a Nijora woman whom they killed. At times they do not make peace, although their wars do not last long, and from the distrust which they cause, there is always an unpopulated area separating the two nations. With the

Spanish and Christians they have not made war, neither have they allied themselves with our enemies the Apaches. They give up their wars easily on entering the Faith, as we have seen in this Pimería, where there have been wars, as is shown by the *Trincheras*¹⁶ on many of their mountains, but from the teaching of the padres, they became reconciled and made peace. Their diet is of rabbits, hares, deer, and mountain sheep which go by narrow trails from the Gila to the Colorado. The sheep and deer, of which there are an infinite number on the banks of the river, where they go to drink, have made many wide trails in their wandering. The labyrinth of trails confused us, as we could not tell which was the trail of the people. On the valley floor these trails divide, and in the living rock of some of the mountains and hills the trails of the deer can be seen. The Indians kill some of these deer and tan their hides. They also know of the buffalo, which they do not have in their country, for they have much trade in hides with Indians (from the buffalo country) who sell them.

Passing now to the advantages which will result from the conquest of these rivers, and from the founding of missions on them, which are the first and principal motives in the royal hearts and in the consideration of the sons of San Ignacio, their discoverers. Already this reduction has become only a means to an end, which I will state: namely, the advancement of our Holy Faith. Of the thousands of souls who live on the banks of these rivers and at their mouth, whose number I do not know, and have no concept of, and know that I have no concept of, and which I do not want to guess for fear of deceiving others, I will be safe in saying that there are over 10,000 along the course of the Gila below Casas Grandes, and to the south nearby there live Pimas and Papagos in dry, sterile, and therefore inadministrable country, for which reason they are the most heathen, whom we hope to bring to the flock of the church and to allegiance to his Catholic Majesty, greatly augmenting the number. Some day we will see on all the Gila and Colorado Rivers a flourishing Christianity to the great happiness of His Majesty, and which will open the door for the discovery and conversion of other nations.

The conquest of these rivers will facilitate and conserve the conquests of the country to the north and northeast, where it has never been complete, ceasing in our absence, principally in the province of

¹⁶ Described fully in "Unknown Mexico," by Karl Lumholtz, vol. 1, p. 22; "New Trails in Mexico," by Karl Lumholtz, pp. 140-144, 168. "The Beginnings of Agriculture," by W. J. McGee, Amer. Anthropologist, vol. viii, pp. 372-373. "Prehistoric Settlements of Sonora, etc." Sauer and Grand, Univ. of Calif. Pub. Geog., vol. 5, No. 3. "A Trinchera Near Quitovaguita, Sonora," by R. L. Ives, Amer. Anthropologist, vol. xxxviii, No. 2, pp. 257-259, and others.

Moqui. Since the uprising in the province of New Mexico, when the people shook off the yoke of the faith in God, and of obedience to the king, with the death of some of the ministers of the seraphic religion, and much demoralization of the Spanish, the story has been current that they want padres of the Company (of Jesus) who will reconcile them with both majesties.

In a letter of advice which D. Antonio de B Herrera wrote to Señor Virrey Marques de Casa Fuertes one reads these words:

"Listen and hear the Moqui people lament. Neither the Spaniard's arms against their indomitable courage, the roughness of their hills, the dryness of their inferior country, nor the teachings of the religious, have ever lessened their incorrigibility; except the black-robed fathers, or those of four peaks, as they say, naming the padres of the Company of Jesus; and they add that they have many times begged the governors of New Mexico for these padres.

Therefore, out of respect for the seraphic religion, and not desiring to displace anyone, the Company has refrained from soliciting its reduction, but recently, the padre provincial having, in the year (17)44, received an unsolicited order from His Majesty, charging the Company with the reduction of Moqui, Padre Ignacio Keler went past the Casas Grandes and up the Gila, directly toward Moqui, with an escort of nine soldiers. The enemy Apaches fell upon the party, stealing most of their horses and wounding one soldier, so that they were forced to return.

In the year 1744, I discovered the Colorado River and gathered much information about Moqui, which was given me by some Indians who had been to the valley of the river higher up. Lacking guides and a military escort, and because three of the Indians who accompanied me were already sick, it was not possible to penetrate to Moqui, which cannot be farther than two days and a half by trail from here. Padre Kino states that from his information it is 10 leagues. On my trip to San Rafael they told me that it had been the first settlement of Moqui. From the junction of the river of the Sobaipuri Pimas to Moqui is no greater distance than from 34 degrees to 36.

From this I may say that if a mission is founded at Casas Grandes, and some Pima warriors are made subjects of the Royal Dominion, these Pimas can go to Moqui with the padres as a company of soldiers, serving as guides, messengers, and escort, and the same can be done when a mission is founded at San Rafael de Hotaiguca on the Colorado. Further, the same Moquis, who go at times to trade with the Cocomaricopas of the Colorado, have become friends of the padres, and have invited them to their country, as their neighbors. With the settlement and conquest of the Gila and Colorado Rivers, a step is made toward Moqui, and with the conquest of these rivers, the royal

dominion will be greatly increased, for from the junction of the river of the Sobaipuris with the Gila it is about 160 leagues downstream to its mouth and 40 leagues more down the Colorado from its junction with the Gila. Certainly in this manner the Colorado can be made the frontier. This will also prevent conquest by other European nations, whose curiosity about this often-mentioned river has been manifest, particularly the nation whose conquests in the east have already reached Louisiana, which cannot be far from the sources of the said Colorado. Unless we prevent another nation from occupying the Colorado River, the Spanish conquests in North America will pass out of our control as easily as they have collected the maps we know of.

Another advantage, and not the least, which will result from this new conquest is the suppression of the cruel Apache nation, which lives to the east of these rivers, and from whence almost every month they come in growing numbers to rob and kill in the province of Sonora, doing so much damage to its settlements that today, because of their continued invasions, many lands, ranches, haciendas, and mines of great promise are abandoned. It follows that if these rovers were settled, and there were placed on the Gila, down which they come from Apacheria, a fort, for which I have already picked a good site, and if those nations which have already become our subjects were allied together against this common enemy, the gates of the enemy will be held very easily, and they will be corraled between this new presidio to their west, the two presidios of Terrenate and Coro de Guachi to their south, and that of Janos to the east, at the pass of New Mexico, leaving no gap or breathing hole except toward the heathen at the north.

With this conquest will come the long-desired solution of the problem of California—whether it is an island, or chain of islands, or a continent; a matter which up to now has been disputed by the workers in this northern America. The arguments for one side or the other among these missionaries are not convincing, and even though they be stronger on one side, I will not be content with explanations, but will hope for the certainty, which should not be hard to obtain if the Colorado and its mouth were settled. At any rate, whether it is an island or a continent, the abundant harvest which we predict from the fertile lands of these rivers will be of aid to sterile California, and without much trouble or work. The harvest can be loaded on canoes, made on the Gila and Colorado rivers, and floated to the mouth in the Gulf of California, where it will only be necessary to transship the cargo; and thus, the missionaries on one side of the river will be able to help those on the other. The padres of California, from 28 degrees of latitude, in which ends Christianity, will, briefly, be able to extend their discoveries toward the north of the

island, going to 33 degrees and minutes where the mouth of the river is, and even farther, without their steps being shortened by lack of food and supplies, thereby finishing the often-ordered conquest of all California.

I do not understand mines of gold and silver, for that is not my job; nor do the Indians of the Gila and Colorado Rivers understand them, for they are not very greedy; but it does not follow from this that there are not mines in these places, although it can be said that they have not been discovered. But who can discover them? Certainly not the Indians, who have no concept of, desire for, or use for silver; not the Spanish or civilized people, who have not entered, settled or prospected the country; not the few arrieros who accompanied the padres on their entradas. These arrieros may understand mines, and find traces of ore, as happened on my entradas, now this and now that indicating mineral, and of good quality, as they went along (float). After seriously considering, and with no desire to mislead the jealous padres, whom the Indians think come only for their souls, and without being able to give reasons or verification, it seems likely that God, who is the real benefactor, will reimburse the settlers of these lands, for their past expenses, with these attractive mines of gold and silver.

It is clear that the chief occupation in this Pimería Alta 20 years after the padres started its conversion was not the running of mines, but when some Spaniards entered it and discovered a number of silver mines, there followed a general feeling of uncertainty, not about the tenor of the silver veins, but about the means and needs of some poor miners, who today need lead, tomorrow mercury, another day steel and iron, then game, then clothes to dress their peons, then a blacksmith, then everything; and they are always needing something. The almost total lack of these things is due to the great distance of more than 600 leagues from the mines to Mexico City, or, to say it better, the difficulty of transporting these things and carrying them on the backs of mules.

The foregoing was the case in 1736, but a few years later, when his Catholic Majesty, our King (whom God guard), founded three new missions in Pimería, namely Guevavi, Santa Maria, and San Javier del Bac, there were discovered near them various mines, and, distant from Guevavi about 8 leagues was discovered the famous *Cerro de las Bolas*,¹⁷ in which were found nuggets of virgin silver, and many arrobas of metal. The various inhabitants have left there, partly because they had exhausted the wealth, partly because of the invasions and killings by the enemy Apaches, and doubtless because

¹⁷ At Arizonac, Sonora, R. M. This area is still a steady small producer of placer gold and silver.

there was nothing more to collect and work. Believing that there might be more silver in the interior of the hill, His Majesty ordered that it be worked to his benefit. Although there are no known mines on the Gila and Colorado Rivers, there is no lack of hopes and possibilities of their existence. In the year 1697, Capt. D. Mateo Mange, traveling with Padre Francisco Eusebio Kino to the rancheria of San Javier del Bac, 40 leagues from the Gila, was told by some Indians of a metallic rock to the west which seemed to be rich in silver.

In the year 1699, on another trip to the Gila, the same party passed hills of rock and *tequestete*¹⁸ of metal which seemed to be mineralized, and on the same trip, nearer the Gila River, where the heathen Yumas live, they crossed some small hills of green, yellow, and other-colored gravel. About 17 leagues above the junction of the Gila with the Colorado they found a metallic lava which gave silver after panning or roasting. They took out of the river, at a curve, the vessel of red and livid material in which they concentrate it, which in New Spain is called *temesquitate*. Perhaps the ancient inhabitants of New Mexico, when they discovered the rich Sierra Azul, concentrated the metal in it, and the current of the river carried it here. Also, the aforementioned Captain Manje says that the Indians told him that the Verde River, which first joins the Salado and then the Gila, was named so because it passes by a mountain containing many veins of green, blue, and other-colored minerals.¹⁹ We do not know that this was the Sierra Azul, in which it was reported that an infinite number of mines of gold and silver were seen, from which were taken much good ore compared to the small amount of metal taken out and smelted in New Mexico at the beginning of its pacification. The pacifiers were not able to return again, fearing that the pueblos would revolt like the new conversions, so for many years we have had only reports of the Sierra Azul, but those coming to settle the Gila Valley have hopes of discoveries in that direction.

In the last few years, not very far from the new road to the Cocomarcopa nation, which I discovered, there were found some large sheets of virgin copper,²⁰ of which I saw some and took them in my hands. I do not know whether or not this is evidence that there might be more there also. To conclude briefly, those who are settling

¹⁸ *Tequestete* is rendered *tepushete* in the Rudo Ensayo, p. 243. This is probably derived from the Nahuatl *tepushli*, metal, and *atle*, instead of. The material itself, from descriptions and locations given in other accounts, is almost certainly *gossan*, the iron-stained outcrop of a mineral vein.

¹⁹ Probably the site of the present Jerome, Ariz., copper and gold mine region. Sedelmayr's prophecy about the mines in this area was strangely accurate, considering his professed ignorance of mining.

²⁰ These sheets of native copper are rather common in the copper-mining regions of Arizona, being the result of secondary deposition of copper in joints and along bedding planes in the rock. Another such copper plate is mentioned in "The Journey of Coronado" by G. P. Winship, p. 75.

these river valleys have hopes of discovering mines, and also placers of pearls.

With the settlement of these river valleys other information, whose truth I can neither confirm nor deny, can be investigated. It will be desirable to investigate the statements of the Pima inhabitants of the Gila Valley, which are that they are certain that there is, about 100 leagues to the north of Moqui, a small tank of dense material, of the color of silver, which is in continual slow motion, which when picked up runs out of the hands, and which is surrounded by red earth; indications of mercury. Who knows whether this is true or not? ²¹ This same account describes a mine of mercury that they have in New Mexico. I am an ocular witness that the Indians of the Colorado paint themselves with a very red pigment which resembles vermilion or red ocher, and they tell me that up the river there is much of this. Others say that when they break the red material which they bring to paint themselves, drops like thick white water, which collect very slowly, come out. Seven years ago a Nijora girl (of the nation which lives up the Colorado; sold by the Pimas to a miner of Agua Caliente, a mining camp in this Pimería) on seeing mercury being extracted by her owner for the refining of silver, caught some of it, and, letting it go, looked and pointed toward her homeland, with gestures and motions indicating that there was much of it in her country.

It would also be desirable to investigate the report that white men, who wear clothes, live toward the north and the seacoast. Some time ago a fleet came from there to the Colorado and traded goods with the Indians for hides.

It would be well to investigate the mysterious Indian account of a Spanish woman ²² who in past years left a house on the other side of the Colorado and came to their camps, preaching what the padres preached. This agrees with what is read in the life of the venerable Madre Agreda, who many times was seen in parts of unknown America, preaching, catechizing, and giving presents to the young.

It would be desirable to investigate and determine what rich, governed, and valiant nations inhabit this continent beyond the Colorado, an entirely unknown part of America, and to determine the location of these seven cities or caves, from which the Mexican nation issued and where they learned the organization, government, and

²¹ This legend of the lake of quicksilver is common in the accounts of Pimería. The mine of mercury in New Mexico may have been the present mercury mining area of Terlingua, Brewster County, Tex., or one of the numerous small mercury mines in the Gila Valley. As native mercury sometimes occurs with cinnabar, the legend may possibly have a basis of fact.

²² The legend of the white woman of Yuma first appears in Manje's *Luz de Tierra Incognita*. He obtained an eyewitness description of the woman from some aged Indians. Possibly this legendary Spanish woman was the notorious Catalina D'Erauso, who disappeared from a ship in the harbor of Vera Cruz in 1635. The present Yuma Indians have either forgotten this legend or will not tell it to white men.

culture which caused the Mexicans to found an empire so far from their original homeland. There is no doubt that many stayed behind to maintain this land, and some say that many left the first Moctezuma at the Gila River and returned to their lands. Also it would be desirable to see whether there are or are not kingdoms of Gran Quivira and Gran Tepeguayos, which the French are trying to discover. Many other advantages will result from the conversion of these nations which populate the Gila and Colorado Valleys, which, because I am not certain of them, or cannot expatiate on them, I am not putting on this paper.

The dispositions of these nations toward the reception of our faith are these: they are gentile nations, affable, affectionate and hard working, enemies of our enemies, who are enemies of the Spanish, friendly in their trading and bargaining with the Christians, domestic and very orderly in their lands. For more than 50 years they have peaceably admitted the padres to their lands, respecting them greatly and receiving rods of office from the hands of the padres, and hoping for the coming of a resident priest so that they may become Christians like the Pimas. This is testified to by the writings of Padre Eusebio Kino and Agustin de Campos and Capt. D. Mateo Mangue, mostly of the Pima rancherias of the Gila Valley, whose principal Indian made a round trip of more than 300 leagues to Santa Maria Baseraca, for the sole purpose of asking baptism and a resident priest, to whom the Pimas offer their young for baptism. In the year (17)44, when I discovered the Colorado River and wanted to go to Moqui, these Indians said to me, "Why do you go without first instructing us?"

Before leaving on this trip to Mexico City there came to San Felipe on the Gila River three heathen Cocomaricopas to see me, the town and the church; looking over everything with much curiosity, because in becoming Christians they will be able to build a church. This very clearly explains the common desire of these Indians if they are not afraid of their shamans and of some apostates, who have taken flight from here, and found refuge among them, who, as a nation, have no lack of shamans, who are those who oppose the faith and intimidate the others.