

Arizona

A land of good oak trees

by
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Arizona is a Basque word with a very straightforward meaning:

Ariz - oak tree
on - good
a - the

The Good Oak Tree

Applied by the earliest European Basque settlers to an area just south of the present international border with Mexico

It has been over twenty years since Dr. William A. Douglass, Director of the Basque Studies Program at the University of Nevada, presented his commentary “On the Naming of Arizona,” publishing for the first time the theory that Arizona could be of Basque origin.¹ In the ensuing years a few arguments have been raised with the intent of discrediting his premise that the name may have originally been given to an area a few miles south of the present-day international border by Basque frontiersmen in the early 1730's. Other arguments have sought to dilute the theory by making the case that those same Basque frontiersmen did not name the original “Arizona,” but corrupted the original Piman name for the site.

One of the inherent problems with a theory of this nature is that virtually all historians who have written about the particular incident which propelled the name Arizona into public awareness, have not had even a rudimentary understanding of the Basque language, and have consequently not fully understood Dr. Douglass' arguments. The second problem which has clouded the issue is that virtually everything that has been published about the discovery of the *bolas y planchas*, or balls and chunks, of silver in 1736 has been about ninety percent myth and maybe ten percent historical fact. Thus, when Dr. Douglass published his article, which relied mainly on secondary sources, he had to build his theory around partial fact, when in reality, the true facts of the matter tend to point even more strongly toward the validity of his theory.

He put forth two possibilities as to what Arizona might mean in the Basque language. First, because of a myth that there was a *Real de Minas*, or a Royal Mining Camp, or District, named “Arizonac” that has been perpetuated in the secondary literature as historical fact, he theorized that the name might come from the Basque *arri* (rock) and *ona* (good) with the letter “c” added onto the end of the word to make it plural, as is customary in the Basque language. In short, this would provide a possible meaning of “the good rocks,” describing a mythical mining district in which silver was being extracted from the rocks. By his own admission, Dr. Douglass pointed out that this is not a likely theory, and since this article will show that no such Real de Minas existed, this theory will not be discussed here.

Secondly, however, he suggested that the name very possibly means “the good oaks,” coming from the two Basque words *aritz* (oak) and *ona* (good) with the pluralizing letter “c” added at the end.² Although any speaker of the Basque language, anywhere in the world would recognize *aritz onak* to mean “the good oak trees,” Dr. Douglass did not make it clear for the non-speaker that this is a modern spelling of the word which came about largely as a result of the *Euskara Batua*, or Unified Basque Language effort of this century to unify all the Basque dialects and establish a uniform spelling system for writing the language. Although he gave examples of 104 Basque

surnames that use the word “oak,” such as *Ariz* (oak), *Ariza* (the oak), *Arizandi* (big oak), *Arizmendi* (oak mountain), and *Arizmendiarieta* (the rocky, oak covered mountains),³ many readers did not understand that there is a modern spelling, *aritz*, and a universal historic spelling of *ariz* or *aris*. One other surname that should be added to this list is that of *Arizona*. Though not common, the fact that it was used as a surname is evidenced by the appointment of Fr. Antonio de Arizona as *calificador* (book examiner) for the office of the inquisition in Mexico City in 1721.⁴

This writer has seen the word “oak” in one form or another in many historic documents spelled with a “z” or an “s,” or even with a double “ss.” Of course, the use of double consonants seems to have been a fad among some writers in the late seventeenth through the middle eighteenth centuries. Juan Bautista de Anza, the elder, who will be referenced extensively in this article spelled his name “Anssa.” He also spelled Antonio, “Anttonio,” and Arizona, “Arissona.”⁵ Regardless of these kinds of variations in the historic spelling, the word was not spelled with a “tz” anciently.

Before getting into a historical discussion of how the name possibly came about and whether it was Arizona or Arizonac (both of which make perfect sense in the Basque language), let us first break it down as it was spelled in the original documents of 1736. The Basque language makes extensive use of adjectival suffixes which are added to a root noun and the aggregate becomes one word. Thus, Arizona, or Arizonac if the plural form of the word is used, must be broken into four parts to be understood in the English language. This is done as follows: *ariz* - oak; *on* - good; *a* - the; and *c* - which makes the word plural like adding “s” to a word in English. Thus, *arizona*, literally translated is “oak good the” and *arizonac* is “oak good the plural,” or, as it would be understood by the English speaker, “the good oaks.”

I have asked many native speakers in the Basque country of Spain, without any kind of introduction or background, what *arizonac* means in the Spanish language. Without any hesitation, the answer has always been, in every case, “los robles buenos,” which, of course, means “the good oaks” in English. If one drops the letter “c” at the end and asks the same question, the answer is always “el buen roble,” or “the good oak.”⁶

Since the meaning of either word is so obvious to Basque speakers, we will examine the following more closely to show supporting evidence that the name was most likely of Basque origin:

- 1) Evidence of Basques in the region at the time, in comparison with other ethnic groups, both native and European;
- 2) How the word *Arizona* was used in the original documents;
- 3) Who used the “c” at the end of the name, and when;
- 4) What the apparent understanding of the word *Arizona* might have been;
- 5) Criticism of Dr. Douglass= article that has surfaced over the last two decades, due

either to a misunderstanding of the historical facts or of the Basque language itself.

Before covering the five above mentioned subjects, however, it is necessary to give a brief history of the discovery of the *planchas de plata* for those who are not familiar with the story, and to review the subject and make corrections in the historical inaccuracies for those who are. To accomplish all of the foregoing, this article will use the original documents of the 1736 silver discovery - something that has not been done before. Everyone else who has written about the subject has either quoted secondary sources for their information and interpretation, or, if they have used the Spanish documents, they have used copies (or copies of copies) of the original documents which were written by the men who were there.⁷ Although Spanish *escribanos* generally copied documents closely and accurately, even an accurate transcription does not tell the reader who's handwriting the original was in or what spelling ability the person had. Copies often correct what the scribe interpreted to be grammatical errors or mis-spellings in the original, which, when dealing in the subject of ethnic or language differences can have a profound effect on our understanding of the subject. And, as will be shown in the case of Prudhom's map, scribes and cartographers of a different era sometimes added their own interpretation to someone else's work, often for purposes known only to themselves or those for whom they were working.

The story begins in October of 1736. At that time, the most northwestern settlement in Sonora that had a large enough Spanish population to be considered a village was a newly established Real de Minas, or Royal Mining Camp, called *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia Concepción del Agua Caliente*.⁸ In today's world Agua Caliente lies ten air miles south of the international border between Arizona and Sonora. Although it is the same place as described in the 1736 documents, the patron name of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception was long ago dropped from the name. The tiny settlement of a few ranch houses in the narrow *Planchas de Plata* Canyon is eighteen air miles southwest down the mountain from Nogales, Sonora, across a precipitous system of rocky, oak covered canyons and ridges. At the time of this writing, as in 1736, a stones throw from Agua Caliente in *La Cienega* Canyon near its confluence with the *Planchas de Plata*, is what today's English speaking cowboy would call a line camp. It was, and is, known as Arizona.⁹ It would appear that there were several people living at Arizona and probably two or three times as many at Agua Caliente in 1736. These were mostly prospectors who were scouring the mountains to the north for mineral deposits and it is clear from their statements that they made no clear cut distinction as to where Agua Caliente ended and Arizona began.¹⁰

A little over twenty air miles northeast of the Agua Caliente and Arizona settlements (about four miles due east of present-day Nogales) across this rugged and harsh, remote mountainous

terrain was an older and larger Spanish settlement.¹¹ Located in the San Luis and the Upper Santa Cruz River Valleys, which today straddle the international border, were two missions, Guevavi and Suamca, a number of Spanish ranches, and numerous Piman *rancherías*. Though the majority of the 1736 Spanish ranches were in the San Luis Valley in present-day Sonora, at least two, the Guevavi Ranch and the San Mateo Ranch were located in the upper Santa Cruz Valley in what is today the State of Arizona.¹²

It was on a hill almost equidistant between these Spanish settlements of the San Luis Valley and Agua Caliente/Arizona¹³ that a Yaqui Indian prospector, Antonio Siraumea, stumbled onto some large chunks of almost pure silver. Since he was living at Agua Caliente, he returned home and took some of his children back up to the site to help look for more pieces of the precious metal.¹⁴ News of the discovery, of course, spread like wildfire. The first wealth seekers on the scene were residents of Agua Caliente. Francisco de Longoria filed the first, and what appears to be the only legal mining claim at the site of the discovery before the authorities arrived on the scene and put a stop to the digging.¹⁵ Others, illegally and without registering, scooped up the pieces of silver which were lying on or near the surface of the ground. José Fermín de Almazan discovered a single slab that weighed over one hundred *arrobos*, or roughly one and a quarter tons. He chipped some pieces off of the gigantic chunk and rode over the mountain to Diego Romero's ranch in the San Luis Valley, where he exchanged the silver for trade goods.¹⁶ Word of the marvelous discovery spread from there all over Sonora. Practically over night a frenzied silver rush was on.

Ninety miles away at the village of Bacanuchi where he was conducting court on Tuesday, November 13, 1736, *Justicia Mayor*, or Chief Justice of Sonora, Juan Bautista de Anza heard of the unusual discovery.¹⁷ Anza was also *Capitán Vitalicio*, or Captain for Life of the Fronteras Presidio and father of the more famous Juan Bautista de Anza who, in the next generation, lead colonists to San Francisco, orchestrated the Pecos peace treaty with the Comanches, and was governor of New Mexico for ten years. The younger Juan Bautista was four months and six days old when his father received word of the silver strike.¹⁸

As the King's official representative to make decisions in such matters, the senior Anza immediately set to work. Antonio Siraumea, who claimed his rights as the first discoverer, wanted a decision that would force the others who arrived later on the scene, to pay him a share of all the silver they were able to find.¹⁹ However, there were more weighty decisions that needed to be made. Everything, that Anza had been told about the nature of the silver led him to believe that it was somebody's buried treasure or a clandestine smelting operation, and not a natural vein of silver. If that was the case, all of the precious metal would belong to the King. On the other hand, if it was

a vein, mining claims must be properly filed and the King=s fifth extracted from the total.

Captain Anza obtained opinions from three Jesuit priests, the best educated and most knowledgeable of the law of all the citizens on the frontier.²⁰ With their statements in hand he set out for the discovery site, traveling first via his Guevavi Ranch where he enlisted the help of his ranch foreman and cousin by marriage, Manuel José de Sosa.²¹ When the two men and what was evidently a fairly sizeable soldier escort arrived at the scene on November 20, they immediately began taking depositions. Anza named the site after his patron saint, San Antonio de Padua.²² Santiago Ruiz de Ael, a merchant who was on the scene selling food and other supplies from a heavily laden pack string he had brought over 150 miles from Motepore, estimated that there were four hundred people there scratching in the earth, searching for more of the *bolas y planchas*.²³

Whatever the numbers may have been, Anza quickly put a stop to their unregistered and illegal prospecting. He placed an embargo on the silver until such time as a determination could be made concerning how much of it belonged to the King.²⁴ He put a soldier guard around the site to make sure that everyone abided by his orders.²⁵ Then he did what seems to have brought Arizona to the forefront and left San Antonio de Padua in obscurity. He rode the twelve miles down the canyon to Bernardo de Urrea=s house where he spent from November 28 to Decemeber 3 dictating and signing dispatches and orders, and impounding all the silver that had been found. Urrea was his *teniente*, or deputy justice over the *Realito* of Agua Caliente and its district, but his house was located, not in the *real*, but in *el puesto*, the place or residence called Arizona.²⁶

Thus sixteen important documents dictated to Sosa and signed by Anza, were written and dated at Bernardo de Urrea=s house in *el puesto del Arizona*. Statements from other individuals were also taken there. It was at Urrea=s house at Arizona that Santiago Ruiz de Ael, the merchant of Motepore, first filed his petition with Anza to get his impounded silver back.²⁷ Over the course of the next few years in far away locations like Mexico city, or even other areas of Sonora, the place called Arizona began to be confused with the place called San Antonio de Padua. Arizona soon began to take on a much larger than life image in the eyes of those who had never been there.²⁸

Anza appointed a couple of miners to take samples and assay the silver.²⁹ Just before he left Arizona to ride back up to San Antonio, as he was about to mount his horse, he was presented with a petition from fifteen residents of the Real of Agua Caliente,³⁰ asking that the embargo be lifted as soon as possible so they could have their silver back.³¹ At the site of the discovery, he tightened up security, examined Almazan=s one-ton chunk more closely, dictated more orders, and then continued on up and across the mountains to the San Luis Valley.³² There, at Nicolas Romero=s Santa Barbara Ranch, between December 5 and 20 he dictated and received more dispatches. Orders

were sent to his deputies throughout Sonora, to confiscate and impound the silver wherever it had been taken in trade.³³ On December 20, 1736, having been informed that everyone had vacated the site of the discovery, and leaving Urrea in charge of its security, Anza headed back to Fronteras to be with his family during the celebration of the “Holy Days.”³⁴

In January when the silver had all been impounded, Anza dispatched Sosa to Mexico city with copies of all the letters, orders, dispatches, petitions, etc.³⁵ Two court cases also developed simultaneously. Ruiz de Ael petitioned the *Real Audiencia* through appointed lawyers in Mexico City to order Anza to return the impounded silver that he had taken in trade, a case which he lost.³⁶ José de Meza and Francisco de Longoria filed suit with the *Audiencia* in Guadalajara against Sonora=s Alcalde Mayor, Francisco de Garrastegui.³⁷ This came about because Garrastegui had previously opened the borders of Sonora to Anza for further exploration.³⁸ Now with the magnificent silver discovery on the very northern border, it seemed eminent that the Viceroy would approve such an exploration party. Meza, who was obviously the instigator and main pusher of the suit,³⁹ sought to block Anza from receiving the commission that he might obtain the honor for himself and carry out the exploration as soon as his impounded silver was returned.⁴⁰ He also lost his case when it was pointed out by the court that, 1) He was not the first discoverer of silver, as he claimed⁴¹ and 2) Just because he had fought valiantly while his family was being killed by Apaches⁴² did not qualify him to be commissioned a captain and lead an important exploratory expedition.⁴³

Investigation of the nature of the planchas de plata now shifted to Mexico City. *Fiscal* Ambrosio Melgarejo, state attorney, believed that the silver was a treasure, hidden there by some ancient people. Consequently, it should all belong to the King.⁴⁴ The Fiscal=s report was sent to the *Real Acuerdo* for their opinion.⁴⁵ They reviewed it and five of the six members leaned toward the treasure theory but felt there should be further investigation. The sixth and dissenting member offered the opinion that the silver must have come from a natural vein.⁴⁶ Viceroy Juan Antonio de Vizarrón y Eguiarreta, Archbishop of Mexico, followed the advice of the five and ordered further assays and studies.⁴⁷

After reviewing all the opinions and studies and Ruiz de Ael=s court case, Vizarrón sent orders to Anza on June 8, 1737 “...to go immediately, with the most expert miners of those regions, to survey the make-up and quality of the land in the canyon where the silver was found...” and determine exactly how the silver chunks had been produced.⁴⁸ Anza acknowledged receipt of the order on July 19, but estimated it would take him three weeks to gather a group of expert miners at the site because they were all fifty or sixty leagues (roughly 150 miles) away.⁴⁹ In time, he and five

of the leading miners of Sonora gathered at San Antonio de Padua on August 8, 1737.⁵⁰ The chosen “experts” unanimously concurred that the silver had come from several natural veins.⁵¹ Anza scoured the surrounding hills in search of any evidence of covert smelting operations, finding nothing. He interviewed Pima Indians from Saric but they had no knowledge of the silver, claiming that they never entered the remote area because of its inaccessibility and ever-present Apache danger.⁵²

Captain Anza then proceeded to Agua Caliente where he lifted the embargo and returned everyone’s silver to them, minus the King’s fifth and enough for expenses that had been incurred.⁵³ Turning back once again to the discovery site, he surveyed a 160-*vara* (1440 square foot) claim and registered it to Antonio Siraumea.⁵⁴ A three hundred pound piece of the one-ton plancha was sawed off to be transported to Mexico City for further studies. Almazan was to receive payment for it as it now truly belonged to him.⁵⁵ By the end of September Anza was back at Fronteras where he compiled his final report on the matter to the Viceroy.⁵⁶

One year after the initial discovery, several miners were now legally working the area and some new silver had been discovered.⁵⁷ The three hundred-pound piece of silver was on its way to Mexico City,⁵⁸ where it would arrive by March of 1738.⁵⁹ The original prospectors had been given most of their impounded silver back and everyone on the frontier seemed content.⁶⁰ Fiscal Melgarejo, however, was furious! He ranted about Anza’s and the five mining experts’ incompetency and the inconsistencies between their statements in 1737 as compared to the statements Anza had made in November of 1736. He stopped just short of calling Viceroy Vizarrón, himself, incompetent and demanded that “true” experts be sent to the site for further study.⁶¹

The controversy continued to rage off and on for over a decade. Anza was killed by Apaches on May 9, 1740.⁶² Archbishop Vizarrón retired from the office of Viceroy in August of the same year.⁶³ A later Viceroy, Pedro Cebrián y Agustín, Count of Fuenclara, on orders from the King⁶⁴ re-opened investigation into the matter on May 20, 1743.⁶⁵ Lieutenant Governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Antonio Gutierrez, and Anza’s successor at Fronteras, Francisco Antonio Tagle Bustamante, reported their findings a year later. Facts were already starting to get garbled. No longer was the site referred to as the *cerro*, or hill, of San Antonio in the jurisdiction of the Pimería Alta. These two men referred to it four times in their reports as the *cerro de San Antonio de la Arizona*, something that none of the original players had done merely eight years before. Gutierrez even dropped the San Antonio entirely and referred to it as the *cerro de la Arissona*.⁶⁶

On December 7, 1750, Governor of Sonora, Diego Ortiz Parrilla got into the act and petitioned Viceroy Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, Count of Revillagigedo, to be

commissioned to lead an expedition out to the site and clear the mystery up once and for all.⁶⁷ Any answer he may have received or action he may have taken, however, was permanently suspended by the great Pima rebellion of 1751. Never again was there any kind of formal inquiry. Everyone who wrote about it from 1738 on, with the exception of Bustamante and Gutierrez, had never set foot on the site and none of them were there during the time of the silver rush. The name Arizona soon replaced that of San Antonio in the writings of the eighteenth century, but, contrary to modern writings, it was not until the twentieth century that the name Arizona was replaced by Arizonac.

With these locations, dates, and activities now established, let us turn our attention to the first of the five points set out at the beginning of this article. The evidence of Basques in the region, prior to and during the silver rush is immense. It has been previously shown that they were disproportionately involved in mining and finance and the presidial system of Nueva España in the eighteenth century.⁶⁸ Furthermore, the existence of a politically and economically powerful Basque network that existed from Mexico City to the northern frontier in Juan Bautista de Anza, the younger=s generation, has also been established.⁶⁹ However, we will here and in the appendix, examine the existence of that network during the previous generation in Sonora and the possibilities of one of those Basques calling his home or ranch “The Good Oak.”

The person who has been given credit in this century for establishing the place called Arizona, even though the documentary evidence is almost nil and extremely questionable as will be shown in the third point, was Basque. Gabriel de Prudhom Butrón y Mujica was Alcalde Mayor of Sonora from July 1727 until July 1735.⁷⁰ Though any documentary evidence of him owning a mine anywhere has yet to be found, he was a promoter of mines in Sonora and we do know he at least came to the area. Though his known writings never mention Arizona, his final official report to the Viceroy was written on March 4, 1735, from Nuestra Señora de la Limpia Concepción de Agua Caliente.⁷¹

Juan Bautista de Anza was an old country Basque who arrived in the New World in 1712⁷² and by 1718 was living at a Real de Minas called Aguaje, south of present-day Hermosillo, Sonora. He operated a supply store there and he and two other old country Basques, Francisco de Aldamez and Martín de Ibarburu, owned the six mines that were in operation in this early boomtown.⁷³ In 1720, he and four other Basques, Francisco Xavier de Barcelon, José de Goicoechea, Antonio de Miranda, and Juan Domingo de Berroeta, established a Real de Minas called *Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu de Tetuachi*.⁷⁴ Fellow Basque, Francisco Perez Serrano, was there shortly after its establishment and may have also been involved in its founding. Anza also acquired an interest in the mines at San José de Basochuca.⁷⁵ Though he became involved in the military and married the daughter of the captain of the Janos Presidio,⁷⁶ whose ethnic background is unknown at this time, he

continued to maintain his ethnic and cultural ties. This is evidenced by the fact that his oldest son, Francisco, did not speak Spanish.⁷⁷

Anza also developed ranching interests and it is known that he owned the Guevavi and San Mateo Ranches in the upper Santa Cruz Valley in what is today southern Arizona at least as early as 1731. And, it is likely that he had acquired these two ranches, situated a mere twelve or fourteen miles from the great silver discovery, in the late 1720's.⁷⁸

When appointed Justicia Mayor for Sonora he quickly surrounded himself with deputies of his own class. Bernardo de Urrea, deputy justice for the Agua Caliente district, who sent the original dispatch informing Anza of the silver discovery, was a *criollo* born to old country Basque parents in Culiacán, Sinaloa.⁷⁹ Though Urrea was thirteen years younger than Anza, it is possible that the two men had known each other in Culiacán, since that is where Anza first came when he traveled to the New World.⁸⁰ Other Basque deputy justices were José de Olave in the San Luis Valley district⁸¹ and Francisco Perez Serrano in the Tetuachi district.⁸² The chances are maybe greater that Andres de Padilla, deputy justice in the Motepore district,⁸³ was not ethnically Basque because his surname is better known in other areas of Spain than the Basque Country. However, regardless of his ethnic heritage, he had been closely associated with Anza and other Basques of Sonora for years.⁸⁴

Prior to and at the time of the 1736 silver discovery, living nearby in the San Luis Valley, the largest Spanish settlement on the northern frontier, were a number of Basques. José de Olave, of course, was Anza's deputy justicia there. The largest Basque family was probably the Orozcós. Adult members of that family in 1736 included Simón, José, María Josefa and María Luisa. Other adult Basques included María Teresa de Armenta, Cristóbal de Barrios, Ursula de Chacón, Martín de Elizondo, Brigida de Leiba, Juana Catalina de Janiz, Ana Josefa de Mondragon, Francisco Xavier de Peralta, and Higinia de Perea,. There is also a strong possibility that Xavier and José Ignacio de Moraga, Nicolas de Padilla, and Martín Bernal were Basque or of Basque descent. Others who may or may not have had a Basque heritage but who had maintained a strong association with the Basque community over the years were the Escalantes, Romeros, Pachos and Pachecos.⁸⁵ And, although we know that Rosa Samaniego was a *mulata*, married to Juan Nuñez, an Opatá Indian, her father was Basque⁸⁶.

Unfortunately, there are no records of the people who lived at Agua Caliente and Arizona prior to the silver discovery, other than possibly Gabriel de Prudhom, who was of Basque heritage. From the original documents we glean the names of eighteen men who were living at the settlement of Agua Caliente/Arizona at the time of the discovery. Exactly half of those names were Basque, one was Yaqui, and the other eight are of Spanish or other European origin. The nine Basque residents were José Fermín de Almazan, Francisco de Longoria, Nicolas de Ochoa, José de Osorio,

Nicolas Quiroz y Nerea, Claudio Antonio Segura, Pedro Regala de Urias, Bernardo de Urrea, and José Joaquín de Usarraga.⁸⁷

Other Basque prospectors and miners of Sonora rushed to the scene when word of the magnificent silver discovery leaked out. Some of these included, José de Mesa,⁸⁸ Francisco Xavier de Miranda,⁸⁹ Francisco Perez Serrano,⁹⁰ and Lorenzo de Velasco.⁹¹ An extremely disproportionate number of Basque mine owners, as compared to their Spanish counterparts, throughout the mining camps of Sonora prior to the 1736 discovery has previously been established.⁹² This fact, taken in conjunction with, 1) the Yaqui, Antonio Siraumea=s testimony that there was no Pima involvement in the discovery;⁹³ 2) Anza=s interview with native Pimas who claimed to have no knowledge of the silver because they never used the area for anything;⁹⁴ and 3) the fact that no one has ever found historical evidence of a Pima village or settlement in the area prior to the establishment of the Real of Agua Caliente,⁹⁵ lends heavy support to the possibility of some Basque prospector having given the name “Arizona” to his camp underneath an oak tree at Agua Caliente. It might even have been Bernardo de Urrea, the only documented person to have had a house there.

Secondly, in the 185 folios of original documents, beginning on November 15, 1736 and ending on July 8, 1738, Arizona is mentioned thirty-five times.⁹⁶ Arizonac is not mentioned once. Even though there are numerous references to Arizona in other original documents between 1738 and the end of the eighteenth century, not one calls it Arizonac. That designation, and referral to it as a “Real de Minas,” is unique to only one source, the so-called “Prudhom” map, which will be discussed later. Of the thirty-five times it is mentioned in the original documents, it was called a *puesto* twenty-five times and a *paraje* twice. Both of these designations mean simply “place,” “house,” or “residence.” It was twice referred to simply as *Arizona*, with no other qualifying designation. It was referred to one time by Juan Bautista de Anza as a *ranchería* which would indicate that there was probably more than one house there. A reference was made twice to *Agua Caliente de Arizona*, leading to the belief that there was no clear distinction between Agua Caliente and Arizona in 1736, just as there is no clear distinction between the two today. One time there was a reference made to *la jurisdicción de Arizona*, a strange designation in light of the fact that Agua Caliente, Arizona, and Santa Barbara were referred to forty-one times as being in the jurisdiction of the Pimería Alta.

Lastly, Arizona was mentioned twice as a *Real* but never a *Real de Minas*. Once it was called *el Real de la Arizona en la Pimería Alta* and the other time it was referred to as *el Real de Arizona*. Taken out of context with all the times it was referred to simply as a place, these two references might lead one to believe that Arizona was an established mining camp. However, that

evidence plus the following reasons, show the invalidity of such thinking:

1) The first reference was written by an unknown scribe on behalf of the illiterate Nicolas de Ochoa with a clear heading on his letter of *Este Real de la Limpia Concepción del Agua Caliente*, leading one to believe that calling it the *R^l de la Ariz^a* in the body of the letter was simply a slip of the pen.⁹⁷ The second reference to *Real de Arizona* was made by Andres de Padilla=s scribe, written 150 miles away in Motepore.⁹⁸ He had probably never been to the area and may not have had a clear understanding of the situation.

2) That these kind of slips of the pen took place is evidenced by the new discovery site also being called *El Real de San Antonio de Padua* twice.⁹⁹ It was not then, nor ever, an established real and no one ever thought of it as that. Furthermore, it was referred to as a *puesto, sitio* or *loma* (place, site, or hill) more than forty times in the original writings.

3) The true *Real de Minas*, of course was Agua Caliente and was designated as such twenty-four times. Nine times it was referred to by its full Saint=s name of *El Real de Nuestra Señora de la Limpia Concepción del Agua Caliente*. It was mentioned simply as *El Real del Agua Caliente* thirteen times. Anza called it a *Realito*, or small real, once. And, Francisco Perez Serrano made a slip of the pen and called it the *Real de San Antonio de Agua Caliente en la Pimeria Alta* once.

Our third point of discussion involves the so-called Prudhom map, the source for the erroneous idea that there was a “Real de Minas” called “Arizonac.”¹⁰⁰ It purports to have been written in 1733, and if that were the case, it would be the oldest known document with a reference to our subject. It is a beautifully drawn map of what is today Sonora and northern Sinaloa. Various authors in the twentieth century have used it to draw their conclusions which are not supported by the other documentary evidence. A close examination shows its incongruities and the impossibility of it being what it claims to be.

A “note” written on the left side of the map looks suspiciously like it was summarized from a known report that Prudhom made from Agua Caliente on March 4, 1735,¹⁰¹ but at the end it says “... *firmé este borrador en el Real del Arizonac, dia 13 de Abril de 1733* ... I signed this rough draft in the Mining Camp of Arizonac on April 13, 1733.” Several things about the statement are erratic.

First, none of the writing is in Gabriel de Prudhom=s handwriting. Second, he did not sign it as the statement claims. And, third, the map is anything but a “rough draft.” Whoever drew it took hours in putting it together. Latitude and longitude are clearly and evenly marked and the entire map was painstakingly drawn to a scale which is clearly delineated in the lower left hand corner. Mountains and rivers are drawn in and place names are explicitly spelled out. Pueblos, missions, mining camps and rancherías are marked by carefully drawn symbols which are explained in a

legend on the right hand side. The elaborately drawn symbol showing the four cardinal directions and the frame drawn around the title of the map must have required an extensive amount of time with quill pen and ink. Prudhom may have drawn a rough draft of the northern frontier in 1733 but it has never been found. What we have is possibly a detailed copy of the same drawn by some professional cartographer.

The next problem is in the title itself. Again, it looks suspiciously like it was copied from the title to the 1735 report, saying that the map was “... *delineada por El Capitan de Caballeria Gabriel de Prudhom Heyder Butron y Muxica, Baron de Heyder Gravoshingo Goldacre quien por merced del Rey la gobernó 8 años y fundó en la Pimería Alta el Pueblo y Real de Arizonac ...* drawn by Captain of Cavalry, Gabriel de Prudhom Heyder Butron y Muxica, Baron of Heyder Gravoshingo Goldacre, who by grace of the King governed for eight years and founded in the Pimería Alta the town and mining camp of Arizonac.” Again, there is a glaring disparity between this statement and historical fact. Prudhom did not complete his eighth year as Alcalde Mayor until July of 1735, two years and three months after the map claims to have been drawn and signed.

Another question arises. If Prudhom had really established a Real de Minas called Arizonac (and opened a mine there and created a mining district called Arizonac as some twentieth century historians have claimed), why did he write his last report to the viceroy from the *Real de Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Agua Caliente*, a mere stones throw away from “his” Real? The answer lies in the fact that Prudhom did not draw the map or make the statements written on it. Most likely it was drawn by a professional cartographer in Mexico City after the discovery of the silver in 1736, possibly using a draft that Prudhom had drawn and his 1735 report. What his point was or what he or the person who hired him hoped to gain from the map has yet to be determined.¹⁰²

Arizona (not Arizonac) is clearly spelled out on the map itself, and it was given the symbol for *pueblo*, not *real de minas*. Why the cartographer changed the spelling in the note and the title to Arizonac is a mystery. From this the question arises, “Would a cartographer in Mexico City have been more likely to be familiar with the Basque language or the Pima language?” The answer seems obvious. Well known cartographers among the Basque elite were many. It seems highly plausible that a Basque speaking map maker could easily have pluralized the name, not having a clear understanding of an area where he had never been.¹⁰³ Regardless of how all this came to be, however, it can be seen from the foregoing that attempts at determining how the State of Arizona got its name have been built on the false premise that there was a royal mining camp called Arizonac.

The fourth premise to be considered, then, is to attempt to determine what those who were there at the time understood the name *Arizona* to be. Since all the contemporary writers are silent on the subject, the best we can do is to look at an anomaly that may give a hint as to its meaning.

Spanish writers generally rendered the noun feminine. Santiago Ruiz de Ael and escribanos for Nicolas de Ochoa, Andres de Padilla, and Ael=s court case in Mexico City all referred to the puesto de “la” Arizona.¹⁰⁴ Later writers, like Francisco Antonio Tagle Bustamante and Antonio Gutierrez, did the same.¹⁰⁵ It can be assumed that because Arizona ends in the letter “a,” it would sound feminine to someone who did not know its meaning and they would supply the feminine article, “la.”

Basques on the other hand, rendered the word masculine. Bernardo de Urrea, Juan Bautista de Anza, and José de Osorio all wrote of the puesto “de el” or “del” Arizona, as did Anza=s ranch foreman and clerk, Manuel José de Sosa.¹⁰⁶ Even later Basque writers referred to it that way. As one example, the well-known Jesuit *Procurador General*, Ignacio de Lizasoain, referred to it as the “discubrimiento del Arizona” in his report of December 25, 1763.¹⁰⁷ It appears that they could have been thinking in terms of “el roble bueno” (the good oak), a masculine term.

There seems to be a fairly clear-cut distinction between Spanish speakers and Basque speakers. If, on the other hand, the name means “pozito” (little spring) in the Piman language, as some authors have suggested,¹⁰⁸ only those who knew and understood the meaning of the Pima word would have rendered it masculine. Those who understood Piman would not have been separated along clearly distinguishable Spanish/Basque lines as is the case in this instance.

Lastly, we will now examine the main argument that has been raised against Dr. Douglass= original theory. It is paraphrased thus: “There were no reales de minas with Basque names in Sonora. There was, of course, the real at Tetuachi with a Basque Saint=s name, Aranzazu, but that was the Saint=s name. The real had an Indian name like most reales, that being Tetuachi,” This argument, of course, shows a complete lack of understanding of both historical fact and the Basque language. Furthermore, it is a moot point since Arizona was never a real de minas. However, since it has been professed to be one by secondary sources, and for the sake of argument, we will examine each of the two points made above individually.

1) Were there any reales de minas with Basque names? There, of course, were, both in and outside of Sonora. One of the more famous was the Real y Minas de San Ildefonso y Santa María de Vergara in the Parral District of Chihuahua.¹⁰⁹ The original town of Vergara, of course, is located in the mountains of the Basque Province of Gipuzkoa in Spain. In Sonora we had both *Basochuca* and *Cananea*. Basochuca is a Basque word meaning “forest finch” and Cananea takes its meaning from the pasture lands of the Carranza Valley in Bizkaia.¹¹⁰ Though linguists may some day wrestle with Basochuca to try to come up with a Pima or Opata meaning, as they have done with questionable results on such well-known Basque names as Arizpe and Amezquita,¹¹¹ it is doubtful that any argument can be made for Cananea. I am assured that no Pima words end in “mea” or “nea

2) Did reales de minas have Indian names? Some did and some did not. This is an argument that can better be made for the missions, which were generally established at pre-existent Indian villages and continued to be known by their native names. Reales, however, were often established in remote areas that did not have Indian names. Although, there are not a great numbers of Basque names to verify this fact, Spanish names abound for remote reales. In Sonora, for example, consider the Reales of San Antonio, Rio Chico, San Miguel, Buena Vista, Todos Santos, Alamos, Aguaje, Aigame, Soledad, La Santisima Trinidad de la Plata, and San Juan Bautista de Sonora. In reality, unlike the missions, there were more mining camps that did not have Indian names than did.

3) A final argument must be made in the case of Arizona. Although neither Indian, Spanish or Basque names were in a monopoly, all registered and established reales were given Saints=names. This was universal. There were no exceptions. A Saint=s name was given to the Real of (*Nuestra Señora de la Limpia Concepción*) of Agua Caliente. On the other hand, no one has ever, whether primary or secondary author, applied a Saint=s name to Arizona. It was not a real and we need to extract that error from our thinking before we will ever understand its meaning.

So, in conclusion, a preponderance of evidence points to Arizona being an original Basque name. However, like so many such theories, thinking could easily change with the discovery of new historical evidence in some dusty corner of some forgotten archive. Certainly, the premise of a Pima village called *ali shondag* is not to be discarded lightly. However, before it will hold the same weight as the Basque theory, someone will have to document that an Indian village, or even a place with that name ever existed.

On the contrary, not only is there presently no indication that any such place existed, the complete lack of such evidence in the face of numerous references to all the rancherías and villages in the surrounding areas and the immediate vicinity of Arizona, lead to the obvious conclusion that it probably never existed as a Pima community. Even though Father Kino was in the immediate area on several occasions, he made no mention of it. Lieutenant Manje made no mention of it in his extensive travels. Fathers Segesser, Sedelmyer, Gallardi, Marciano, and Keller visited rancherías and visitas nearby, but make no mention of anything like Ali Shondag, Arizona, or anything similar. Father Agustín Campos, who was responsible for the entire northern area for many years after Kino=s death and who spoke the native language as well, if not better than, any other Padre who ever served on the frontier made no mention of it in any of his writings.

Father Campos visited settlements in all areas of the Pimería Alta on numerous occasions to perform baptisms and other services, especially during the smallpox epidemic in the winter of 1724

and the measles epidemic of 1729. He faithfully recorded fifty-eight names of the Pima communities he visited between 1720 and 1735 but not once did he mention Arizona. Even more significant, he visited communities within just a few miles of Arizona, including Aquimuri, Saric, Busanic, and Tucubavia, but gives no indication that he was ever at Arizona or that any such place existed during his day. Although he never claimed to have visited Agua Caliente, he did, on occasion, record people's names who lived there. No such record exists for Arizona, however.¹¹³

Father Campos did, on several occasions, visit the ranchería which he called *Xona*, a Pima community which possibly would more properly be spelled "Sona" or "Zona." He even used it in conjunction with another community called *Toaqui* on one occasion in the fall of 1723 when he said that Juan and Catalina Sutaqui-tonori were from *Toaqui Xona*. Even though this might appear to be a precursor to Arizona, it is obvious from the fact that he separated the two words when he spelled them, that it is two separate communities. In fact, both communities are mentioned separately on several occasions and it required a half to a full day's travel between the two. It also is obvious from the records of Father Campos' many travels, that *Toaqui* was between Guevavi and Tumacacori and *Xona* was between Quiburi and *Toaqui*. Continuous mission records show *Toaqui* to have evolved into the mission called Calabazas, located at what is today Rio Rico, Arizona, and *Xona* became the Sonoitac Mission which was located at the west end of present day Patagonia, Arizona - both far removed from the location of the subject of this article.

Even if such a place could ever be shown to have existed as a Pima settlement, it will have to be explained why the first prospectors in the area named their new real, Agua Caliente instead of Nuestra Señora de la Limpia Concepción de Ali Shondag? Probably the only thing that will ever settle the question is when a document is found in which someone states they personally gave the name to the area, and why. Since that will probably not happen and the subject will probably always be open to conjecture, I will be content to sit at the table with friends in the Basque Country discussing such world shaking topics and say, "Arizona? Well, of course. You and I know what it means. It must be Basque. What else could it be?"

APPENDIX

Following is a partial list of known Basques who were involved directly in some part of the so-called “Arizona” silver discovery of 1736. Following each name in parenthesis is the English meaning of the person=s Basque surname.¹¹⁴

1) **Almazan, José Fermín de** (fine hay meadow) - resident of Agua Caliente and one of the first people on the site after the discovery of the silver. It was he who discovered the largest *plancha*, which weighed more than a ton.

2) **Anza, Juan Bautista de** (pasture among dwarf elders) - born June 29, 1693, in Hernani, Gipuzkoa, Spain. He came to New Spain at the age of nineteen in 1712. His first recorded ownership of a mine in the New World was the San Antonio Mine at the *Real de Minas de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Aguaje*, south of present-day Hermosillo, Sonora. He and other Basques later founded the *Real de Minas de Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu de Tetuachi*. Anza then moved to Janos where he became, first, an alférez, and then a lieutenant. He also married Captain Antonio Bezerra Nieto=s daughter and they started their family at Janos. When he was appointed captain at Fronteras (Santa Rosa de Corodéguachi) the family moved there, where the two last children, Gregoria and Juan Bautista, the second, were born.

3) **Anza, Pedro Felipe de** (pasture among dwarf elders) - born August 23, 1698, in San Sebastian, Gipuzkoa, about four miles from where Juan Bautista de Anza was born in Hernani. Pedro Felipe was Juan Bautista=s first cousin and lived with the family both at Janos, Chihuahua and Fronteras, Sonora. He signed most of the documents written at Fronteras as a witness.

4) **Aresti, Agustín de** (oak grove) - one of two Mexico City lawyers appointed by Domingo de Guraya to represent Santiago Ruiz de Ael before the *Real Audiencia* in his effort to order Captain Anza to return the silver that he had impounded.

5) **Echagoyen, Juan de** (the tallest house) - a Mexican born Basque and one of the three Jesuit missionaries who advised Anza as to how he should proceed in the mysterious silver discovery.

6) **Echevarri, Francisco Antonio** (new house) - *Oidor* of the Real Acuerdo which was called upon by Viceroy Vizarrón for advise as to whether the silver was natural or a treasure.

7) **Garduño, Francisco de** (pasture) - witness to the statements and transactions of Luis de Mendivil concerning the silver taken in by him at San Antonio de Motepore. He later moved to the San Luis Valley.

8) **Garnica, Tomás de** (place of laurel) - *arriero*, or mule packer, who had been freighting on the Camino Real between Chihuahua and Santa Fe for a number of years. Anza commissioned him to transport the 300-pound piece of silver from the discovery site to Chihuahua, from where another packer delivered it to Domingo de Gomendio in Mexico City.

9) **Garrastegui, Francisco de** (place where broom grows) - a *criollo*, or Mexican-born Basque, with roots in Mondragón, Gipuzkoa, Spain, he replaced Gabriel Prudhom Butrón y Muxica as *Alcalde Mayor* of Sonora and was in office at the time of the silver discovery. He opened up the borders of Sonora to Juan Bautista de Anza for further exploration beyond the boundaries and opened himself up to a lawsuit filed by José de Mesa and Fransisco de Longoria because they

wanted to be the ones commissioned to explore the new territories to the north.

10) **Gomendio Urrutia, Domingo de** (Gomendio means “recommendation;” Urrutia designates the Gomendio estate that was the farthest out of town) - Born in the village of Berriz, Vizcaya, Spain, he was *Alcalde Ordinario* of Mexico City and the receiver of the 300-pound chunk of silver.

He established a 500-peso per year endowment for *El Colegio de las Vizcaínas*, a Basque college for girls in Mexico City, and was rector of the Basque *Cofradia* (Confraternity) *de Aranzazu* during the time of the 1736 silver discovery. A financier and broker, he was Juan Bautista de Anza’s *aviador*, or supplier for the Presidio of Fronteras and had been his father-in-law, Antonio Bezerra Nieto’s financier at the Janos Presidio for many years prior to that.

11) **Gorraez, José de** (high, bare rock outcropping) - *Escribano Mayor de Gobernación y Guerra* in Mexico City. Much of what was recorded about the silver discovery in Mexico City was written by him. He, too, was a donor of a 100- peso per year endowment to *El Colegio de las Vizcaínas*.

12) **Gortazar, Blas de** (old shepherd’s hut) - Agustín de Vildósola’s accountant, he compiled a detailed list of all the silver that Vildósola had taken in trade. From Gipuzkoa, Spain, his New World contact for immigration to Nueva España was probably Vildósola.

13) **Guraya, Juan Domingo de** (the high place) - a resident of Mexico City whom Santiago Ruiz de Ael gave a full power of attorney to represent him before the *Real Audiencia* in Mexico City in his attempt to get the silver that Anza had impounded returned to him.

14) **Leiba, José de** (the fern field) - a Basque on his father’s side of the family, Leiba was of mixed race. He was on the discovery site early, obtained some of the silver, and traded it for supplies to Agustín de Vildósola in Tetuachi.

15) **Longoria, Francisco de** (the pasture land) - one of the early prospectors on site after the silver discovery, he filed the first legal mining claim to a portion of the “hill of San Antonio de Pádua.” A resident miner of Sonora, Longoria lived at San Ignacio.

16) **Mendivil, Luis de** (round hill) - merchant and miner of San Antonio de Motepore who took some of the silver in trade.

17) **Mesa, José de** (marsh) - resident of Sonora and one of the earliest prospectors on the scene, he had lost his family in an Apache raid. Seeking a commission to explore beyond the borders of Sonora, he sought to block Anza from receiving the same vice regal appointment by claiming he was the first to discover the silver.

18) **Miranda, Francisco Xavier de** (the fernery) - *Alguacil Mayor del Santo Tribunal* and Sonora militia captain. He was thirty-six years old at the time of the silver discovery and probably a younger brother of Antonio de Miranda who, along with Juan Bautista de Anza and three other Basques founded the *Real de Minas* at Tetuachi. Francisco was one of the mining experts whom Anza appointed to determine if the silver was natural or a treasure.

19) **Morueta, Antonio Bautista de** (many hills or hilly country) - a witness to many of the transactions and statements about the silver at the *Real de San Antonio de Motepore*.

20) **Murrieta, Martín de** (the hazel nut trees) - *Teniente General* of Sonora and Ostimuri from 1725 to 1727, he witnessed most of the statements made about the silver in the *Real de San Antonio de Motepore*.

21) **Ochoa, Nicolas Alfonso de** (the wolf) - illiterate resident of Agua Caliente and one of the first prospectors on the scene after the initial discovery. He found several fairly large pieces of the silver.

22) **Olave, José de** (lower part of the foundry) - Juan Bautista de Anza's deputy *Justicia Mayor* for the San Luis Valley and witness to all the proceedings at the time of the second examination of the discovery site by Anza and the mining authorities.

23) **Osorio, José de** (wolf slayer) - resident of Agua Caliente and scribe who wrote most of the first letters signed by Bernardo de Urrea.

24) **Prudhom Butron y Muxica, Gabriel de** (*Prudhom* is French; *Butron* means "briery" and *Muxica* is a "grama grass pasture") - *Alcalde Mayor* of Sonora from July 1727 until July 1735. He probably drew a draft map of Sonora in which Arizona was shown but it is unlikely that he had anything to do with the final map which speaks of the "Real de Arizonac."

25) **Nicolas Quiroz y Nerea** (briar patch) - one of the prospectors living at Agua Caliente who signed the petition asking Anza to return their silver.

26) **Segura, Claudio Antonio de** (place of purple loosestrife) - He was living in the San Luis Valley at least as early as 1733 and was a resident of Agua Caliente at the time of the silver discovery. He signed, with the other residents of Agua Caliente, the petition to get the silver returned.

27) **Serrano, Francisco Perez** (briar patch) - one of the earliest miners, and possibly one of the original Basque founders of the *Real de Minas de Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu de Tetuachi*. He was still living at Tetuachi and operating one of its mines at the time of the 1736 "Arizona" silver discovery. He was the father of second generation Juan Bautista de Anza's wife, Ana María Perez Serrano.

28) **Sesma, Juan de** (clump of rushes) - witness to the statements taken in Motepore about the exchange of the silver.

29) **Urias, Pedro Regala de** (of the village) - resident of Agua Caliente and signer of the petition that was given to Anza to return the silver as he was mounting his horse to ride up to the San Luis Valley.

30) **Urrea, Bernardo de** (the gold) - Anza's deputy *Justicia Mayor* for the Agua Caliente district and resident of Arizona, one of the first people on the site after the discovery of the silver, and witness to practically everything that took place from then on. He was in charge of the guard placed over the area until after the second examination of the site by Anza and the mining experts.

31) **Usarraga, José de** (male doves) - a militia sergeant in Sonora at the time of the Seri war of 1725, he rose to alférez under militia captain, Agustín de Vildósola, the rank that he held at the

time

of the 1736 discovery. He was one of the mining experts appointed by Anza in the summer of 1737.

32) **Usarraga, José Joaquín de** (male doves) - Son of José de Usarraga and evidently living in the vicinity of Agua Caliente at the time of the discovery as he acted as assistant to Bernardo de Urrea in his duties as *teniente justicia mayor*. He was appointed alférez of the Presidio of Tubac by Juan Bautista de Anza, the second, on February 20, 1761.

33) **Veitia, José de** (lower house, floor, or village) - *Oidor* of the Real Acuerdo which was called upon by Viceroy Vizarrón for advise as to whether the silver was natural or a treasure.

34) **Velasco, Lorenzo de** (small raven) - resident of the San Luis Valley who rushed to the scene of the silver discovery and found several fairly large pieces.

35) **Vildósola, Agustín de** (communal pasture) - born in Villaro, Vizcaya, Spain on August 28, 1700 he was living in Sonora at least as early as February, 1722 where he quickly developed mining interests at San Juan Bautista, Nacosari, Basochuca, and Tetuachi. He became militia captain (1728-1741) and the second governor (1741-1748) of Sonora. He and Juan Bautista de Anza worked closely together until the latter's death on May 9, 1740. He was living at Tetuachi in 1736.

36) **Vizarrón, Juan Antonio de** (good or full beard) - Archbishop of Mexico and Viceroy of New Spain from March 19, 1734, to August 17, 1740. He died in 1747. Though born in the Port of Santa María de Cádiz he had roots in Gipuzkoa in the same area of the Basque Country as Juan Bautista de Anza. His protectorship of and 6000-peso endowment to *El Colegio de Vizcaínas* gives an idea of his prominence in the Basque community of Mexico City and New Spain.

37) **Zarasua, Juan José de** (the place of willows) - *Excribano Real* in Mexico City and one of two lawyers appointed for Santiago Ruiz de Ael by Domingo de Guraya in the litigation to get his impounded silver back.

There were probably others who were Basque, or of mixed ethnic backgrounds, whose Spanish surnames belie their cultural heritage. Others were very closely associated with the Basque community through marriage or work relationships. A few examples follow:

38) **Padilla, Andres de** - There are more "Spaniards" with the surname Padilla, since it is one of those names that is widespread throughout Spain, but it is also not an uncommon name among Basques. It would not be surprising if Andres, who was Juan Bautista de Anza's *teniente justicia mayor* for the district of Motepore, was Basque, since Anza's other known deputy justices were. Whether he was Basque or not, he was allied with them, and especially Anza, as early as the 1720's at Tetuachi. His name is prevalent among those (mostly Basques) who were instrumental in getting Gregorio Álvarez Tuñón y Quiros ousted as captain of Fronteras and Anza instated in his place.

39) **Romero, José** - There were, at least, five Romero families living in the San Luis Valley in 1736. Ignacio and Nicolás were probably the first to settle there in the 1720's. Nicolás had a Basque wife, Higinia de Perea. The only Romero whose signature shows up on the planchas de plata documents, however, is José. Several of the reports and orders that Juan Bautista de Anza wrote while he was in

the San Luis Valley before heading back to Fronteras were witnessed by José Romero. He also had a Basque wife, Josefa de Mondragon.

40) **Sosa, Manuel José de** - was Juan Bautista de Anza's clerk during the incident and even traveled to Mexico City with all the documents and some silver samples and presented the entire package to Viceroy Vizarrón. He was Anza's foreman on the Guevavi and San Mateo Ranches in what is today the state of Arizona, and had been at least since 1731. He was married to María Nicolasa Gomez de Silva, who was a first cousin of Anza's wife. Although the name is generally considered to be a Spanish name it is also a Basque name, in which language it means "grassland." Sosa was involved with the Basques in the early 1720's who were instrumental in the fight to have Gregorio Álvarez Tuñón y Quirós removed as Captain of Fronteras and Juan Bautista de Anza installed in his place. Thus, he could have been Basque, but if not, he certainly knew and understood the culture.

NOTES

1. William A. Douglass, "On the Naming of Arizona," *Names*, Vol.27, No.4, December 1979, pp. 217-234.

2. Douglass, *Names*, pp. 226-227.

3. *Ibid*, pp. 232-233.

4. See AGN, Inquisition, Vol. 787, Exp. 69, ff. 333, 334.

5. Juan Baptista de Anssa to Ilustrisimo Señor Don Benito Crespo del Orden de Santiago, Santa Rosa de Corodéguachi, 7 January 1737, Archivo General de las Indias (hereinafter cited as AGI), Guadalajara 185, ff. 8-9.

6. For the purpose of this article I wrote to three people in the Basque country (Ramón Ansa of Andoain, Gipuzkoa, and Nerea and Sabina Garate of Ondarroa, Bizkaia) and asked them to translate two sentences into Basque, without any explanation as to why. Ramón is in his sixties and a distant relative of Juan Bautista de Anza, Sabina is an eighty-two year old spinster, and Nerea is approximately forty and teaches the Unified Basque language in the elementary school in Berriatua, Bizkaia. The two sentences I asked them to translate from Spanish were, "El buen roble está cerca de la casa de Bernardo Urrea" (The good oak tree is near Bernardo Urrea's house), and "En el área de Saric hay los robles buenos" (There are good oak trees in the Saric area). I had hoped that Sabina, at least, might use the older spelling "ariz." However, she and Ramón both spelled it "aritz" and Nerea used the proper Unified Basque spelling "haritz." Of course, this simply points up the evolution in spelling in a language that was virtually unwritten until this century. All three of the above rendered the same translation for the first sentence as, "*Bernardo Urrea=ren etxe ondoan aritz ona dago.*" They all translated the second sentence the same except each used a different word for "area" and Ramón and Nerea used the Gipuzkoa/Batua form of the verb and Sabina used the form common to her Bizkaian dialect, as follows: "*Saric (alderdian, aldean, inguruan) aritz onak (daude, dagoz).*"

7. Writers who have consulted primary sources have used the documents from AGI, Guadalajara 185, which, with the exception of Anza's letter to Crespo and a couple of other short documents, are copies of the originals written at the time of the 1736 discovery, or else they have used "Documents Relevant to the History of the Southwest during the Spanish Domination" at the University of Arizona's Special Collections Department, which are mostly transcripts and copies of the documents in AGI. In 1996, Vivian Fisher, retired librarian of the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, visited the Archivo General de la Nación (hereinafter cited as AGN) in Mexico City and persevered until she finally located the original documents in the Minería section, Number 160, Legajos 1 and 2. She brought copies of everything home and was very gracious in allowing me to make copies of the entire two legajos. Since that time I have obtained a microfilm copy of the originals for clearer reading.

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8. Bernardo de Urrea to Juan Baptista de Anssa, Agua Caliente, 21 Nov 1736, AGN, Minería 160, Leg.1, ff.23-23v.
 9. El Correo, Sonora, Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática, Carta Topographica No. H12A49, segunda impresión, 1992. See also, Juan Baptista de Anssa, Order, Agua Caliente, 14 August 1737, AGN, Minería 160, Leg. 2, f. 11v, in which he states that Agua Caliente and Arizona are 5 leagues (roughly 12 miles) from the site where the silver was discovered.
 10. Resindarios de este real de el Agua Caliente to Juan Baptista de Anssa, Petition, Agua Calliente, 3 December 1736, AGN, Minería 160, Leg. 1, ff. 86-87.
 11. Nogales, E.U.M. Sonora, E.U.A. Arizona, Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática, Carta Topographica No. H12B31, primera impresión, 1979.
 12. Juan Nuñez and Rosa Samaniego, Marriage Information, San Luis Valley, 1733, Arizpe Mission Records on University of Arizona (hereinafter sited as AZU) Special Collections, Microfilm Number 811, Roll 11, unnumbered pages.
 13. El Correo, 1992.
 14. Antonio Siraumea, Deposition, San Antonio de Padua, 21 November 1736, AGN, Minería 160, Leg.1, ff.15v-17
 15. Francisco de Longoria, Petition, Agua Caliente, 16 December 1736, Ibid., ff. 61-62.
 16. Almazan, Deposition, San Antonio de Padua, 21 November 1736, Ibid., ff. 17-17v; Bernardo de Urrea, Deposition, San Antonio de Padua, 23 November 1736, Ibid., ff. 25v-26.
 17. Juan Baptista de Anssa, Statement, Chinapa, 15 November 1736, Ibid., ff. 1-2.
 18. Carlos de Roxas, Baptismal Entry for Juan Baptista de Anza, Cuquíarachi Mission, 7 July 1736, copy contained in pension application of Ana María Perez Serrano, AGI, Guadalajara 169, Exp. 536, No. 436, Partida 4, 1789.
 19. Antonio Siraumea, Statement taken by Andres de Padilla, Motepore, 3 January 1737, AGN, Minería 160, Leg.1, ff. 84-84v.
 20. Juan Baptista de Anssa, Statement, Chinapa, 16 November 1736, Ibid., ff. 3-6v; Christoval de Cañas, Statement, 19 November 1736, Ibid., f. 6v; Joseph Toral, Statement, Banamichi, 17 November 1736, Ibid., ff. 7-10v; Juan de Echagoien, Statement, Acotei, 17 November 1736, Ibid., ff. 11-12v.
 21. For information about Manuel de Sosa see Nuñez and Samaniego marriage information, 1733, and Mission 2000 database taken from Guevavi and Suamca mission records, Tumacacori National Historical Park.
 22. Juan Baptista de Anssa, Statements, Accounts, and Recorded Depositions, San Antonio de Padua, 21-22 November 1736, AGN, Minería 160, Leg. 1, ff. 13-22v.
 23. Juan Joseph de Zarasua, Court Brief filed on behalf of Santiago Ruiz de Ael, Mexico City, 3 June 1737, Ibid., f. 129v.
 24. Juan Baptista de Anssa, Accounts of impounded silver, Pimería Alta, 22 November 1736, Ibid., ff. 93-95v.
 25. Juan Baptista de Anssa, Statement, Santa Barbara, 20 December 1736, Ibid., f. 64v.
 26. Juan Baptista de Anssa, Statement, Arizona, 28 November 1736, Ibid., ff. 29-29v.
 27. Juan Baptista de Anssa, Bernardo de Urrea, and Santiago Ruiz de Ael; Statements, Orders, Dispatches, and Petitions, Arizona, 28 November to 3 December 1736, Ibid., ff. 29-57.
 28. One has to wonder if Anza had ridden the other direction first, and sent out all his orders from Nicolas Romero=s

house at Santa Barbara if all the confusion would not have centered around that location. It would have made matters simpler in trying to determine what language the name was derived from, but having our 48th state named “Santa Barbara” would certainly have been less romantic.

29. Juan Baptista de Anssa, Appointment of Francisco Xavier Miranda and Manuel Monroy, Arizona, 28 November 1736, *Ibid.*, ff. 31-33v.

30. Juan Baptista de Anssa, Statement, San Antonio de Padua, 4 December 1736, *Ibid.*, f. 86.

31. Resindarios, Petition, f.87.

32. Juan Baptista de Anssa, Silver Examinations and Appointments, San Antonio de Padua, 3 December 1736, *Ibid.*, ff. 37v-39v.

33. Juan Baptista de Anssa, Bernardo de Urrea, Nicolas Alfonso de Ochoa, Francisco Perez Serrano, and Francisco de Longoria; Statements, Dispatches, Letters, and Decrees; Santa Barbara, 5-20 December, 1736, *Ibid.*, ff. 45-64v.

34. Juan Baptista de Anssa, Statement, Santa Barbara, 20 December 1736, *Ibid.*, ff. 64v-65v.

35. Juan Baptista de Anssa to Juan Antonio de Vizarron y Eguiarreta, Account of Proceedings, Santa Rosa de Corodéguachi, 13 January 1737, *Ibid.*, f.102; and Manuel Joseph de Sossa, Bill for Collection, Mexico City, May 1737, *Ibid.*, ff. 123-124.

36. Juan Domingo de Guraya, Juan de Salinas, Juan Joseph de Zarasua, Ambrosio Melgarejo, and Juan Antonio de Vizarron y Eguiarreta; Power of Attorney Designation, Court Presentation, Court Brief, Recommendations and Decision; Mexico City, 3 June - 30 July, 1737, *Ibid.*, ff.123-134.

37. Escribano Real, Summary of Court Proceedings, Mexico City, August 1737, AGI, Guadalajara 185, f.106.

38. Juan Baptista de Anssa to Juan Antonio de Vizarron y Eguiarreta, Account of Proceedings, Santa Rosa de Corodéguachi, 13 January 1737, AGN, Minería 160, Leg. 1, f.103.

39. Ambrosio Melgarejo, Findings, Mexico City, 29 August 1737, AGI, Guadalajara 185, f. 105v.

40. Escribano Real, Summary, *Ibid.*, ff. 104-105v.

41. Melgarejo, Findings, *Ibid.*, f. 113v.

42. Escribano Real, Summary: Certification of Nicolas de Perera, S.J., *Ibid.*, f. 104v.

43. Melgarejo, Findings, *Ibid.*, f. 113v.

44. Ambrosio Melgarejo, Findings, Mexico City, 20 March 1737, AGN, Minería 160, Leg. 1, ff.104-114v.

45. Juan Antonio de Vizarron y Eguiarreta, Assignment, Mexico City, 23 March 1737, *Ibid.*, f. 114v.

46. Real Acuerdo, Opinion, Mexico City, 11 April 1737, *Ibid.*, ff. 115-115v.

47. Juan Antonio de Vizarron y Eguiarreta, Order, Mexico City, 4 May 1737, *Ibid.*, f. 115v.

48. Juan Antonio de Vizarron y Eguiarreta, Order, Mexico City, 8 June 1737, AGN, Minería 160, Leg. 2, ff. 1-5v.

49. Juan Baptista de Anssa, Letter, Santa Rosa de Corodéguachi, 19 July 1737, *Ibid.*, f. 6.

50. Juan Baptista de Anssa, Orders to Mining Experts, San Antonio de Padua, 8 August 1737, *Ibid.* ff. 6v-7.

51. Juan Baptista de Anssa; Statements taken from Francisco Xavier de Miranda, Andres Sanchez de Padilla, Joseph

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- Núñez, Joseph de Usarraga, and Ignacio Sambrano; San Antonio de Padua, 12 August 1737, *Ibid.* ff. 7-10v.
52. Juan Baptista de Anssa, Statement, San Antonio de Padua, 13 August 1737, *Ibid.*, ff. 10v-11v.
53. Juan Baptista de Anssa, Order, Agua Caliente, 14 August 1737, *Ibid.*, ff. 11v-13.
54. Juan Baptista de Anssa, Statement, San Antonio de Padua, 16 August 1737, *Ibid.*, ff. 13v-14v.
55. Juan Baptista de Anssa, Statement, Santa Rosa de Corodéguaqui, 30 September 1737, *Ibid.*, ff. 16v-17v.
56. Juan Baptista de Anssa to Juan Antonio de Vizarron y Eguiarreta, Santa Rosa de Corodéguaqui, 6 October 1737, *Ibid.*, ff. 18-20v.
57. *Ibid.*, f. 19v.
58. *Ibid.*, f. 19.
59. Domingo de Gomendio Urrutia, Acknowledgment of Receipt of Silver, Mexico City, prior to 11 March 1738, AGI, Guadalajara 185, ff. 124v-125.
60. Juan Baptista de Anssa, Statement, Santa Rosa de Corodéguaqui, 30 September 1737, AGN, Minería 160, Leg. 2, f. 16v.
61. Ambrosio Melgarejo, Findings, Mexico City, 3 June 1738, *Ibid.*, ff. 25-32.
62. Juan Bautista de Belauzaran to Juan Antonio de Vizarron y Eguiarreta, San Felipe el Real, 6 July 1740, AGI, Guadalajara 88, f. 564.
63. Thomas C. Barnes, Thomas H. Naylor, Charles W. Polzer; *Northern New Spain: A Research Guide*; (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1981), p. 95.
64. El Rey, Cédula, Aranjuez, 28 May 1741, AGN, Minería 160, Leg. 1, ff. 135-142v.
65. Pedro Cebrian y Agustin, Order, Mexico City, 20 May 1743, AGN, Minería 160, Leg. 2, ff. 50-59v.
66. Francisco Antonio Tagle Bustamante, Correspondence, Santa Rosa de Corodéguaqui, 28 September 1744, AGN, Minería 160, Leg. 1, ff. 144-144v; 22 December 1743, 2 April 1744, and 4 April 1744; AGN, Minería 160, Leg. 2, ff. 60-66v and 68-68v; and Antonio Gutierrez, Correspondence, San Felipe el Real, 7 March 1744 and 12 March 1744, *Ibid.*, ff. 66v-68.
67. Diego Ortiz Parrilla, Horcasitas, 7 December 1750, *Ibid.*, ff. 77-80.
68. Donald T. Garate, "Vizcaínos, Jesuits and Álvarez Tuñón: An Ethnic View of a Frontier Controversy," *Journal of the Society of Basque Studies in America*, Vol. XVI 1996, pp. 65-67.
69. Donald T. Garate, "Basque Ethnic Connections and the Expeditions of Juan Bautista de Anza to Alta California," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review*, Vol. 3, No. 4, pp. 71-93.
70. Gabriel de Prudhom Butron y Muxica, Statement, Mexico City, 6 November 1745, complete translation in Donald Rowland, "The Sonora Frontier of New Spain, 1735-1745," *New Spain and the Anglo-American West: Historical Contributions presented to Herbert Bolton*, Vol. 1, (Lancaster: Lancaster Press, Inc., 1932), p. 163.
71. Gabriel de Prudhom Butron y Muxica, Report, Agua Caliente, 4 March 1735, Archivo Historico de Hacienda (hereinafter cited as AHH), Leg. 278, Exp. 34, 4 unnumbered folios.
72. Juan Baptista de Anssa to Joseph Barba, Ímuris, 21 April 1736, AGN, Historia 333, f. 77.

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73. Auttos de vissita hecho por el capitán Don Antonio Bezerra Nieto en las Provincias de Sonora y Ostimuri; Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Aguaje, 17-22 January 1718; El Archivo de Hidalgo de Parral (hereinafter cited as AHP), Año 1718, No. 15, ff. 16-32.
74. Garate, Vizcaínos, pp. 71-76.
75. Manuel Estevan Tato, Statement, Basochuca, 2 February 1741, University of Texas, El Paso (hereinafter cited as UTP) Manuscript Collection - informes militares, miscelaneas, matrimonios, entierros de Janos, Chihuahua, 1700-1835, one unnumbered folio; and Arizpe Mission Records, AZU 811, Roll 11 show that Anza=s family moved to the family holdings at Basochuca after the death of Juan Bautista de Anza.
76. Francisco Anttonio de Anssa; Baptismal Entry, Janos, 21 January 1725; UTP, Manuscript Collection - bautismos, casamientos y informes militares, 1720-1780, f. 8v.
77. Joseph de Vera on behalf of Francisco Antonio de Anssa to Josphe de Utrera, Santa Barbara, 31 October 1754, AGI, Guadalajara 419, No. 69, 1 unnumbered folio.
78. Nuñez and Samaniego marriage information, 1733.
79. Urrea on various occasions said he was from Culiacán. He also claimed to be “thirty years old, more or less” at the time of the silver discovery (see note 80). Although the baptismal registry for Culiacán is very sketchy during the first years of the eighteenth century, his parents were probably Ambrosio de Urrea and Margarita de Aristiguieta. If that is the case, it was his sister, Maria Rosa de Urrea whose baptismal entry of 19 March 1705 has survived the ravages of time.
80. At the time of the discovery, Urrea was thirty years old, see Juan Bautista de Anssa; Deposition taken of Bernardo de Urrea, San Antonio de Padua, 23 Novemeber 1736, AGN, Minería 160, Leg. 1, f. 26. Anza was forty-three, see Juan Baptista de Anssa, Baptismal Entry, Libro 3 de bautismos de Hernani, Elizbarrutiko Artxiboa Donostian, San Sebastian, Gipuzkoa, Spain, f. 115.
81. Gabriel Anttonio de Vildosola, Bill of Sale of Santa Barbara to Maria Rosa Bezerra Nieto, Santa Rosa de Corodéguaichi, 28 October 1756, Arizona Historical Society Bio File under Maria Rosa Bezerra Nieto, f. 1.
82. Juan Baptista de Anssa, Statement, Santa Rosa de Corodéguaichi, 8 January 1737, AGN, Minería 160, Leg.1, f. 91.
83. Andres de Padilla, Statement, Motepore, 24 December 1736, Ibid., f. 69.
84. Andres de Padilla owned and operated a silver smelter in the *Real y Minas de la Soledad*, where a majortiy of interest in the mines was held by Basques, at least as early as 21 February 1718. See Bezerra Nieto, Auttos de Vissita, 1718, f. 35v.
85. Mission 2000 database, Guevavi and Suamca Mission Records, Tumacacori National Historical Park.
86. Nuñez and Samaniego marriage information, 1733.
87. Juan Baptista de Anssa; Deposition of Antonio Siraumea, Arizona, 21 November 1736, AGN, Minería 160, Leg. 1, ff. 15v-17; Statement, Arizona, 23 November 1736, Ibid., ff.29-29v; and Recindarios, Agua Caliente, 3 December 1736, Ibid., ff. 86-87.
88. Juan Baptista de Anssa; Depostion of Joseph de Mesa, Arizona, 21 November 1736, Ibid., ff. 17v-18.
89. Juan Baptista de Anssa; Appointment of Francisco Xavier de Miranda, Arizona, 28 November 1736, Ibid., ff. 31-31v.
90. Francisco Perez Serrano, Statement, Agua Caliente, 17 December 1736, Ibid., ff. 75-75v.
91. Juan Baptista de Anssa; Deposition of Lorenzo de Velasco, San Antonio de Padua, 24 November 1736, Ibid., ff. 28v-29.

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92. Garate, Vizcaínos, p. 66.
93. Anssa, Siraumea Deposition, f. 17.
94. Juan Baptista de Anssa, Statement, San Antonio de Padua, 13 August 1737, AGN, Minería 160, Leg. 2, f.11.
95. James E. Officer, *Hispanic Arizona, 1536-1856*, (Tucson: The Univerisity of Arizona Press, 1987), p. 6.
96. AGN, Minería 160, Leg. 1, ff. 1-134; Minería 160, Leg. 2, ff. 1-49v; and AGI, Guadalajara 185, ff. 8-9.
97. Nicolas Alfonso de Ochoa, Petition, Agua Caliente, 18 December 1736, AGN, Minería 160, Leg. 1, f.63.
98. Andres de Padilla, Statement, Motepore, 24 December 1736, *Ibid.*, f.69.
99. *Ibid.*, and Juan Baptista de Anssa, Statement, San Antonio, 13 August 1737, Minería 160, Leg. 2, f. 10v.
100. Mapa de la Provincia de la Nueva Andaluzia de San Juan Baptista de Sonora, AGN, Historia 16, one unnumbered page.
101. Prudhom, Report, 4 unnumbered folios.
102. There is a good chance that this particular piece of cartography came about as a result of the Fiscal's recommendation to the Viceroy that a map be clearly delineated and drawn, showing latitude and longitude, of all the lands "of these kingdoms," so the governor of Sinaloa might have a better understanding of how to mount an expedition into the area. (See Melgarejo, Findings, 29 August 1737, AGI, Guadalajara 185, f. 112.) If that is the case, the map would have had to have been drawn sometime after August 29, 1737.
103. "Why" these kinds of errors happen is usually impossible to determine but people do pluralize singular names and vice-versa regularly. One such example I have noticed in my ten years with the National Park Service is with the name of Zion National Park. Its official name is "Zion" and it is known as that throughout the world, but locals universally refer to it as "Zions."
104. See, for example, AGN, Minería 160, Leg.1, ff. 63, 69, 78, and 79.
105. See, for example, AGN, "Minería 160, Leg. 2, ff. 60, 66, 67 and 68.
106. See, for example, AGN, Minería 160, Leg.1, ff. 23v, 28v, 29, 32v, 45v, 55, 58, and 58v.
107. Ygnacio Lizassoain, Informe, 25 December 1763, AGN, Provincias Internas 245, f. 4.
108. William Croft Barnes, *Arizona Place Names*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1960), p. xv.
109. See AHP, Año 1729, ff. 430-537.
110. Garate, Basque Names, pp. 102-103.
111. As an example of how this process has worked in the past, Tumacacori National Historical Park developed the Mission 2000 program to compile mission records into a database. In the process, literally hundreds of Spanish and Piman names have been input into the system. Dr. David Shaul of Tucson, Arizona, a linguist in the Piman and other native languages of the Southwest, whom the Park hired to translate the Piman names, and who firmly believes that Arizona is of Piman origin, struggled extensively with the name Amezquita to come up with several questionable possibilities of what it might mean, until I told him he need not have attempted to translate it. It is the Basque name of a well-known family in the San Luis Valley in the eighteenth century. This gives graphic proof of how scholars, when they have not understood the meaning of a word, have assumed that it was of Indian origin. Furthermore, of all the hundreds of Piman names in the Mission 2000 system, there are none that even remotely resemble anything in Basque. From this, it seems that it would be a startling coincidence if such obvious Basque names as Arizona, Arizpe, and Amezquita would have near or exact counterparts in the Piman language.

112. Dr. David Shaul, in personal conversation with the author.

113. Sites visited by Father Campos include Aquimuri, Arivaca, Ati, Babocomaric, Babuquiburica, Bacarica, Buhto, Busanic, Caborca, Casa Grande, Cocospera, Comac, Comarhca, Compit, Cucurpe, Cuicui, Cuituaboca, Cuiturica, Custutoqui, Guevavi, Imuris, Horcani, Huc=buto, Las Palmillas, Los Dolores, Los Tres Alamos, Ortuani, Quiburi, Quixo, Rio Xila (Gila), San Agustín (Tucson), San Cayetano (Tumacácori), San Ignacio, San Luis, San Xavier del Bac, San Marcello, Santa, Magdalena, Santa María (Suamca), Santa Martha, Santa Teresa, Sasabac (Santa Barbara), Sasparca, Sibuc, Sinuuquim, Soledad, Sutaqui, Tepoca, Toaqui (Toacuquita-Calabazas), Tuaburi, Tubac, Tuburitar, Tubutama, Tucubavia, Tuhto, Valle del Sobaipuri, Xaric (Saric), Xona (Sonoitac), and Xoporica (Sopori). See San Ignacio Mission baptisms, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, pages 1-92.

114. In compiling this appendix, the following works were cited, as well as mission and parish records for Arivaca, Arizpe, Basochuca, Calabazas, Guevavi, San Ignacio, Sonoitac, Suamca, Tubac, and Tumacacori in Sonora, Mexico; Culiacán in Sinaloa, Mexico; Chihuahua (city) and Janos in Chihuahua, Mexico; Berriz, Bilbao, Durango, Ereño, Elejabeitia, and Villaro in Bizkaia, Spain; and Hernani, Oyarzun, and San Sebastian in Gipuzkoa, Spain:

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