

**Coronado National Memorial Historical Research Project
Annotated Bibliography**

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Annotated Sources

Native Americans in the San Pedro River Valley

Alvarez Palma, Ana María. "Sociedades Agrícolas." In *Historia General de Sonora, Vol. 1*. Hermosillo, Sonora: Gobierno del Estado de Sonora, 1985.

Written in Spanish, this chapter provides an overview of the period of the development of agriculture in Mesoamerica and its spread into present-day Sonora in approximately 2500 BC. In addition to a discussion of crops, the chapter explores domestication of animals, art, development of pottery, building and architecture, tools, jewelry, burial customs, and trade networks. As shown by the bibliography, the synthesis provided is based on archaeological studies conducted in the 20th century. Maps, illustrations, and photographs depict examples of crops, pottery styles, petroglyphs, tools, and architecture.

Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Chip. "Signs in Place: Native American Perspectives of the Past in the San Pedro Valley of Southeastern Arizona." *Kiva* 69:1 (September 2003):5-29.

As part of a three-year ethnographic study, the author explores perspectives of present-day Native Americans of the Tohono O'odham, Hopi, Zuni, and Western Apache peoples who currently reside to the north, east, and west, in order to offer interpretations of petroglyphs found at various sites the San Pedro River valley. The native groups have historically utilized, or resided in, the valley. Interpretations offer insight into the past, place, and modern indigenous identities and perspectives on the history of the valley from an ethnographic perspective.

DiPeso, Charles C. *The Babocomari Village Site on the Babocomari River, Southeastern Arizona*. Dragoon, AZ: Amerind Foundation, 1951.

This groundbreaking study presents the findings of an archaeological survey conducted during the period 1948-49. Though clearly focusing on the results of the survey and findings (food, architecture, burial customs, etc.), the author concludes that in late prehistoric times an agricultural people affiliated with peoples to the south (present-day Sonora) moved into the area of the eastern slopes of the Huachuca Mountains and built at least four villages during the period AD 1200-1450. The survey did not conclude if the inhabitants of the Babocomari village were the forerunners or contemporaries of the Sobaipuris people encountered by the Spanish. At the time, no archaeological study had been carried out on a Sobaipuri site, thus no comparisons could be made.

DiPeso, Charles C. *The Sobaipuri Indians of the Upper San Pedro River Valley, Southeastern Arizona*. Dragoon, AZ: The Amerind Foundation, 1953.

Following on the heels of DiPeso's survey of the Babocomari village, this study presents the findings of an archaeological survey conducted at a historic site known as Quiburi village in southeastern Arizona in 1950-51. The work focuses on the results of the survey and findings (food, plants, architecture, burial customs, arts/crafts, etc.), but includes a thorough chapter on Spanish material objects found at the site (all of the artifacts of the Spanish derived from the 17th and 18th centuries). The Quiburi site was both prehistoric and historic, as the inhabitants were known to the Spanish as the Sobaipuri in the Marcos de Niza expedition in 1539, and a Spanish mission and presidio was established there in the 17th century. The survey tentatively posits that the Salado peoples (Western Pueblo), who had moved into the San Pedro valley around AD 1400, were the immediate ancestors of the Sobaipuri. Deni J. Seymour, in her 2003 article, disputes that DiPeso had found the Quiburi village, arguing that it actually lay to the north.

Ferg, Alan, and Jim I. Mead. *Red Cave, a Prehistoric Cave Shrine in Southeastern Arizona*. Phoenix: Arizona Archaeological Society, 1993.

The authors present the cumulative findings of a series of excavations of Red Cave, located in the Whetstone Mountains of southeastern Arizona, which contains a prehistoric shrine. The cave was first discovered in 1973, and surveys began in 1987. An analysis of the ceramic shards found indicates that the cave was utilized by the Hohokam peoples during the middle Rincon phase between AD 1050 and 1100. The authors propose that Red Cave was used primarily as a hunting shrine and secondarily as an emergence shrine. In addition, the authors posit that the cave marked the eastern boundary of the Tucson Basin Hohokom during this period. The book contains a useful map of southeastern Arizona showing the location of important archaeological sites.

Franklin, Hayward Hoskins. *Excavations at Second Canyon Ruin, San Pedro Valley, Arizona*. Arizona State Museum Contribution to Highway Salvage Archaeology in Arizona, Number 60. Phoenix: Arizona Department of Transportation, 1980.

The author presents the findings of the excavation of Second Canyon Ruin, located in the San Pedro valley in southern Arizona, which resulted from a highway salvage project in 1969-70. The study concludes that the site contains an earlier phase of pit house architecture and a later phase of aboveground structures, with subsequent intermittent reoccupation. The early phase consisted of a village of the Hohokam Culture (with blended elements from the Mogollon) centered in the Gila Basin, which lasted from AD 500 into the 1200s. The second phase saw the site occupied by the Salado people (Western Pueblo), who practiced both agriculture and hunter-gathering, during the period AD 1300-1400. In early historic times, the site was visited intermittently by Apache or Sobaipuri peoples. The author argues that the main features of San Pedro cultures were imported from elsewhere (Hohokam, Mogollon, and Salado) and that cultural ideas arrived in the valley from several sources at different times.

Gaines, Edmund P., Guadalupe Sánchez, and Vance T. Holliday. "Paleoindian Archaeology in Northern and Central Sonora, Mexico." *Kiva* 74:3 (2009):305-335.

The authors report their findings from an archaeological survey and test excavation in northern Sonora (Mexico) of 24 sites, mostly in the western foothills of the Sierra Madre Occidental and in the plains west of Hermosillo. The excavations revealed Clovis artifacts at three main sites. The authors conclude that there is a physiographic connection between the upper San Pedro valley's sites at Murray Springs, Naco, and Lehner Clovis sites in Arizona. The survey shows that Sonora has a significant Paleoindian record, particularly Clovis occupation, and points to possible migration patterns through the area from the north.

Hartmann, William K. and Richard Flint. "Migrations in Late Anasazi Prehistory: 'Eyewitness' Testimony." *Kiva* 66:3 (March 2001):375-385.

The article revisits the primary documentation of the Coronado Expedition to shed light on the late stages of Southwest prehistory. The authors combine this "eyewitness" testimony with more recent archaeological studies, arguing that Coronado's party might have been aware of other pueblo ruins in southeast Arizona that originally had been constructed by immigrants from Cibola in northern Arizona.

Haynes, Jr., C. Vance, and Bruce B. Huckell, editors. *Murray Springs: A Clovis Site with Multiple Activity Areas in the San Pedro Valley, Arizona*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007.

The authors discuss the findings of a series of summer fieldwork conducted from 1966-1971 at the Murray Springs located in the San Pedro River valley. Investigation of the site, and others nearby, allow the authors to provide a view the prehistoric occupation some 13,000 years ago of the valley by humans, the first to inhabit southeastern Arizona. Clovis is the name given to the earliest well-defined cultural complex found in the archaeological record of North America, evinced by the presence of the Clovis projectile point (a fluted biface). The site produced projectile points associated with mammoth, camel, horse, and large cat bones, signifying that the area was utilized as a hunting camp.

Hill, J. Brett, Jeffrey J. Clark, William H. Doelle, and Patrick D. Lyons. "Prehistoric Demography in the Southwest: Migration, Coalescence, and Hohokam Population Decline." *American Antiquity* 69:4 (2004):689-716.

The authors seek to explain the disappearance of the Hohokam peoples from the valleys of southern Arizona, which they refer to as the least understood demographic phenomena in the pre-contact Southwest. The article, based on macro-level population studies and local research in the lower San Pedro River

valley, argues that an influx of immigrants from the north increased conflict, aggregation, and economic intensification, and resulted in population decline in the late 1200s AD and the unviability of Hohokam cultural traditions and populations. The Hohokam, most likely disappeared from the archaeological record of southern Arizona because of out-migration or a shift of lifeways that rendered them invisible in the archaeological record.

Montané Martí, Julio C. “Desde los orígenes hasta 3000 años antes del presente.” In *Historia General de Sonora, Vol. 1*. Hermosillo, Sonora: Gobierno del Estado de Sonora, 1985: pp.171-221.

Written in Spanish, this chapter provides an overview of the period of the first human habitation of present-day Sonora to approximately 1000 BC. The author explores the Paleoindian and Archaic periods of the area, and addresses lithic remains, social organization, economy, and art. As shown by the bibliography, the synthesis provided is based on archaeological studies that had been conducted beginning in the late 19th century, but mostly occurred in the 20th century. A map of archaeological sites and investigators is provided, as well as photographs of projectiles and examples of rock and cave art.

Phillips, Jr., David A. “Prehistory of Chihuahua and Sonora, Mexico.” *Journal of World Prehistory* 3:4 (December 1989):373-401.

This article provides a synthesis of information regarding the region of present-day Chihuahua and Sonora for the Paleoindian, Archaic, and Ceramic periods. Moreover, the author seeks to bridge the results from scholars in the United States with those in Mexico, with the intent to better understand cultural change over a wider area of analysis, and to integrate the historiography from each side of the border. The article is a useful introduction to the archaeology and prehistory of northwestern Mexico and includes diagrams of the various periods and corresponding years.

Riley, Carroll L. “The Road to Hawikuh: Trade and Trade Routes to Cibola-Zuni during Late Prehistoric and Early Historic Times.” *Kiva* 41:2 (Winter 1975):137-59.

The author argues that what was termed the province of Cibola by the Spanish, and its principal center at Hawikuh (Cibola), was by the beginning of the 16th century the focal point in north-south and east-west trade routes linking the American Southwest to Mesoamerica. Along with Pecos in the east, the trading center at Hawikuh acted as a major redistribution center for goods not produced locally and for the regional trade in turquoise. The author places Hawikuh within the context of commercial routes and its privileged geographical position, which declined and was eventually abandoned by the beginning of the 18th century.

Seymour, Deni J. "Evaluating Eyewitness Accounts of Native Peoples along the Coronado Trail from the International Border to Cibola." *New Mexico Historical Review* 84:3 (Summer 2009):399-435.

The author weighs in on the much debated question of the exact route that the Coronado expedition took through southeastern Arizona, specifically the turn northeast out of the San Pedro River valley. The author utilizes archaeological studies, including her own work, and argues for a route which transited through the Sulphur Springs valley and along its prehistoric trails. Specifically, the article addresses then recent archaeological studies of the occurrence and distribution of the Sobaipuri-O'odham peoples and two mobile groups at the time of contact with the De Niza and Coronado expeditions, and comparisons with accounts of the Spanish produced at that time.

Seymour, Deni J. "Sobaipuri-Pima Occupation in the Upper San Pedro Valley: San Pablo de Quiburi." *New Mexico Historical Review* 78:2 (April 2003):147-166.

The author seek to solve the mystery surrounding the actual location of the Sobaipuri village site known as Quiburi, which was believed to have been discovered and surveyed by DiPeso in the early 1950s. The author argues that DiPeso was mistaken, and that subsequent multiyear surveys revealed two dozen previously unknown Sobaipuri sites along the banks of the San Pedro River. The author argues that DiPeso's Quibiri is actually Terrenate, but that the real location of the historical Quibiri is north of that site, at a place identified as AZ EE:4:23 (ASM). The article discusses the written historical record produced in the late 17th century and then presents the archaeological survey data regarding size, fortifications, wall and canal systems, and land use.

Seymour, Deni J. *Where the Earth and Sky Are Sewn Together: Sobaipuri-O'odham Contexts of Contact and Colonialism*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2011.

By the expert on the Sobaipuri, this book seeks to construct an "archaeologically-driven history" of the Sobaipuri native group who the Spanish first encountered during the Marcos de Niza expedition, and their present-day descendants, the O'odham. The book combines historical narratives of members of the expeditions and documents of the missionaries to the region with a burgeoning series of archaeological studies. The author argues that by combining these sources, it is possible to reconstruct the route that explorers took with near certainty. In addition, the author can name more accurately the actual indigenous groups encountered by the Spanish in the 16th century. The book centers the Sobaipuri-O'odham within a larger indigenous world and history in order to de-emphasize the arrival of Europeans and later Spanish missions. Much of the first part of the book is a revisionist history, while the remainder of the work addresses typical archaeological concerns, such as lithics, housing, food, land use, etc. Though dense, this work provides the most recent and thorough understanding of the Sobaipuri people.

Vierra, Bradley J. *The Late Archaic Across the Borderlands: From Foraging to Farming*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005.

Focusing on the Late Archaic period (3000 to 1500 BCE), this collection of essays discusses the period of transition from nomadic hunter-gathering to the development of agriculture in the area of the present-day U.S./Mexico border region. With chapters on Sonora, southern Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, the book explores the topics of lithic scatter, mobility patterns, village life, farming, etc. The book serves as a useful overview of the current state of knowledge about the region, which “took the cultural lead in the post-Pleistocene adaptation to a new productive environment,” derived from the archaeological record and recent research. Moreover, one essay argues that southeastern Arizona experienced the first significant agricultural revolution within the present-day United States, leading to village life, permanent architecture, pottery, trade, and community rituals associated with farming communities.

Villalpando Canchola, María Elisa. “Cazadores-recolectores y agricultores del contacto.” In *Historia General de Sonora, Vol. 1*. Hermosillo, Sonora: Gobierno del Estado de Sonora, 1985.

Written in Spanish, this chapter provides an overview of the period of first contact between the Spanish and the Native Americans of the region beginning in the 16th century and into the 17th century introduction of the missions. As shown in the bibliography, the chapter utilizes both archaeological studies and also Spanish accounts (ethnographies) of the region and people, particularly missionary accounts. As a result, the chapter addresses both the sedentary, agricultural groups and the nomadic hunter-gatherers. The author explores the themes of the environment, social organization, technology, and demography. A map of the ethnic groups encountered by the Spanish is included, as well as various illustrations of Native American weapons and tools.

Whalen, Norman M. “Cochise Site Distribution in the San Pedro Valley.” *Kiva* 40:3 (Spring 1975):203-211.

Based on an extensive archaeological survey conducted between 1966 and 1970 which formed the subject of his doctoral dissertation, the article expands on the number of Cochise culture (pre-ceramic) sites known to exist in the San Pedro River valley. The author found and examined 80 Cochise sites within a 100 square mile area on the west side of the river valley. The Cochise culture period (now divided into Paleoindian and Archaic periods) spanned from at least 5000 B.C to approximately 200 B.C. and was ancestral to the prehistoric Mogollon and Hohokam peoples who later inhabited the area.

Before Coronado: The Fray Marcos de Niza Expedition

Niza, Marco de, ed. and trans. by Percy M. Baldwin. *Discovery of the Seven Cities of Cibola, by the Father Fray Marcos de Niza*. Albuquerque: El Palacio Press, 1926.

The author bases his English translation of Niza's account on the printed copy in Spanish found in the Documentos Inéditos del Archivo de Indias, Vol. II, pp. 325. The volume also includes translations of other documents, including Viceroy Mendoza's Instructions, Niza's Acknowledgement of Receipt, and Attestations. The last part of the volume includes the same materials reprinted in Spanish. Prior to this volume, an English translation appeared in Richard Hakluyt, *Navagations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries*, Vol. III, London (1810) and Glasgow (1904), based on Ramusio's Italian translation found in *Navigazioni et Viaggi*. A French translation appears in Ternaux-Compans, based on the copy of the manuscript at the archive in Simancas, Spain.

Niza, Marco de, ed. and trans. by Cleve Hallenbeck, illustrated by José Cisneros. *The Journey of Fray Marcos de Niza*. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1949.

The first part of this book contains a translation into English of De Niza's *Relación*. However, Hallenbeck does not specifically state the document version on which he has based his translation. The last section of the book is an essay, not entirely scholarly, on the veracity of the De Niza account, as defined by the author.

Reff, Daniel T. "Anthropological Analysis of Exploration Texts: Cultural Discourse and the Ethnological Import of Fray Marcos de Niza's Journey to Cibola." *American Anthropologist, New Series* 93:3 (September 1991):636-655.

The article reassesses De Niza's account of his journey to Cibola in 1539. The author recounts the events in De Niza's *Relación*, major criticisms of the text, and its methodological limitations. Using a cultural discourse analysis, the article argues that the text must be viewed within its appropriate historical and cultural context. In combination with the archaeological record, the author argues that the Hohokam and Trincheras cultures that De Niza encountered had survived into the historic period, thus providing insights into the proto-historic period (A.D. 1450-1700).

Terrell, John Upton. *Estevanico the Black*. Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1968.

This book addresses the historical role and importance of Estévan de Dorantes, the first person born in Africa to have arrived in the present-day United States. Born in Morocco, he was enslaved by the Portuguese, sold to a Spaniard, and later went on both the Navarez and De Niza expeditions into the present-day southern and southwestern United States. In the latter expedition, he was killed at the Zuni pueblo of Hawikuh in 1539. The story of the De Niza expedition is found on pp.

47-145. The author seeks to revise the historical record that had not recognized Dorantes as the first discoverer of the U.S. Southwest.

Undreiner, George J. "Fray Marcos de Niza and His Journey to Cibola." *The Americas* 3:4 (April 1947):415-486.

The author provides a detailed narrative of De Niza's journey to Cibola based on the recounting found in the *Relación*, and includes relevant secondary sources. Representing a revisionist take on history, the article argues that De Niza's account is accurate and proves that he was the first to discover and explore present-day Arizona and New Mexico. The author wrote in an era when historians were not in agreement about the veracity of De Niza's account.

Wagner, Henry R. "Fray Marcos de Niza." *New Mexico Historical Review* 9:2 (April 1934):184-227.

In this article, the author sparks a heated scholarly debate about the veracity of the De Niza account and whether or not De Niza was the first European indisputably to enter present-day New Mexico. The author argues that the De Niza account was not to be trusted, based mostly on the lack of credibility of the man as determined by his life and service. Wagner conducted biographical research into De Niza's early career and activities in Peru and New Spain. The article examines the text of the De Niza account, stating that "he was given to loose statements and great exaggeration." Subsequent historians have argued that De Niza, though flawed, provided an accurate account.

Biographical Information on Members of the Coronado Expedition

Chávez, Angélico. *Coronado's Friars*. Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1968.

The author seeks to redress the lack of knowledge about the composition and biographical information about the Franciscan friars who accompanied the Coronado expedition. At the time, the Spanish documents known to exist only briefly related the names of five persons, and provided little additional information. The author remedies the matter by collecting the entirety of documentation, both secular and religious, and subsequently conducts a textual analysis/comparison in order to shed light on the friars and to reconstruct their identities. The book consists of general background information on the expedition, a chapter dedicated to each friar, and how they died.

Flint, Richard. "Without Them, Nothing Was Possible: The Coronado Expedition's Indian Allies." *New Mexico Historical Review* 84:1 (Winter 2009):65-118.

This article addresses the composition of the Native Americans, called “indios amigos,” who accompanied the Coronado expedition. Most of the Spanish accounts have little to say about this group, but without their assistance the Spanish could not have been successful in their endeavors. The authors revisited the Archivo General de Indias (AGI) in Sevilla, Spain, in search of new documentation, where they uncovered the testimony of sixteen Native Americans present on the Coronado expedition. The article discusses the historical context of the previously unknown testimonies and provides unabridged transcripts and English translations for each.

Flint, Richard and Shirley Cushing Flint. “Guido de Lavezariis: The Life of the Financier of the Coronado and Villalobos Expeditions.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 86:1 (Winter 2011):1-20.

This article discusses the important role of Guido de Lavezariis, a principal financial backer of the Coronado expedition. Such financiers of expeditions, though often not direct participants, played a crucial part in the planning and outfitting of exploratory parties embarking from New Spain. A rich man in 1539, Lavezariis provided loans and goods in the sum of twenty thousand pesos, and sent a retainer along with the expedition. However, the *entrada* produced little wealth for the members of the expedition, and Lavezariis did not recoup the total of his investment. Some members of the Coronado expedition, in debt to Lavezariis, participated in his subsequent ventures.

_____. “Parts of the Whole: The Diverse Makeup of the Coronado Expedition.” *Journal of the West* 47:3 (Summer 2008):23-31.

The authors present their findings from a then current research project titled “Members of the Coronado Expedition: A Search for Documents.” As part of this project, the authors traveled to archives in an attempt to identify and assemble all known documentation. As a result, at that time 400 members of the Coronado expedition could be identified by name, while approximately 1,600 others remained anonymous. Though mostly a general overview, the article relates new information about the Native Americans who participated in the expedition, but also discusses Europeans and slaves, intended to underscore the diversity of the members.

Inglis, G. Douglas. “The Men of Cibola: New Investigations on the Francisco Vasquez de Coronado Expedition.” *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review* 55 (January 1982):1-24.

This article reports some initial findings of research project funded by the Panhandle-Plains Historical Society in 1980. The pilot project intended to revisit the archives in Spain in order to uncover additional documents that were not known to exist to previous scholars, such as George P. Winship, George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, and Bolton. The article discusses some of the service records for members of the Coronado expedition uncovered at the Archivo

General de Indias in Sevilla, Spain, and outlines some preliminary findings from the new documentation.

The Pedro de Castañeda Account

Emilfork, Leónidas. *Letras de fundación: estudio sobre la obra americana de Oviedo y la crónica de las siete ciudades de Cibola*. Doctoral Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1981.

This dissertation analyzes three Spanish texts, one of which is Pedro de Castañeda's *Relación* of the Coronado expedition. By utilizing a discursive analysis, the author argues that Castañeda account is a new version of the "mythical tale of the seven cities of Cibola," or a new cycle of the legend that had European origins, produced through binary oppositions, "semantic unities," and literary devices. The author argues that the *Relación* represents a new form of writing, or "verbal cartography of the land," which exposes the deep mythical background behind the account. The author bases his analysis on the transcription of the document found in Winship.

Mora, Carmen de. "Códigos culturales en la Relación de la jornada de Cibola de Pedro Castañeda Nájera." *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 39:2 (1991):901-12.

The author highlights the fact that, up to that point, the Castañeda account had only been examined by historians. The article analyzes the text from a sociolinguistic point of view, analyzing its discursive value in terms of cultural production of the larger colonial period. The author situates the text within a literary canon or tradition and discusses the style of writing, narrative structure, mythology and themes, cultural codes, and the literary treatment of Native Americans. The article argues that Castañeda's account is a hybrid text existing at the margins of the literary genre, but also represents a new form of writing emerging from the experience of the Coronado expedition.

Palmer, Daryl W. "Pedro Castañeda, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, and the Rebirth of the Picaresque on the American Plains." *Mediterranean Studies* 11 (2002):131-148.

The author analyzes the connections between the literature of the picaresque and the narrative of Castañeda and the Coronado expedition. The article explores the narrative, its "search for a master," human suffering, moral decline, and failure characteristic of the genre. The author argues that, in the end, Castañeda's encounter with the landscape demanded a mutation in the generic form of the picaresque.

Strout, Clevy Lloyd. *A Linguistic Study of the Journals of the Coronado Expedition*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Colorado, 1958.

The dissertation is the first systematic study of the vocabulary related to the Coronado expedition, based on an analysis of Castañeda's and Jaramillo's reports, and the anonymous *Relación de suceso*, *Relación postera de Cíbola*, and the *Traslado de las nuevas*. The author argues that vocabulary exposes reactions to new things and experiences that the Spanish encountered in the new environment, showing how they adapted to describe people, places, and things not already designated. The dissertation also provides a lexicon of 2,900 words and vocabulary weapons, musical instruments, flora, fauna, place and personal names, and indigenous terms. The author concludes that only 1 percent of the total entries in the lexicon are borrowed, many from the Antilles.

Global History, Cultural Exchange, and Legacy of the Spanish/Native American Meeting

Bolton, Herbert E., editor and translator. *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*. New York: Scribner, 1908.

This volume is the first document-based treatment of the larger context of Spanish explorations into the present-day southwestern United States. Specifically, the author has included documents that at that time had not been previously published in any language, while also including previously published translations in Spanish and English (three of which he retranslated). For each document, the author provides an introduction, in which the events of the document are summarized and the genesis and history of the actual document (including a history of translation) is discussed. Part One presents documents on California; Part Two on New Mexico; Part Three on Texas; and Part Four on Arizona. The volume, however, does not discuss the De Niza or the Coronado expedition in any detail.

Flint, Richard. "The Flipside of Discovery: Planned Pueblo Indian Response to the Approach of the Coronado Expedition." *New Mexico Historical Review* 88:1 (Winter 2013):1-14.

The article considers the nature of the initial interaction between the members of the Coronado expedition and the Ashiwi (Zuni) peoples. The author argues that the Zuni scouts watched and monitored the advance of the expedition through their territory, unbeknownst to the Spanish and their Native American auxiliaries. Moreover, the Zuni used the knowledge gained, particularly about the Spaniards' weapons, armor, and horses, to devise a defensive strategy of withdrawal. The strategy worked to neutralize the Spanish advantage and minimize the number of violent assaults and native casualties. Lastly, the author argues that Ashiwi and the Pueblo peoples initially rejected what might have been useful, such as the Spaniards' horses and livestock, in favor of a policy of resistance.

_____. *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported: The 1544 Investigation of the Coronado Expedition*. [Reprint] Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013.

The book takes as its topic the official investigation into the Coronado Expedition carried out in 1544, which attempted to assign blame for and punish members for a variety of crimes that occurred during the expedition. The author seeks to confront Bolton's earlier assertion that the expedition was more humane than other similar expeditions. Flint also includes additional Spanish documents and some works by archaeologists and ethno-historians. The book includes an informative chapter on the existing (and newly discovered) Spanish texts, a transcript of the investigation, translations, and concludes with a chapter that outlines what the author sees as the results and repercussions of the expedition. In addition, the volume supplies brief biographical sketches for members of the expedition and also information on the place names and geography.

Reff, Daniel T. *Disease, Depopulation, and Cultural Change in Northwestern New Spain, 1518-1764*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991.

The author explores the introduction and impact of epidemic diseases on Native American populations in northwestern New Spain, with a particular emphasis on Sonora. The author argues that scholars had ignored the topic of disease outside of the areas of central Mexico and Peru. The author offers a disease chronology for the northwest of present-day Mexico, showing when various diseases entered the region from Mesoamerica after contact with Europeans. The book discusses the demographics of native populations, before and after European incursions and into the era of Jesuit missionary activities, to show decline and collapse of native populations for the period 1518-1764.

Riley, Carrol L. "Early Spanish-Indian Communication in the Greater Southwest." *New Mexico Historical Review* 46 (1971):285-314.

The article considers the variety of languages used or encountered by the Spanish during their explorations and expeditions into the present-day region of the U.S. Southwest, and how that facilitated communication. The author begins with a discussion of the use of Nahuatl in central Mexico and Otomian in north-central Mexico, and discusses both the De Niza and Coronado expeditions. In the latter examples, the author highlights the linguistic talents of Estevan the Moor with a variety of languages, including Pima-speaking groups, and importance of interpreters in facilitating communication, both through speech and signs, between the Native Americans and the Spanish during the Coronado expedition. The author concludes that there was ample contact between north and west Mexico and the greater Southwest of the United States, and that the Pima language group might have been the dominant trade language among the regions. As such, only a few bilingual Pima to Zuni and Pima to Spanish/Nahuatl/Tarascan interpreters were required to render full communication possible.

Roberts, Heidi and Richard V.N. Ahlstrom. "Malaria, Microbes, and Mechanisms of Change." *Kiva* 63:2 (Winter 1997):117-135.

The article looks at the role that epidemic disease, particularly malaria, played in the decline of the Hohokam people. The authors provide a reassessment of the scholarly consensus that held that the Hohokam cultural sequence had ended around AD 1450, owing to a variety of factors including the introduction of European diseases. The article argues, to the contrary, that Hohokam society survived in some form into the AD 1550s. However, the authors argue that the social system was undergoing significant change, possibly brought on by epidemic disease, and/or that such disease limited the ability of the social structure to cope, eventually leading to its collapse.

16th Century Weaponry

López, Ignacio J. N. *The Spanish Tercios, 1536-1704*. Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2012.

This book outlines the development of the Spanish Tercios, which grew out of Spain's desire for an organized, professional standing army at the end of the 15th century. The "tercios" referred to the division of the infantrymen into three groups: pikemen, sword and buckler men, and crossbowmen/hand-gunners. The book provides a historical background and addresses unit organization, ranks and duties, recruiting, training, logistics, morale, equipment, tactics, and clothing. The book contains a chronology, which provides important context, and numerous illustrations.

Lusardi, Wayne R. *Shipwrecked Swords: An Examination of Edged Weaponry Recovered from Spanish Colonial Vessels and Archaeological Sites, 1492-1733*. Master's Thesis, East Carolina University, 1998.

This master's thesis is, in essence, a history of the development of edged weaponry—swords, daggers, rapiers—and objects related to it, such as scabbards, from approximately 1492 to 1733. The author argues that objects recovered from modern salvaging of old shipwrecks in the Americas provide a snapshot into the technology, skills of craftsmen, mode of manufacture, and in some cases the social, political, or religious affiliations of the owners. Moreover, the study shows that Spain often used different weapons than other European nations, developed special weapons or modified weapons for use on board ship or in the colonies, and that Spain had retained traditional weapons long obsolete and discarded by other European powers.

Oakeshott, Ewart. *European Weapons and Armour: From the Renaissance to the Industrial Revolution*. Guildford, England: Lutterworth Press, 1980.

The one-volume work is a useful, if slightly dated, reference for the history and development of weapons and armor in Europe, approximately from the beginning of the 15th century through the 17th century. The book has chapters on handguns, staff-weapons, the mace/hammer/axe, swords, daggers, and armor for the period

of 1400-1650. As the author argues, wars became more complex, arms showed greater variation in style and purpose, fewer types of weapons were in use, armor declined and almost disappeared altogether, the sword became more varied, and firearms increased in importance. As to the importance of this book, the author argues that in 1980 much of the scholarly attention previously had focused on firearms, but no work had sufficiently addressed the development of swords during this period.

Thibodeau, A.M., J.T. Chesley, and J. Ruiz. "Lead Isotope Analysis as a New Method for Identifying Material Culture Belonging to the Vazquez de Coronado Expedition." *Journal of Archaeological Science* 39:1 (January 2012):58-66.

This article reports on the first high-precision lead isotopic measurements of artifacts from the sites of Piedras Marcadas pueblo (Albuquerque) and the Jimmy Owens site (Texas). The archaeological team analyzed lead and copper armaments from both sites, revealing similar or overlapping isotopic ratios. The article concludes that there is evidence for these sites containing material from the Coronado expedition, thus significant for determining the route of the expedition through these areas.

White, Lorraine. "The Experience of Spain's Early Modern Soldiers: Combat, Welfare and Violence." *War in History* 9: 1 (2002):1-38.

This article analyzes the condition of service and experience of soldiers in the regular armies and militias of the Iberian Peninsula during the period 1500-1700. The author explores the topics of combat, physical and spiritual welfare, the culture of violence, and realities of warfare. The article argues that evidence shows that tactics in use in the peninsula in the mid-seventeenth century were associated with the Military Revolution, which also witnessed a violent interaction between soldiers and civilians.

Historiography of the Coronado Expedition

Bolton, Herbert E. *Coronado on the Turquoise Trail: Knight of Pueblos and Plains*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1949.

This extensive volume was the first full synthesis of the material related to the entire trajectory of the Coronado Expedition (including before and after), and thus became the early standard work on the topic. The author not only utilized sources translated and published by Winship at the end of the 19th century, but also included newly discovered and published archival materials, such as the expedition's muster roll and Coronado's post-expedition *residencia*. Moreover, Bolton purported to have visited the sites personally, attempting to match the actual physical topography with the descriptions found in the Spanish documents, in order to establish the most likely route of the expedition. Upon publication,

Bolton's work competed with Day's 1940 published volume on the same topic, though Bolton argued that his work was superior because he had more complete sources and had conducted fieldwork.

Day, Arthur Grove. *Coronado's Quest: The Discovery of the Southwestern States*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1940.

This volume was the first synthesis of the material related to the Coronado Expedition, including the then-known Spanish documents, some archaeological studies, and other secondary works. In addition to the expedition, which is the main topic, the book also provides some biographical information on Coronado. Moreover, the author states that he had himself retraced the expedition on the ground. Day mostly relies on the primary material translated and published by Winship for his narrative

Flint, Richard. *No Settlement, No Conquest: A History of the Coronado Entrada*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008.

This book is advertised as the first narrative history to have appeared in the almost 60 years since the publication of Bolton's *Coronado on the Turquoise Trail* (1949). Based on the new transcriptions of documents produced by the Flints in 2005, the work also incorporates recent archaeological studies, in order to produce the most accurate history of the expedition available. The volume makes new arguments, including regarding the nature and size of the expedition, biographical information on its members, weapons, financing, and goals. The author states that he is interested in recounting the "why" of the expedition as much as what happened.

Flint, Richard and Shirley Cushing Flint, eds. With historiographical essays by Joseph P. Sánchez. *The Coronado Expedition to Tierra Nueva: The 1540-1542 Route across the Southwest*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 1997.

This volume is a collection of short essays, divided into five parts representing then recent research resulting from new scholarly interest into the expedition. The first and second parts deal with antecedents, hypotheses, and evidence, while the remainder breaks the expedition into discrete segments of Compostela-Cíbola, Cíbola-Río de Cicúye, and the Río de Cicúye-Quivira. Topics include the De Niza expedition, various routes of the Coronado expedition, the possible location of Chichilticale, encounter with Zuni and Teya peoples, etc. by scholars from the fields of history, geography, anthropology, and archaeology.

_____. *The Coronado Expedition from the Distance of 460 Years*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003.

This volume consists of 17 papers published from a conference held at the New Mexico Highlands University. The book consists of an introduction, brief

historical background, and discussion of the existing documents. Topics include possible routes, the muster roll, bison, the *llano estacado* landscape, boltheads, the Jimmy Owens site, and cultural spaces. The volume shows the growing interest in the topic and research by a new group of scholars.

_____. *The Latest Word from 1540: People, Places, and Portrayals of the Coronado Expedition*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2011.

This volume represents the latest research on the topic of the Coronado expedition, attesting to the continued interest on the part of scholars. An edited volume, the 17 chapters revisit some old topics, such as the location of Chichilticale and the Jimmy Owens site, and new interest in topics such as the garrisons of San Geronimo, new documentary evidence from Sonora, additional biographical information, establishment of the Coronado trail, and archaeological survey's on Coronado's presence at El Morro and Piedras Marcadas.

Gómara, Francisco López de. *Primera y segunda parte de la Historia general de las Indias con todo el descubrimiento y cosas notables que han acaecido desde que se ganaron ata el año de 1551. Con la conquista de Mexico y de la nueva España (1552)*.

This two-volume history was first published in Zaragoza, Spain, in 1552. The work was banned by the Spanish Crown in 1553 owing to its purported historical inaccuracies. López de Gómara never traveled to New Spain, though he had direct access to the returning conquistadores from which he based his accounts. For Coronado expedition, see cap. CCXII-CCXV.

Hammond, George P. *Coronado's Seven Cities*. Albuquerque: United States Coronado Exposition Commission, 1940.

Produced in order to fulfill the requirement as part of its legal mandate that the Coronado Exposition Commission publish a descriptive "booklet," this small volume is a bare-bones version of the earlier published history of the Coronado expedition by Hammond. As such, this book is aimed at a popular audience in order to provide a quick-moving and easily accessible narrative. The volume is notable in that provides a brief history of the U.S. Coronado Exposition Commission and names of the various members of the state commissions that made up the organizational body. In addition, black and white photos from era of the 1930s, including a picture of Herbert Bolton in Sonora, accompany the text.

Hammond, George P. and Edgar F. Goad. *The Adventure of Don Francisco Vázquez de Coronado*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1938.

Produced with support of the Coronado Cuarto Centennial Commission, this work is an example of the establishment of the early historical narrative of the Coronado expedition as a "thrilling adventure story" that highlighted the "bravery" of members and the "wonders of discovery," while downplaying the

impact on and violence against Native Americans. The Forward is particularly telling in this aspect, stating that the story was the “great saga of human enterprise and courage” and calling the Centennial Commission the “work of Western men who understand the importance of such a celebration, and happily, of writers who have told it well.” This book is mostly based on Winship’s translations of the then known to exist documentation. Two years later, in 1940, Hammond (along with Rey) would publish a new volume of transcribed and translated documents on the expedition, which became the new source base for future publications. The volume here includes a series of unusual woodcarvings that illustrate the text.

Hoig, Stan. *Came Men on Horses: The Conquistador Expeditions of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and Don Juan de Oñate*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2013.

Published in 2013, representing the most recent work on the Coronado expedition (and the Oñate expedition appearing in the second half), the author mostly bases his work on the documentary source material edited, transcribed, and translated by Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint that appeared in their book, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition* (2005). The author states that he utilized the Flint translations along with earlier scholars’ translations, such as Winship and Hammond and Rey, in order to provide a better understanding of the meanings of the documents. As such, this work is the first to synthesis the totality of known primary sources in its narrative, and seeks to tell the fullest story. However, the author entirely excludes archaeological studies and mostly sidesteps scholarly debates to create an overarching and seamless narrative.

Kessell, John B. “Bolton’s Coronado.” *Journal of the Southwest* 32:1 (Spring 1990):83-96.

This article is a modified version of Kessell’s new Forward to the reprinted version of Bolton’s *Coronado: Knight of Pueblos and Plains*, which was reissued to coincide with the 500th anniversary of Columbus’ first voyage. Though clearly heavy on the Eurocentric “grand adventure” narrative, Kessell reminds the reader that Bolton’s 1949 book won several awards upon publication and quickly became the standard work on the subject. However, the author re-evaluates Bolton’s portrayal of Coronado in light of the then current trends within historical scholarship, including ethnohistory and Chicano history, and contributions of scholars from other fields, such as anthropology and archaeology. While Kessell numerates Bolton’s shortcomings and biases, he argues for Bolton’s valuable contribution to the study of the Coronado expedition.

Ladd, Horatio Oliver. *The Story of New Mexico*. Boston: Lothrop, 1892.

Intended as a general history of New Mexico, but published well before statehood, this volume is part of series titled “The Story of the States.” The book is fronted by a discussion of New Mexico’s “romantic prehistoric past” and ends with claims to statehood, complicated by “great illiteracy,” a “foreign language,” and a “religion under foreign control.” Chapter Two discusses the De Niza

expedition and Chapters Three and Four discuss the Coronado Expedition. The book is based on a collection of secondary works and exposes the cultural biases of the time, particularly the view of New Mexico history as seen from the eastern U.S. point of view.

Montané Martí, Julio C. *Francisco Vázquez Coronado: sueño y decepción*. Zapopán: Colegio de Jalisco, 2002.

This volume is a hybrid work that both produces a narrative and reproduces in the text a variety of documents relevant to the expedition. The author has produced new transcriptions of the existing documents (or copies), but takes some license, for example with the muster roll, in which the names have been rearranged alphabetically. The author seeks to redress the United States' predominance of scholarship on the topic and to correct the absence of studies done by Mexican scholars. The author, however, does not substantially change the established narrative, but does provide a scholarly work written in the Spanish language.

Preston, Douglas J. *Cities of Gold: A Journey across the American Southwest in Pursuit of Coronado*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992.

Aimed at a popular audience, this book recounts the journey on horseback across approximately 1,000 miles following the believed trail of the Coronado expedition, from the Mexico-Arizona border as far as Pecos (New Mexico). Seeing the two journeys as parallel, the author argues that he “would see this landscape unfold almost exactly as it did for the first Europeans.” While they are not treated in a strict scholarly manner, the book does discuss the various historical figures and their reports, such as De Niza and Castañeda, and the history of the Coronado expedition, albeit juxtaposed with late twentieth century Native Americans, ranchers, herders, and others. The book, in truth, probably says more about latter than the former, but nonetheless is an interesting introduction for non-specialists.

Udall, Stewart L. Photographs by Jerry Jacka. *Majestic Journey: Coronado's Inland Empire*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1995.

This volume is an updated version of an earlier edition published in 1987. The author, former secretary of the Interior Department, recounts his youth in St. Johns (Arizona) and his childhood interest in the “fairy tale dropping out of a book into life.” For the most part, the book adopts the “pageants and processions” view of the expedition fostered by the Coronado Cuarto Centennial Commission, augmented by stories of personal experiences and a selection of color and black-and-white photographs. For the historical narrative, the author relies on Bolton, although he does mention the existence of recent studies “that cast doubt on some of his assumptions.” The final chapter, titled “The Spanish Legacy” discusses how the “Yankee Tilt” and the “Black Legend” have worked to obscure and denigrate the importance of the Coronado expedition. The book also exposes the

cultural politics of the 1980s that sought to revise and to complicate the established narrative. Clearly, the work is not meant to be scholarly: there are no footnotes, and only a brief bibliography of sorts.

Cartography of the Region

Ahern, Maureen. "Mapping, Measuring, and Naming Cultural Spaces in Castañeda's *Relación de la jornada de Cibola*." In Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, eds. *The Coronado Expedition from the Distance of 460 Years*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003.

This chapter is an updated version of a previously published work. The author argues that Castañeda's report is a "verbal map" which confronts the terrain, envisions new spaces, and presents them in a radical transformation in the conceptualization of North American frontiers in the mid-16th century. The article explores the importance of distances and their measurement, and ethnographic information on native populations. The report is a "sociopolitical configuration of Cibola and the topographic measurement of its cultural spaces function in narrative tandem, locating events and reinforcing the natural context in which they occur..."

Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Chip and J. Brett Hill. "Mapping History: Cartography and the Construction of the San Pedro Valley." *History and Anthropology* 15:2 (June 2004):175-200.

This article analyzes four centuries of maps depicting the San Pedro valley. The author argues that these maps portray both a topographical reality and a singular notion of place. The mapping exposes mapmaker's desires, perceptions, and experiences. The article employs modern GIS technology in order to show the "hidden messages embedded in maps from the 1500s to 1800s to reveal the social and political ideologies that buttressed the Spanish, Mexican, and American empires." Instead of a linear progress from unknown to known, the authors argue that maps act to legitimate colonial rule, privilege Euro-American standpoints, and disregard competing claims.

Natural Resources

Sayre, Nathan F. "A History of Land Use and Natural Resources in the Middle San Pedro River Valley, Arizona." *Journal of the Southwest* 53:1 (Spring 2011):87-137.

The article analyzes the land use and natural history of a stretch of the middle San Pedro river valley in southeastern Arizona. The area of study is minimally populated and has little development, though much of its history of use centers on livestock and agriculture. The area also has major archaeological sites such as

Tres Alamos, which attest to human occupation for at least the last 11,000 years. The article is divided into sections on prehistory, Spanish occupation, the Mexican period, and incorporation into the United States, but emphasizes modern agricultural and ranching, private landownership, and recent efforts at conservation.

Strout, Clevy Lloyd. "Flora and Fauna Mentioned in the Journals of the Coronado Expedition." *Great Plains Journal* 11:1 (1971):5-10.

Taken from his dissertation, this article reconstructs the plant and animal life encountered during the Coronado's expedition. The author states that much of the tracing of species is based on what is currently native to the region, especially given the expedition's members lack of knowledge of botany and their often simple terms. The author's reconstruction of the numerous entries on the flora and fauna described in the Spanish accounts draws attention to the importance of these various species for food, medicine, shade, shelter, and clothing for both the members of the expedition and the Native Americans.

Archaeological Studies

Brasher, Nugent. "Francisco Vázquez de Coronado at Doubtful Canyon and on the Trail North." *New Mexico Historical Review* 86:3 (Summer 2011):325-375.

This article concludes a series of reports by the author and his team regarding lead shot excavated from various sites, including the Kuykendall Ruins, Doubtful Canyon, Hawikku, Piedras Marcadas, and Jimmy Owens. The lead shot was put through an isotope analysis in order to determine its origin as either in Spain or the New World. Some of the lead shot derived from all five sites was determined to be of Spanish origin, and thus could be placed temporally. The article also discusses the analysis of wrought iron nails and tacks discovered at the various sites, which also had a 16th century origin. The article argues that "when Spanish lead is discovered with generic artifacts that could be sixteenth century, especially if found between Hawikku and the U.S.-Mexico border, the lead serves to elevate the likelihood of these non-temporal artifacts being residuals of the Coronado Expedition." Thus, through a scientific analysis, the author concludes that these five sites represent the true route of the Coronado expedition.

Brasher, Nugent. "The Red House Camp and the Captain General: The 2009 Report on the Coronado Expedition Campsite of Chichilticale." *New Mexico Historical Review* 84:1 (Winter 2009):1-64.

This article is the second published report of the survey of Kuykendall Ruins in southeastern Arizona, which the author argues is the site of the Chichilticale campsite (Red House) of the Coronado expedition. The team conducted a thermal, geological, and archaeological survey of the site. The author utilized new

technologies, including aerial photography and metal detectors outfitted with GPS, to create a detailed map of the site that was previously impossible. Subsequent excavation uncovered remnants of weaponry, cookware, coins, tools, beads, buttons, and so forth, which the article discusses in detail. For the first report, see “The Chichilticale Camp of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado: The Search for the Red House” *New Mexico Historical Review* 82:4 (Fall 2007):433-468.

Primary Sources, Transcriptions, and Translations

Castañeda, Pedro de. *Relación de la jornada de Cibola compuesta por Pedro de Castañeda de Naçera donde se trata de todos aquellos poblados y ritos, y costumbres, la cual fue el año de 1540.*

The original document has been lost. However, a copy of the manuscript was made in 1596 in Seville, Spain, and eventually entered the collections of the Lenox Library (present-day NY Public Library) in New York City. The narrative was known chiefly through the French translation printed in 1838 by Henri Ternaux-Compans, who used the copy in the Lenox Library. The 1596 copy of the Castañeda report again was translated by George P. Winship in 1896 and printed in English (with accompanying text in Spanish) for the first time in the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution*, pp. 414-469. In 1940, George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey produced another translation. Over the years, various editions of the translations have appeared by different presses. In 2005, Richard and Shirley Cushing Flint published the most recent translation in English.

Coronado, Francisco Vázquez de.

1. Letter to Charles V, Compostela, December 15, 1539. [English translation published in Hammond and Rey in 1940 and Richard and Shirley Cushing Flint in 2005, p. 21-30.]
2. Letter to Mendoza, Culiacán, March 8, 1539. [Original has been lost. Copy appears in Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, Volume III, 1606. English translation published in Hammond and Rey in 1940, pp. 41-42, and Richard and Shirley Cushing Flint in 2005.]
3. Letter to the secretary of Mendoza, March 8, 1539. [Original has been lost. Copy appears in Ramusio, *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, Volume III, 1606. English translation published in Richard and Shirley Cushing Flint in 2005, p. 32.]
4. Letter to Charles V, Compostela, December 15, 1539. [English translation published in Hammond and Rey in 1940 and Richard and Shirley Cushing Flint in 2005.]
5. 1782 Copy of Report of the Discovery of Civola, 1542.

Cuebas, Juan de. *The Muster Roll and Equipment of the Expedition of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, Now Translated into English for the First Time*. Ann Arbor: The William L. Clements Library, 1939.

This slim volume includes a brief introduction to the work and a corresponding translation of the muster (alarde) of the Coronado Expedition held on Sunday, 22 February 1540, in Compostela, Mexico. The document, appearing here in this volume for the first time in English, was found in the Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 5, documento 2, 1540. The Spanish title is “Testimonio en relación de la gente armas y municiones que salió de Compostela en Nueva España (Siendo Virrey de ella Don Antonio de Mendoza) que se llevó a la tierra nuevamente descubierta por el Padre fray Marcos de Niza, cuyo general fué Francisco Vázquez Coronado.” An annotated version in the original Spanish, see Arthur S. Aiton, “Coronado’s Muster Roll,” *American Historical Review* XLIV: 556-570.

Flint, Richard and Shirley Cushing Flint, translators and editors. *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539-1542: “They Were Not Familiar with His Majesty, Nor Did They Wish To Be His Subjects.”* Dallas: Southern Methodist University, 2005.

This large volume consists of 34 edited, translated, and annotated documents related to the Coronado expedition. This collection includes most of the documents found in the earlier George Winship and the Hammond and Rey volumes, though it adds some and subtracts others from this corpus. Archival research by the authors identified new documents, which have been transcribed and added to the collection of evidence, and are included within. For all the documents, the authors provide new translations which correct errors and misinformation from earlier transcriptions and translations. The authors state that historians, such as Herbert Bolton, had relied on flawed translations of Hammond and Rey, but acted within the highest standards of the field at that time. These methodological and historiographical issues are clearly outlined in the general introduction to this collection of documents, while the appendixes supply biographical information on the members of the expedition, and the notes section provide extensive supplementary information on the documents. This volume is generally regarded as the new standard and thus forms the basis of the evidence for new studies, including the subsequent work of the Flints. Documents included:

1. Letter of Coronado to the king, Compostela, 15 December 1538.
2. Letter of Coronado to Viceroy Mendoza, Culiacán, 8 March 1539.
3. Letter of Coronado to the king, Compostela, 15 July, 1539.
4. Letter of Mendoza to the king, 1539.
5. Coronado’s appointment as governor of New Galicia, Toledo, 18 April 1539.
6. Instructions to Fray Marcos de Niza, November 1538. [Translated from a photocopy of the original found in the AGI, Patronato, leg. 20.]
7. Report of Fray Marcos de Niza, 26 August 1539.
8. Letters from Antonio de Mendoza and Rodrigo de Albornoz, October 1539.

9. Testimony of Witnesses in Habana regarding Fray Marco de Niza's Discoveries, November 1539.
10. Appointment of Coronado as commander of the expedition to Cíbola, 6 January 1540.
11. Confirmation of Coronado's appointment, 11 June 1540.
12. Testimony of Juan Bermejo and of Coronado's purchasing agent, Juan Fernández Verdejo, 1552.
13. Muster roll of the expedition, Compostela, 22 February 1540.
14. Record of Mexican Indians in the expedition, 1576.
15. Hearing on charges of depopulating New Spain, Compostela, 26 February 1540.
16. Instructions to Alarcón, Mexico, 31 May 1541.
17. Report of Alarcón's expedition, 1540.
18. Letter of Mendoza to the king, Jacona, New Spain, 17 April 1540.
19. Hernán Cortes' Brief to Carlos V regarding abuses by the viceroy of New Spain, 25 June 1540.
20. Letter of Coronado to Mendoza, from Granada, province of Cíbola, 3 August 1540.
21. Formation of company between Mendoza and Pedro de Alvarado, 29 November 1540.
22. Account of Alvarado's armada, 1541.
23. *Traslado de las nuevas*.
24. *Relación postrera de Cíbola*.
25. Discovery of Tiguex by Alvarado and Padilla.
26. Letter of Coronado to the king, from the province of Tiguex, 20 October 1541.
27. Disposal of the Juan Jiménez Estate, 1542.
28. Castañeda's *Relación*, or history of the expedition, 1560s.
29. *Relación del suceso*.
30. Jaramillo's narrative, 1560s.
31. Juan Troyano's proof of service, 1560.
32. Melchior Pérez' Petition for Preferment, 1551.
33. Cristóbal de Escobar's proof of service, 1543.
34. Coronado's Petition for recovery of *encomienda*, 1553.

Hammond, George P. and Agapito Rey, translators and editors. *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940.

This is the second volume in the Coronado Historical Series authorized by the Coronado Cuarto Centennial Commission, formed in 1935, by the State of New Mexico. The volume was produced in order to provide a historically accurate basis for interpretation of the commemorations. The documents have been translated into English, but no Spanish text is provided. In most cases, the translations are based on the original documents found in the archive. From its publication in 1940 to 2005 (when the Flints published their updated collection), the Hammond and Rey translations formed the evidence base for most works on the topic of the Coronado expedition. Documents included:

1. Letter of Coronado to the king, Compostela, 15 December 1538. [Translated from a photocopy of the original the AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, leg. 5.]

2. Letter of Coronado to Viceroy Mendoza, Culiacán, 8 March 1539. [Translated from the Italian copy found in Ramusio, *Delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, p. 354-55]
3. Letter of Coronado to the king, Compostela, 15 July, 1539. [Translated from a photocopy of the original the AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, leg. 5.]
4. Letter of Mendoza to the king, 1539. [Translated from the Italian found in Ramusio, *Delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, p. 355]
5. Coronado's appointment as governor of New Galicia, Toledo, 18 April 1539. [Translated from a copy found in Fray Antonio Tello, *Libro Segundo de la Crónica Miscelánea de la Santa Provincia de Xalisco, Guadalajara* (1891), pp. 311-314.]
6. Instructions to Fray Marcos de Niza, November 1538. [Translated from a photocopy of the original found in the AGI, Patronato, leg. 20.]
7. Report of Fray Marcos de Niza, 26 August 1539. [Translated from a photocopy of the original found in the AGI, Patronato, leg. 20.]
8. Appointment of Coronado as commander of the expedition to Cíbola, 6 January 1540. [Translated from a photocopy of the original found in the AGI, Justicia, leg. 339 (also in leg. 1021).]
9. Muster roll of the expedition, Compostela, 22 February 1540. [Translated from a photocopy of the original the AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, leg. 5.]
10. Hearing on charges of depopulating New Spain, Compostela, 26 February 1540. [Translated from a copy in Pacheco y Cárdenas, *Documentos de Indias*, XIV, pp. 373-384.]
11. Instructions to Alarcón, Mexico, 31 May 1541. [Translated from the Spanish version found in Buckingham Smith, *Colección de varios documentos para la historia de la Florida, Madrid* (1857), pp. 1-6.]
12. Report of Alarcón's expedition, 1540. [Translated from the Italian found in Ramusio, *Delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, 1556 edition, III, pp. 356-362.]
13. Letter of Mendoza to the king, Jacona, New Spain, 17 April 1540. [Translated from a copy in Pacheco y Cárdenas, *Documentos de Indias*, II, pp. 373-384.]
14. Letter of Coronado to Mendoza, from Granada, province of Cíbola, 3 August 1540. [Translated from the Italian found in Ramusio, *Delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, III, pp. 359-363.]
15. *Traslado de las nuevas* [Translated from a copy in Pacheco y Cárdenas, *Documentos de Indias*, XIX, pp. 529-532.]
16. Discovery of Tiguex by Alvarado and Padilla. [Translated from a copy in Pacheco y Cárdenas, *Documentos de Indias*, III, pp. 511--513.]
17. Letter of Coronado to the king, from the province of Tiguex, 20 October 1541. [Translated from a copy in Pacheco y Cárdenas, *Documentos de Indias*, III, pp. 363-369.]
18. Castañeda's history of the expedition. [Hammond does not give the source of the document.]
19. *Relación del suceso*. [Translated from a photocopy of the original found in the AGI, Patronato, leg. 20.]
20. Jaramillo's narrative. [Translated from a photocopy of the original found in the AGI, Patronato, leg. 20.]

21. *Relación postrera de Cibola*. [Translated from a photocopy of the original found in the University of Texas Library, but formerly in the collection of Joaquín García Icazbalceta.]
22. Licentiate Tejada's commissions. [Translated from a photocopy of the original found in the AGI, Justicia, leg. 1021, pieza 4.]
23. Coronado's testimony on the management of the expedition. [Translated from a photocopy of the original found in the AGI, Justicia, leg. 1021, pieza 4.]
24. Testimony of López de Cárdenas on charges of having committed excesses on the expedition. [Translated from a photocopy of the original found in the AGI, Justicia, leg. 1021, pieza 1.]
25. Sentences of López de Cárdenas. [Translated from a photocopy of the original found in the AGI, Justicia, leg. 1021.]
26. Coronado's residencia, charges, and testimony. [Translated from a photocopy of the original found in the AGI, Justicia, leg. 339.]
27. Sentence of Coronado on *residencia* charges. [Translated from a photocopy of the original found in the AGI, Justicia, leg. 339, pieza 1.]
28. Charges against Coronado resulting from management of the expedition. [Translated from a photocopy of the original found in the AGI, Justicia, leg. 336.]
29. Absolutory sentence of Coronado. [Translated from a photocopy of the original found in the AGI, Justicia, leg. 1021.]

Jaramillo, Juan Camilo. *Relacion hecha por el Capitan Juan Jaramillo, de la jornada que habia hecho a la tierra nueva en nueva españa y al descubrimiento de Cibola, yendo por General Francisco Vazquez Coronado, 1537.*

Account appears in Pacheco, XIV, pp. 304-17; Smith, *Colección*, pp. 154-163; French translation in Ternaux, IX, pp. 364-382; English translation in Winship, pp. 584-593.

Sanz Sánchez, Israel. "Juan Jaramillo's 'Relación': A Philological Reassessment of the Historical Approaches to a Document of the Coronado Expedition." *New Mexico Historical Review* 86:1 (Winter 2011):21-81.

The article revisits one of the central documents pertaining to the Coronado Expedition, Juan Jaramillo's *Relación*. The author argues that the then existing transcriptions of the document suffered from numerous errors, inaccuracies, and mistranslations. The author utilizes a philological approach, exploring the possible meanings of the text through a historical, paleographical, and linguistic analysis. In addition to supplying a new transcription and English translation of the original document and in-depth editorial commentary, the article also discusses the historical context, other known documents of the expedition, and secondary texts related to and other transcriptions of Jaramillo's *Relación*.

Ternaux-Compans, Henri. *Voyages, relations et memories originaux pour servir a l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique publiés pour la première fois, en français*. Paris, 1837-1841.

Volume IX contains the translation of Castañeda and of various other narratives relating to the Coronado expedition. For his translation of Castañeda's *Relación*, Ternaux-Compans used the 1596 copy housed in the Lenox Library in New York City. While Ternaux-Compans' French translations were important at the time, subsequently all of the documents he includes can be found in the Winship and in the Hammond and Rey volumes, in both Spanish and/or English.

Winship, George P. "The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542." In *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, 1892-93, Part I*: 339-615. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1896.

This volume includes Winship's introductory essay on the Coronado Expedition, the Castañeda report in Spanish and accompanying English translation, additional translations of documents such as letters and other reports of members of the expedition, and a bibliography. In most cases, this was the first time that these texts had been translated into English. Documents include:

1. Pedro de Castañeda *Relación de la jornada de Cibola* in Spanish and accompanying English translation. [See entry under primary sources]
2. Translation of the "Letter from Mendoza to the king," April 17, 1540. Winship based his translation on a copy of the letter in Spanish found in Joaquín Pacheco y Francisco Cardenas, *Documentos de Indias*, Vol. II, p. 356.
3. Translation of the "Letter from Coronado to Mendoza," August 3, 1540. Winship based his translation on a copy that had been translated into Italian from Spanish, found in Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, Vol. III, fol. iii, 1556.
4. Translation of the *Traslado de las Nuevas*. Winship based his translation on a copy of the letter in Spanish found in Pacheco y Cardenas, *Documentos de Indias*, Vol. XIX, p. 529. The author is not known, but written from Hawikuh, most likely about the time of Coronado's letter of August 3, 1540.
5. Spanish text and translation of the *Relación postrera de Sívola*. The document is a copy of letters written during the late summer or early fall of 1541 by one of the friars on the Coronado expedition to his Franciscan brethren in New Spain. Winship received a copy of the document from Mexican historian Joaquín García Icazbalceta, who had it among his collection of papers that previously had belonged to Father Motolinia, who was in communication at that time with friars on the expedition.
6. Translation of the *Relación del Suceso*. Unknown author or date. Winship based his translation on a copy of a Spanish text printed in Buckingham Smith, *Florida*, p. 147, based on a copy by Muñoz, and a copy in Pacheco y Cardenas, *Documentos de Indias*, Vol. XIV, p. 318, from a copy found in the AGI-Seville.
7. Translation of a letter from Coronado to the king, October 20, 1541. Winship based his translation on a copy in Pacheco y Cardenas, *Documentos de Indias*, Vol. III, p. 363, from a copy made by Muñoz, and in Pacheco y Cardenas, *Documentos de Indias*, Vol. XIII, p. 261, from a copy in the AGI-Seville.
8. Translation of the *Relación* of Juan Camilo Jaramillo. Winship based his translation on a copy found in Buckingham Smith, *Florida*, p. 154, from a copy made by

- Muñoz, and in Pacheco y Cardenas, *Documentos de Indias*, Vol. XIV, p. 304, from a copy in the AGI-Seville.
9. Translation of the report of [Captain of Artillery] Hernando de Alvarado. The original has been lost. Winship based his translation on a copy that appears in Buckingham Smith, *Florida*, p. 65, from a Muñoz copy, and in Pacheco y Cardenas, *Documentos de Indias*, Vol. III, p. 511, from an official copy [found in the AGI-Seville?]
 10. Translation of testimony concerning those who went on the Coronado expedition. Translated, but abridged version, of a copy found in Pacheco y Cardenas, *Documentos de Indias*, Vol. XIV, p. 373. This document is a review of the force that had been assembled for the expedition in 1540.

**Primary Sources related to Coronado housed at the
Spanish Colonial Research Center, Albuquerque, NM**

Real Academia de la Historia (RAH) Microfiche

1. Discovery of Cibola by Francisco Vazquez, 1542
2. Letter to King by Viceroy regarding Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, 1540
3. Informe about Vazquez de Coronado's expedition, 1540
4. Report of the entrada into New Mexico, 1541

Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Patronato Collection (Legajo 184)

1. Letter to Viceroy Mendoza describing findings of the Coronado Expedition, 1540
2. Correspondence and report of Coronado relating to the Province of Tiguex, 1541

Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Patronato Collection (Legajo 56)

1. *Auto* of activities of Pedro de Gerónimo of the Coronado Expedition, 1542

Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Patronato Collection (Legajo 20)

1. Relacion que hizo el capitan Juan Jaramillo de la Jornada que hizo a la tierra nueva de la cual fue general Fran^{co} Vazquez de Coronado, 1537

Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Patronato Collection (Legajo 26)

1. Ynformacion de los meritos y servicios de Pedro Geronimo, uno de los que salieron a descubrir nuevas tierras el año de 1539 con Fran^{co} Vazquez Coronado, 1542

Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Patronato Collection (Legajo 63)

1. Ynformacion de los servicios de Juan de Paladenas en la jornada de Cibola con el gobernador Fran^{co} Vazquez Coronado, Mexico 6 de Junio 1560

Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Patronato Collection (Legajo 68)

1. Probanza de los meritos y servicios de Juan de Cespedes en el descubrimiento y conquista de la tierra nueva de Cibola y en el asentamiento de N^a Esp^a. A donde fue con el adelantado Fran^{co} Vazquez de Coronado, 1568

Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Patronato Collection (Legajo 79)

1. Ynformacion de los meritos y servicios de F^{co} de Santillana y Pedro de Santillana su hijo en la conquista de la tierra nueva y siete ciudades de Cibola con el Gral Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, 1588

Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Patronato Collection (Legajo 87)

1. Ynformacion de los meritos y servicios de Garcia Rodriguez uno de los conquistadores de las siete ciudades de Cibola y uno de los primeros pobladores de Mexico y N^a Esp.^a, 1617
2. Ynformacion de los servicios de Diego de Madris Avendaño uno de los primeros pobladores de Mexico y conquistador de Cibola, 1618

Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Guadalajara Collection (Legajo 5)

1. Testimonio en relacion de la gente armas y municiones que salio de Compostela N. L. siendo virrey de ella Dⁿ Antonio de Mendoza y que se llevo a la tierra nuevamente descubierta por el p^e Fray Marcos de Niza cuyo general fue Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, 1540

New York Public Library

1. Pedro de Castaneda de Nagera "Relacion de la jomada de Cibola, donde se trata de aquellos poblados, y ritos, y costumbres, la qual fue el ano de 1540"; Sevilla, 1596

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