

ARCHAEOLOGY SOUTHWEST *magazine*

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The Quest for Coronado

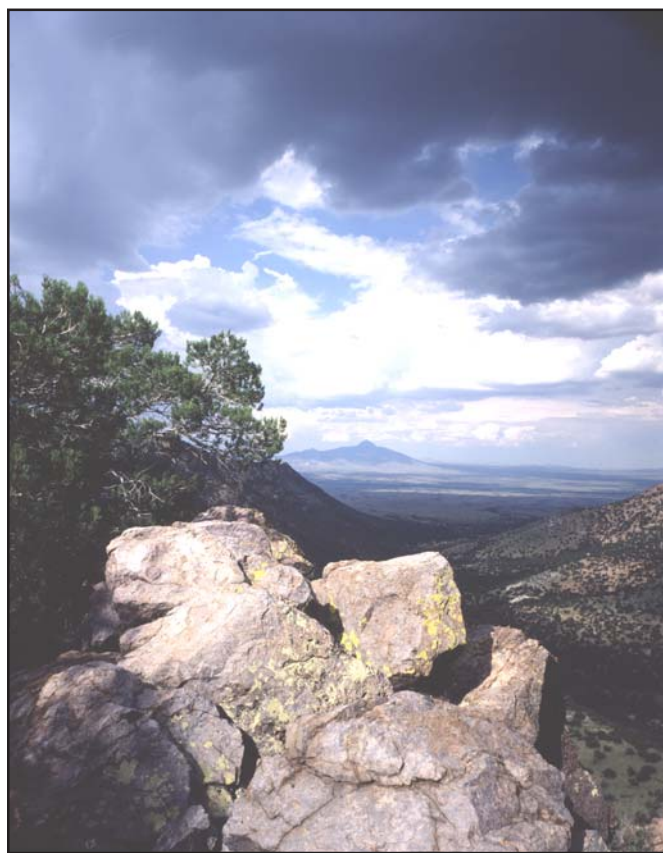
Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Center for Desert Archaeology

A PECULIAR OBJECT was found by a shepherd more than 70 years ago while he wandered the hills of southern New Mexico. It was a sheet of curved iron

about 14 inches long and decorated with raised metal straps. The young man collected the curious artifact and gave it to his employer, who in time passed it down through his family. Some months ago, the piece was brought to the Coronado Roadshow, a public event in which local residents in Arizona and New Mexico were encouraged to share their old family collections with scholars. A legend had grown around the object, and many hoped that archaeologists could confirm the tale—for it was now said this breastplate came

from Francisco Vázquez de Coronado in his search for Cíbola, the fabled Seven Cities of Gold.

From 1540 to 1542, Coronado led an armed force of nearly 2,000 people into lands they thought of as the outer edge of India. They discovered not a lost paradise of gold, but instead a realm of expansive deserts and forests, well known to, and well used by, the native peoples who dwelled there. This remarkable journey is one of the most endur-



The Coronado National Memorial in the San Pedro Valley evokes the stories of our collective past and fosters a sense of place for Americans today.

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ing and important events in American history because it laid the foundation for five centuries of exchange among Native Americans and Europeans. Even as extant docu-

ments give hints about these events, much remains in the shadows of time. Where exactly the *entrada* went, which tribal groups the Spaniards met, and how native peoples dealt with the expeditionaries are all questions that remain unanswered.

Beyond academic pursuits, the expedition continues to spark the human imagination. Archaeologists believe that the shepherd's breastplate may have come from a quadricentennial celebration of Columbus's landfall. Although the artifact is not actually linked to Coronado, it is noteworthy that the family cherished this fragment of rusted metal for so long and that the breastplate may have been used in an event intended to recall our collective past. Some people hope to find Coronado's route as a way to foster local pride; for others, remembering Coronado is a key to understanding their own identities. "This is my ancestry," one Hispanic

participant told me during a Roadshow. "This is who I am. And I'm just so glad people are recognizing it."

In this issue of *Archaeology Southwest*, we present the latest research

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on the Coronado Expedition, from recently discovered documents in Spain, to novel ideas on indigenous trail systems that Coronado followed, to the Coronado Roadshows, to a survey of the Zuni pueblo of Hawikku. We also offer new perspectives on Estevan, the discovery of a Coronado campsite, and the consequences of the Coronado Expedition in the North American Southwest. We

close with an essay by former Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, who helped revive the public's interest in Coronado with the publication in 1987 of his book, *To the Inland Empire*. Udall writes that he hopes a respect for Coronado will inspire a devotion to the unique landscapes of the Southwest and cultivate a sense of place. In this issue, we aspire to do no less.

Before Coronado

Carroll L. Riley, Southern Illinois University

THE CORONADO EXPEDITION was actually composed of several Spanish military probes from western Mexico into the Greater Southwest between 1539 and 1542. It was based on earlier Spanish explorations into western Mexico, which, by 1533, had reached the Yaqui region of northwestern Mexico. In addition, Coronado had information from the tiny Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca party, consisting of four shipwrecked individuals who were in the American Southwest and northwestern Mexico during parts of the years 1535–1536.

These earlier Spanish probes gave useful information, but far more important to the several Coronado parties were long-established and far-flung aboriginal trails that brought trade goods in and out of the Southwest. To the south, they reached deep into western and central Mexico, westward to the California coast, and eastward to Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, and beyond. In the Coronado period, there were two major areas involved in sending, shipping, and receiving these trade goods. One such region consisted of small but vigorous polities in northeastern Sonora. The other was the greater Pueblo world, stretching from northeastern Arizona to north-central New Mexico.

These routes were, in some cases, quite ancient. There had been a flow of certain trade goods into and out of the Southwest for thousands of years, especially Pacific shell,

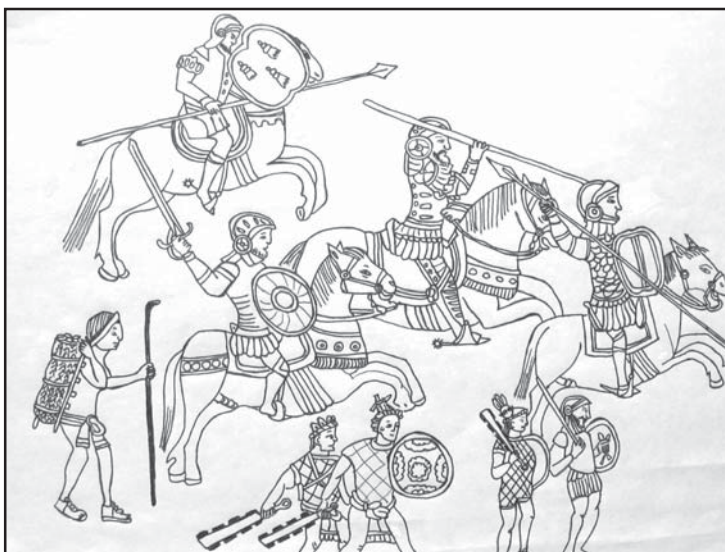
obsidian, and various flintlike stones. As time went on, other items were traded. A thousand years ago, during the florescence of Chaco Canyon in northern New Mexico, turquoise that had been mined in the Santa Fe region of New Mexico began to be exported. Incoming items included shell and exotic birds, especially the scarlet macaw

from the eastern Mexican coastal lowlands. The people of Chaco Canyon also learned new artistic and building techniques originating in Mesoamerica.

Beginning about A.D. 1200 in northwestern Mexico, and a century later in the upper portions of the Southwest, there were fresh waves of influence from the high cultures of central and western Mexico. These included religious innovations and artistic and political ideas permeating much of the Greater Southwest and

bringing about what I term the Aztlan period. This period introduced powerful new religions, including the kachina cult; brilliant artistic ideas, especially in ceramics and wall paintings; and new organizing principles, such as the various societies that linked hitherto independent towns and villages. Populations increased, towns grew larger, and life became more varied and sophisticated. In one region, Casas Grandes in what is now Chihuahua, there developed something on the order of a Mesoamerican urban center.

Aztlan was held together with an intricate system of trails and roads that sent a variety of goods throughout the Greater Southwest. These included shell, coral, cotton and



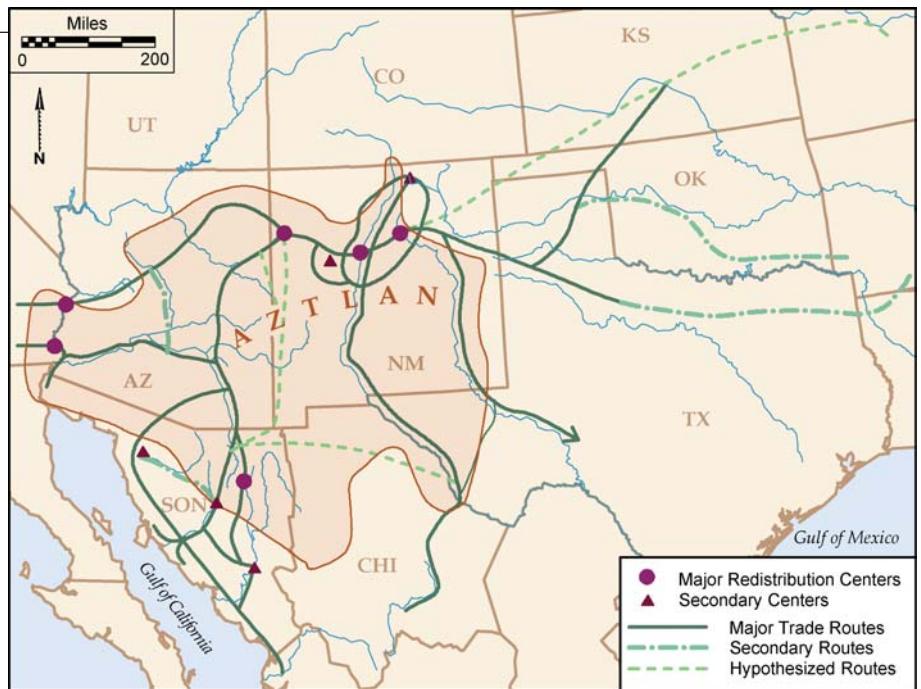
Conquistadors and their indigenous allies, an Indian sketch from sixteenth-century Mexico; redrawn from the Lienzo de Tlaxcala (courtesy of Richard and Shirley C. Flint).

cotton goods, serpentine, turquoise, garnet, peridot, obsidian, fibrolite, salt, ceramics, parrots and macaws and their feathers, skins of bison and deer, and, in some areas, slaves. Religious concepts, as well as new technologies and art forms, also flowed along these trails, and individuals traveled for hundreds of miles, contacting the larger world outside of their own localities.

Aztlan was at its most vigorous during the fourteenth century, and by the fifteenth century, it began to decline. The great polity of Casas Grandes crumbled and was probably gone by A.D. 1450. With it went large hinterland groups, stretching from the middle Rio Grande Basin to the boot heel of New Mexico—their populations becoming scattered marginal agriculturists such as the Manso of the El Paso, Texas, area.

About the same time, the vigorous Salado and Hohokam cultures of the Gila and Salt rivers collapsed. The region continued to have large O’odham-speaking populations but at a significantly lower cultural level. The Western Pueblo area drastically contracted, though the Rio Grande Pueblos continued to function at a fairly high level.

Increasingly, the trade routes shifted to the west, wending their way through coastal western Mexico. This was the period in which the population in northern Sonora grew in size and importance and handled much of the Mexican trade to the Pueblo region. It made the Pueblos



Before Coronado, extensive trade routes crisscrossed the Greater Southwest. This map depicts the post-1450 routes.

very important in Sonoran eyes and fueled the somewhat exaggerated accounts that the earliest Spaniards received of such places as the Seven Cities of Cíbola. Coronado and his lieutenants in northwest Mexico heard and believed these stories and followed centuries-old routes into the Pueblo world. Then, hearing even more imaginative stories of gold in Quivira far to the east, Coronado followed other well-worn trade routes onto the American Great Plains, led (or, in some cases, misled) by Native Americans. In one major sense, Coronado was not really a pioneer; his roads had already been traveled for centuries.

The Coronado National Memorial

“**A** S A RESULT OF THIS EXPEDITION, what has been truly characterized by historians as one of the greatest land expeditions the world has known, a new civilization was established in the great American Southwest,” reported the U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs in 1939. “To commemorate permanently the explorations of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado,” Acting Interior Secretary E. K. Burlew put forward in 1940, “would be of great value in advancing the relationship of the United States and Mexico upon a friendly basis of cultural understanding.”

The Coronado National Memorial was thus established in 1952 to commemorate the first major European exploration into the American Southwest. Located in Montezuma Canyon on the United States–Mexico border, this site today offers a range of recreational and educational activities. A

moderately steep three-mile drive to the scenic overlook at Montezuma Pass presents magnificent views of the San Rafael Valley and San José Peak, looking east into Mexico. Hiking paths from Montezuma Pass include a half-mile trail to Coronado Peak, a two-mile hike on the Yaqui Ridge Trail, the terminus of the 750-mile Arizona Trail that traverses the state from Utah to Mexico, and a three-mile hike on Joe’s Canyon Trail, providing beautiful scenery of the San Pedro Valley. The memorial preserves an array of flora and fauna native to the Southwest. More than 140 species of birds have been recorded, with different species sighted each season. The memorial is a day-use site and includes a picnic area and nature trail accessible from the visitor center. For more information, visit www.nps.gov/coro or call (520) 366-5515, ext. 23.

–Frank Torres, National Park Service

The Summer of 1540: Archaeology of the Battle of Hawikku

Jonathan E. Damp, Zuni Cultural Resource Enterprise

THE VILLAGE SITE OF HAWIKKU is located in west-central New Mexico on the Zuni Indian Reservation. By the early 1500s, the Spaniards had taken control over much of Mexico and were extending their aspirations northward with tales of unimaginable riches. Hawikku was the destination of the early Spanish conquistadors seeking the legendary Seven Cities of Cibola. This colonization led to one of the first battles between indigenous peoples and European armies in the United States.

Zuni Cultural Resource Enterprise (or ZCRE) has been engaged in a study of the encounter between Coronado and the Zuni people at Hawikku in 1540. ZCRE proposed the study to determine the location and extent of the battle and to attempt to view the conflict from the perspective of a Zuni cultural landscape onto which the Spaniards intruded. The National Park Service and the American Battlefield Protection Program have supported this endeavor, and Don Blakeslee and his crew from Wichita State University, Kansas, provided able assistance. Blakeslee and Jay Blaine, an avocational archaeologist, helped to identify historic artifacts. Our study was divided into four components. First, we examined historic documents. Second, we conducted a three-stage metal detection survey on the perimeter of Hawikku. The next phase incorporated these data into a geographical information system (GIS). The final analytical component has been to identify historic artifacts and to discern their patterning in space with GIS technology.

On July 7, 1540, Coronado and his army appeared at the gates of Hawikku, after following trade routes from northern Mexico. Encountering Zunis in the days before

his arrival at the pueblo, the army engaged in an initial skirmish 6 to 12 miles southwest of Hawikku. Following that altercation, Coronado led his army onto a plain that lies immediately south of Hawikku. They were met there by hundreds of Zuni warriors.

The skirmish on the plain caused the Zunis to retreat behind the walls of Hawikku. Coronado then ordered the artillery to fire, apparently with little effect, and led an attack on Hawikku by surrounding the village and attempting to enter it via the passages into the pueblo. The Zunis ultimately fled Hawikku to seek shelter elsewhere, near present-day Zuni Pueblo. Coronado and his troops took control of the pueblo and occupied it for several months.

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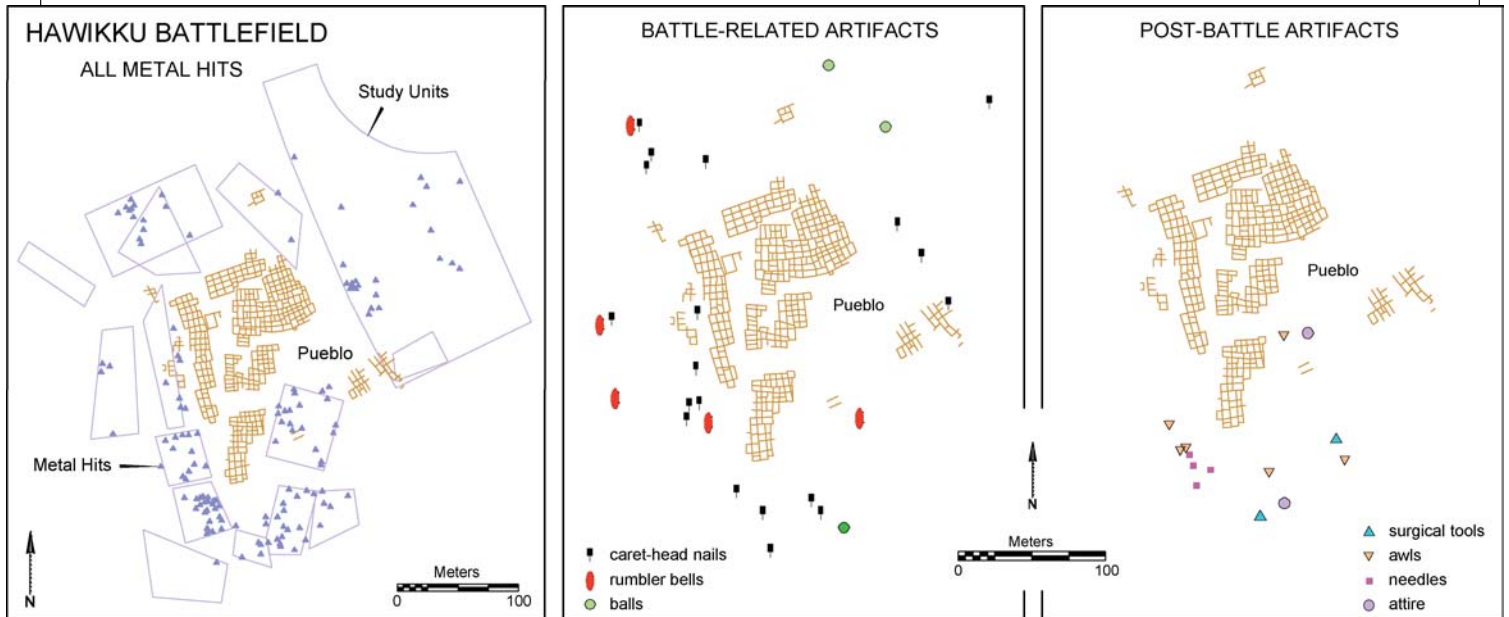
The ruins of the ancestral Zuni pueblo of Hawikku, where Coronado at last reached the fabled Cibola on July 7, 1540.

his arrival at the pueblo, the army engaged in an initial skirmish 6 to 12 miles southwest of Hawikku. Following that altercation, Coronado led his army onto a plain that lies immediately south of Hawikku. They were met there by hundreds of Zuni warriors.

Probably the most revealing artifact class is caret-head horseshoe nails, diagnostic of the Coronado Expedition. At Hawikku, the nails are distributed on the western edge of the site with some clusters near passageways that permitted access to the interior portions of the pueblo. We believe that when the Spanish army began to breach the walls of Hawikku, some of their horses lost the caret-head nails from their horseshoes. The distribution of these nails suggests that the Spanish attack was on the pueblo's more

vulnerable western side instead of on the steeper eastern side. Rumbler bells, probably attached to horses, are another conspicuous artifact type and exhibit a similar distribution to that of the caret-head nails.

Hawikku battle, their spatial distribution provides significant data on arquebus firing activity. The two balls located on the northern edge of the site show only moderate impact scars. The northern balls may have been fired without



Using metal detectors and GIS technology to locate metal artifacts related to the Coronado Expedition, archaeologists have been able to define the extent of the battlefield at Hawikku.

Metal balls that may have been fired from arquebuses (small-caliber long guns) were also recovered. Coronado noted after the battle that crossbows and arquebuses were ineffective. Indeed, the distribution of the metal balls and their distorted condition show that, for the most part, they did not reach their intended targets. We retrieved only three lead balls from the perimeter of Hawikku that might relate to the Coronado period. Two of the balls were found on the northern edge of the site, and the third ball was retrieved from the southern edge. The caliber of these lead balls suggests that they were not primary shot from arquebuses, and because they are .47 to .56 caliber, they may relate to firearms of a later era. However, Blakeslee's discovery of similar shot from the Coronado period Jimmy Owens site in Texas (see page 13) implies that this caliber ball may have been used as buckshot.

Assuming the balls relate to the

reaching their intended targets from some 60 feet north-east of Hawikku. A southern ball might relate to firing from the plain during or after the initial encounter. The firing of arquebuses was followed by the surrounding action with the horses, the final assault, and the ultimate decision of the Zuni population to leave the pueblo.

Other metal specimens dating to the Coronado period were also identified. These are largely restricted to the south of Hawikku and may relate to post-battle activities involving people, horses, and repairs to equipment. Inventory, analysis, and GIS modeling allowed us to fill in some blanks in the previously documented story of Hawikku and firmly associate it with the site. Using these methods and collaborating with experts on the Coronado Expedition, ZCRE has provided the archaeological basis for new interpretations of this important battle.



Examples of rumbler bells (top) and caret-head nails, at three-quarters actual size.

In Search of the Coronado Trail

John H. Madsen, Arizona State Museum

IMAGINE: early in the morning on February 23, 1540, a soldier of fortune sits on an edgy horse in Compostela, Mexico. Next to him wait 249 mounted men, and in the distance, 70 foot soldiers and 300 Indian allies are being inspected by Captain-General Francisco Vázquez de Coronado—a man they will follow into unknown realms far to the north. Just outside the town, 1,000 slaves have packed provisions onto horses and mules. In the countryside, beyond the town, more slaves are tending 1,000 extra horses, 500 head of cattle, and more than 5,000 sheep needed to feed the expedition.

This soldier, like many others on the expedition, is a prominent businessman from Mexico City. He has left everything he owns behind to follow his ambitions. If he survives, Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza will bestow upon him portions of the land discovered. He will also share in the vast riches rumored for years to be in the north and corroborated by Fray Marcos de Niza, who just one year earlier had witnessed the grandeur of Cíbola firsthand.

As the train starts to move forward, the soldier ponders his place in history. He knows that claiming countries in the name of Spain and bringing souls into the fold of Catholicism will be deeds not soon forgotten. Yet he is unaware that the simple supplies he carries are to become treasured objects. It would be incomprehensible to him that, 500 years later, someone would consider his horse's iron shoes more valuable than all the gold of Cíbola.

After being shipwrecked along the Gulf of Mexico and wandering the wilderness of North America for nearly a decade, Cabeza de Vaca returned to Spanish society in 1536 and spoke of a fabulous place—the Seven Cities of Gold. De Niza was soon sent northward in secrecy by Viceroy

Mendoza to check the truth of Cabeza de Vaca's tale. Although de Niza's companion Estevan de Dorantes was killed at Cíbola (see page 11), de Niza affirmed that the story was true. Coronado was chosen to lead an expedition to claim these lands for the Spanish empire. The massive *entrada* left Compostela, in February 1540.

Coronado headed northwest towards Culiacán, and in the spring set out toward Sonora. The expedition crossed immense landscapes of deserts and forests, fording rivers and camping under the cover of ruins, including the famous Chichilticale (see page 14). At last, they arrived at the Pueblo of Hawikku in early July—and attacked it when met by Zuni warriors (see pages 4-5). From there, a small party went to the Hopi villages, others to the Grand Canyon, and still others to the Rio Grande. Unsettled by the lack of riches, Coronado was led farther eastward with dreams of another unconquered province named Quivira. The expedition, which may have ventured as far east as the plains of Kansas, eventually turned around, spent the winter on the Rio Grande, and in the spring of 1542, returned to

Mexico, empty handed.

The exact route that the Coronado Expedition took between Sonora and the Zuni Pueblos is currently unknown. Some scholars have surmised that the trail led through Arizona, as far west as the Casa Grande Ruin, before turning northeast into the White Mountains region. Other researchers, like historian Herbert E. Bolton, suggest a route along the San Pedro River, turning northeast below Benson, crossing the Gila River near Bylas, and passing near White River and Springerville before descending into the Zuni region. I prefer a path similar to that proposed by archaeologist Carroll L. Riley—it traverses the country on what is now the Arizona–New Mexico state



This map shows some hypothesized routes taken by the Coronado Expedition. The Coronado Project has sought to identify the expedition's route by locating diagnostic Coronado-era artifacts.

line, following the San Francisco River. Spanish accounts as early as 1747 reveal considerable use of the drainage by Zunis and Apaches. In 1795, Sonorans viewed the San Francisco River area as a potential trade route linking them with the Pueblo of Zuni and Santa Fe.

In 1991, the Arizona State Museum initiated research to identify Coronado's route between Sonora and Zuni. One aspect of the research was to search regional museums and private collections for sixteenth-century artifacts. I had hoped that objects from the expedition were to be found, previously unrecognized, in collections, and that they might have provenience information that linked them to the trail that Coronado followed. While no apparent sixteenth-century Spanish materials were located, fascinating metal artifacts from the eighteenth and early nineteenth century were found in collections.

I had a hunch that the best source of information would come from the ranching communities near the Arizona–New Mexico border. These people know the land, and generations of family members have covered most of the ground on horseback. Thomas Dees, a researcher whose father found Spanish-era artifacts in 1928, collaborated with me to find Spanish artifacts with documented provenience. Other friends helped distribute flyers in rural communities announcing our efforts to locate Coronado-era artifacts.

Almost immediately, I received an invitation from a ranching family to look at its collection of Spanish arti-

facts, which included spurs, coins, and horse-shoes. The flyers also sparked the interest of other people who wanted to share their discoveries of odd metal objects found in the desert. Since 1992, many artifacts have been inventoried. Of these, about 33 are Spanish-Colonial or Mexican period objects. These objects

were lost or discarded on overland journeys, surviving only because they are made of iron, lead, copper, silver, or gold. Ranchers, farmers, hunters, and hikers have collected them as curiosities. Today, they are mounted on stable walls, shown proudly on coffee tables, packed away in boxes, and displayed at local museums.



Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh

Top: The Coronado entrada is the only known Spanish expedition in the Southwest to have used boltheades—iron and copper crossbow points (photograph courtesy of Palace of the Governors Collections, Santa Fe, New Mexico). Bottom: Chevron beads, such as these, could help scholars locate the Coronado trail.

The Coronado Roadshow

J. Homer Thiel, Desert Archaeology, Inc.

ARTIFACTS ONCE USED by Spanish travelers and settlers have been found occasionally over the last century by cowboys and hikers. These items were lost, discarded, stolen, or cached, only to be forgotten and left behind. In August 2004, the Center launched the Coronado Project, which expanded on John Madsen's idea (see page 6) of asking local residents to help solve the mystery of the expedition's route.

With the assistance of Don Burgess—a former general manager of Tucson's Public Broadcasting System televi-

sion station—this outreach and public education project involved the creation of a video on the Coronado Expedition and mailed, free of charge, to hundreds of local residents; a series of public lectures; and four Coronado Roadshows in Willcox and Springerville, Arizona, and Lordsburg and Reserve, New Mexico.

These Roadshows were inspired by PBS's *Antiques Roadshow*, and the scholars involved asked local residents to bring in artifacts that they thought might be related to the Coronado Expedition. A variety of objects—ranging from a pre-Columbian



William K. Hartmann

The Coronado Roadshow in Willcox, Arizona.

axe to a Territorial period wheel—were brought in for scholars to examine. While no artifacts from the Coronado Expedition were identified, many objects did date prior to the 1850s.

One spectacular relic was an eighteenth-century Spanish *escopeta*, or fowling piece. In the 1940s, a ranch worker found the musket stuck inside a crack at the base of a cliff. Because it had been sheltered from the elements, the wooden stock of the *escopeta* was well preserved, as were the elaborate brass ornamentation and the original gunflint, still wrapped in leather. Long use of the musket is suggested by the amount of wear it exhibited along with areas blackened by contact with hands. It is likely the musket was obtained by an Apache and used for a while before being cached. Similar brass ornaments were found in the ruins of the Terrenate Presidio (1775–1780) by archaeologist Charles Di Peso. This new example provides unusual insight into how such ornaments were arranged on wooden gunstocks.

Horse gear was the most common type of artifact brought to the Roadshows. Spurs, stirrups, horseshoes, horseshoe nails, and a cinch ring were examined. Two examples of stirrups reveal how even a common everyday item could change dramatically through time. The older example, dating to the 1600s to 1700s, is rectangular, with an incised motif of small swirls. The owner reported that it had been handed down in his own family for generations.

The second type was a cruciform stirrup, an *estribos de cruz*, found in the Animas Valley in Hidalgo County,



This *escopeta* (musket), dating to the late 1700s, was found at the base of a cliff in the 1940s. Inset: Photograph illustrating the elaborate brass ornamentation on the *escopeta*.



William K. Hartmann

New Mexico. This type of stirrup was used by Spanish cavalry troop in the 1700s, but was banned in 1772. The stirrups were considered dangerous because, in the case of a fall, a rider's foot could get caught in the stirrup and the rider dragged.

A local rancher brought a Spanish-era spur to the Roadshow that was held in Lordsburg. The spur has a six-pointed, star-shaped rowel. Each point is almost two inches long. The spur's maker had decorated the spur with pierced and incised designs. Later Mexican period spurs had shorter points and were less elaborately decorated. The example from Lordsburg was probably made prior to 1800. It was found along the route scholars think Tucson Presidio Commander José Zúñiga took on his expedition from Tucson to Zuni in 1795. The discovery of similar artifacts from this time period could allow the Zúñiga route to be clearly identified—an important goal because of the rare ethnographic observations Zúñiga made during his trip to the distant pueblo.

While no definitive Coronado-era artifacts were reported, the enthusiastic response to the Roadshows—as well as the kinds of objects that were brought in—creates optimism that Coronado campsites and trail segments, through the borderlands region and beyond, will one day be found.

Left: A six-pointed roweled spur dating prior to 1800. Middle: This example of a cruciform stirrup, dating to the 1700s, was found in Hidalgo County, New Mexico. Right: This type of stirrup was used by Spaniards from the 1600s to the 1700s.



William K. Hartmann



William K. Hartmann



Don Burgess



Territorial period wheel brought to Roadshow in Reserve, New Mexico.

William K. Hartmann

Rethinking the Epic Adventure

Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition Project*

NEARLY EVERYONE who has lived for any length of time in the Southwest is familiar with the name Coronado, and most know and can recount stories or fragments of stories about the expedition. Many people are passionate in their feelings about that long-ago event: some are enormously proud of the daring and nerve of the first conquistadors; some are angered or dismayed by the expedition's generally arrogant and brutal conduct; yet others are inspired by the expedition's role as the vanguard of European civilization; and still more revel in the ingenuity and resourcefulness of the native peoples of the Southwest and northwestern Mexico in their responses to the uninvited *entrada*.

This spectrum of emotion, lore, and commemoration is nearly all founded on the small selection from the documentary record of the expedition that has been published over the years in English translations. Those translations are riddled with errors and influenced by outdated research in history and other fields. Hundreds of books, articles, poems, plays, movies, paintings, sculptures, and other representations based on those inadequate translations have offered a fairly standardized vision of the expedition to successive generations of Southwesterners and others interested in the region.

Our most important window onto the actions and the attitudes of both the Coronado Expedition and the wary natives over whom it sought authority has been and remains the rich documentary record generated by the expedition. There are approximately 200 such documents that shed light on the expedition—its motivations, outcomes, and aftermath. The surviving documents do not speak with a single voice, though they often bear a “family resemblance.” Not infrequently, the patchwork of documentary evidence about the expedition is confusing, am-

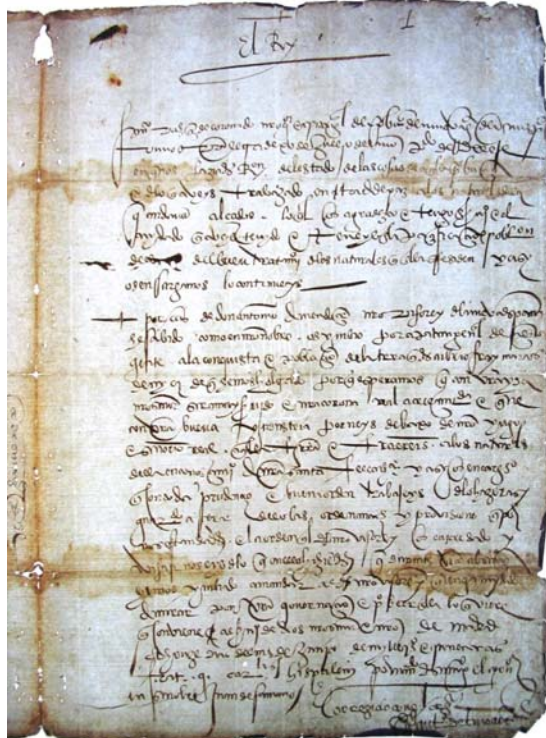
biguous, and seemingly internally in conflict.

In past generations, historians have been most concerned to develop strong narratives of the “epic adventure.” As a consequence, sixteenth-century narrative documents concerning the Coronado *entrada* have received disproportionate attention from historians, as compared to more mundane records that shed light on social, economic, political, and cultural issues. The potential for understanding the conflicts that arose between the expedition and natives, for instance, has thus been severely limited. Furthermore, historical treatments have, by and large, mirrored the image presented in the sixteenth century by a handful of conquistadors of themselves and their own exploits. The result has been lopsided and simplistic interpretations, involving little critical historical analysis.

Full time for the past four years—and on and off for years before that—we have been preparing a new and enlarged selection of contemporaneous manuscript documents for publication. In the spring of 2005, our latest book will be published. Titled *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539-1542: “They Were Not Familiar with His Majesty, nor Did They Wish to Be His Subjects,”* it presents documents in both English translation and in their original languages—usually,

but not always, Spanish. It has been our goal in preparing the book to expand upon and enrich the available pool of source documents and provide generous explanatory notes to render the documents more meaningful to modern readers.

In this book, we are adding to what, for 60 years, has been the canon of primary source documents relating to the Coronado Expedition: 14 relatively short documents that have never been available before in print, in their original language, in English translation, or in both. We have selected these additional documents because they are not narratives and thus provide very different perspectives on the expedition. Additionally, they focus on individuals, groups, or topics little discussed in the other documents,



The King of Spain's confirmation of Coronado's appointment to lead the expedition, dated June 11, 1540 (courtesy of Mark and Lerin Winter).

and they are particularly rich sources of information about the expedition.

The “new” documents include a group of instruments prepared in 1542, after the death of an expedition member in Tiguex; service records of three little-known members of the expedition; a contract dealing with the financing of the expedition and a recently revealed royal *cédula* (proclamation) confirming Coronado’s appointment as captain-general of the expedition; a record in Nahuatl of the departure of Indian members of the expedition from Tenochtitlan, now the Ciudad de México; and testimony of Coronado’s purchasing agent regarding goods bought with which to supply the *entrada*.

There is no doubt among modern scholars about the extraordinary value of the rich documentary record left by the Coronado Expedition. It provides the first written record of the peoples, the environment, and the flora and fauna of what was to become the southwestern United States and northwestern Mexico. It sheds light on events that shaped and still affect interethnic relations in the region; on motives, attitudes, and strategies of Spain’s cen-



Reading the *requerimiento*, or demand for submission, by the Coronado Expedition at Santiago Pueblo near Bernalillo, New Mexico, in 1540 (painting by, and courtesy of, Douglas Johnson).

tury of conquest; and on attempts to extend economic, religious, and political dominion in general. Furthermore, in these documents is a baseline for assessing historical change in what is now the American Southwest and northwestern Mexico and a window onto the history of native peoples of the region.

The Estrada Factor

Shirley Cushing Flint, Documents of the Coronado Expedition Project

BEATRIZ DE ESTRADA, the wife of Coronado, played an important role in her husband’s expedition. Born in 1524 to Alonso de Estrada, the royal treasurer, and Marina Flores Gutiérrez de la Caballería, she was both a *criolla* (native of New Spain) and a member of the privileged class. When Coronado arrived in Mexico in 1535 with the Mendoza entourage, he was looked upon favorably by those families of high status who sought acceptable husbands for their unmarried daughters. Because Doña Marina’s family knew the Mendoza family, she may have had an advantage in offering her daughter in marriage. Marina was, at this time, a widow with several unmarried daughters, but not without other resources.

When the lovely Beatriz at the tender but legal age of 12 married Coronado, her mother gave as dowry half the

encomienda—a system of tributary labor established by the Spanish Crown—of Tlapa. In this system, native populations had to pay tribute from their lands to deserving Spanish subjects. Tlapa, in central Mexico, was the third-largest *encomienda* in New Spain and was protected by Marina against legal challenges mounted by Hernan Cortés.

Within a mere four years, Coronado was appointed to lead the expedition to Tierra Nueva and needed funds to equip himself and his retainers, as well as to be one of the major investors. It is clear that with Marina’s consent, he was able to leverage Beatriz’s dowry to generate the funds he needed. Without Beatriz’s dowry and the goodwill of her mother, Coronado may have been denied the leadership of the expedition and thus the chance to leave his mark upon the modern Southwest.

Estevan—Moroccan Explorer of the American Southwest

Hsain Jlahiane, Iowa State University

ONE OF THE MOST FASCINATING, and least understood, men in the history of the American Southwest was the Moroccan slave known as Estevan de Dorantes. Estevan was one of the four survivors of the Narváez Expedition, which sailed from Spain in 1527 with the objective of conquering Florida. The survivors were stranded on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico and soon captured by Indians. After eight years of slavery, the expedition members escaped and traveled west, across western Texas, through the southwestern borderlands, and arriving in Culiacán, Mexico, in the spring of 1536. Three years later, Estevan led the first Spanish expedition to Zuni lands and was the first non-Indian to set foot in present-day Arizona and New Mexico.

In the sixteenth century, Portugal occupied Morocco. Famine drove thousands of Moroccans to Spain and Portugal in various forms of servitude. The inhabitants of Azemmour—Estevan’s home on the Atlantic coast—received permission from the Portuguese king, Don Manuel, to emigrate to Spain. People left Morocco in search of a better life in the Iberian Peninsula.

This suggests Estevan might have emigrated as a servant, an indentured laborer, or as an employee in search of economic opportunities. He may not have been a slave at all, but instead a political or economic refugee, since the Azemmouri people sided with the Portuguese invaders.

Despite Estevan’s importance, historical accounts are silent about him except to note that he was a slave who accompanied Fray Marcos de Niza on his travels through

the American Southwest. Interestingly, Estevan remains an important figure in the social history of Pueblo Indians, and indeed figures in a legend shared by the Zunis and Hopis. In their

book, *Kokopelli*, Dennis Slifer and Jim Duffield suggest that a “connection between Zuni and Hopi is implied in the form that Kokopelli takes at the Hopi village of Hano. Here he appears as a big black man, known as Nepokwa’i, who carries a buckskin bag on his back. Even the kachina dolls of this figure are painted black. Nepokwa’i may be based on the Moorish slave Estevan, who accompanied Marcos de Niza’s expedition; Estevan was stoned to death at Zuni for molesting their women.”

Edmund Ladd, a Zuni anthropologist, wrote that Estevan “was one of the first to see the Mississippi River, the first to contact the pueblo people and the first to die at the hands of the native people—his place in history is as important as Viceroy Mendoza, Coronado, or Antonio de Espejo.”



Quivira, Axa, and other places reconnoitered by Estevan, de Niza, and the Coronado Expedition became part of the historical imagination, as depicted in this 1602 map by Abraham Ortelius (courtesy of Daniel G. Judkins).

“Great Cruelties Have Been Reported”

ONLY TWO YEARS AFTER the members of the Coronado Expedition returned from “the far north,” Spanish officials investigated the expedition’s treatment of Native Americans. The evidence gathered was unequivocal: the members of the expedition had tortured, executed, and terrorized Indians from what is today western Mexico to modern Kansas. They had destroyed native towns and scattered their populations. They had stolen and extorted possessions from indigenous people. They had taken Indian women for sexual gratification and involuntary service. By and large, the charges were not contested. The focus of the investigation was on determining who had condoned such cruelty or allowed it to happen.

By standards of the day in Europe, many of the acts that we view with horror were not seen as such at the time. Most members of the expedition were not actively or intentionally cruel. They certainly did not see themselves in that light, though some of their contemporaries did. Just as certainly, most of them assumed a natural superiority over the native peoples they met. Some very bloody deeds resulted, undertaken with a sense of righteous justification.

A group of sixteenth-century Spanish activists briefly held sway at the Spanish court and led Europe in the first modern debates on human rights. It was their efforts that called conquistadors such as Coronado to account.

—Richard Flint

The Place of the Coronado Expedition

Donald C. Cutter, University of New Mexico

THE EXPEDITION THAT CORONADO both commanded and in considerable measure financed has become an integral part of American history. Members of the expedition discovered the Continental Divide, estimated the width of North America, traversed the Great Plains, saw the Rocky Mountains, and were the first to document the people and places of the Greater Southwest.

Many historians, anthropologists, geographers, and others responsible for bestowing place names in the American Southwest drew those names from the Coronado Expedition. Thus, we have Coronado National Forest, Alarcon Terrace, Cardenas Butte, Cibola National Forest, Gran Quivira, Coronado State Monument, and dozens of toponyms emanating directly or indirectly, correctly or incorrectly, from the expedition. Such place name geography has its own set of introduced errors. Grand Canyon National Park has its El Tovar Hotel at a place that was never visited by one of Coronado's men, Pedro el Tovar, thus defrauding the real discoverer of the merit associated with the true discovery.

It was a group of Coronado's men, led by López de Cárdenas, that discovered what is the best known scenic marvel of the area—the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River. It was clear at the time that the chasm was an insurmountable obstacle to further advance in that direction. Discovery of the canyon was not met with the admiration of modern tourists, but instead with disappointment. Preliminary reconnaissance was followed by leaving both the

distant mesas and their intervening canyon lands untouched by Spaniards for over two centuries.

Between Zuni and Acoma, in New Mexico, Coronado was the first to recognize the Continental Divide. The width of the landmass would have been more evident if a contemporaneous expedition under Hernando de Soto had encountered the Coronado Expedition in 1542, when both parties were in the Arkansas River Valley, only about 300 miles apart. Also known to Coronado's party was the existence of the great river that entered Pacific waters at the head of the Gulf of California—el Rio del Tizón, as the Colorado River was called for many years. Another lasting effect on Spain's colonial program was the knowledge that Pueblo Indian society was much more attractive to future colonization and missionizing.

Coronado's fruitless trip eastward in search of Gran Quivira led to expanded geographical knowledge of the Llano Estacado of West Texas and eastern New Mexico, of the Buffalo Plains, habitat of great herds of wild bison, and of the Great Plains of the Trans-Mississippi West.

The cost of the Coronado Expedition was great, consuming much of Coronado's wife's fortune (see page 10), and even more of Viceroy Mendoza's money. The expedition's lack of material results made its co-sponsor unhappy; however, Mendoza's disappointment and anger abated with the discovery, in 1546, of the Zacatecas mines. Mining this area became the impetus for the slow, stable, economic development of the northern frontier; this development could not have taken place without Coronado's quest.



©Adriel Heisey

Coronado State Monument, near Bernalillo, New Mexico, recalls the expedition that may have camped there in 1540, as well as the ancestral Pueblo village of Kuaua, a Tiwa word meaning "evergreen."

Where Coronado Camped

Gayle Harrison Hartmann

ON THE FRIDAY BEFORE LABOR DAY, 1995, my husband and I drove from Tucson to a canyon in the high plains of west Texas. Along with a collection of archaeology and history types, we were in search of a site where Coronado and his expedition might have camped in the spring of 1541. We were drawn to this particular place by several strands of flimsy evidence, the most important being the news that a local resident had recently discovered three crossbow points.

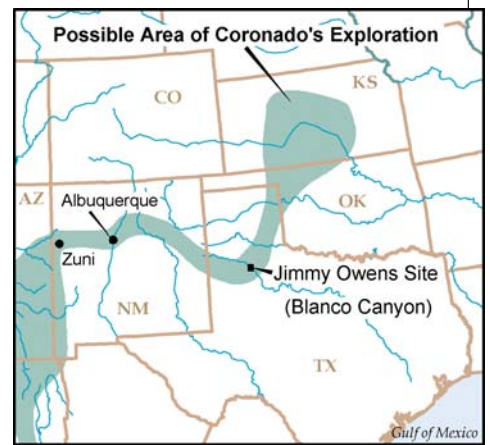
We thought that the finds were almost certainly spurious. I remember commenting that I could not imagine a sillier way to spend a holiday weekend. Nevertheless, by the time we left the canyon, there was tantalizing evidence that Coronado did camp in the bottom of Blanco Canyon near Floydada, Texas. All the strands of speculation, coincidence, proof, and luck that led us to the site cannot be reported in this brief recollection. Instead, only a highlight can be offered of the individuals and events that together sparked the discovery of the Jimmy Owens site.

The story could begin in 1989, when scholars Jack Hughes, Waldo and Mildred Wedel, and Don Blakeslee began focusing their attention on locating the Coronado route through west Texas. A couple of years later, Nancy Marble, director of the Floyd County Historical Museum, read an article about the renewed interest in Coronado. She recalled that many years earlier a rancher had found a chain-mail gauntlet near Blanco Canyon. Tracking the rancher to New Mexico, she purchased the glove for the museum.

Marble soon met Shirley and Richard Flint, who were researching diagnostic artifacts of the Coronado Expedition (see pages 9-10). Both the Flints' work and the possible significance of Blanco Canyon were brought to public attention during a conference in Las Vegas, New Mexico, in 1992. Over the next two years, Jimmy Owens—

an amateur historian and metal-detector buff—began canvassing Blanco Canyon, and soon found three metal crossbow points buried only a few inches below the modern ground surface.

The news soon reached Hughes, Marble, and the Flints, who organized a systematic survey for the 1995 Labor Day weekend. The place on which scholars wanted to focus is private land, but the owner, a local rancher, generously provided access. On that first weekend, nothing was found until the very last hours, when Owens discovered a crossbow point. While all were excited, some also wondered if perhaps a prankster was “salting” the site to pull the collective legs of the archaeological community.



The Coronado Expedition penetrated north-eastward as far as central Kansas.



William K. Hartmann



William K. Hartmann

Top: Jimmy Owens and metal detector in Blanco Canyon, September 1995. Left: A chain-mail gauntlet found near Blanco Canyon in the late 1950s.

Yet, after visits to the canyon over the next few years during which professional archaeologists excavated artifacts in situ, we became convinced that Blanco Canyon is an authentic sixteenth-century campsite. To date, more than 40 crossbow points, 100 horseshoe nails, and an array of metal artifacts have been recovered. Because Coronado's was the only Spanish expedition to use crossbows—later expeditions used firearms—it is likely that this site indeed represents a camp used by the Coronado Expedition.

Now known as the Jimmy Owens site, the campsite is recognized by a highway marker erected by the Texas Historical Commission. Because the site is located on private land, it is not open to the public, but artifacts can be seen at the Floyd County Historical Museum. Archaeologist Don Blakeslee is continuing excavations. And so more discoveries await.

The Economics of Conquest

Shirley Cushing Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition Project*

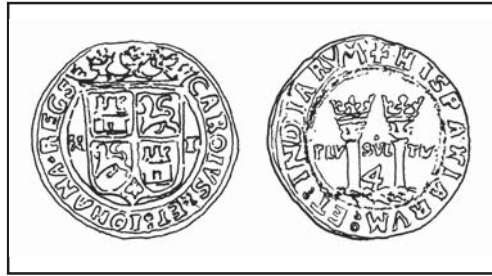
AS WAS THE CASE in nearly all Spanish expeditions launched in the New World during the sixteenth century, the Coronado Expedition was a privately funded enterprise. The Spanish Crown issued licenses for exploration and conquest in exchange for its royal fifth (20 percent) of what wealth was taken. Those who were thus licensed proceeded at their own economic risk, but with the hope of a handsome return on their investment.

In the case of the Coronado Expedition, there were two groups of investors. Viceroy Mendoza, Pedro de Alvarado, and Coronado each invested in excess of 70,000 silver pesos each, mostly in supplies, livestock, and armament. (An average laborer earned 100 pesos a year.) The other group, consisting of officers and their men, laid out another 418,000. It is estimated that the officers spent around 60,000

silver pesos to outfit themselves and their entourages, while the rank and file members, of which there were 358, expended the conservative estimate of 358,000. In total, then, the expeditionaries spent in excess of 600,000 silver pesos of private monies to launch this ambitious enterprise.

How was so much venture capital secured? Neither Mendoza's nor Coronado's modest yearly salaries could generate their large investments. The answer lies in the assumption of debt. Nearly every investor, according to many firsthand accounts, funded his participation

by mortgaging property, borrowing from family and/or friends, and even becoming an employee of a sponsor. Unfortunately for all these investors, the net result was an economic disaster. This expedition, like many, was risky, unrewarding, and for some, ultimately resulted in economic ruin.



Carlos I and Juana silver coin minted in Mexico City, circa 1536–1555 (drawing by Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh).

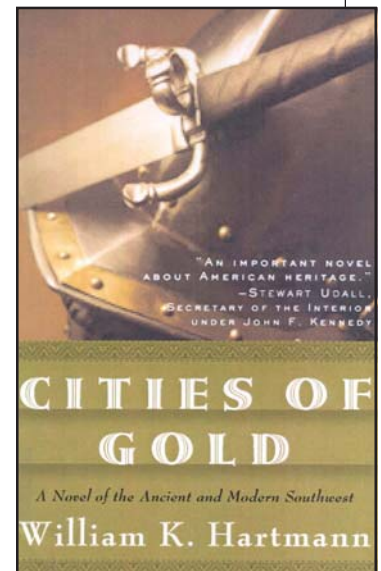
Cities of Gold: The Novel as Research Tool

William K. Hartmann, *Planetary Science Institute, University of Arizona*

IN 2002, I PUBLISHED *Cities of Gold*, a novel about Coronado interwoven with a modern story of Arizona and Sonora. Having published several scholarly papers, I was inspired by the idea that a novel can be a tool for presenting research. The key is to transcend linear, word-by-word translation, and synthesize the matrix of surviving documents.

For example, Fray Marcos de Niza was sent north from Mexico City in the fall of 1538, to see if a northern empire existed. By July 1539, rumors of de Niza's discovery of Cíbola circulated in Mexico City. Historians thus concluded that de Niza himself had returned. Calculating that he had inadequate time to reach Zuni, they pronounced him a fraud. But as I told the story in my novel, I wondered, "If de Niza knowingly lied, why did he willingly and successfully lead Coronado to Cíbola in 1540, where his fraud would have been discovered?" As I describe in the novel, sleuthing among the letters of Coronado and Viceroy Mendoza showed that although de Niza sent back messages that arrived in Mexico City by July, he himself did not return until late August—giving him time to reach Zuni. The novel-writing process of synthesizing led me to conclude that the historians' "linear" analysis got it wrong.

I have also wondered about the identity of the mountains and ruin that Spanish chroniclers called Chichilticale. Previously unnoticed is Ignaz Pfefferkorn's 1795 report that Indians referred to the (modern) Chiricahua Mountains as "Ts-chi-ri-ca-hui." Is this the missing link to the location of Chichilticale? The novelistic impulse to synthesize leads to interesting territory too often ignored.



Coronado Matters

Stewart L. Udall, Former U.S. Secretary of the Interior

I HAVE A CLEAR MEMORY from 1926. When I was just a kid, six years old, my father took me to a rather extraordinary public event in the mountains near my hometown of St. Johns, Arizona. The Governor of Arizona was there, and he said, “Who knows, but perhaps the axes of Coronado’s men rang in these very groves.” There was a man next to me, a Mormon history buff who knew the country, and he said in a stage whisper, “That’s ridiculous! He doesn’t know what he’s talking about, Coronado’s expedition traveled west of here—near St. Johns!” And that’s where my interest began. I liked to think about those days long past because it added some history and romance to my life.

When I moved to Phoenix, from Washington, D.C., in 1979, this memory was still alive in my mind, and it led to an article in *Arizona Highways*, and this in turn inspired my book, *To the Inland Empire*. The more I studied the expedition, the more I came to admire it. The expedition was in 1540, barely 50 years after Columbus. And here were these young, venturesome Spaniards—Coronado was only 30 years old—and they were 1,000 miles out of Mexico City on horseback. At the same time, timid English and French explorers were sailing along the Atlantic Coast ridiculously claiming land they saw only at a distance. The Spaniards were the first Europeans to see the Grand Canyon, and they went as far east as the Smoky Hill River in Kansas. The first European settlement in what is now the United States was not at Plymouth, not in Virginia—it was here in the Southwest, in 1598, when Spanish settlers established communities along the Rio Grande.

My study of Coronado led to an interest in the Pueblo Indians. Research on Spaniards inevitably leads to the Native American past and helps us contemplate how their religions are interwoven with their

history today. I believe they have something to teach us about our world. I want people to respect this history and cherish it. People who move to Arizona may be rootless when they arrive, but once here, they have an opportunity to establish a devotion to the landscape and a sense of place.

One thing that makes Arizona so distinctive is that today, 29 percent of the state is owned by native peoples. In California, it is less than one percent. The San Xavier Mission, for example, like all the other preserved places, is a jewel. It is important for us to treasure it. Whether people have been here for 5 years, or 50 years, or 150 years, they need to value their roots in this region. Arizona is also unique because it has some 90 distinct wilderness areas—more than any other state—in part because of the work of my brother, Congressman Morris Udall, and Senators Barry Goldwater and John McCain. Their work shows an appreciation and love of the land.



Born in St. Johns, Arizona, Udall served as Secretary of the Interior from 1960 to 1969 (Special Collections, University of Arizona Library, Papers of Stewart L. Udall, AZ 372, Box 88, folder 13).

See the Center for Desert Archaeology website for more information: <<http://www.cdarc.org>>

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Back Sight

SOME DISCOMFORT was generated among the Center's staff by the Coronado Project. In asking local residents to help us locate Coronado's trail by sharing possible Spanish-era objects, we were concerned that we might be sending a mixed message.

During the Coronado Roadshow events, we saw the excitement build in the attendees as they contemplated searching for artifacts that could represent traces of the Coronado Expedition. But we did not want people to initiate their own "fieldwork," and that was the source of our uneasiness.

The concept of partnership helped resolve this discomfort. Center researchers initiated a partnership when we went to the public and asked for help. It would take, we estimate, 100 archaeologists two centuries to systematically survey the land that Coronado may have passed through. Yet old-time families in the Southwest have walked much of this land as they have ranched or farmed. And many have encountered and collected various historical artifacts and oddities. Because these things have already been gathered, archaeologists can greatly benefit from partnerships with these local residents who care for our collective past.

To find proof of Coronado's trail, we will ultimately need to find artifacts, as archaeologists say, *in situ*—that is, in a secure context. However, we must state very clearly that we do not want people to go out with a metal detector—or worse, to dig up archaeological sites. Because Coronado-era sites are very rare and

back sight (băk sīt) n. 1. a reading used by surveyors to check the accuracy of their work. 2. an opportunity to reflect on and evaluate the Center for Desert Archaeology's mission.



The Blue River Valley in the highlands of east-central Arizona (above) is one possible Coronado route. The rugged, inaccessible terrain illustrates the magnitude of the challenge faced by archaeologists seeking traces of Coronado's passage.

ephemeral, professional-avocational partnerships present the best option for finding such artifacts.

Gayle Hartmann's discussion of the Jimmy Owens site in this issue (see page 13) is a good example of a productive excavation carried out in collaboration with avocational archaeologists. We hope that individuals and organizations continue to share information that can shed light on the Coronado mystery. And as professional archaeologists, we pledge ourselves to assess that information openly and pursue it in partnership.

*William H. Doelle, President & CEO
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