

# New Mexico Historical Review

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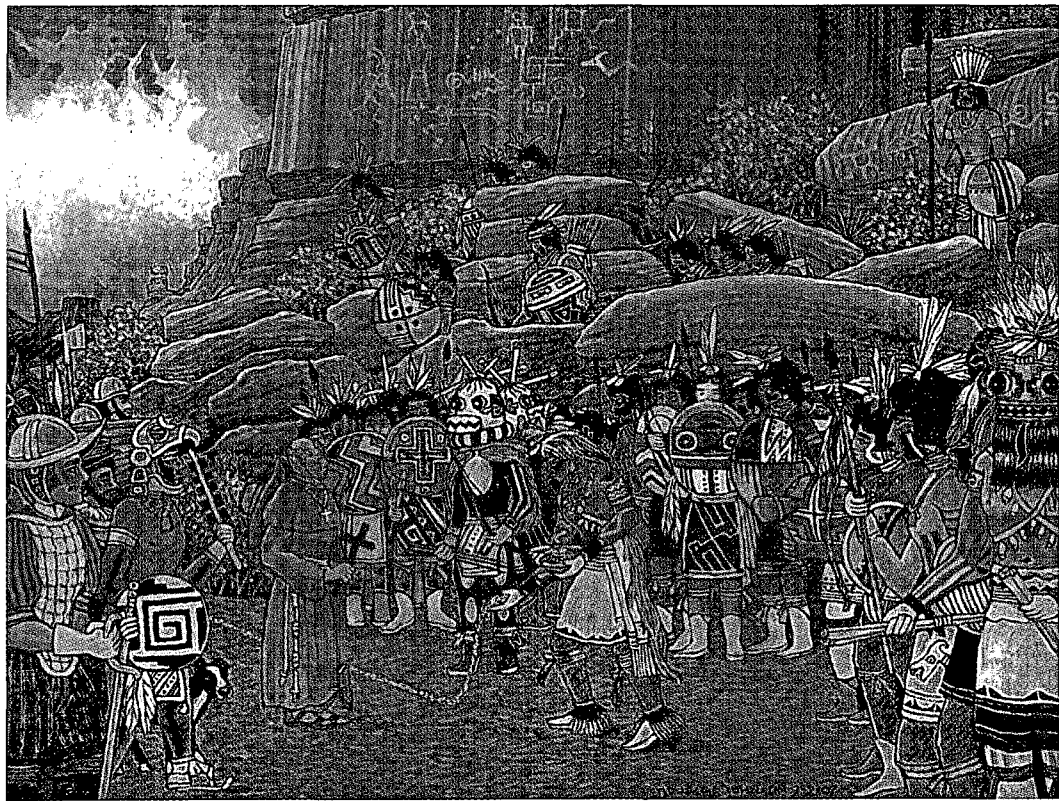
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# NEW MEXICO Historical Review

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### ON THE COVER

#### EL TOVAR AT AWAT'OMI

Detail from "El Tovar at Awatovi" depicting the meeting of Mexican Indians and Hopis during Francisco Vazquez de Coronado's *entrada* to the Southwest. This painting is one in a series of fifty paintings that illustrate people and events of the Coronado Expedition from 1540 to 1542. The project is a collaboration between artist Douglas Johnson and historians Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint. (Detail from painting by Douglas Johnson, reproduced by permission of the artist)

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# The Red House Camp and the Captain General

THE 2009 REPORT ON THE CORONADO EXPEDITION  
CAMPSITE OF CHICHILTICALE

*Nugent Brasher*

My exploration for the course of the Coronado Trail through southeastern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico and for the location of Chichilticale, Capt. Gen. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado's fabled Red House encampment, began in September 2004. In early 2006, my team discovered artifacts suggesting that we had found the Coronado Expedition camp at Chichilticale. In the fall of 2007, the *New Mexico Historical Review* published my first report concerning this exploration program and the initial field season.<sup>1</sup> This second report, finalized in the fall of 2008, provides additional information about the first three seasons of exploration at the site, offers a current report on activities, and strengthens the identification of sixteenth-century Spanish artifacts found at Kuykendall Ruins with the Coronado Expedition encampment at Chichilticale.

## Survey Operations at Kuykendall Ruins

From the beginning of my search for Coronado's camp at Chichilticale, I considered the appropriate process to be fundamentally the same as the philosophy and guidelines that I have employed to locate future petroleum reserves. The deliberately selected data that I consulted for exploration of Coronado and Chichilticale were only the original and untranslated

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<sup>1</sup> Nugent Brasher is a petroleum exploration geologist who resides in Glenwood, New Mexico.

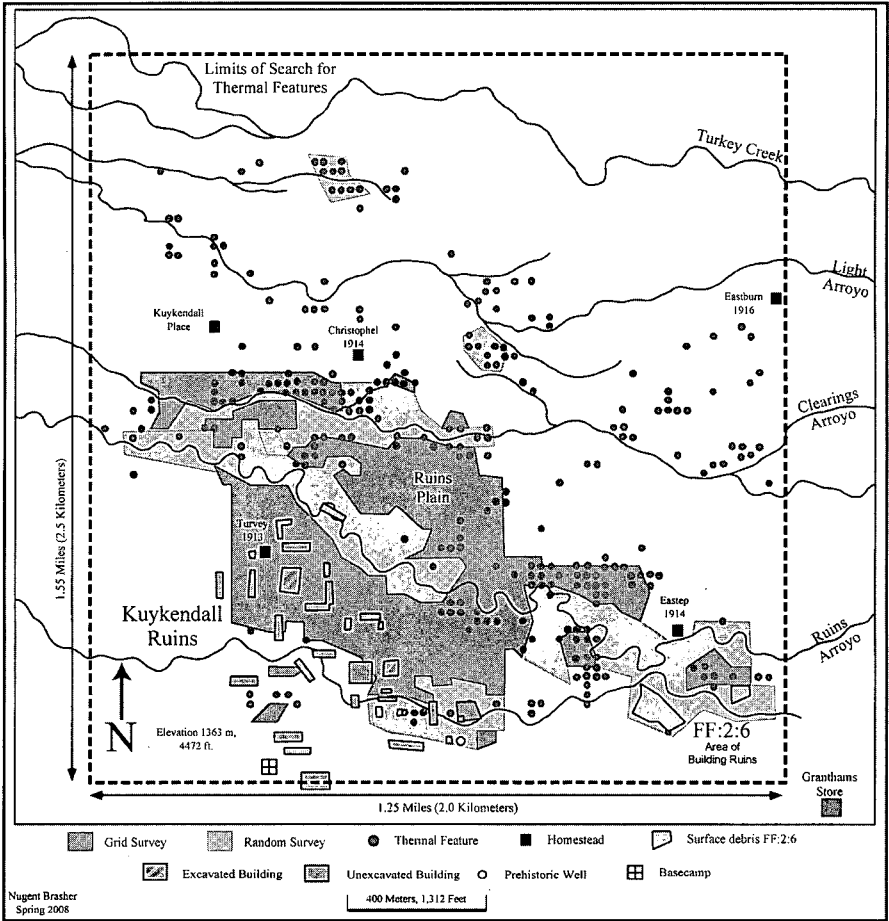
Spanish documents. I generated maps based on my interpretation of those documents and from personal field observations. I concluded that the puzzle could be solved by asking two fundamental questions: Where did they turn to the right? Where did they climb up? After I decided that Coronado turned right at Lewis Spring, and that the expedition climbed up alongside Blue Creek, the approximate location of Chichilticale became apparent. The obvious choice was Kuykendall Ruins. To test my hypothesis, I employed the best technology and equipment to search for Coronado-era artifacts, conducting field operations based not on traditional protocol but on improvisation, innovation, and expediency.

Our initial field season extended from 8 December 2005 to 12 April 2006, during which time we stayed in motels in Willcox, Arizona. To maximize the efficiency of exploration at Chichilticale after the first season, my team established a semipermanent facility to accommodate us. Team members occupied the base camp during the second field season for the five months from 8 November 2006 to 10 April 2007. The third season lasted from 6 November 2007 to 11 April 2008. During all three field seasons we implemented innovative and flexible research designs produced under the guidance of anthropologist Carroll L. Riley of Las Vegas, New Mexico, and archaeologist Karl W. Laumbach of Human Systems Research in Las Cruces, New Mexico.

### Surface Reconnaissance

The team's sole purpose during the first field season was to confirm the hypothesis that the Kuykendall Ruins were, indeed, Chichilticale. The requirements changed, however, after the first field season because we had indeed made what we perceived to be an authentic discovery. To verify it, the Red House site had to be investigated to ascertain its extent and detail. Although the artifacts found during the first field season encouraged team members to continue the search, the spatial distribution of the discovered artifacts did not predict where other residuals of the Coronado Expedition would be found. To conduct a dependable and thorough search of Chichilticale, we first had to investigate the setting methodically. We therefore devoted the opening of the second field season to a surface reconnaissance of Kuykendall Ruins and their surroundings. Map 1 displays the regional setting of the Kuykendall site and outlines the area reconnoitered.

One result of this reconnaissance was the recognition of numerous and distinct lithic features, which appeared to be fire-burned rocks (map 1). On



MAP 1. REGION OF KUYKENDALL RUINS

The map depicts the surface reconnaissance area, thermal features, metal detector surveys, drainage courses, prehistoric buildings, and homesteads. (Map by and courtesy author)

10 December 2006, I showed the fired rocks to archaeologist Deni J. Seymour, who recommended the construction of a database containing the specific physical and numerical attributes of each lithic feature. Using a data sheet designed by Seymour, I built such a database and spotted the features on a Digital Ortho Quarter Quad (DOQQ) base. My early mapping clearly demonstrated that the piles of fired rocks were geomorphologically controlled and that their locations were predictable. I used this observation to widen my search, and I determined that the features occurred in clusters and were

mostly restricted to locales along presently extinct arroyos in the region around Kuykendall Ruins. Lithics used to construct the thermal features were cobbles obtained from the abandoned, mostly buried arroyos. The positive correlation between thermal features and arroyos suggests that, at the time the rock features were constructed, the arroyos offered exposed cobbles, likely due to the presence of pooled or flowing water, and trees lined the streams and provided fuel for the fires, as well as shade for travelers. This rock-water-fuel-shade relationship would have attracted transient, expedient fire builders.

Team members hypothesized that the thermal features were the campfires of the Coronado Expedition. To explore this possibility, we conducted controlled experiments at the base camp to determine the impact of fire on arroyo cobbles obtained from Clearings Arroyo and Ruins Arroyo. The cobbles were heated for specific lengths of time in oak fires of various sizes. These experiments demonstrated the color changes imposed and fracturability inflicted on the rocks by the fires. We concluded that many of the observed and measured thermal features had been caused by fires of only a brief duration.

The anomalous cluster of thermal features along Clearings Arroyo spurred considerable interest. All these features, without exception, were located on the north side of that extinct stream and most exhibited color and fracture characteristics consistent with fires of short duration. The majority of the Clearings Arroyo features contained few rocks. Distribution of the principal cluster of these thermal features was terminated to the east and west along the north side of the arroyo (this termination was not caused by agricultural land alteration). These physical and spatial characteristics suggested brief usage by a large homogenous party in a selected space. Coronado scholar Richard Flint has suggested that such a party might have been a distinct group of the Coronado Expedition. Recognition of the thermal features impacted my plan to conduct a magnetometer survey during the second season for the purpose of exploring for hearths that might contain datable bones or carbon.<sup>2</sup> The discovery of hundreds of thermal features on the surface caused the magnetometer survey to be held in abeyance until the thermal features had been analyzed and considered.

The team's pedestrian surface reconnaissance of the Kuykendall Ruins discovered large and small pieces of red adobe. Avocational archaeologists Jack P. Mills and Vera M. Mills reported red adobe at specific rooms in Compounds One, Two, and Four.<sup>3</sup> Our search located pieces likewise at

Compounds One, Three, and Four, and at an unnumbered compound west of Compound Five. We found the red adobe where digging had occurred after the Millses completed their excavations.<sup>4</sup> Finding red adobe at Compound Three and at the unnumbered compound suggests that the material was more widespread at Kuykendall Ruins than the Millses reported. The pedestrian surface reconnaissance also included archaeological site FF:2:6, located about three-quarters of a mile east of Compound One at Kuykendall Ruins.<sup>5</sup> The quantity of artifacts and building material exposed on the surface at site FF:2:6 are not comparable to such exposures at Kuykendall Ruins. Although a careful search was conducted for adobe, including examining holes dug by intruders, only a few pieces were found on a single rodent mound, and these adobes were brown as opposed to red.

### Geological Survey

Throughout the first field season, I thought that Turkey Creek would be a likely site of the Spanish camps. The trees, water, and comforts offered by that stream would have been alluring to Coronado and his men. Therefore, I examined the environs of Turkey Creek north of Kuykendall Ruins during my surface reconnaissance. To my surprise, I observed relatively little cultural material along its banks; potsherds, thermal features, and chipped rock were almost totally absent, and this discovery sharply contrasted with the abundance of human-produced debris and other material found along Ruins Arroyo and Clearings Arroyo.

Map 1 shows that the principal drainage feature associated with Kuykendall Ruins, a dry watercourse we named Ruins Arroyo, is a meandering stream, whereas all other arroyos in the area demonstrate a predominantly linear course. This meandering pattern, I hypothesized, indicated that Ruins Arroyo was a stream older than its neighbors—Clearings Arroyo, Light Arroyo, and Turkey Creek—with relatively linear drainage and that Ruins Arroyo was the principal stream when Natives occupied the Kuykendall village and the Coronado Expedition visited the abandoned ruin. The abundance of archaeological features along Ruins Arroyo and the relative paucity of such archaeological features along critical stretches of Turkey Creek, the contemporary principal drainage, support my contention about relative stream ages and suggest that Turkey Creek may have captured the flow of Ruins Arroyo sometime after 1542. In that case, Coronado would likely have chosen Ruins Arroyo, rather than Turkey Creek, for a campsite.

I considered whether the earthquake in the San Bernardino Valley of Sonora, Mexico, in 1887 might have caused the watercourse alteration. Geologists Susan M. DuBois and Ann W. Smith have reported, “Widespread effects of the vibrations on groundwater and surface flow were evident [in the Yaqui, Fronteras, San Bernardino, Sulphur Springs, and San Pedro valleys].” New springs appeared, some lakes and springs disappeared, and water levels in others changed.<sup>6</sup> To obtain a professional opinion on my geological hypothesis, I invited the Arizona Geological Survey to the Kuykendall site. On 17 May 2007, three Arizona state geologists—Philip A. Pearthree, Ann Youberg, and Joseph P. Cook—and I conducted a field examination that included Ruins Arroyo, Ruins Plain, and Clearings Arroyo. On 6 June 2007 I received two aerial photographs and a written report on the area:

Based on the character of the channel evident on the photo and the associated vegetation, the northwest-oriented path [of Turkey Creek] is clearly dominant now. . . . The presence of some trees downstream of the split on the more westerly path [of Ruins Arroyo] suggests that some water heads that way during floods, however. Another interesting thing about the distributary split is that the valley associated with the western split [Ruins Arroyo] appears to be a lot wider than the NW split [Turkey Creek]. This could be interpreted as evidence that the NW split [Turkey Creek] has developed fairly recently, and that over time lateral stream erosion or deposition would widen that valley. In any case, it is reasonable to presume that the western branch [Ruins Arroyo] has carried more flow in the past, and perhaps not all that long ago. When that was the case, several washes that are relatively minor now, like Ruins Arroyo, might have been linked directly to the western split and carried a lot more water.

The report supported my stream capture hypothesis by describing Turkey Creek as splitting off to the northwest from westerly trending Ruins Arroyo.<sup>7</sup>

The Arizona Geological Survey provided me with digital aerial photographs taken in 1946 and 1979. Combining these with my 2003 DOQQ and my 2006 GoogleEarth image, I was able to observe changes in stream patterns. I explored the various abandoned arroyos for archaeological evidence. By placing locations of prehistoric archaeological features and historic artifacts on these images, I was able to generate a geological-geoarchaeological model suggesting that Turkey Creek north of Kuykendall Ruins became the

dominant stream only after 1800 but before the earthquake of 1887. Prior to 1800, Clearings Arroyo and Ruins Arroyo were the principal watercourses, enjoying pools and running water that supported trees for fuel wood, and exposed stream cobbles for use with fires. My model explains why Coronado would not have camped at the contemporary Turkey Creek, instead choosing what are now dry, treeless Ruins and Clearings arroyos. The model demotes Turkey Creek to a lower-level prospect and elevates Ruins and Clearings arroyos to higher-tier prospects.

### Exploration Technology Employed

During the initial season team members surveyed with handheld metal detectors. To facilitate the metal-detector survey, team member Gordon Fraser used an elevated metal broom pulled by a vehicle to remove the low vegetation from the site. For the second season, team member John Blennert

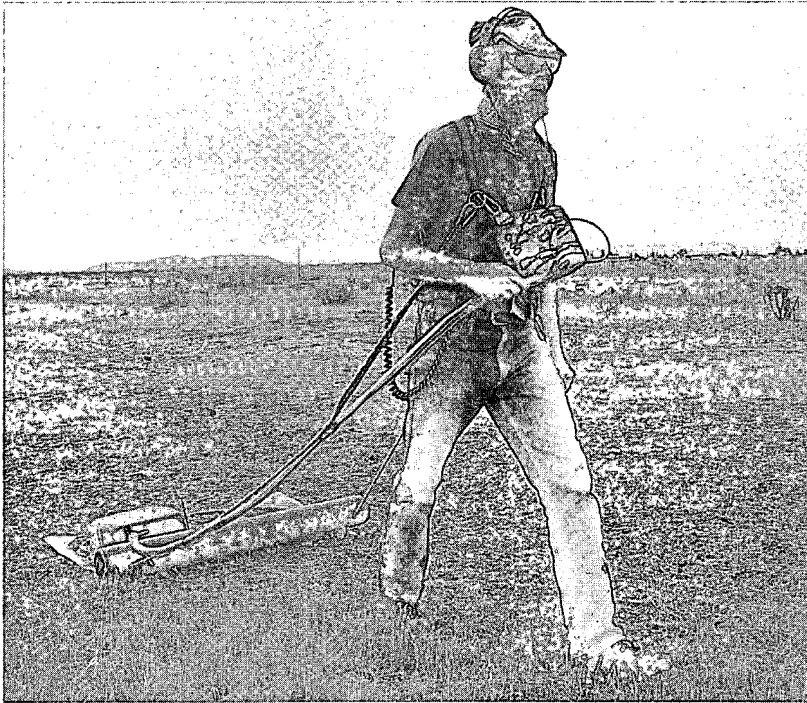


FIG. 1. TEAM MEMBER LORO LORENTZEN PULLING THE SLED DESIGNED BY JOHN BLENNERT

*(Photograph courtesy author)*



donated a MineLab GP3000 detector configured to a sled holding a Coil-Tek 40" x 20" DD coil. A human "mule" wearing a harness pulled the "Blennert Sled" and surveyed along one-meter spaced grid lines. The mule imprecisely flagged targets detected by the meter-wide, sled-mounted coil. Team members using handheld detectors then precisely located the targets and excavated them. All targets not recognized as modern consumer trash were bagged and tagged. Likewise recorded were the specific details of the target such as the Global Positioning System (GPS) location, depth of burial, time and date, and witnesses present. On occasions when the extracted target was recognized to be significant to the search for the Coronado Expedition and Chichilticale, we recorded the event on video. A modern nail in a plastic container was placed into the excavated hole so that the site could be revisited if needed. The Blennert Sled added to our search speed, accuracy, and coverage more completely than the team had experienced in the previous season. In areas where the sled could not be pulled, such as around mesquite, catclaw, and thick sacaton grass clumps, handheld detectors were employed in a practice that we call "swinging sticks" and that we considered to be an inferior search technique. The team followed these same procedures during the third field season, although no vegetation clearing was required (map 1 and fig. 1).<sup>8</sup>

### Artifact Identification

Nothing is certain in exploration—even if you find what you seek you may not recognize it. Professional blacksmith and author Frank Turley of Santa Fe describes identification of historical artifacts as "educated guesswork."<sup>9</sup> My team's efforts to identify the various artifacts we discovered at Kuykendall Ruins included comparing what we found to photographs of known Coronado artifacts. Flint kindly provided his collection of slides of Coronado artifacts from San Lázaro Pueblo, Santiago Pueblo (LA 326), and LA 54147, a site about 1,312 feet (400 meters) east of Santiago Pueblo. Seymour supplied images from the LA 54147 collection. In addition to these photographic collections, team members consulted photographs of sixteenth-century artifacts featured in books and reports and studied paintings and drawings of such objects. We sent images of our artifacts and, sometimes, the artifacts themselves, to scholars and specialists worldwide.

Most critical to identifying artifacts uncovered at the Kuykendall site, however, was comparing them to known artifacts in private and public

collections. My wife Karen Brasher and I traveled extensively in order to examine such collections and to seek the opinions of archaeologists and historians who were experts in Spanish-colonial material culture. In February 2006, we visited the Floyd County Historical Museum in Floydada, Texas, where we examined the small portion of sixteenth-century artifacts collected from the Jimmy Owens site, an accepted Coronado site named after its discoverer. From Floydada we traveled to Zuni, New Mexico. At the Zuni Cultural Resource Enterprise, we studied artifacts gathered from Hawikku and Kyakima, places that Coronado occupied or where his expedition was present. In March 2007, at the Florida Museum of Natural History in Gainesville, we examined sixteenth-century artifacts gathered from Spanish sites in Florida and the Caribbean and compared them to our Kuykendall pieces. In St. Augustine, Florida, we poured over the Spanish-artifact collection in the Government House Museum. In the Colonial Spanish Quarter, we met private collectors who assessed our Kuykendall artifacts. While in St. Augustine, we examined two substantial private collections, whose owners counseled us on our Kuykendall pieces. We traveled a second time to Zuni in May 2007 to study new artifacts just added to the Zuni Cultural Resource Enterprise collection, and in November 2008 we traveled a second time to the Floyd County Historical Museum to peruse newly added artifacts and to reexamine artifacts we had previously seen.

Our most extensive and comprehensive trip was to South Carolina and Florida in February 2008. Karen and I brought almost all our Kuykendall artifacts to show scholars possessing expertise in Spanish-colonial artifacts dating from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. In Columbia we saw the Santa Elena collection in the South Carolina State Museum. We also examined artifacts and received the counsel of archaeologists at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, where the sixteenth-century Santa Elena specimens are curated. We were also granted special access to the sixteenth-century Santa Elena collection at the Parris Island Museum in South Carolina.

In Tallahassee, Florida, we met with archaeologists at the Bureau of Archaeological Research who provided us total access to examine sixteenth-century artifacts left by the expedition of Spanish explorer Hernando de Soto at the Governor Martin site and to compare them to our Kuykendall pieces. At Mission San Luis in Tallahassee, the senior archaeologist opened the collection for our examination and comparison. At the Archaeology Institute of the University of West Florida in Pensacola, we studied sixteenth-century

Spanish artifacts from Pensacola Bay shipwrecks. We attended the “Why St. Augustine?” program at Flagler College and visited the Lightner Museum in St. Augustine, where experts examined our artifacts. The majority of identifications or suggestions as to identities and ages of the Kuykendall artifacts presented in this narrative were made by archaeologists, curators, and historians (hereafter identified as the “Southeasterners”) in South Carolina and Florida.<sup>10</sup>

### Artifacts Discovered at Kuykendall Ruins

During the initial field season in 2006, the team discovered six artifacts of interest.<sup>11</sup> We concluded that four artifacts (a crossbow bolthead, a nail shank, and two awls) likely represented the European contingent of the Coronado Expedition; that one artifact (a Tarascan copper crotal) was possibly left behind by the *indios amigos* (Indian allies) contingent, which comprised Natives from central and western Mexico for the expedition; and that one artifact (a 1774 bust coin) signified the post-Coronado Spanish presence at the site. Those artifacts confirmed the Kuykendall site as a genuine place of historical and archaeological interest.

The team discovered many additional metal artifacts of interest during its second and third field seasons. After evaluating the total collection of artifacts uncovered at Kuykendall, team members have concluded that they have found fifty-one individual iron, copper, or pewter pieces that almost certainly, or more likely than not, represent objects left at Kuykendall Ruins by the European contingent of the Coronado Expedition. Another twenty-six artifacts in the assortment may or may not correspond to pieces from the Coronado Expedition. The team also discovered four lead balls. Three were found very near temporally diagnostic Coronado artifacts. The team uncovered one non-metal artifact that may be a sixteenth-century piece: a cubic jet bead found beside a metal artifact that is almost certainly a Coronado-era piece.

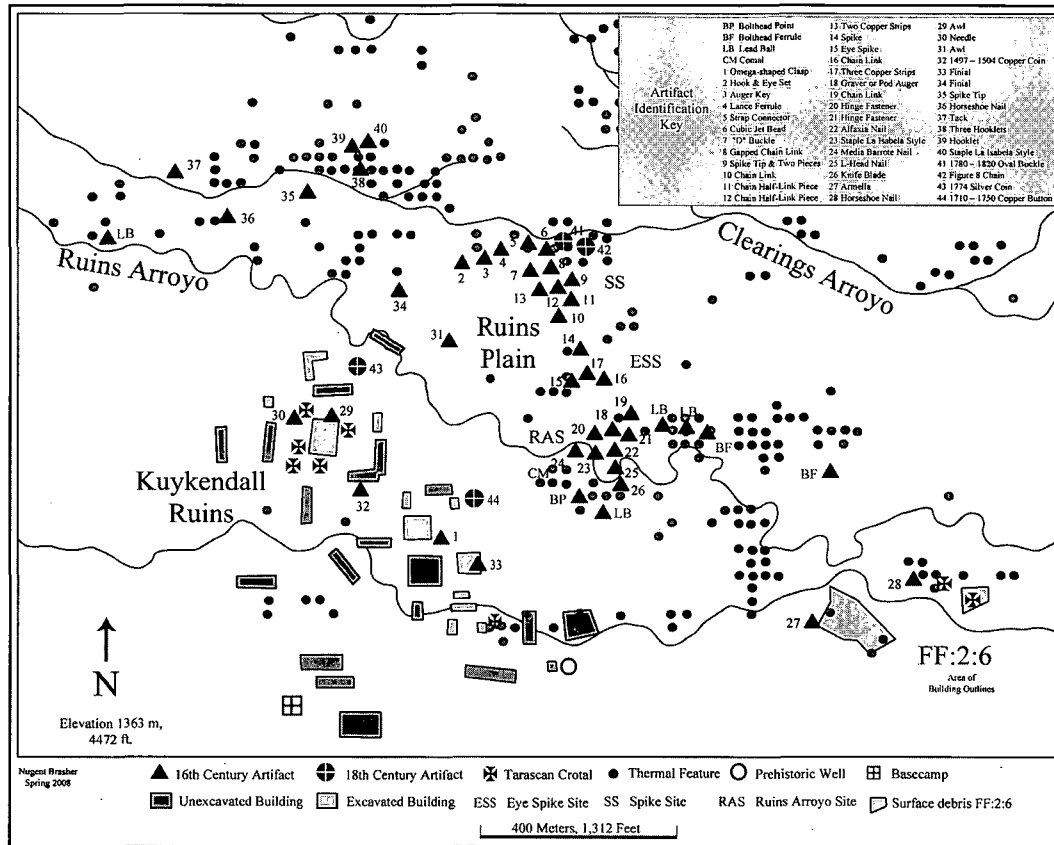
Team members may have found objects left by the Mexican Indian contingent of the Coronado Expedition. My first narrative suggested that some of the *indios amigos* accompanying Coronado may have carried Tarascan copper crotals. Nine Tarascan crotals or pieces of crotals are known to have been uncovered at Kuykendall Ruins. My team discovered six, the landowner found one, and the Millses found two.<sup>12</sup> Another possible *indios amigos* artifact we discovered is part of a *comal* (a stone or earthenware cooking surface or griddle) broken into four interlocking pieces. In addition we found

numerous pieces of red adobe that almost certainly represent the actual walls of Chichilticale. Among the team's findings as well are four metal objects representing post-Coronado Spaniards and more than a dozen metal pieces that can confidently be dated to the U.S. homestead era between 1888 and 1924 (map 2).

For analytical purposes, I have grouped the Kuykendall artifacts into categories: weaponry, cookware, coins, tools, clothing fasteners, hardware fasteners, chains, buckles, beads, hooklets, awls and needles, copper strips, finials, copper crotals, and buttons. Among the weaponry are pieces of three iron crossbow boltheads—a point, a ferrule, and part of a ferrule. These individual pieces, as found, were distinctly separated from each other (map 2). Registered petroleum engineer Dan Kaspar found the bolthead point on the south side of Ruins Arroyo.<sup>13</sup> The team recovered the two bolthead ferrules on the north side of Ruins Arroyo. The crossbow boltheads found in Arizona, I argue, are diagnostic of the Coronado Expedition.<sup>14</sup> The illustrations in figure 2 compare the Kuykendall bolthead pieces with the sixteenth-century boltheads from Florida and South Carolina. At Kuykendall team members also discovered four lead balls. The spatial arrangements show that two of the three boltheads and three of the four lead balls are locally aligned. The boltheads and lead balls imply the presence of arms-bearing Spanish soldiers of the Coronado Expedition encamped on both sides of Ruins Arroyo.

Nearby the weaponry artifacts, we found a lithic artifact that appears to be a comal. We discovered this artifact on the surface a short distance west of the bolthead point in a depression barren of sand and containing five thermal features. Comal fragments had been found by archaeologist Bradley J. Vierra at the LA 54147 site near Santiago Pueblo, New Mexico. Vierra describes the LA 54147 fragments as being composed of thin tabular sandstone; the Kuykendall comal is this same lithology.<sup>15</sup> Images of comales from LA 54147 provided by Flint allowed me to discern some similarities between these comales and those from the Kuykendall site. Measurements show very similar thicknesses of the sandstone fragments from both sites. In addition, the comales are comparable in color, texture, and heating technique. The close proximity of the comal to an iron crossbow bolthead, a lead ball, and five thermal features again suggests the presence of the Coronado Expedition at Kuykendall Ruins.

Along the north side of Ruins Plain, Kaspar discovered a severely corroded, wrought-iron point (no. 4 on map 2). Turley remarked about the



MAP 2. ARTIFACTS DISCOVERED AT KUYKENDALL RUINS

Location of Spanish artifacts and Tarascan crotals discovered at Kuykendall Ruins through three field seasons (2006–2008).

(Map by and courtesy author)

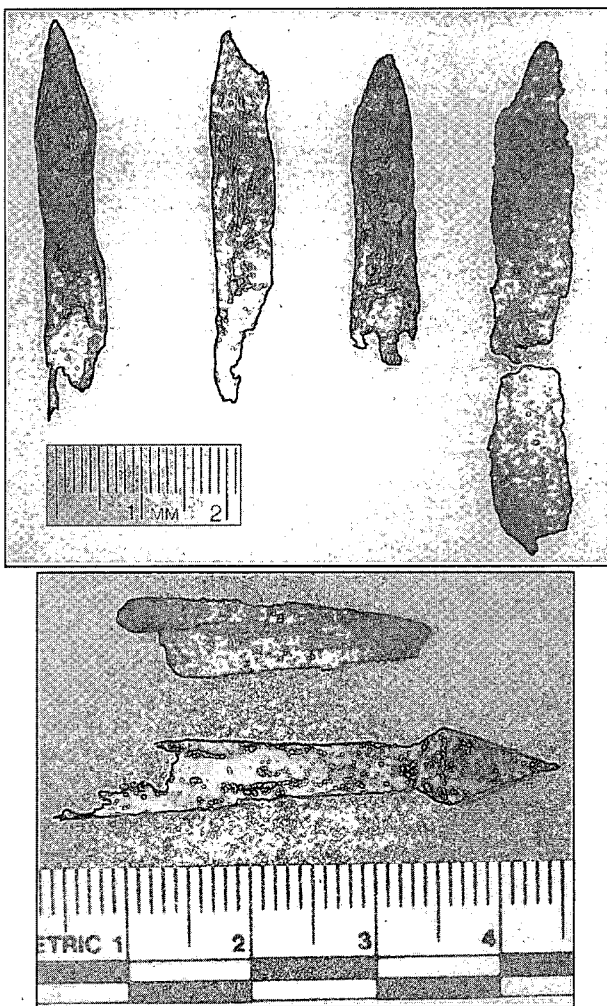


FIG. 2. KUYKENDALL RUINS BOLTHEAD AND FERRULES COMPARED TO BOLTHEADS FROM SANTA ELENA SITE, SOUTH CAROLINA, AND GOVERNOR MARTIN SITE, FLORIDA

*Top*, three conserved iron boltheads from Santa Elena are on the left; an unconserved iron bolthead, positioned above an unconserved iron bolthead ferrule from Kuykendall, is on the right; *bottom*, an unconserved iron bolthead ferrule from Kuykendall positioned above a conserved iron bolthead from the Governor Martin site.

(Artifacts courtesy Parris Island Museum, Parris Island, S.C., and Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, Tallahassee; photograph courtesy author)

corrosion pattern of the piece: “The lengthwise separations as a result of corrosion are a pretty good clue that the material is wrought iron, either produced in a bloomery or the larger iron furnace.”<sup>16</sup> Conservator Pearce Paul Creasman at Texas A&M University provided a selection of x-rays of the wrought-iron piece. After examining the images, Donald J. La Rocca, curator of arms and armor at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, suggested:

I wouldn't think this was a pike head, only because on a pike head proper there are usually side straps extending down from the socket, which help prevent the head from being cut off by opposing infantry or cavalry. It could conceivably be the head of a light lance or javelin, but more likely it is a ferrule—the protective cap, often pointed like this, which served to protect the end of the shaft of a spear or light lance, allowing it to be driven into the ground to stand upright, and also allowing the end opposed to the head proper to serve as a crude but effective offensive weapon if necessary. A ferrule is the most likely option in my opinion based on these images. The square holes, as you know, would be for a nail on either side to secure the socket to a wooden shaft. As to date, such a ferrule probably could have been used in the New World in either the 16th century or the 17th.<sup>17</sup>

Possibly a Spanish soldier from the Coronado Expedition dropped or lost the ferrule on the northern edge of Ruins Plain.

The scholarship of Spanish art historian Pablo Martín Gómez supports the identity of the wrought-iron point suggested by La Rocca. Writing about the Spanish conquistadors of the early sixteenth century, Martín Gómez notes “it is most probable that pikes were scarce among the expeditionary forces. . . . In their place, the soldiers went equipped with traditional lances [that were] shorter and more manageable.” Martín Gómez adds: “The lance was much more appropriate than the pike [against] the type of fight natural to the Indians. . . . Easier to carry and much more decisive than the pike, the lance was very popular among the conquistadors.”<sup>18</sup> Martín Gómez describes several polearms, all having certain common attributes, such as a shaft of ash wood with the butt “reinforced by a *regatón*.”<sup>19</sup> According to Martín Gómez, all polearms “had the inferior extreme [butt of shaft] protected by a *regatón*.”<sup>20</sup> The *regatón* mentioned by Martín Gómez is what La Rocca calls the ferrule.

Spanish-colonial arms historian Walter J. Karcheski Jr. offers still more evidence for lances. He writes: “Spanish horsemen in the New World carried lances. . . . It is likely that Colonial lancers used a lighter form of weapon. . . . [In] fact, some of the lances may have been like the javelins (*jinetas*) of the Spanish light cavalry (*ginetes*). Spanish accounts can be somewhat confusing regarding the differences between lances and pikes, for the terms are often used interchangeably.”<sup>21</sup> Flint has provided me with Spaniard Bernardo de Vargas Machuca’s description of one of the functions of a *regatón*: “When an armed soldier sallies forth, he takes the horse and is armed at the same time with his weapons. He thrusts the lance into the ground near the horse, so that upon mounting he can grab it.”<sup>22</sup>

The written record of the Coronado Expedition supports Martín Gómez’s contention that the Spaniards carried lances, not pikes. The word *lanza* (lance) is spelled *lança* in the Coronado documents. In his record of the Coronado Expedition, Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera describes how Spaniards, shouldering their *lanças*, departed Culiacán on foot, not on their horses, which were carrying supplies.<sup>23</sup> He also relates three accounts of horsemen using lances. On the Great Plains, Spanish horsemen killed rabbits, found in great abundance, with their lances.<sup>24</sup> Castañeda recounted that, when the party of Melchior Díaz was attacked at the Río del Tizón (Río Colorado between Arizona and California), Spanish horsemen chased the Indians and injured them with their lances.<sup>25</sup> These accounts testify to the manageability of the lance and suggest that Spaniards on the expedition favored it over the pike.

The death of Melchior Díaz offers compelling evidence that the lances on the Coronado Expedition were equipped with a *regatón*. Castañeda wrote: “One day a *lebrél* [a swift, short-haired dog used to hunt rabbits] brought by a soldier fancied to [chase] some sheep brought along for food. When the captain saw this, he hurled his *lança de enquentro* at it as he was galloping. [The lance] stuck in the ground. Not able to stop his horse, [Díaz] ran onto the lance and it pierced [him] through his thigh, and the iron went all the way through his groin and broke his bladder.”<sup>26</sup> This account illustrates that the *lança de enquentro* carried by Díaz had an iron *regatón* on the butt of the shaft. Coronado scholars Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint refer to the *lança de enquentro* as a “double-tipped lance” in an illustration of the arms and armor of the Spaniards and *indios amigos* in their published collection of Coronado documents.<sup>27</sup> Figure 3 displays the Kuykendall iron artifact in comparison with a sixteenth-century *soldado de*



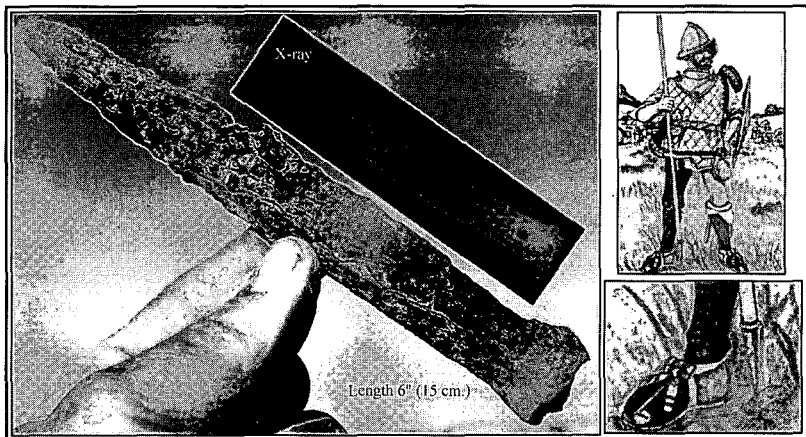


FIG. 3. REGATÓN FOUND AT KUYKENDALL RUINS

Left, x-ray of the regatón positioned above the Kuykendall artifact; right, painting of a “Soldado de infantería de las fuerzas de Cortés” bearing a spear with a regatón on the butt of the shaft.

(Illustration from Pablo Martín Gomez, *Hombres y Armas en la Conquista de México, 1518–1521* [Madrid: Almena Ediciones, 2001], illustration 10, courtesy publisher; x-ray courtesy Pearce Paul Creasman, Texas A&M University, College Station; regatón photograph courtesy author)

*infantería* (infantry soldier) holding a lance with a regatón attached to the butt-end of the shaft.<sup>28</sup>

The team discovered one copper coin (no. 32 on map 2). Initially the artifact was so tarnished and disfigured that team members thought it was a scrap of tin can, but when they realized that the piece was not magnetic, I cleaned it and saw the copper color. To learn if the metal was brass, I sent the piece to metallurgist Ibrahim “Abe” Gundiler at the New Mexico Bureau of Geology. After his examination of the artifact, he reported: “My colleague, Dr. Nelia Dunbar, was kind enough to run an x-ray on the piece of copper sample you sent for examination. It did not show any traces of other metals; it is remarkably pure copper.”<sup>29</sup>

The identity of the piece remained a mystery until collections specialist James B. Legg of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology examined it. He suggested that the artifact was a coin, a possibility that the team had not considered. Alan M. Stahl, curator of Numismatics, Rare Books, and Special Collections at the Firestone Library of Princeton University, next studied the copper piece (fig. 4). After his inspection, Stahl offered this evaluation:

I have examined the fragment, and to the best of my judgment, it appears to derive from a copper *cuarto* of Spain of Ferdinand and Isabella, issued between 1497 and 1504. . . . Issues bearing the names of the monarchs were continued after the death of Isabella in 1504, and even after that of Ferdinand in 1516. . . . The diagnostic aspects are what appears to be the crown on the lion's head on the obverse and the parallel lines that mark the bottom of the castle on the reverse.<sup>30</sup>



FIG. 4. COMPARISON OF ILLUSTRATION OF COPPER CUARTO OF SPAIN OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA, 1497–1504, WITH THE COPPER PIECE FOUND AT THE KUYKENDALL RUINS

(*Illustration appears in Aloiss Heiss, Descripción general de las monedas hispano-cristianas desde la invasión de los árabes, vol. 1 [1865; repr., Zaragoza, Spain: L. Marquina, 1962]; photograph courtesy author*)

The copper piece found at Kuykendall, if it is indeed a Spanish cuarto, helps confirm the brief Spanish presence at the ruins site in the sixteenth century.<sup>31</sup> Coins, including cuartos, have been found at other early Spanish-colonial sites such as the Jimmy Owens site in Texas, the Governor Martin site in Florida, the Columbus village at La Isabela in the Dominican Republic, and the settlement of Puerto Real in Haiti.<sup>32</sup>

At the Kuykendall Ruins site, the team discovered three artifacts that appeared to be metal tools. First, an iron piece, possibly an auger key, was found on the north side of Ruins Plain (no. 3 on map 2, fig. 5). From his photomicrographic analysis of the artifact, archaeologist David Killick at the University of Arizona concluded: "The piece is definitely bloomery iron . . . full

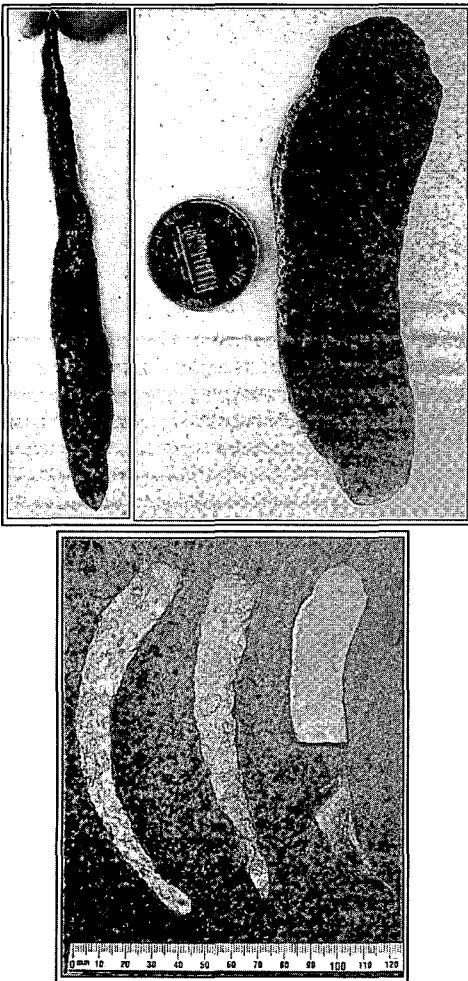


FIG. 5. KUYKENDALL AUGER KEY AND SANTA ELENA AUGER KEYS  
*Top*, auger key as originally found at Kuykendall Ruins;  
*bottom*, assortment of conserved auger keys from Santa Elena compared to the unconserved Kuykendall auger key after being cut by David Killick for metallurgical testing.  
*(Santa Elena artifacts courtesy South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia; photograph courtesy author)*

of slag (the dark stringers within the bright iron). . . . [Slag] is never seen in iron produced in a blast furnace. Any iron used in the Coronado Expedition would have been bloomery iron." The diagnostic limitation of this artifact, Killick notes, is that bloomery iron was "used for a long time [after Coronado], though I doubt that there would have been much circulating in Arizona after about 1860." Killick declared that neither he nor other scientists can physically or chemically "date" the iron piece "more precisely."<sup>33</sup>

Two other iron tools were discovered on opposite sides of Ruins Arroyo near the bolt-head locations (nos. 18 and 26 on map 2). Some of the South-easterners suggested that one tool might be a pod auger (tool for boring small holes in wood) or a graver (cutting or shaving tool for wood). Discovered by Blennert, the other tool is a blade (fig. 6). These three artifacts—auger key,

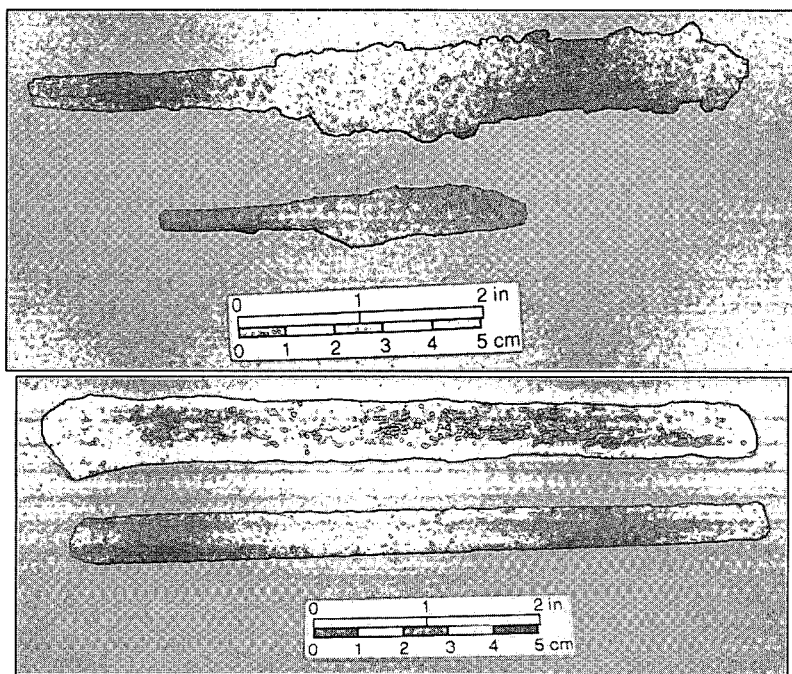


FIG. 6. COMPARISON OF IRON TOOLS FOUND AT THE KUYKENDALL RUINS WITH SIMILAR TOOLS DISCOVERED AT SANTA ELENA

*Top*, unconserved blade 38BU162Z-762A found at Santa Elena placed above unconserved blade discovered at Kuykendall Ruins; *bottom*, conserved pod auger 38BU162C-198B found at Santa Elena placed above unconserved pod auger or graver discovered at Kuykendall Ruins.

(*Santa Elena artifacts courtesy South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia; photograph courtesy author*)

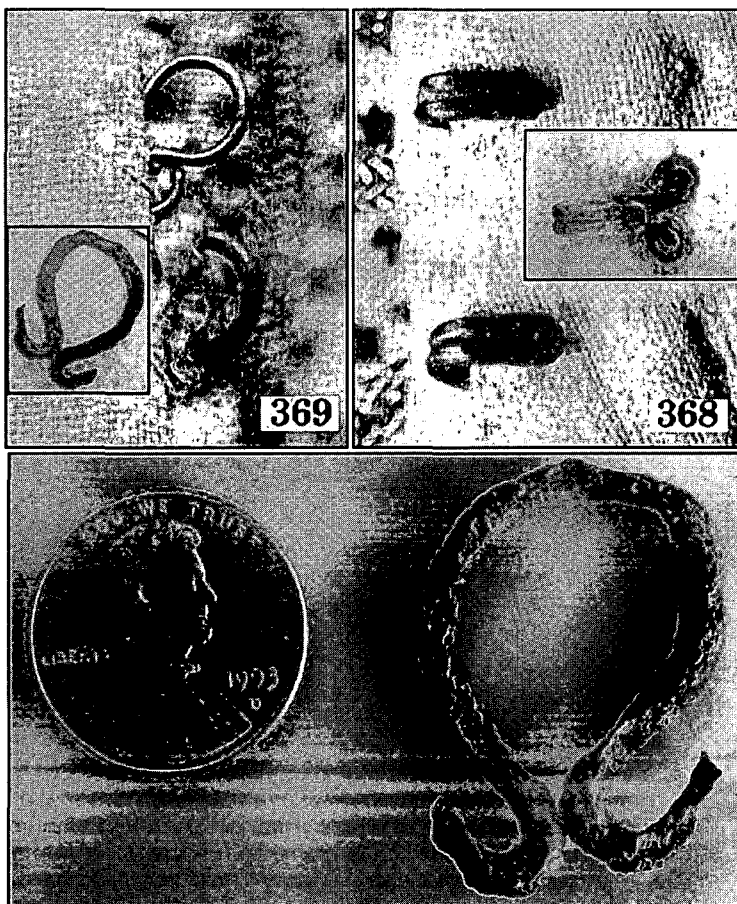


FIG. 7. HOOKS AND EYES FROM THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

*Bottom*, the “omega-shaped” eye discovered at the Kuykendall Ruins; *top left*, Kuykendall omega-shaped eye (*inset*) with fabric and iron fasteners from about 1615; *top right*, iron hook (*inset*) from LA 54147 with fabric and hooks from about 1615. The hook found at LA 54147 is comparable to the 1615 hook, suggesting that pieces like the eye found at Kuykendall and the hook found at LA 54147 might have been used together.

(*Illustrations top right and left*, Janet Arnold, *Patterns of Fashion: The Cut and Construction of Clothes for Men and Women, c1560–1620* [Hollywood, Calif.: Quite Specific Media Group, 1985], *illustration 368–69*, courtesy Ralph Pine, publisher; *photograph of hook from LA 54147* courtesy Deni J. Seymour; *photograph of omega-shaped eye* courtesy author)

pod auger, and blade—represent types of tools found in Spanish colonial sixteenth-century collections.

The team's exploration at Kuykendall yielded three clothing fasteners (nos. 1 and 2 on map 2). One is an omega-shaped iron eye of a hook-and-eye fastener. Figure 7 shows the Kuykendall omega-shaped eye in comparison to such a fastener on a clothing item dated about 1615.<sup>34</sup> The two other clothing fasteners discovered on Ruins Plain at Kuykendall comprised a hook-and-eye set (fig. 8). When found, the two pieces were touching one another. A similar iron piece was found at Hawikku. The presence of comparable garment fasteners at locations over two hundred miles apart, with one being an accepted Coronado occupation and battle site, is at the very least suggestive of similar clothing at the two locales.

At Kuykendall Ruins, the team found seventeen iron objects—spikes (nos. 9, which includes a spike tip plus two pieces; 14; and 35 on map 2), an eye spike (no. 15), nails (nos. 22, 24, 25, 28, and 36), a tack (no. 37), fasteners (nos. 20, 21, and 27), and staples (nos. 23 and 40)—that, we believe, are related to

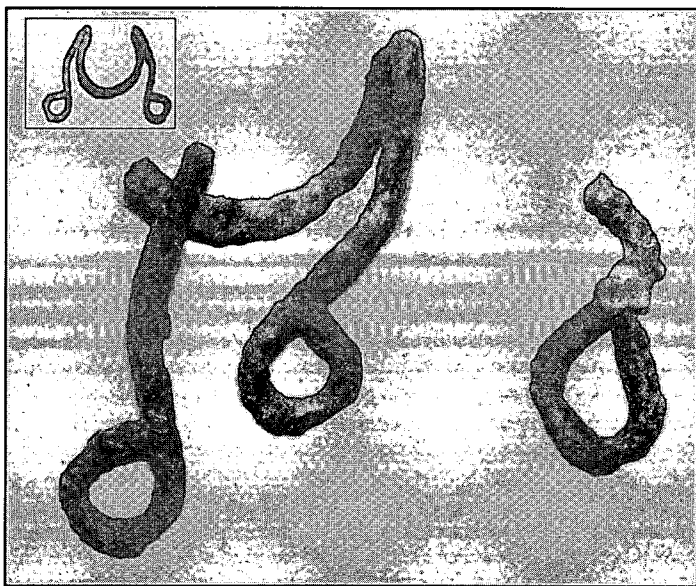
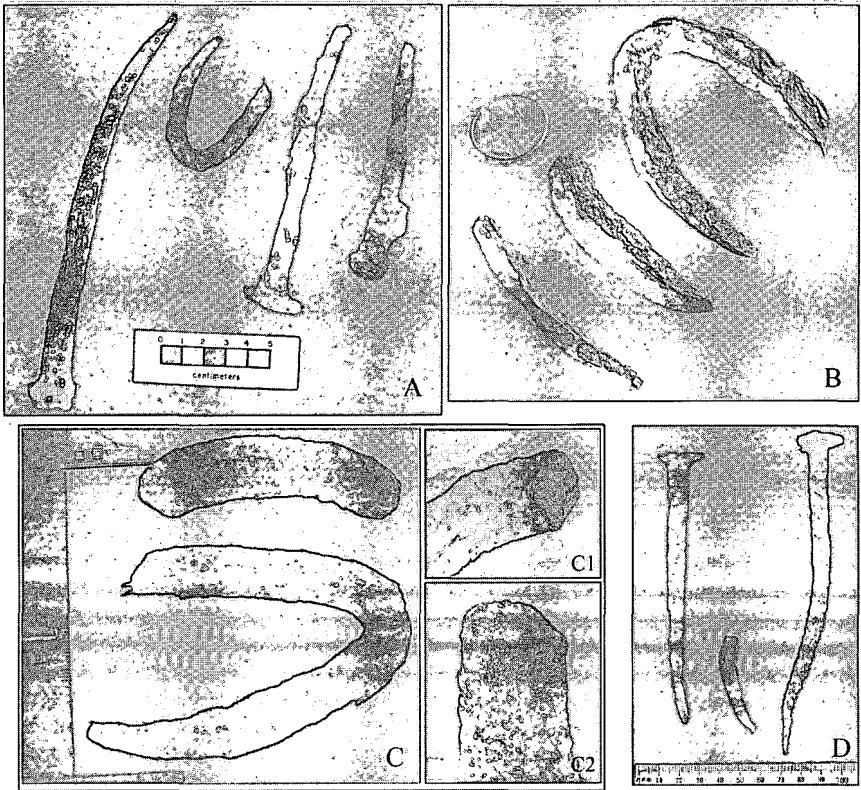


FIG. 8. HOOK-AND-EYE SET

*Left*, pieces of hook-and-eye set excavated at Kuykendall Ruins; *right*, piece of hook or eye found at Hawikku; *inset*, digitally reconstructed eye.

*(Hawikku eye [2003-H-#84] courtesy Zuni Cultural Resource Enterprise, Zuni, N.Mex.; photograph courtesy author)*

the Coronado Expedition. Five of the pieces represent spikes or parts of spikes. During the second field season we discovered an isolated, almost complete spike (no. 14 on map 2) bent into a form that initially appeared to be a chain link (figs. 9A–D). However, the Southeasterners immediately recognized



FIGS. 9A–D. SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SPIKES FROM ST. AUGUSTINE, SANTA ELENA, AND HAWIKKU COMPARED TO THE KUYKENDALL SPIKES

A: *left to right*, conserved St. Augustine spike, unconserved Kuykendall bent spike, unconserved St. Augustine spike, and unconserved St. Augustine spike; B: unconserved spike pieces found at Kuykendall Ruins; C: *left*, unconserved quadrilateral Hawikku spike piece FS80 (*top*) and unconserved Kuykendall bent spike (*bottom*); C1 and C2: unconserved Hawikku spike-piece ends; D: *left and right*, sixteenth-century conserved Santa Elena spikes (*center*) unconserved Kuykendall spike tip.

(*St. Augustine artifact* courtesy Florida Museum of Natural History, *St. Augustine*; *Hawikku artifacts* courtesy Zuni Cultural Resource Enterprise, Zuni, N.Mex.; *Santa Elena artifacts* courtesy South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia; *photograph* courtesy author)

the piece as a spike and wondered why it had been bent in such a manner. The Hawikku collection also contains part of a similar spike (figs. 9A–D). As with the garment fasteners (nos. 1 and 2 on map 2), comparable spikes discovered at Hawikku and Kuykendall Ruins suggest that the same party, likely the Coronado Expedition, dropped them at both sites.

A short distance north of this isolated spike, the team found three iron pieces (no. 9 on map 2). Several Southeasterners identified one of the iron pieces as the tip of a spike. Two other iron pieces, almost touching the spike tip when found, are likely parts of the same spike. Therefore, we call this area the Spike Site. The Kuykendall spike tip is comparable to the points of two spikes recovered from the sixteenth-century Santa Elena site, and is likely similar in age (figs. 9A–D). Within just steps of these three iron pieces, we found three chain links (nos. 8, 10, and 11 on map 2) and two copper strips (no. 13). These finds represent a cluster of distinct artifact types that are likely sixteenth century in age. To the west, on the south side of Clearings Arroyo, Fraser found the tip of yet another iron spike (no. 35 on map 2).

In an area the team calls the Eye Spike Site, members uncovered a single wrought iron artifact (no. 15 on map 2) first identified by Turley as an eye spike (fig. 10).<sup>35</sup> The Santa Elena collection includes an almost identical

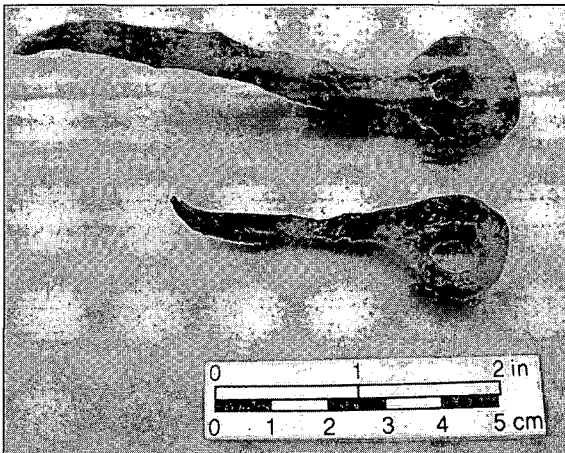


FIG. 10. EYE SPIKES FROM KUYKENDALL AND SANTA ELENA

Unconserved Kuykendall eye spike positioned above the sixteenth-century conserved Santa Elena eye spike 38BU162Q-564B.

(*Santa Elena artifact courtesy South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia; photograph courtesy author*)



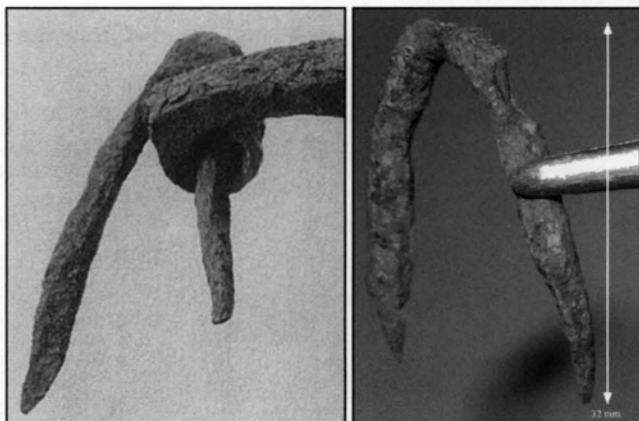


FIG. 11. CHEST COTTER-PIN HINGES FROM LA ISABELA AND KUYKENDALL RUINS

The hinges from La Isabela (*left*) and from Kuykendall Ruins (*right*) are similar in form and texture. The Kuykendall hinge shows wear on its upper-right-hand corner where it was likely active.

(*Illustration of La Isabela hinge from Kathleen Deagan and José María Cruxent, Archaeology at La Isabela: America's First European Town [New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2002], 251, fig. 10.1; photograph courtesy author*)

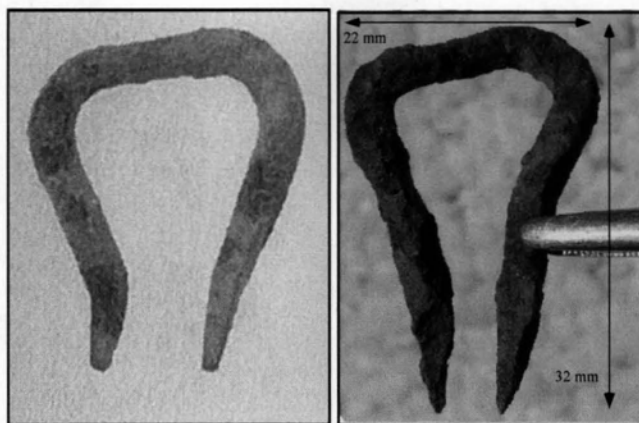


FIG. 12. IRON STAPLES RECOVERED FROM LA ISABELA AND KUYKENDALL RUINS

The iron staples from La Isabela (*left*) and from Kuykendall Ruins (*right*) are similar in form and texture.

(*Illustration of La Isabela iron staple from Kathleen Deagan and José María Cruxent, Archaeology at La Isabela: America's First European Town [New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2002], 256, fig. 10.5; photograph courtesy author*)

piece. The Eye Spike Site contained associated artifacts remarkably similar to those found at the Spike Site. A few steps away from the eye spike, the team found three copper strips (no. 17 on map 2) and a wrought-iron chain link (no. 16). The Eye Spike Site represents another cluster of distinct artifact types probably from the sixteenth century.

South of the Eye Spike Site is an area of concentrated artifacts we named the Ruins Arroyo Site. There searchers found two iron ellipsoid-shaped fastening nails (nos. 20 and 21 on map 2). These artifacts appear to be attachment staples for cotter-pin chest hinges like those found at La Isabela in the present Dominican Republic (fig. 11). In 1494 the Spanish founded La Isabela, the first European settlement in America, and abandoned it in 1498. Near the two attachment staples, Blennert discovered another type of iron staple (no. 23 on map 2) similar to an artifact found at La Isabela (fig. 12).<sup>36</sup> On the north side of Clearings Arroyo we found a second example of this staple (no. 40 on map 2).

Also recovered at the Ruins Arroyo Site were three distinct nail types in close proximity to the hinge-fastening nails and the iron staple. Southeasterner Eugene Lyon, a nail expert, identified one of the pieces as an *alfaxia* nail (no. 22 on map 2, fig. 13) consistent with sixteenth-century examples found at Santa Elena. Nearby the team found a T-head nail (no. 24 on map 2, fig. 14) similar to sixteenth-century *medios barrotos* excavated at both La Isabela and Santa Elena. A few steps away, Blennert discovered an L-head nail (no. 25 on map 2, fig. 15) mirroring artifacts discovered at Santa Elena.

The team at Kuykendall discovered a fastener and a nail at the archaeological site, FF:2:6, east of the ruins. One iron object (no. 27 on map 2), excavated on the western edge of the buildings, looked at first glance like an unusual fence staple (fig. 16). An examination of the artifact in photographs, however, led Turley to comment: "In Spanish, it is an *armella*. It looks like a 'split cotter' which may have once had a circular opening, but may have been accidentally flattened somewhat. Because of the diminutive size, it could have been used on wooden furniture."<sup>37</sup> During our travels in the Southeast, Karen and I saw examples of *armellas* and cotter-pin hinges in collections at Santa Elena, Mission San Luis, and the Government House Museum. East of the *armella*, Blennert discovered an almost complete horseshoe nail (no. 28 on map 2) similar to a Hawikku specimen (fig. 17).

On the far west side of the explored area and on the south side of Clearings Arroyo, team members found a wrought-iron horseshoe nail (no. 36 on map 2) of a type found at the Governor Martin site and at Hawikku (fig. 18).

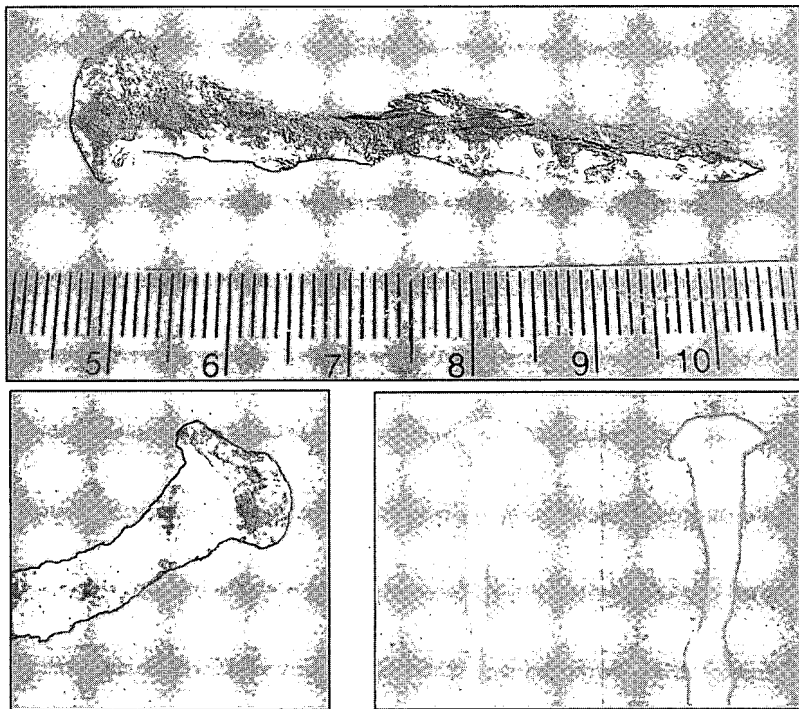


FIG. 13. ALFAXIA NAIL

*Above*, unconserved alfaxia nail excavated at Kuykendall and identified by Eugene Lyon in St. Augustine, Florida; *below left*, detail of alfaxia nail head from Kuykendall; *below right*, x-ray of alfaxia nail head.

*(X-ray courtesy Pearce Paul Creasman, Texas A&M University, College Station; photograph courtesy author)*

A short distance away on the north side of the arroyo, we discovered a round-head, wrought-iron tack three-quarters of an inch (1.9 cm) long. This type and size of tack (no. 37 on map 2) was the most frequent tack found by historical archaeologist and sixteenth-century specialist Kathleen Deagan in her four years of excavations of sixteenth-century materials in St. Augustine, Florida.<sup>38</sup> The Jimmy Owens collection at the Floyd County Historical Museum contains an almost identical tack (fig. 19). Within inches of the tack the team found the shank of a wrought nail, but the item has not been included with the collection of likely Coronado artifacts.

The team found six chain links (nos. 8, 10, 11, 12, 16, and 19 on map 2). Three of these were discovered at the Spike Site (nos. 10, 11, and 12 on map 2). One is a complete, round, wrought-iron chain link separated at

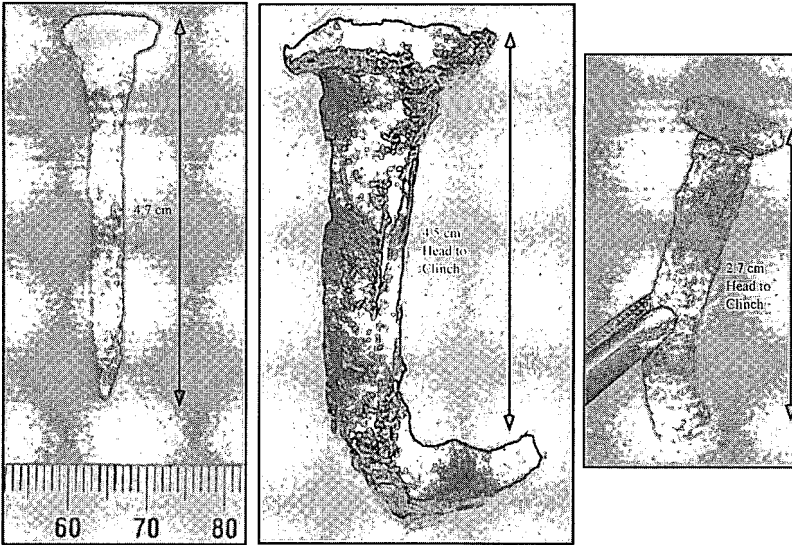


FIG. 14. SIXTEENTH-CENTURY MEDIOS BARROTES COMPARED TO T-HEAD NAIL FROM KUYKENDALL RUINS

*Left*, Sixteenth-century medio barrote from Santa Elena 38BU51D-196B; *center*, sixteenth-century medio barrote from La Isabela; *right*, unconserved T-head nail from Kuykendall Ruins.

*(Santa Elena artifact courtesy South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia; illustration of La Isabela artifact from Kathleen Deagan and José María Cruxent, Archaeology at La Isabela: America's First European Town [New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2002], 105, fig. 6.6; photograph courtesy author)*

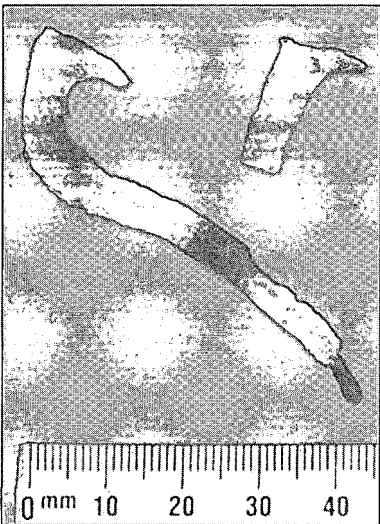


FIG. 15. L-HEAD NAIL

*Left to right*, conserved, sixteenth-century L-head nail from Santa Elena 38BU162R-52, and top of unconserved L-head nail from Kuykendall. *(Santa Elena artifact courtesy South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia; photograph courtesy author)*

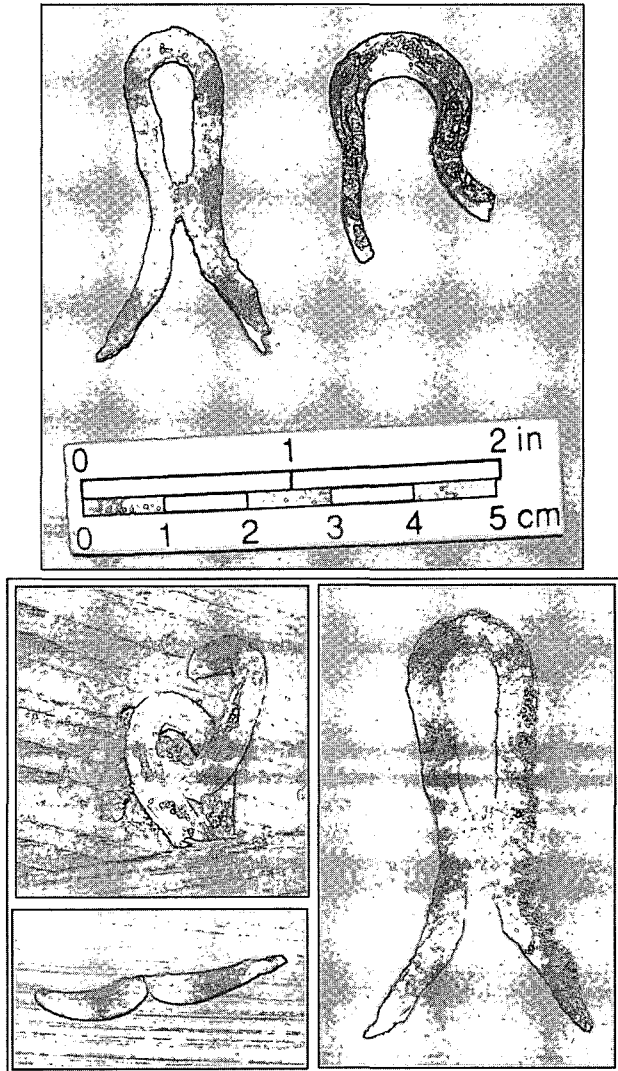


FIG. 16. ARMELLAS OR COTTER PINS AT KUYKENDALL RUINS, SANTA ELENA, AND GOVERNMENT HOUSE MUSEUM

*Top*, unconserved armella from Kuykendall Ruins and conserved cotter pin 38BU162G-172A from Santa Elena; *bottom left*, front view of cotter-pin hinge, Government House Museum (*top*), back view of cotter-pin hinge, Government House Museum (*bottom*); *bottom right*, armella from FF:2:6 site beside Kuykendall Ruins.

(Santa Elena artifact courtesy South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia; cotter-pin hinge courtesy Government House Museum, St. Augustine, Fla.; photograph courtesy author)

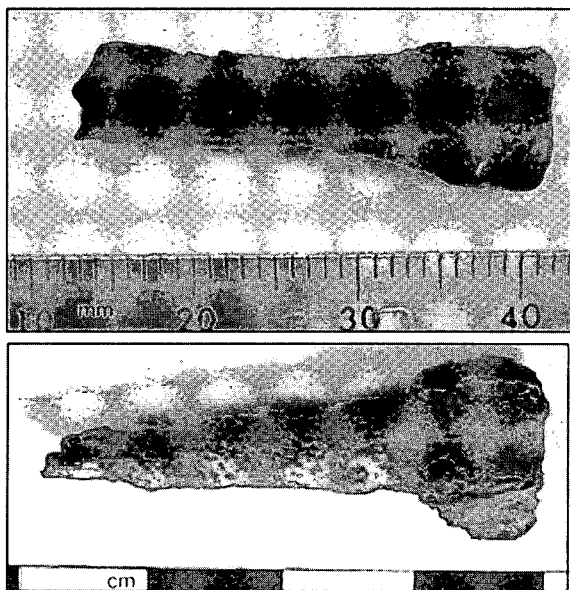


FIG. 17. UNCONSERVED HORSESHOE NAIL FROM FF:2:6 BESIDE KUYKENDALL RUINS COMPARED TO SIXTEENTH-CENTURY, UNCONSERVED NAIL RECOVERED AT HAWIKKU Top, Kuykendall nail; bottom, Hawikku nail (FS109).  
*(Hawikku nail [FS109] courtesy Zuni Cultural Resource Enterprise, Zuni, N.Mex.; photograph courtesy author)*

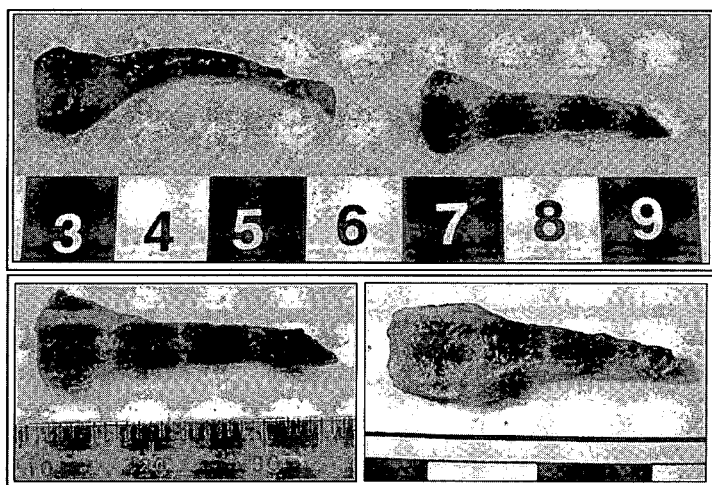


FIG. 18. WROUGHT-IRON HORSESHOE NAILS FROM THE GOVERNOR MARTIN SITE, HAWIKKU, AND KUYKENDALL RUINS  
*Above left to right, sixteenth-century conserved nail (88.5.1.1293.1) from the Governor Martin site and unconserved nail from Kuykendall Ruins; bottom left to right, unconserved nail from Kuykendall Ruins and sixteenth-century unconserved Hawikku nail (FS 123).  
 (Governor Martin site nail [88.5.1.1293.1] courtesy Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, Tallahassee; Hawikku nail [FS123] courtesy Zuni Cultural Resource Enterprise, Zuni, N.Mex.; photograph courtesy author)*

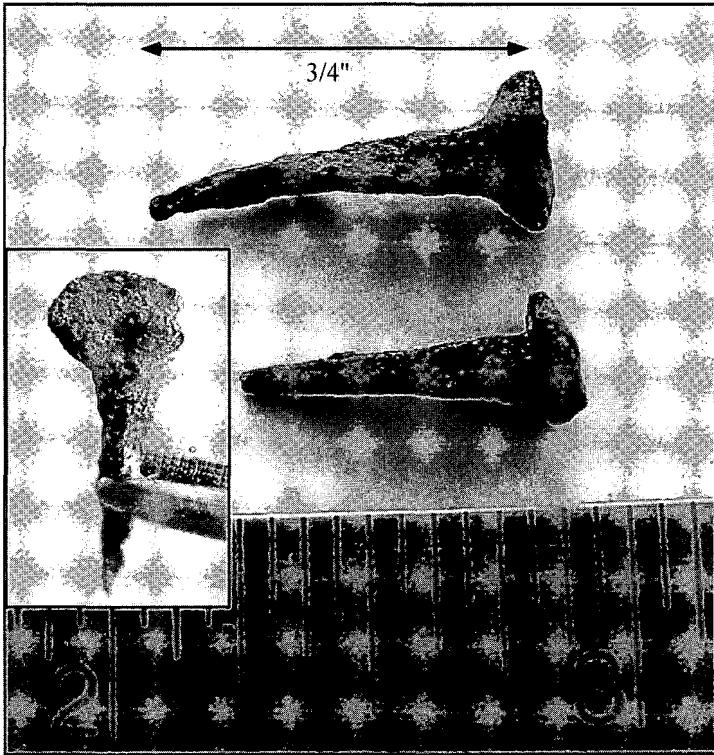


FIG. 19. UNCONSERVED, ROUND-HEAD, WROUGHT TACKS

*Top*, unconserved, round-head, wrought tack recovered at Kuykendall Ruins; *bottom*, unconserved, round-head, wrought tack discovered at the Jimmy Owens site; *inset*, detail of round-head nail from Kuykendall Ruins

*(Jimmy Owens site artifact courtesy Floyd County Historical Museum, Floydada, Tex.; photograph courtesy author)*

one end (no. 10 on map 2). Turley studied photographs of this artifact and described the process of forging chain links in the Iron Age. Coronado's smiths followed this process: "The links were always forge welded (hammer welded) on the end, not on the long side. Sometimes the weld will show as slightly incomplete on the surface of the piece. It appears as a 'seam' which we, as smiths, call a 'shut.' A forge weld may not be quite as strong as the parent stock, so there is the possibility of breakage on the end, especially if the weld was performed by a neophyte."<sup>39</sup> The complete chain link found at the Spike Site was separated at the "shut" as Turley describes. The team discovered two half links (nos. 11 and 12 on map 2) at the Spike Site; the fit of their broken



FIG. 20. UNCONSERVED WROUGHT-IRON CHAIN LINKS DISCOVERED AT KUYKENDALL RUINS

Three whole chain links were recovered from three different sites at Kuykendall. *Top*, Eye Spike Site; *center right*, Spike Site; *bottom*, Ruins Arroyo. All three links have separated at the “shut.” The two half links (*center left*), also found at the Spike Site, may have originally composed a single chain link.

(*Photograph courtesy author*)

ends indicates that they may have originally been the same complete link (fig. 20). The close proximity of the links to the probable sixteenth-century spike tip and the method of fabricating the links strongly suggest that the chain links are also sixteenth-century material left by the Coronado Expedition.

The team located another intriguing chain link. A short distance from the large chain links at the Spike Site was discovered a small iron chain link (no. 8 on map 2) distinguished by a gap on one side. Archaeologists retrieved a similar gapped chain at the site of the Tristan de Luna y Arrellano, a 1559 Spanish shipwreck (8ES1905) at Emanuel Point in Pensacola Bay, Florida. Near the gap-chain link and the Spike Site, we found what appeared to be a chain link broken in half to create a U-shaped iron object, but since we were at a loss to explain how such a break could occur in a chain, we suspected that the object might be part of a staple. There are two such pieces in the display case of Coronado artifacts at the Floyd County Historical Museum. Despite the presence of these U-shaped artifacts at both



Kuykendall Ruins and the Jimmy Owens site, we are not currently including this Kuykendall piece in our collection of fifty-one suggested Coronado artifacts. At the Eye Spike Site, team members discovered a large, severely corroded, wrought-iron chain link (no. 16 on map 2) separated likewise at the shut (fig. 20). The lengthwise separations, or grooves, similar to those seen on the *regatón* indicate that the piece is wrought. Near the graver, or pod auger, along the north bank of Ruins Arroyo, we found a chain link separated at the shut (no. 19 on map 2).

In the course of our exploration, the team discovered two buckles and one bead south of Clearings Arroyo. One buckle was an iron “D” buckle (no. 7 on map 2); the other was a triangular-shaped iron piece identified as a strap connector (no. 5). Both pieces, according to several Southeasterners, are consistent with sixteenth-century buckles uncovered in their region. The Jimmy Owens collection in the Floyd County Historical Museum contains an example of each of these two artifacts (fig. 21). Three steps from the strap connector, the team found a perfectly symmetrical, cubic jet bead (no. 6 on map 2). None of the five specialists consulted had ever seen a bead exactly

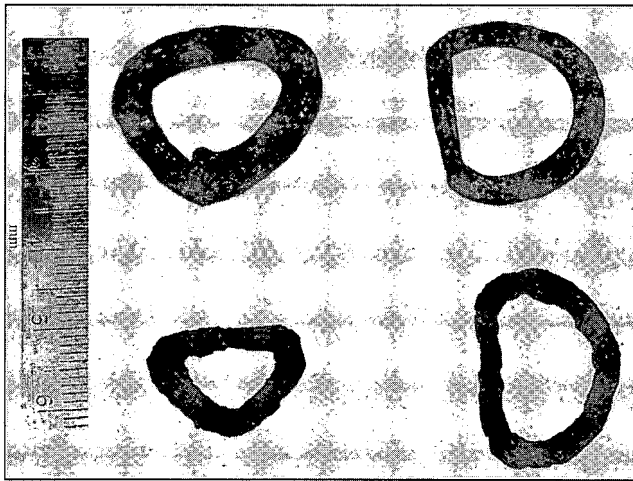


FIG. 21. STRAP CONNECTORS AND “D” BUCKLES FROM KUYKENDALL RUINS AND JIMMY OWENS SITE

*Top left*, conserved strap connector from Jimmy Owens site; *top right*, conserved “D” buckle from Jimmy Owens site; *bottom left*, unconserved strap connector from Kuykendall Ruins; *bottom right*, unconserved “D” buckle from Kuykendall Ruins.

*(Jimmy Owens site artifact courtesy Floyd County Historical Museum, Floydada, Tex.; photograph courtesy author)*

like the one found at Kuykendall Ruins (fig. 22).<sup>40</sup> The cubic form is unusual—the more common sixteenth-century jet beads are pyramidal-shaped with rectangular to square bases, or are faceted on multiple sides like those found on two Spanish-colonial sites in Belize.<sup>41</sup> Despite this anomaly, none of the five excluded the possibility that the Kuykendall bead could be a sixteenth-century artifact, especially given its jet composition and its proximity to the strap connector. Deagan notes “lapidary beads were present in the New World as early as 1511,” and that “jet was used in Spain from the sixteenth-century onward for pendants as well as for beads, and was particularly popular for use in rosaries and for other religious and magical items.”<sup>42</sup>

On the north side of Clearings Arroyo were found four of the most perplexing artifacts discovered at Kuykendall. The team referred to them as “hooklets” (fig. 23). Three hooklets (no. 38 on map 2) had been lost within a few steps of one another and were unearthed directly beside a pile of fired rocks. Another hooklet (no. 39 on map 2) was found a short distance away. One Southeasterner suggested that these objects are broken buckles that had been used to tighten leather straps, the equivalent of a modern Conway buckle. Within just steps of the isolated hooklet, we found an iron staple of the La Isabela style (no. 40 on map 2). The proximal association of the staple and hooklet and the presence of dozens of thermal features leads the team to believe that all the hooklets are more likely than not from the sixteenth century.

The team made other discoveries in this immediate area. Within a few steps, we found two small tacks, two small wrought nails, and a small wrought ellipsoid-shaped fastener. Although these five additional artifacts may indeed be sixteenth century in age, we hesitate to include them in our Coronado artifact count.<sup>43</sup> All these items were found in an area of high concentration of thermal features.

Two iron awls and one iron needle, all likely sixteenth-century artifacts, were discovered at Kuykendall Ruins. Found during the initial field season and described in my first narrative, the two Kuykendall awls (nos. 29 and 31 on map 2) are similar to a sixteenth-century awl recovered at Hawikku.<sup>44</sup>

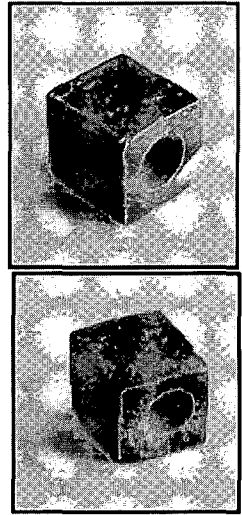


FIG. 22. CUBIC JET BEAD (4MM × 4MM) The image shows the bead from two different angles; notice the impurity in the jet in the upper photo. (Photograph courtesy author)

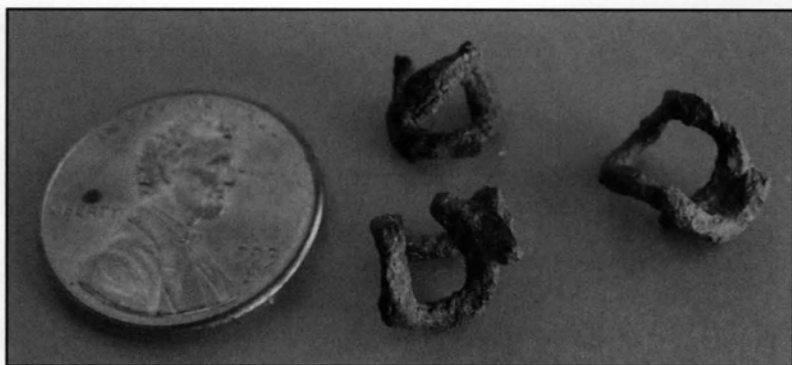


FIG. 23. THREE UNCONSERVED HOOKLETS FOUND ON THE NORTH SIDE OF CLEARINGS ARROYO

(*Photograph courtesy author*)

The Ruins Plain awl is similar enough to the Hawikku specimen in length and form to suggest a common origin (fig. 24).

The needle (no. 30 on map 2) is comparable to an iron needle, FS13, found on the Kyakima site at Zuni and described by archaeologist Jonathan E. Damp (fig. 25).<sup>45</sup> The width of the needle eye of FS13 is 0.37 centimeters and of the Kuykendall needle, 0.40 centimeters; the thickness of the eye of FS13 is 0.25 centimeters and of the Kuykendall piece, 0.2+ centimeters; the eye length of FS13 is 0.5 centimeters and of the Kuykendall needle, 0.7

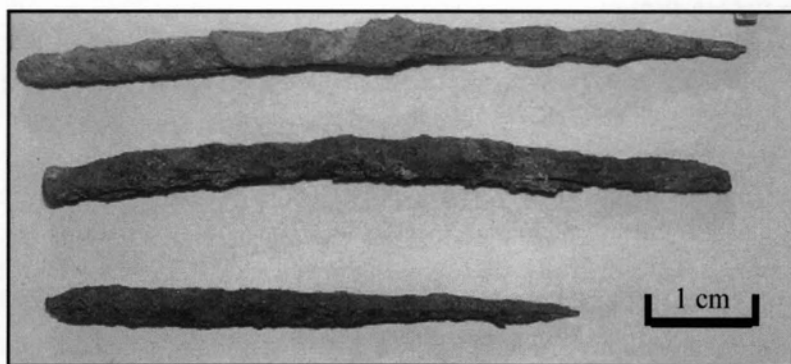


FIG. 24. AWLS DISCOVERED AT HAWIKKU AND KUYKENDALL RUINS  
*Top*, a sixteenth-century awl (2006-5) from Hawikku; *center*, an unconserved awl recovered on Ruins Plain at Kuykendall; *bottom*, an unconserved awl found at Compound One at Kuykendall.

(*Hawikku awl [2006-5] courtesy Zuni Cultural Resource Enterprise, Zuni, N.Mex.; photograph courtesy author*)

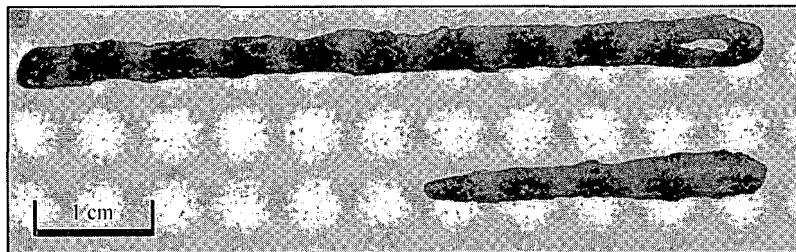


FIG. 25. COMPARISON OF NEEDLES FROM KUYKENDALL RUINS AND KYAKIMA

*Top*, unconserved needle discovered near Compound One at Kuykendall; *bottom*, the unconserved needle (FS13) recovered from the Kyakima battlefield at Hawikku. Measurements show needles quite similar in size and shape, and suggest that they share a common origin with the Coronado Expedition.

*(Hawikku needle [FS13] courtesy Zuni Cultural Resource Enterprise, Zuni, N.Mex.; photograph courtesy author)*

centimeters; the eye of FS13 begins 0.35 centimeters from the head of the needle and of the Kuykendall needle, 0.3+ centimeters from the head. These measurements show needles quite similar in size and shape, and suggest that they share a common origin with the Coronado Expedition.

Our team found five copper strips in two distinct groups. Two strips (no. 13 on map 2) were discovered almost touching each other at the Spike Site and three others (no. 17) were found within inches of one another at the Eye Spike Site. The Eye Spike strips are ornamented. Southeasterners observed that all the copper strips are unfinished on one side and suggested that they were part of the sheeting or lining for a box or chest, or even for saddle ornamentation (fig. 26). Although the striations are quite similar to those on a hawk bell in the collection at Mission San Luis in Tallahassee, Florida, and on two copper bells found at Santiago Pueblo Site LA 326, the Southeasterners did not believe that the Kuykendall strips are parts of a bell. Given that the copper strips were recovered in proximity to the spike tip and chain links at the Spike Site and to the eye spike and chain link at the Eye Spike Site, the strips are likely sixteenth-century artifacts.

Other likely artifacts left by the Coronado Expedition at the Red House site are two objects identified by the Southeasterners as finials (fig. 27). More than nineteen finials were found during the excavation of De Soto's winter camp at the Governor Martin site in Tallahassee, Florida.<sup>46</sup> The one found at Compound Three (no. 33 on map 2) consists of a hollow pewter cap atop

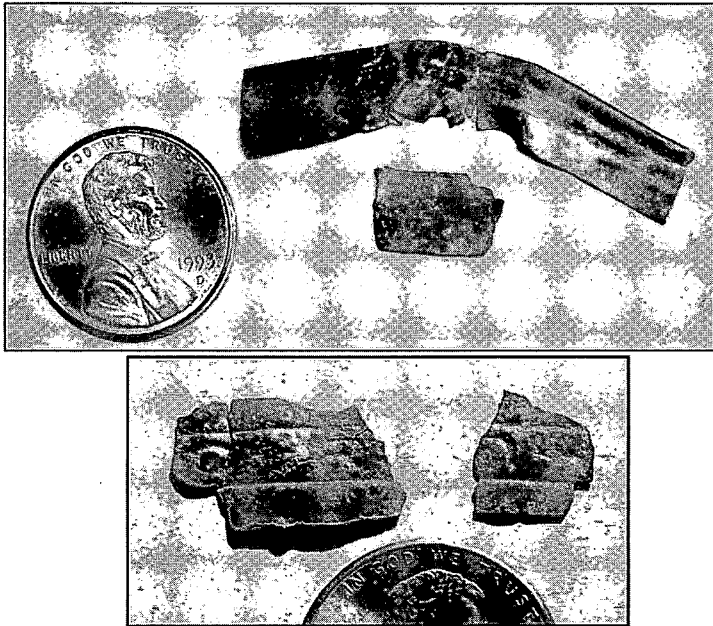


FIG. 26. COPPER STRIPS FOUND AT KUYKENDALL RUINS

*Top*, two copper strips with linear striations found at Spike Site. The tarnish has been removed from the left end of one strip; *bottom*, two copper strips with ornamental patterns discovered at Eye Spike Site.

*(Photograph courtesy author)*

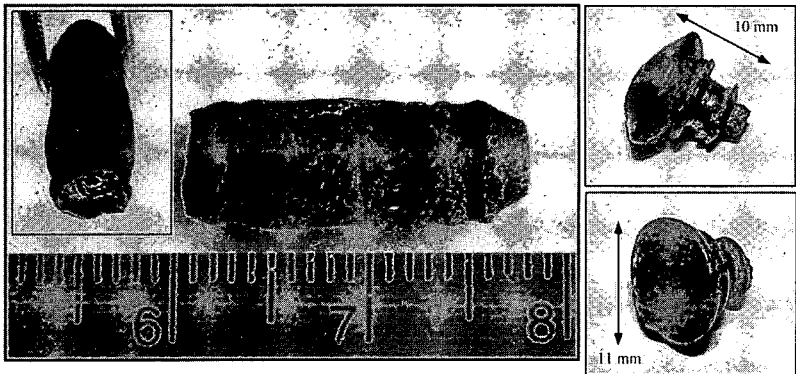


FIG. 27. FINIALS DISCOVERED AT KUYKENDALL RUINS

*Left*, unconserved iron finial found at Compound Three at Kuykendall; *right top and bottom*, the pewter and bronze finial discovered on Ruins Plain at Kuykendall.

*(Photograph courtesy author)*

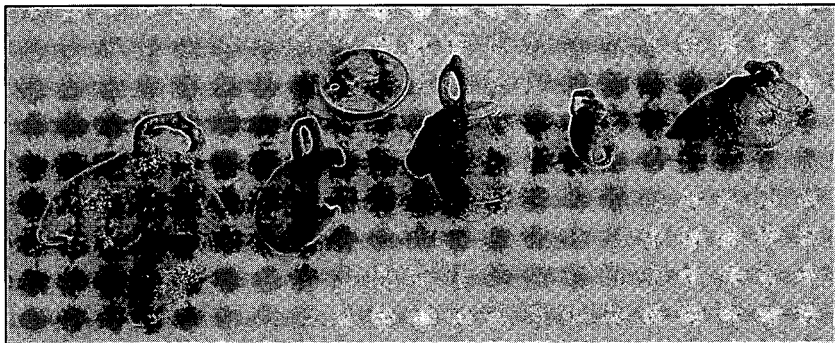


FIG. 28. TARASCAN CROTALS FOUND AT KUYKENDALL RUINS

(*Photograph courtesy author*)

a bronze collar through which an iron shaft was attached. The Southeasterners suggested it might be a lid top, a pull knob for a small case, or a horse-tack ornament. The other finial (no. 34 on map 2), found on Ruins Plain, is unusual in that although it is magnetic and therefore likely iron, it is unexpectedly heavy and produces a lead image when x-rayed. Its function remains a mystery.

During our three seasons of exploration at Kuykendall Ruins, we found five Tarascan copper crotals and one piece of a crotal (fig. 28). Three crotals were discovered before we arrived. The origins of these bells are unclear. These crotals may have arrived at Kuykendall with the Tarascan Indian component of the *indios amigos*, or Native traders may have carried these crotals north from Mexico prior to Coronado's *entrada* into the region. Although the team cannot ascribe the bells to the Coronado Expedition with certainty, their anomalously abundant existence at Kuykendall Ruins suggests that a Native trade route came by the Red House. Historians believe that Coronado followed a pre-existing Indian trail running between northern Mexico and the Rio Grande Valley, implying that Kuykendall Ruins is situated along a possible Coronado route.

The team's exploration efforts produced four metal artifacts that are almost certainly post-Coronado in age. My first narrative reported the discovery of a Spanish coin from 1774 (no. 43 on map 2; fig. 29).<sup>47</sup> The following season, the search turned up a copper button (no. 44 on map 2; fig. 30). The examination of a photograph led John Powell, an expert in military buttons and buckles, to conclude that the artifact is "a Spanish military button of the ca. 1710–1750 period," "a [small] button for the knee breeches," and a button "very typical . . . of the first half of the 18th century." The primary material is "a copper alloy" known "commonly" as "red brass," which is

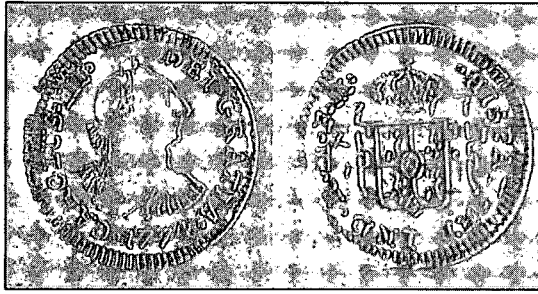


FIG. 29. EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SPANISH SILVER COIN FOUND AT KUYKENDALL RUINS  
(*Photograph courtesy author*)

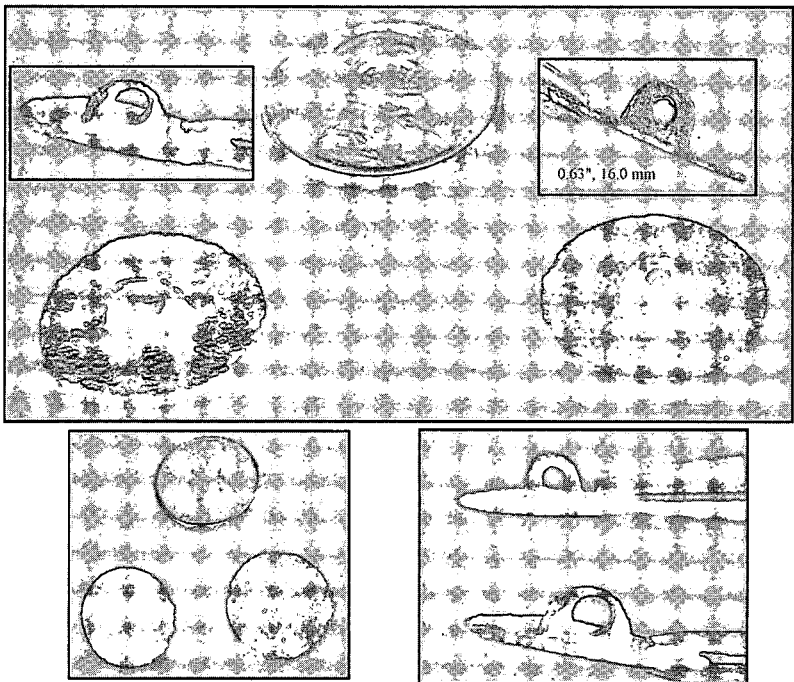


FIG. 30. EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SPANISH COPPER BUTTONS FOUND AT KUYKENDALL RUINS AND THE JIMMY OWENS SITE

*Top*, profile and bottom view of uncleaned copper button from Jimmy Owens (*left*), and profile and bottom view of cleaned copper button from Kuykendall (*right*); *bottom left*, cleaned Kuykendall copper button (*left*) and uncleaned Jimmy Owens copper button (*right*); *bottom right*, direct comparison of profiles of Kuykendall button (*above*) with the Jimmy Owens button (*below*).

(*Jimmy Owens site artifact courtesy Floyd County Historical Museum, Floydada, Tex.; photograph courtesy author*)

“mostly copper with some tin and/or zinc and antimony.”<sup>48</sup> The Jimmy Owens collection at the Floyd County Historical Museum contains a button almost identical to the one found at Kuykendall Ruins.

Near the end of the third field season, the team found a cast-iron oval buckle (no. 41 on map 2; fig. 31) and an associated wrought-iron chain (no. 42; fig. 31) along the north edge of Ruins Plain. Only two steps separated the chain and buckle. Ten individual links of chain were ultimately discovered. The longest piece of chain comprised six links. Nine of the ten links were wrought as figure eights. Powell suggests that the size of the oval buckle and its cast-iron crafting indicate that it belonged to a saddlery strap used during the 1780–1820 period.<sup>49</sup> The shape of the links and their proximity to the saddlery buckle leads us to conclude that the chain was likely part of a rein chain from the same period.

We found more than a dozen objects that date from 1888 to 1924 and that almost certainly represent the homesteaders who inhabited the site. There are remains of three homesteader houses in or near the areas we metal detected. We purposely avoided disturbing these locations; the homesteader objects we found were not associated with the houses.

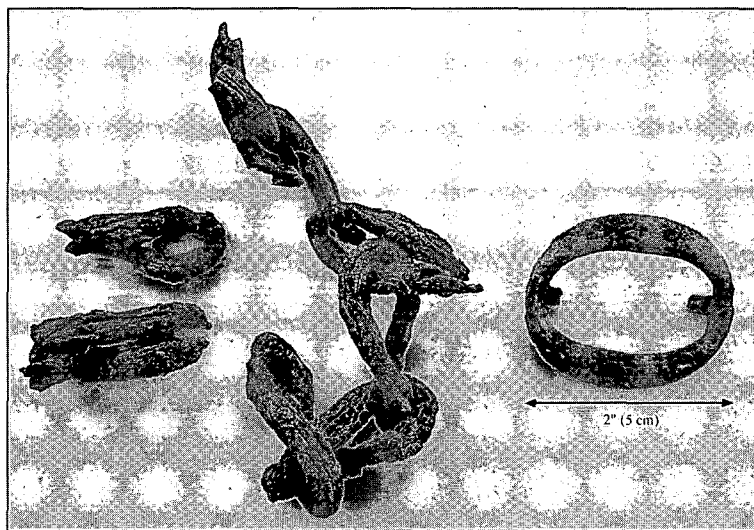


FIG. 31. FIGURE EIGHT CHAIN AND OVAL BUCKLE FOUND ON RUINS PLAIN AT KUYKENDALL RUINS

The chain and buckle were most likely dropped at some time between 1780 and 1820.

(*Photograph courtesy author*)



## Post-Coronado Presence in the Region

For the four hundred years after Coronado left Chichilticale in 1542, the Sulphur Springs Valley remained a remote region seldom visited by outsiders.<sup>50</sup> In 1913 geologists Oscar Edward Meinzer, F. C. Kelton, and Robert Humphrey Forbes declared that until the mid-1870s, Sulphur Springs Valley “was occupied almost exclusively by the [warlike] Chiricahua Indians” and “was avoided by the Spanish explorers and missionaries and later by Mexican and American prospectors and settlers.”<sup>51</sup> The map created by Jesuit priest Juan Bautista Nentvig in 1762 supports the claim of Meinzer, Kelton, and Forbes since it shows the Sulphur Springs Valley region obviously empty except for the Chiricahua [Chiguicagui] Mountains.<sup>52</sup> According to anthropologist Edward H. Spicer, six or more tribes of Indians occupied this region. The tribes included the Sumas and Jocomes, the latter “possibly a band of what later came to be called Arivaipa or Chiricahua Apaches.” Still, the country north of the Opatas’ agricultural settlements in northeastern Sonora was “a no man’s land” at least for Euroamericans between 1650 and 1870.<sup>53</sup>

A historical summary of non-Native activity in the Sulphur Springs Valley prior to the early 1870s is warranted for the purpose of demonstrating the overwhelming lack of Spanish, Mexican, or American settlement or presence following the Coronado Expedition. In the early 1680s, trouble increased between the Sumas and the Spaniards. During the spring and summer of 1684, the Suma Revolt at Janos and Casas Grandes spread to Indians to the east and to the south but did not expand to the Sulphur Springs Valley west of the Janos mission, destroyed during the revolt. Subsequently, the Spanish established a presidio at Janos in 1686 and another one at Fronteras in 1692. In 1695 the murder of the Jesuit priest Francisco Xavier Saeta by rebellious Pimas at the new mission in Caborca and the Spaniards’ retaliatory killing of forty-nine Natives attending a peace talk triggered a revolt by the Pimas. In response the Spanish governor of Nueva Vizcaya ordered a full-scale military campaign into the region.<sup>54</sup> The four-month operation was recorded by one of the commanding officers, Juan Fernández de la Fuente of Janos Presidio, who described the Spanish penetration of the Sulphur Springs Valley during mid-September 1695.

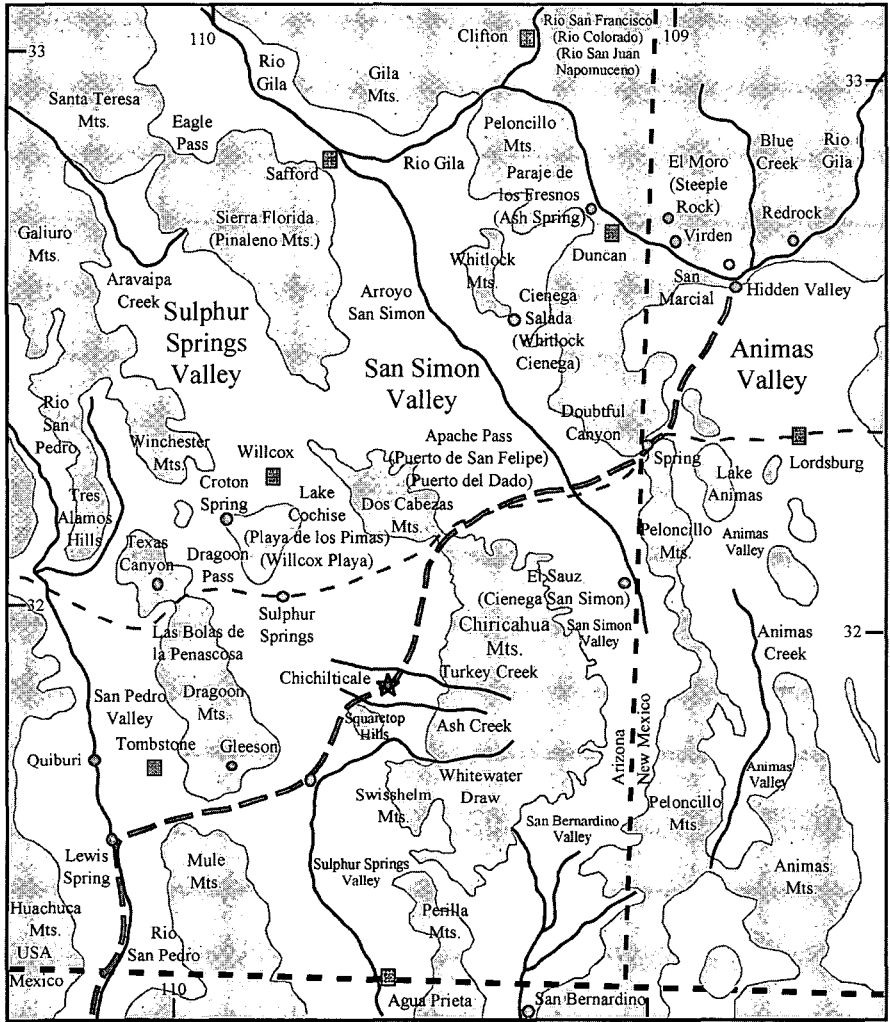
My translations of the record for Fernández’s whereabouts in September led me to conclude that from Quíburi the Spanish *presidiales* and their Indian allies most likely crossed the Dragoon Mountains at their south end

(alternative routes include Middlemarch Pass and South Pass). Marching almost due east, they passed south of Squaretop Hills and just north of the Swisshelm Mountains to reach a camp “in this arroyo that leaves the Chiricahua sierra” on Thursday, 15 September 1695.<sup>55</sup> On 19 September, Fernández relocated his camp to “a large waterhole three leagues to the north.”<sup>56</sup> The troops scouted from this second encampment until 24 September, when Fernández’s expedition broke camp, and—in Fernández’s words—traveled “more than six leagues to the north over flat land” along the western slope of the Chiricahua Mountains, marched east through “el Puerto de San Felipe” (present-day Apache Pass), and made camp at the mouth of Siphon Canyon (map 3).<sup>57</sup>

Assuming this route is correct, I can place the locations of the two Fernández camps (15–18 and 19–24 September) on the western side of the Chiricahua Mountains south of Apache Pass. His camp of 19–24 September was probably on modern-day Ash Creek or extinct Ruins Arroyo at a location about eight miles (13 km) east of Kuykendall Ruins. Three leagues farther south, his camp of 15–18 September stood on Whitewater Draw at Rucker Canyon. If my interpretation is correct, the Kuykendall Ruins site was not an encampment for the Spanish military campaign of 1695 in the Sulphur Springs Valley. Moreover, Fernández reports that excursions by his troops from those September camps advanced to the north, not the west, suggesting that Spanish horsemen paid no visits to Kuykendall Ruins. The Spanish artifacts the team found at Kuykendall Ruins are not likely the remains of Fernández’s expedition in 1695.

In December 1696, Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino first visited Christianized Indians in the Quíburi region along the Río San Pedro near modern-day Fairbank, Arizona. A year later he described the country along the Río San Pedro as “pleasant and fertile . . . though much harassed by the Jacomes and Apaches in the east.” By 1705 the Spaniards began referring to the raiding Indians as Apaches. They controlled the territory from the Opata villages in Sonora to the pueblo of Zuni in New Mexico. These Native groups either completely blocked or radically slowed all Euroamerican settlement in their homeland until the early 1870s.<sup>58</sup>

By 1710 fighting between the Apaches and the Spaniards was so intense that the northern limit of Spanish settlement stood at Janos and Fronteras south of the modern border between Mexico and the United States. According to Spicer, the Spaniards withdrew from the sprinkle of “ranches and mining settlements . . . north of this line.” (It is unlikely that the



Towns  
 Place Names  
 Chichilticale  
 Coronado Trail  
 Butterfield Trail  
 0 45  
 Scale in Miles  
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Nugent Brasher  
Autumn 2008

MAP 3. TOPOGRAPHY AND PLACE NAMES IN SOUTHWESTERN NEW MEXICO AND SOUTHEASTERN ARIZONA  
(Map by and courtesy author)

Kuykendall Ruins site supported one of these early ranches.) These abandonments helped create the “Apache Corridor,” a “strip of territory nearly 250 miles wide, roughly from Casas Grandes to Zuni,” without any Spanish dominion. Travel across the corridor, even “with full military escort,” was extremely dangerous. Jay J. Wagoner suggests, “After Kino’s death in 1711 there is no record of a Spaniard having entered Arizona for twenty years.”<sup>59</sup>

Spanish efforts to gain control of the 250-mile gap were unsuccessful during the first seventy-five years of the eighteenth century. In January 1721, Lt. Juan Bautista de Anza of Sonora accompanied a group of citizen militia, Opata Indians, and three or four Spanish soldiers from Bacoachi against the Apaches in the Chiricahuas. This Spanish campaign and others that followed were generally inconclusive, and the Apaches reacted by increasing their raids against Spanish haciendas as far south as central Sonora. To impose some military check, the Spaniards established a presidio at Terrenate on the headwaters of the Río San Pedro in 1741 and another at Tubac on the Río Santa Cruz in 1752. These isolated military outposts still failed to decrease Apache depredations.<sup>60</sup>

Although I have found no written evidence of a Spanish presence at Kuykendall Ruins between 1542 and 1750, the team did find a copper military button dated to the period from 1710 to 1750. If that button arrived at the site with a Spaniard rather than a Native American, then at least one Spanish excursion visited the location during that time. Given the historical record, it seems that the button most likely appeared at Kuykendall Ruins between 1710 and 1724, during which the Spanish *compañías volantes* (flying companies) remained active north of the modern international border. Afterward, Spanish policy sharply reduced their offensive operations in *Apacheria*, the Apache homeland. By the early 1760s the Apaches had driven out the last Sobaipuris living along the Río San Pedro. On the northern frontier, the Spaniards mounted some successful offensive operations but generally lived behind “great walled forts,” around which the Apaches moved at will.<sup>61</sup>

Attacks and counterattacks were the norm until 1786 when the Spaniards initiated a policy of negotiating peace treaties with individual bands of Indians. A part of the ongoing Bourbon Reforms launched in the 1860s by King Carlos III to restructure and re-energize the Spanish Empire, this peace policy also settled willing Apaches at *establecimientos de paz* (peace establishments), where the Spaniards supplied them and protected them from other Native enemies, especially Comanches from Texas. The policy successfully kept the peace with the Apaches well into the 1810s, when the

unrest of the Mexican independence movement began to disrupt the program's funding and logistics.<sup>62</sup>

The relative peace between Spaniards and Apaches helped to open communications between Sonora and New Mexico. According to historian Alberto Suarez, Spanish merchant Esteban Gach, headquartered in Arizpe, "traded regularly with New Mexico." Anthropologist Jack S. Williams notes that late-eighteenth-century artifacts from Zuni were found at Tubac. In the quarter century following 1786, Spaniards opened mines and ranches in areas of Sonora and southern Arizona from which the Apaches had driven them.<sup>63</sup>

No record, however, indicates that the Spanish return brought settlers to Sulphur Springs Valley or, more importantly, to Kuykendall Ruins. The immediate area of Kuykendall lacked precious minerals, and ranching conditions there were less favorable than in other parts of the Sulphur Springs Valley. Moreover, these ruins rested at the foot of the Chiricahua Mountains at Apache Pass, the stronghold of the Chiricahua Apaches, who were unlikely to allow settlers or military encampments so near their homeland.

The Echeagaray expedition of 1788 offers evidence that the Chiricahua Mountain region, including Sulphur Springs Valley, remained dangerous and unsettled even after 1786. Don Manuel de Echeagaray, presidio captain at Santa Cruz, sought to "establish a direct trade route between the province of Sonora and Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico." This road, a dangerous proposition, would traverse the heartland of Apacheria. In late September 1788, Spanish units from presidios at Bacoachi, Bavispe, Buenavista, Janos, San Buenaventura, Altar, and Pitic rendezvoused "at some point along the Gila River."<sup>64</sup>

On 1 October 1788, Echeagaray reported from San Marcial, a location shown on Nentvig's map of 1762.<sup>65</sup> Echeagaray's column probably camped in modern Hidden Valley (map 3). To reach the San Marcial location, Echeagaray's various companies must have passed one or both sides of the Chiricahua Mountains. Thus, some Spaniards likely visited the Sulphur Springs Valley in 1788.

Echeagaray may not have been the first Spaniard to visit Hidden Valley. I believe that Coronado encamped at this spot, the famous Río San Juan campsite, on 24 June 1540.<sup>66</sup> Coronado reached Hidden Valley from Chichilticale (Kuykendall Ruins) by way of Doubtful Canyon, where he spent the night of 23 June 1540. During my brief exploration of a private ranch in Doubtful Canyon, I discovered a lead ball possibly belonging to

the Coronado Expedition. I have temporarily suspended exploration at Doubtful Canyon because of our activities at Kuykendall Ruins.

Of five excursions in the Chiricahua Mountain country reported by Echeagaray, all but one describe movement through the Animas, San Simón, and San Bernardino valleys, not Sulphur Springs Valley. By 19 November 1788, Echeagaray was in San Bernardino on his return trip, indicating that the preferred route from the stretch of the Río Gila visited by the Spaniards was through the Animas, San Simón, and San Bernardino valleys. The single exception to this preferred route was a reconnaissance on 13 November by Lt. Manuel de Albizu “down the Gila,” which may have taken Spaniards into the Sulphur Springs Valley on their return to Sonora.<sup>67</sup> There is no direct evidence that the soldiers ever traversed Apache Pass or visited Kuykendall Ruins. In the end, Echeagaray failed to reach Zuni, but Spanish authorities in Mexico City and Arizpe still planned to pioneer “the western route to Santa Fé.” Finally, in 1795, an expedition succeeded under the leadership of José de Zúñiga, captain of the Tucson Presidio.<sup>68</sup>

Zúñiga departed Tucson on 9 April 1795 with his company and rendezvoused with the “parties of his expedition” at the abandoned presidio of Santa Cruz on 10 April. His northeasterly route took the 151-man company to las Bolas de la Peñascosa (Texas Canyon, Arizona), Playa de los Pimas (Willcox Playa, Arizona—probably Croton Spring), and to Santa Teresa Springs on the north end of the Dos Cabezas Mountains. After searching la Florida (Pinalaño Mountains), Zúñiga’s party marched across the San Simón Valley to Ciénaga Salada (Whitlock Cienega) and on 16 April, he headed north and successfully reached Zuni on 1 May 1795. Zúñiga did not visit Kuykendall Ruins.<sup>69</sup>

Zúñiga’s party followed a similar route as they returned to Tucson, but some variations are notable. Zúñiga was back at Whitlock Cienega on 23 May 1795. The following morning, he dispatched two parties—one to la Sierra de las Cabezas y Chiricagui and the other to San Marcial, San Simón, and Los Almireses—to search for three missing mules. No tracks were found in the Cabezas and Chiricahuas. The other patrol located tracks and followed them “as far as Puerto del Dado [Apache Pass], concluding that [the mules] went to Fronteras” by a route one of the animals had walked from the Río Gila to Fronteras during a previous campaign. Two days later, on 26 May, both patrols reunited with Zúñiga at the south end of the Pinalaño Mountains. On 27 May, the expedition split into two groups, one traveling to the Río San Pedro, the other to Tres Alamos.<sup>70</sup>

No direct evidence indicates that members of the returning Zúñiga expedition visited the Kuykendall Ruins. The search party that followed the mule tracks to Apache Pass operated in the San Simón Valley. If the unit that went into the Dos Cabezas and Chiricahua mountains traveled to Kuykendall Ruins, Zúñiga did not report this fact. That the mules possibly knew the way through Apache Pass to Fronteras is compelling evidence that late-eighteenth-century Spaniards from Fronteras traveled through Apache Pass. With Kuykendall Ruins lying on a direct line connecting Fronteras and Apache Pass, Spaniards likely visited the ruins on occasion. A map prepared under the direction of 1st Lt. Frederick Appleton Smith of the U.S. Army in 1879 shows the Fronteras Road passing three miles east of Kuykendall Ruins.<sup>71</sup>

Although Zúñiga did not travel through Kuykendall Ruins, I have interpreted his entire route and I believe that a substantial portion of his trail to Zuni followed Coronado's trail to that same pueblo. During the summer of 2007, I explored a private ranch using a Blennert Sled to search for metal artifacts of both Zúñiga's and Coronado's expeditions and discovered a silver button and an iron harness or saddlery strap buckle (fig. 32). Powell dated these artifacts, respectively, from 1785 to 1800 and from 1780 to 1820.<sup>72</sup> Zúñiga's exploration falls within these dates, and the site of my exploration is a place accurately described by Zúñiga on 28 April 1795 and 12 May 1795.<sup>73</sup> I believe that this same spot served as the camp of the advance party of the Coronado Expedition on 2 July 1540, of his following army on 4 October 1540, and of his retreating army on 8 April 1542.<sup>74</sup> My team's exploration of

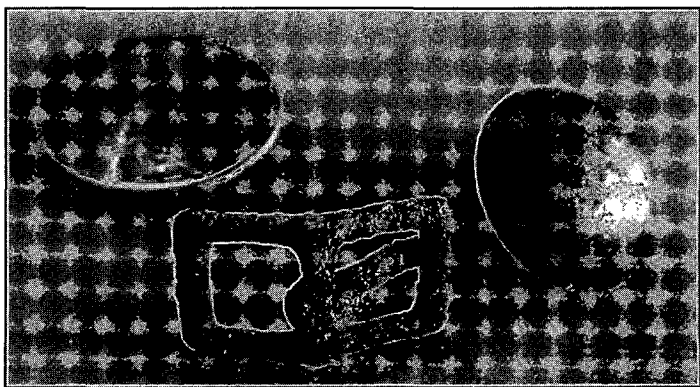


FIG. 32. SADDLERY STRAP BUCKLE (1780–1820) AND INTENDENCIA-STYLE BUTTON (1785–1800)

(*Photograph courtesy author*)

this place is ongoing; so I will not reveal its location at this time. Zúñiga, hoping to find the Camino del Nuevo México, may well have located the very trail that Coronado followed to Zuni. The later Spaniard's exploration indicates that the trail was old and well traveled.

Despite Zúñiga's success, Apache hostilities allowed only the infrequent use of this trail by Spaniards. During the Mexican Independence Movement in the 1810s, Apache raiding and warfare escalated. According to Spicer, five thousand Mexicans died in wars with the Indians on the northern frontier and another four thousand fled the region between 1820 and 1835. Beginning in 1820, the Spanish and later the Mexican governments bestowed land grants in present-day southeastern Arizona, but no Spaniards or Mexicans occupied the Sulphur Springs Valley. Apache hostilities toward these intrusions in the San Bernardino Valley and on the Río San Pedro south of old Quíburí were so intense that the Mexicans had abandoned their ranching operations by 1840.<sup>75</sup>

No evidence of any kind suggests the presence of a Spanish or Mexican land grantee at or near Kuykendall Ruins. The 1774 Spanish coin, the 1780–1820 oval buckle, and the associated rein chain we found were likely dropped at the ruins, if by mobile Spaniards, during the general lull in hostilities between 1786 and 1811. Of course the objects could also have arrived at the site in the possession of Native Americans who had received them through trade or hostilities.

In late summer and early fall 1834, the Sonoran legislature sent a military expedition against the Apaches under the command of Gov. Manuel Escalante y Arvizu. Gathering about 550 men on Babocómari Creek east of the Río San Pedro, Escalante y Arvizu deployed 442 men to harass the Apaches, while he relocated his headquarters, supplies, and horses “to Willcox Playa and from there to San Simón.” A short while later, another detachment left from Babocómari Creek and marched toward the Mogollon Mountains in New Mexico, generally following a “route” that is now the “highway between Willcox [Arizona] and Lordsburg, New Mexico.”<sup>76</sup> This second detachment went into Apache Pass and then proceeded north to the Mogollons, where it surprised an Apache party returning from a raid in Chihuahua and captured the Apache leader Tutijé.<sup>77</sup> However, the places visited by this Spanish unit lay north of Kuykendall Ruins. Escalante y Arvizu's detachment of 442 men possibly visited Kuykendall Ruins, but the capture of the water flow by Turkey Creek sometime prior to 1834 had likely left Ruins Arroyo dry and unattractive as a campsite.



The Escalante y Arvizu campaign of 1834 made almost no impression on the Apaches of the Chiricahua region. They simply intensified their raids against Mexican settlements. Following the 1834 campaign, the Mexican presence essentially disappeared from the Sulphur Springs Valley until Col. José María Elías Gonzáles led a final and failed assault party into the region in September and October 1849. In the early 1820s, American trappers appeared in the northern Sulphur Springs Valley, operating there until 1837. The David E. Jackson party crossed the central valleys between Doubtful Canyon and the Río San Pedro in 1831, but this route was not used again for eighteen years. Lt. Col. Philip St. George Cooke forged Cooke's Road when he passed through the southern valleys between San Bernardino and the Río San Pedro in 1846. His route was modified by the Graham party in 1848, resulting in the Gila Trail, which served as the main route across the region during the gold rush. In late 1849, the Frémont Association moved the route north to go through Apache Pass to reach the Río San Pedro. None of these routes passed through Kuykendall Ruins.<sup>78</sup>

In an effort to delineate the boundary between Mexico and the United States after the U.S.-Mexico War, U.S. Land Commissioner John Russell Bartlett mapped the Chiricahua region in 1851. Then, in January 1854, Lt. John G. Parke surveyed the region in preparation for a railroad route. Bartlett and Parke did not encounter any permanent settlements. Only after 1878 did settlers arrive in the Kuykendall Ruins area. Finally, the Kuykendall site was patented by William R. Turvey in 1913.<sup>79</sup>

### Evaluation of Artifacts and Camp Model

Among the collection of metal artifacts excavated at Kuykendall are objects that the team cannot date by form or function, or by specific assignment to a delimited temporal window of manufacture or usage. These metal artifacts are temporally generic because their form was reproduced and they were utilized across a wide chronological period. In dating generic pieces, the customary course is to examine them in context, especially the stratigraphic provenance in which the piece was discovered. At Kuykendall Ruins, however, the nature of the geology—either a peneplain covered by irregularly deposited eolian or sheet flood sediment, or a dynamic stream deposit—renders the stratigraphic provenance indefinable. Consequently, defining or identifying a sixteenth-century stratigraphic unit and assigning individual artifacts to it was impossible at Kuykendall Ruins.

Context also entails artifact association. Unfortunately, except at a few places, the pieces were scattered individually over an extensive area, and artifact association was not possible. The metal artifacts collected at Kuykendall, however, worked in the team's favor. Those fragments lend themselves to either a military or domestic classification. Such typing, when coupled with knowledge of post-Coronado presence in the region, serves to suggest the relative likelihood of the artifact originating with the sixteenth-century Coronado Expedition.

The concise history of the region in this article suggests that any non-Native American presence at Kuykendall Ruins after Coronado in 1542 and prior to the late 1800s was limited to brief visits by Spanish, Mexican, or U.S. soldiers. The military button found at Kuykendall indicates that Spanish soldiers were at the ruins as early as 1710, while the oval buckle uncovered there implies that Spanish soldiers passed over the site as late as 1820. It is also possible that Native Americans brought these items to Kuykendall; Kino mentions transport of Spanish military objects—muskets, swords, armor, shields, machetes and daggers, saddles and horses, bridles and reins—to the country of the Chiricahua Apaches.<sup>80</sup> The wide temporal range of military presence at Kuykendall Ruins prevents the dating of generic military artifacts—such as lead balls—found there by their form and function alone. On the other hand, the team can date with some precision military artifacts, such as crossbow boltheads, that are temporally restricted.

Fortunately, such complications do not extend to generic Hispanic domestic artifacts found at Kuykendall Ruins. The written historical record offers no evidence of Hispanic ranchers or settlers at the site, and that record suggests that the Apache military threat throughout most of the colonial period made the greater Sulphur Springs region uninhabitable to the Spaniards. Members of the Coronado Expedition were the first Euroamerican visitors who carried generic domestic iron objects to Kuykendall Ruins. The next human cohort bearing generic domestic iron tools were the late-nineteenth-century Anglo homesteaders. Given the absence of any other long-term domestic presence at Kuykendall Ruins between the evacuation of the Coronado Expedition and the arrival of the Anglo homesteaders, the exploration team can date relatively the Hispanic generic domestic artifacts as likely originating with the sixteenth-century Coronado Expedition.

Still more compelling are the temporal associations of Kuykendall Ruins pieces with ones, similar in form and function, found at other sixteenth-century Spanish sites. The eye spike discovered at Kuykendall Ruins is one

such generic piece. It coincides with an almost identical eye spike recovered at sixteenth-century Santa Elena. Of the eye spike and chain link found at the Eye Spike Site, blacksmith Turley states: "These are not soldierly items, more likely domestic. We can't exclude them from the 16th century."<sup>81</sup> The Coronado Expedition included both military *conquistadores* and non-military domestic personnel, the latter composing the greater number of Euroamericans. A domestic person on the Coronado Expedition more likely dropped the Kuykendall eye spike than did an eighteenth-century Spanish soldier. The team has applied this same reasoning to all the generic Hispanic domestic artifacts we found at Kuykendall Ruins and believes that this association strengthens the argument that such pieces were left there by the Coronado Expedition.

The artifacts that best support the argument for Coronado's presence at Kuykendall Ruins are four temporally restricted pieces: the three pieces of iron crossbow boltheads and the copper cuarto. Despite their tight temporal windows, those objects also have "legs"; they could have been brought to Kuykendall Ruins by non-Coronado travelers. However, given the frequency and spatial array of the generic artifacts the team discovered at Kuykendall, the chance that the boltheads and the cuarto "walked" into the ruins seems unlikely. The remainders of the fifty-one pieces the team suspects to have belonged to the expedition provide compelling evidence of Coronado's presence, but their dates remain unfixed. Curator La Rocca reported that the regatón fits into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, opening the possibility that the piece might derive from a Spanish visit to the Sulphur Springs Valley in the late 1600s. Turley likewise declares that the eye spike cannot be excluded from the sixteenth century, and he warns that such objects are likely used in Latin America to this day.<sup>82</sup> These two examples alone provide reasons for a sense of caution when the team advocates dates for the generic artifacts found at Kuykendall Ruins.

The appreciation of what is missing from the Kuykendall artifact collection reinforces our interpretive caution. Foremost among these absent artifacts are copper crossbow boltheads, caret-head horseshoe nails, and glass beads. At least one of these three types of artifacts has been found at the Jimmy Owens site, at the LA 54147 site, and at Hawikku.

Our search for residuals of the Coronado Expedition at Kuykendall Ruins demonstrates that evidence of the captain general's presence there in 1540 and 1542 is thin at best. Only a thoroughly exhaustive search of a large area should be considered adequate for any prospective short-duration

Coronado campsite. Our 292-acre search at Kuykendall Ruins is unique among those explorations reported at accepted Coronado sites. The LA 54147 site measured 200 meters by 190 meters. Vierra reported: "A surface reconnaissance of the site area was performed with a metal detector to find any early historic metal artifacts that might have been missed [by the excavations]. None was found."<sup>83</sup> This comment suggests that the archaeologists searched 9.4 acres (3.8 hectares) at LA 54147. At Hawikku, archaeologist Damp reported a total of 5.9 acres (2.4 hectares) included in "study units." He also notes thirteen additional transect lines, which, I calculate, cover an additional 2.4 acres (0.99 hectares), for a total of 8.3 acres (3.4 hectares) surveyed at Hawikku.<sup>84</sup> These 8.3 acres were not grid surveyed but were randomly searched.<sup>85</sup> The size of the area surveyed at the Jimmy Owens site is unknown at the time of this writing in 2008. Archaeologist Donald J. Blakeslee and his associate Jay C. Blaine reported in 2003 that "the main concentration of Spanish metal artifacts covers an area of about 350 by 200 meters (17.3 acres, 7 hectares)." However, the authors also describe the site as "immense," so the dimensions may be far larger. In 1998 Blakeslee stated to the *Hesperian-Beacon* newspaper of Floyd County, Texas, "We are digging at a site that is 230 meters wide and 450 meters long [25.6 acres, 10.35 hectares]."<sup>86</sup>

In comparison to these other surveys, the exploration at Kuykendall Ruins is quite expansive in geographic scale. Moreover, the team utilized a state-of-the-art metal detector in a closely spaced grid pattern. Despite the thorough search at Kuykendall, the team has not yet found other diagnostic artifacts such as copper crossbow boltheads and caret-head horseshoe nails. The absence of anticipated artifacts at other Coronado sites is not without precedent. The Jimmy Owens site offers an example. While camped there in the summer of 1541, the Coronado Expedition was struck by a *torbellino* (twisting storm) that produced large hail. Castañeda reported, "The [hail] stones tore open many tents and dented many helmets and hurt many horses and broke all the crockery and the gourd [containers] of the camp."<sup>87</sup> Based on the details of this chronicle, one would reasonably expect to find a large amount of broken pottery at the campsite, especially since Castañeda reported that all the crockery was broken. Blakeslee and Blaine, however, state, "To date [2003], our excavations have uncovered only two concentrations of broken pottery of types that could have been in use in 1541, and each concentration contains shards from only a single vessel."<sup>88</sup> In 2008 Richard Flint informed me that "Dr. Blakeslee's crews have found occasional utility ware sherds in close association with European objects, but we have no detailed

information about them.”<sup>89</sup> These reports indicate that expectations of discovering an abundance of broken pottery at the Jimmy Owens site have not materialized, and that, in fact, the opposite has occurred.

The absence of European and central-Mexican pottery is the rule, not the exception, at all Coronado Expedition sites. Of LA 54147, Vierra writes: “All of the ceramics recovered from the site are native Puebloan earthen wares. There is no evidence of European influence in the ceramic industry.” Damp reports that one small shard of European pottery was found at Hawikku but that its age and type had not been determined. As for Kuykendall Ruins, the team selected unusual shards from the surface, as well as some from the private collection of the landowner, and submitted more than one hundred of these to archaeologist Regge N. Wiseman for examination. He recognized neither central Mexican pottery nor European ceramics in the Kuykendall selection.<sup>90</sup> This absence of European and central Mexican shards at Kuykendall Ruins corresponds to experiences at all other Coronado sites. These examples suggest that searchers expecting to find European or central Mexican potsherds at any potential Coronado site should not allow the lack of such evidence to condemn that prospect as a possible expedition camp.

Blakeslee approached the Jimmy Owens site with specific expectations when he began his exploration in 1995. Among the artifacts most likely left by the expedition, he believed, would be the residuals of the Mexican Indian contingent of the party. In 2003 he wrote: “To date, we have collected enough diagnostic material culture to determine to our satisfaction that this is a site of the Coronado Expedition . . . [but we have] been unable to identify the remains left by the Mexican Indians who made up much of Coronado’s armed force. We had hoped to find pieces of obsidian from central Mexico, and perhaps some pottery from their homeland as well.”<sup>91</sup> The Kuykendall team has encountered the same conundrum. Its members are convinced that Kuykendall Ruins are the fabled Chichilticale, but they wonder why they have not found, specifically, any caret-head horseshoe nails. The strong presence of the boltheads and the copper cuarto, plus the circumstantial evidence offered by the generic metal artifacts, augmented by nonmetal and historical evidence, overrides any lack of artifacts that the team expected to find.

Why has the team failed to discover the expected residuals at Kuykendall Ruins? One explanation parallels the interpretation offered by Blakeslee and Blaine at the Jimmy Owens site when they pondered why they had not found Mexican Indian artifacts. They concluded that they had “not found

the Mexican Indian portion of the camp.” Ergo, when the Kuykendall team finds all the Chichilticale camp, it will likely discover the site where the farriers dropped their caret-head nails. Our search has indicated a Chichilticale camp size of at least 221 acres (89 hectares). The Jimmy Owens camp ought to be somewhat similar in size and, at the very least, larger than the approximate 25 acres (10 hectares) reported by Blakeslee and Blaine.<sup>92</sup> Blakeslee and his searchers will likely find the missing pottery once they expand their search area. Moreover, the Kuykendall team believes that the absence of specific categories of artifacts is not confirmation of their total absence from the site. Given all the unexpected evidence the team has found, its members have concluded that, rather than not having found the camp at all, their explorations have not yet determined the full extent of the Chichilticale camp.

Exploration models evolve over time. The first discovery of a site type sets the standard, rightly or wrongly, for what searchers expect to find at similar sites. Archaeologist Charles R. Ewen chronicled the exploration of the Governor Martin site of the de Soto camp in Florida during 1539–1540. His experiences and discoveries apply to exploration at both the Jimmy Owens site and Kuykendall Ruins. Ewen presents the opening question: “What data should be found at the archaeological site if your hypothesis is true?” Answering this question about the Governor Martin prospect, Ewen writes: “The site would have to conform to, or at least not contradict, the information contained within the narratives associated with the de Soto expedition. The geographical description of the area, taking into account modern alterations, should generally describe the area around the Governor Martin site. The location should lie within the parameters set out in the narratives. . . . The artifact assemblage should contain European artifacts, including types not normally associated with trade objects, in quantities that suggest onsite use.” Both the Jimmy Owens site and Kuykendall Ruins satisfy their criteria for a site prospect. But Ewen prudently cautions: “Meeting the above criteria would not prove that the Governor Martin site was Anhaica [de Soto’s camp of 1539–1540]. However, it would make Governor Martin the leading contender in the absence of another site meeting the same criteria. Failing to disprove the hypothesis would allow its continued use to guide future research in the area.”<sup>93</sup> Ewen’s suggestion applies equally to the Jimmy Owens site and to Kuykendall Ruins.

The Kuykendall Ruins site represents the best exploration model of a Coronado trail camp. The Jimmy Owens site is a special case because it was

greatly impacted by the torbellino. Hawikku and Kyakima were battle and occupation sites. LA 54147 was an occupation site. Only Kuykendall was a standard overnight campsite. On-trail Coronado sites explored in the future should be compared to Kuykendall Ruins with respect to the camp size; spatial array of artifacts; presence of water, fuel, and comfort; and the historical setting as described in the written record. Given the evidence to date and the satisfaction of the Ewen criteria, historians and archaeologists should give due consideration to Kuykendall Ruins as being the fabled Chichilticale until someone convincingly disproves the hypothesis.

### Future Work

Blakeslee writes, "With every site, there comes the question of how much further work is justified."<sup>94</sup> The Kuykendall Ruins site warrants further exploration. The current exploration hypothesis predicts that the farrier site will be found downstream along Ruins Arroyo at a place where water, wood, and shade were available and where horses standing in the water would not have contaminated drinking water. This prediction calls for the extension of metal-detector surveys to the west along Ruins Arroyo. Optically Stimulated Luminescence (OSL) dating should be conducted on a significant number of the thermal features suspected to be Coronado campfires. The number of dates obtained must be sufficient to provide a statistically relevant conclusion. In addition lead isotope ratios should be obtained for the four lead balls found at the ruins. Those results should be compared to known ratios taken from lead balls found at the Hawikku, Kyakima, and Jimmy Owens sites. The regatón found on Ruins Plain might contain nonmineralized wood in the ferrule. If so a nondestructive means for obtaining a wood sample should be designed to determine a carbon-fourteen date. The team hopes to conduct these laboratory tests in the future; it will publish the results at a later time. Finally, detailed surface reconnaissance to enlarge the prospective site of Coronado's camp should be extended in both directions along Ruins and Clearings arroyos.

### The Chichilticale Campsite

The exploration of Kuykendall Ruins provides persuasive evidence that it is the site of the fabled Red House called Chichilticale by the Spaniards. The location sits four days from the head of the Arroyo Nexpa (Río San Pedro),

two days from where the expedition turned to the right (Lewis Spring), and one day from the deep, high-banked arroyo (Siphon Canyon in Apache Pass), thus fitting neatly into the route described by Jaramillo. Again fulfilling the route descriptions by Jaramillo and Castañeda, the ruins lie at the foot of the Chiricahua Mountains to the southwest of where that north-trending range turns sharply at Apache Pass to become the northwest-trending Dos Cabezas Mountains. The ruins are of red adobe, as Castañeda noted in his account.<sup>95</sup>

The metal artifacts discovered at Kuykendall include pieces that are almost certainly of sixteenth-century vintage and are of a form and function known to have been carried by the expedition. The types of artifacts—nails, spikes, clothing fasteners, needles, awls, chains, tools—represent items that mobile people intending to establish a permanent presence would have brought along for that purpose, and most of Coronado's expeditionaries intended to remain in Tierra Nueva.<sup>96</sup> Shaped like a polygon, the Coronado site explored by the team is 221 acres (89 hectares), and it measures 1.1 miles (1.8 kilometers) in length and 0.6 miles (987 meters) in width. The camp's shape was dictated by Ruins Arroyo, which offered water, shade, and fuel, and by Ruins Plain, which offered grass-free, level terrain for tent sites. The quantity and concentration of thermal features, possibly arranged by members of the expedition, provides evidence of cooking, an essential camp activity. The size and location of the camp satisfies such requirements for the approximately two thousand humans and five thousand livestock composing the Coronado Expedition, while minimizing the likelihood that the artifacts the team found were dropped by a small party associated with the larger expedition.<sup>97</sup> All this evidence supports the claim that Kuykendall Ruins are what Coronado and his men referred to as their Chichilticale in 1540 and 1542.

### Acknowledgments

The fieldwork associated with this exploration could never have been accomplished without the combined efforts of the team on the ground. Gordon Fraser served as *maestre de campo*, providing continual, tireless assistance as well as knowledge and expertise that only a native guide could contribute. John Blennert graciously furnished the state-of-the-art equipment and expert instruction that produced the rewarding results, and he found a number of the most important artifacts. Dan Kaspar traveled from Texas



numerous times to “give a week” searching the site, and this proven finder was singularly responsible for many of the major artifactual discoveries. Marc Kaspar and Loro Lorentzen unselfishly contributed time in the field and on the road. Without the unequivocal cooperation of the landowners—the Donka, Riggs, and Gill families—this exploration would have been impossible. The entire team extends its warmest gratitude for allowing us onto their land. The exploration program has continued since September 2004, and Carroll L. Riley, Brent Locke Riley, Richard Flint, and Shirley Cushing Flint advised the team throughout that entire four-year trek—many thanks to those four for their support and counsel. Durwood Ball and his most accommodating staff at the *New Mexico Historical Review* provided the opportunity to publish the Kuykendall findings and the team is truly indebted for the flexibility they afforded. Karl W. Laumbach provided guidance and gently counseled patience. Michael R. Waters, Director of the Center for the Study of the First Americans at Texas A&M University, generously offered his respected counsel.

Professional scientific contributions to the Kuykendall program include those by archaeologists Deni J. Seymour, David Killick, and Paul Fish; archaeological conservator Pearce Paul Creasman, curator Donald J. La Rocca, geologists Philip A. Pearthree, Ann Youberg, and Joseph P. Cook; metallurgist Abe Gundiler; numismatist Alan M. Stahl; and southwestern ceramic specialist Regge N. Wiseman. Contributors to the identification of artifacts include all the scholars recognized in note 11. To them I extend my deepest thanks. Among that group, Chester DePratter, Jim Legg, Jerry Lee, and John Powell deserve particular mention. Special recognition is due blacksmith Frank Turley in Santa Fe, who always delivered his honest appraisal of the identity of the pieces I showed him, and who constantly reminded me of the dangers of “reaching out.” Team members also thank Jonathan E. Damp for providing complete access to the Hawikku artifact collection at the Zuni Cultural Resource Enterprise, and to Floyd County Historical Museum founder and director Nancy Marble for allowing the examination of the valuable Coronado collection in Floydada, Texas. Dozens of scholars worldwide provided me their suggestions, and, although they are unnamed here, they are all in my memory. Bernard L. “Bunny” Fontana directed and guided my research into the history of Sulphur Springs Valley—thank you, Sir. The tall and comforting shadows of Jack and Vera Mills guided the team at Kuykendall Ruins, and I personally acknowledge these two cartographers as the ones who actually mapped what Coronado saw.

My father, whose name I carry, instilled in me curiosity, determination, and tenacity, qualities that proved mandatory for this exploration, and I am beholden to him for our success. Of course, this four-year adventure could have happened only with the unconditional support, gentle and thoughtful criticism, and enduring love of my wife Karen, to whom I gift this discovery.

## Notes

1. Nugent Brasher, "The Chichilticale Camp of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado: The Search for the Red House," *New Mexico Historical Review* 82 (fall 2007): 433–68.
2. *Ibid.*, 462.
3. Jack P. Mills and Vera M. Mills, *The Kuykendall Site: A Pre-historic Salado Village in Southeastern Arizona*, El Paso Archaeological Society Special Report, no. 6, ed. Vernon Ralph Brook (El Paso, Tex.: El Paso Archaeological Society, 1969), 41, 69, 107, 110.
4. Tom Kuykendall told me in November 2005 that "at the end of the excavation [1961], Jack and Vera covered everything up and smoothed it all out real nice. You couldn't even see that they'd ever been there. Years later some bulldozers came in and tore hell out of the place looking for pots." Tom Kuykendall is the son of Leslie and Kate Kuykendall, the landowners of Kuykendall Ruins when it was excavated by Jack and Vera Mills. Tom Kuykendall, phone conversation with author, November 2005.
5. FF:2:6 was reported by archaeologists Anne I. Woosley and associates, see Anne I. Woosley, Tim Price, and D. Carol Kriebel, *Archaeological Survey of the Sulphur Spring Valley, Southeast Arizona*, Publications, no. 12 (Dragoon, Ariz.: Amerind Foundation, 1987), 70.
6. Susan M. DuBois and Ann W. Smith, *The 1887 Earthquake in San Bernardino Valley, Sonora: Historic Accounts and Intensity Patterns in Arizona*, Special Paper, no. 3 (Tucson: State of Arizona, Bureau of Geology and Mineral Technology, University of Arizona, 1980), 80, 82.
7. Philip A. Pearthree, e-mail message to author, 6 June 2007.
8. The Australian manufacturer and the American dealer of Coil-Tek reported that we were the only explorers using such an innovation in the United States. Moreover, they knew of no one anywhere using the technology for an archaeological investigation. John Blennert, who donated the Coil-Tek, is an internationally recognized meteorite and gold prospector. Specimens he has discovered are on display at the Flandrau Science Center, University of Arizona Mineral Museum. The Catalina Sky Survey, University of Arizona Department of Planetary Sciences, Lunar and Planetary Laboratory, recognized John as co-discoverer of the Gold Basin Meteorite strewnfield by naming "Main Belt asteroid 97637 Blennert" in his honor.
9. Frank Turley, e-mail message to author, 12 December 2007.
10. I have listed the Southeasterners in the order we met them: Gifford J. Waters, Collection Manager, Historical Archaeology, Florida Museum of Natural History,

Gainesville; William R. Adams, Director, Government House Museum, St. Augustine; John T. Powell, Colonial Spanish Quarter, conservator and private collector, St. Augustine; Robert Spratley, private collector, St. Augustine; Stanley A. South, Research Archaeologist, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (SCIAA), Columbia; Chester DePratter, Head of Research Division, SCIAA, Columbia; James B. Legg, Collections Expert, SCIAA, Columbia; Bryan P. Howard, Curator, Parris Island Museum, Parris Island; David Dickel, Research and Conservation Laboratory Supervisor, Florida Department of State (DOS), Bureau of Archaeological Research (BAR), Tallahassee; James Levy, Historical Conservator, Research and Conservation Laboratory, DOS, BAR, Tallahassee; Marie Prentice, Conservation and Collections, Research and Conservation Laboratory, DOS, BAR, Tallahassee; Roger Smith, Archaeology Supervisor, Underwater Archaeology, DOS, BAR, Tallahassee; Louis D. Tesar, Archaeologist III, DOS, BAR, Tallahassee; Jerry W. Lee, Senior Archaeologist, Mission San Luis, DOS, Tallahassee; John R. Bratten, Nautical Archaeologist/Conservator, Archaeology Institute, University of West Florida, Pensacola; Judith A. Bense, Director, Division of Anthropology and Archaeology, University of West Florida, Pensacola; Janet Lloyd, Laboratory Director, Archaeology Institute, University of West Florida, Pensacola; Eugene Lyon, Flagler College Center for Historic Research, St. Augustine Foundation, St. Augustine; Joy MacMillan, Executive Director, St. Augustine Foundation, St. Augustine; Kathleen Deagan, Distinguished Research Curator of Archaeology, Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville. Their generous support has helped amplify the historical significance of the artifacts found at the Kuykendall site.

11. Brasher, "The Chichilticale Camp," 460.
12. *Ibid.*, 456–57; and Mills and Mills, *The Kuykendall Site*, 54, 83.
13. If an artifact was discovered by an individual, other than me, while "swinging sticks," I will name the team member. If an artifact was found as a result of the Blennert Sled, no individuals will be named.
14. Brasher, "The Chichilticale Camp," 453.
15. Bradley J. Vierra, Martha R. Binford, and David Atless Philips, *A Sixteenth-Century Spanish Campsite in the Tiguex Province*, Laboratory of Anthropology Notes, no. 475 (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico, Laboratory of Anthropology, Research Section, 1989), 125.
16. Frank Turley, e-mail message to author, 22 January 2008.
17. Donald J. La Rocca, e-mail message to author, 8 April 2008.
18. Pablo Martín Gómez, *Hombres y Armas en la Conquista de México* (Madrid, España: Almena Ediciones, 2001), 81, 173. Martín Gómez's work is in Spanish and the translations presented herein are mine.
19. *Ibid.*, 83. Richard Flint states that the Spanish term "regatón" was commonly spelled *recatón* in the 16th century. The word is defined by Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, in his 1611 *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española*. (Edited by Felipe C. R. Maldonado. 2d ed. Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1995. Originally published Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611) p. 852: "Es el extremo de la lanza, opuesto al hierro." Richard Flint, e-mail message to author, 8 June 2008.

20. Martín Gómez, *Hombres y Armas*, 84.
21. Walter J. Karcheski Jr., *Arms and Armor of the Conquistador, 1492–1600: A Catalogue of Arms and Armor from the Exhibit, First Encounters, Spanish Explorations of the Caribbean and United States, 1492–1570* (Gainesville: Florida Museum of Natural History, 1990), 5.
22. Richard Flint provided the translation of Bernardo de Vargas Machuca's work, see Bernardo de Vargas Machuca, *Milicia y descripción de las Indias*, 2 vols. (1599; repr., Madrid: Victoriano Suárez, 1892), 212.
23. Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera, "The Relación de la Jornada de Cíbola, Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera's Narrative, 1560s (Copy, 1596)," in *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539–1542: "They Were Not Familiar with His Majesty, nor Did They Wish to be His Subjects,"* ed., and trans., Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint (Dallas, Tex.: Southern Methodist University Press, 2005), 446.
24. *Ibid.*, 480.
25. *Ibid.*, 449.
26. Castañeda, "Relación," 461. The Flints' transcripts are in Spanish. The translations presented herein are mine. I have also italicized the first reference of the Spanish terms.
27. "Muster Roll of the Expedition, Compostela, February 22, 1540," in *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, Flint and Flint, 137, fig. 12.1.
28. Martín Gómez, *Hombres y Armas*, illustration 10.
29. Ibrahim "Abe" Gundiler, letter to author, 5 June 2007.
30. Alan M. Stahl, e-mail message to author, 23 April 2008. Stahl had worked at the 1494–1498 La Isabela Columbus site in the Dominican Republic and the 1539–1540 Governor Martin site in Tallahassee, Florida.
31. Hal Birt, a coin appraiser in Tucson, Arizona, believes that the Kuykendall cuarto is the oldest reported coin ever found in Arizona. It is highly likely that the coin represents the oldest non–Native American object discovered in the state. Hal Birt, telephone conversation with author, 3 May 2008.
32. Richard Flint's e-mail message of 10 June 2008 stated: "Two coins were found at the Jimmy Owens site in 1996 and only recently made known. They were identified by Dr. Michael Mathes as a 'blanca and a half cuartillo from the reign of Enrique IV (1435–1475).' Both are struck from vellón, an amalgam of silver and copper. Both are depicted in Juan R. Cayón, *Las Monedas Hispano Musulmanas y Cristianas, 711–1981* (Madrid: Artegraf, 1980), 200–201." Five copper coins were found at the Governor Martin site. Dozens of coins were excavated at La Isabela. A cuarto was found at Puerto Real. See Charles R. Ewen and John H. Hann, *Hernando de Soto among the Apalachee: The Archaeology of the First Winter Encampment*, Ripley P. Bullen series (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 80–82; Kathleen Deagan and José María Cruxent, *Archaeology at La Isabela: America's First European Town* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2002), 289; and Kathleen Deagan, ed., *Puerto Real: The Archaeology of a Sixteenth-Century Spanish Town in Hispaniola*, Ripley P. Bullen series (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), 18–19, 267–69.

33. David Killick, e-mail message to author, 13 June 2007.
34. Janet Arnold, *Patterns of Fashion: The Cut and Construction of Clothes for Men and Women, c1560–1620* (Hollywood, Calif.: Quite Specific Media Group, 1985), 51.
35. Frank Turley, e-mail message to author, 6 January 2008.
36. The standard work on the archaeology of La Isabela is Deagan and Cruxent, *Archaeology at La Isabela*.
37. Frank Turley, e-mail message to author, 24 March 2007.
38. Stanley South, Russell K. Skowronek, and Richard E. Johnson, *Spanish Artifacts from Santa Elena*, Anthropological Studies, no. 7 (Columbia: South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 1988), 326.
39. Since the team found a complete round, wrought-iron chain link, Frank Turley states: "Most all chain is made of round stock, because of the ease of swing and rotation where each link meets. It allows the chain to be collapsible and to curve more easily than if it were square stock . . . If forging a square section bar into a round section, the smith forges in the corners, forming an octagonal cross-section. He then forges in the remaining 'peaks' or lines to finally arrive at a round section. If the smith wants a round [piece] to become square sectioned, he hits the iron giving it quarter turns until it becomes square. Surely all smiths had round sectioned iron in all centuries of the Iron Age. It could simply be hammered to a round shape." Frank Turley, e-mail message to author, 7 January 2008.
40. Bead specialists consulted by the Kuykendall team are the following: Karen Karn, collections manager, The Bead Museum, Glendale, Arizona; Marvin T. Smith, professor of Anthropology, Valdosta State University, Georgia; Karlis Karklins, archaeologist and editor of *Beads: Journal of the Society of Bead Researchers*, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada; Jamey D. Allen, co-founder of Society of Bead Researchers and consulting curator, The Bead Museum, Glendale, Arizona; and Christopher R. DeCourse, professor and chair, Department of Anthropology, Syracuse University, New York.
41. Marvin T. Smith, Elizabeth Graham, and David M. Pendergast, "European Beads from Spanish-Colonial Lamanai and Tipu, Belize," *Beads: Journal of the Society of Bead Researchers* 6 (1994): 21–47.
42. Kathleen Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500–1800* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987), 180–83.
43. These objects are too ambiguous to be included in the overall count of Coronado Expedition artifacts. Nevertheless, their presence is definitely worth mentioning because they were discovered amongst the burned rocks and the hooklets.
44. Brasher, "The Chichilticale Camp," 459.
45. Jonathan E. Damp, *The Battle of Hawikku*, Research Series 13, Report no. 884 (Zuni, N.Mex.: Zuni Cultural Resource Enterprise, 2005), 99–101.
46. Louis Tesar, personal communication with author, 20 February 2008.
47. Brasher, "The Chichilticale Camp," 459.
48. John Powell, e-mail message to author, 12 April 2007.
49. John Powell, telephone conversation with author, 21 May 2008.
50. The U.S. Board on Geographic Names decided in 1959 to adopt the name Sulphur Springs Valley, which became effective 8 February 1980. Many older references

and maps also use the name Sulpher Spring Valley or Sulphur Spring Valley. For more information, see <http://geonames.usgs.gov/>.

51. Oscar Edward Meinzer, F. C. Kelton, and Robert Humphrey Forbes, *Geology and Water Resources of Sulphur Spring Valley, Arizona*, U.S. Geological Water-Supply Paper (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1913), 11.
52. Juan Bautista Nentvig, *Descripción geográfica, natural y curiosa de la Provincia de Sonora*, ed. Germán Viveros, Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación, Segunda Serie, no. 1 (México, D.F.: Archivo General de la Nación, 1971), 64–65. Nentvig spells the Chiricahua Mountains as “Chiguicagui.”
53. Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533–1960* (1962; repr., Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976), 231–45.
54. Thomas H. Naylor and Charles W. Polzer, S.J., comps. and eds., *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain: A Documentary History*, 2 vols. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986), 1:485, 548, 583.
55. Juan Fernández de la Fuente, “A Campaign against the Pimas” in *The Presidio and Militia*, comp. and ed. Naylor and Polzer, 1:640, 702.
56. *Ibid.*, 643.
57. *Ibid.*, 710.
58. Eusebio F. Kino, *Kino’s Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta: A Contemporary Account of the Beginnings of California, Sonora, and Arizona*, trans., ed., and annot. Herbert E. Bolton, 2 vols. (1919; repr., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), 1:164–65; and Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530–1888, The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, vol. 17 (San Francisco: The History Company, 1889), 355. The quotation is from Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, 356 n. 2. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, 233; and Jay J. Wagoner, *History of the Cattle Industry in Southern Arizona, 1540–1940*, *Social Science Bulletin*, no. 20, *University of Arizona Bulletin*, vol. 23, no. 20 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1952), 16.
59. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, 152, 236, 237; and Wagoner, *History of the Cattle Industry*, 17.
60. James E. Officer, *Hispanic Arizona, 1536–1836* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), 4, 36; John Francis Bannon, *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier, 1513–1821*, *Histories of the American Frontier Series* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974), 149–50; and Donald T. Garate, *Juan Bautista de Anza: Basque Explorer of the New World*, *The Basque series* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2005), 80–81.
61. Garate, *Juan Bautista de Anza*; Peter Aleshire, *Cochise: The Life and Times of the Great Apache Chief* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 2001), 16; Edwin R. Sweeney, *Cochise: Chiricahua Apache Chief*, *The Civilization of the American Indian series* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 8; and Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, 238–39.
62. For a discussion of the Spanish peace policy, see William B. Griffen, *Apaches at War and Peace: The Janos Presidio, 1750–1858* (Albuquerque: University of New

- Mexico Press, 1988), 14, 119, 122–24. Wagoner, *History of the Cattle Industry*, 22; and Sweeney, *Cochise: Chiricahua Apache Chief*, 9.
63. Ethnohistorian Bernard L. Fontana provided information suggesting that commerce improved during this lull in hostilities. His e-mail message included the quote from Sonoran Alberto Suarez. Fontana, e-mail message to author, 28 March 2008; Jack S. Williams, telephone interview with author, 10 August 2007; Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, 240; and Sweeney, *Cochise: Chiricahua Apache Chief*, 10.
  64. George P. Hammond, "The Zúñiga Journal, Tucson to Santa Fé: The Opening of a Spanish Trade Route, 1788–1795," *New Mexico Historical Review* 6 (January 1931), 40–41, 42.
  65. Nentvig, *Descripción geográfica*, 64–65, map; and Hammond, "The Zúñiga Journal," 42.
  66. Juan Jaramillo, "Juan Jaramillo's Narrative, 1560s," in *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, Flint and Flint, 520.
  67. For the purpose of this article, only the movements of Echeagaray's troops in the Chiricahua Mountain region will be narrated. Hammond, "The Zúñiga Journal," 43–46.
  68. *Ibid.*, 47, 49.
  69. José de Zúñiga, "Una expedición militar de Tucson (Arizona) a Zuñi (Nuevo México)," in *La España ilustrada en el Lejano Oeste: Viajes y exploraciones por las provincias y territorios hispánicos de Norteamérica en el siglo XVIII*, ed. Amando Represa, Estudios de historia (Valladolid, Spain: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Bienestar Social, 1990), 89–100. See especially pp. 91–92, which refer to Zúñiga's journal entries for 9–10 April and 12–16 April. Represa incorrectly reports the year as 1791; the actual year was 1795.
  70. *Ibid.*, 98.
  71. *Map of Arizona Territory*, prepared under the direction of 1st Lt. Frederick Appleton Smith, compiled and drawn by Paul Riecker (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Engineer Office, 1879).
  72. John Powell, e-mail messages to author, 8 August 2007 and 27 August 2007.
  73. Zúñiga, "Una expedición militar," 94, 96. See entries for 28 April and 12 May 1795.
  74. My interpretation of these Julian calendar Coronado campsite dates is anchored by three events: the arrival of the advance army at Cíbola on 7 July 1540, the departure of the following army from Sonora in "mediado septiembre" (middle September) 1540, and the Río Frío camp of the retreating army on 9 April 1542. Using these temporal anchors and my interpretation of the trail and travel times, I constructed calendars and campsites for all three armies between Ispa and Cíbola. The sources I used as a basis for my calculations are "Traslado de las Nuevas, 1540," in *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, Flint and Flint, 294; Castañeda, "Relación," 447; and "Disposal of the Juan Jiménez Estate, 1542 (Copy, 1550)," in *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, Flint and Flint, 373.
  75. Officer, *Hispanic Arizona*, 68, 295, map, 110, 149; Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, 240; Wagoner, *History of the Cattle Industry*, 25; and Bert Haskett, "Early History of the Cattle Industry in Arizona," *Arizona Historical Review* 6, no. 4 (1935): 3.

76. Officer, *Hispanic Arizona*, 128–30.
77. Sweeney, *Cochise: Chiricahua Apache Chief*, 24.
78. Officer, *Hispanic Arizona*, 130, 224; Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, 241, 244–45; William W. Hunter, “Diary-Journal of Events, etc. on a Journey from Missouri to California, 1849,” pp. 109–10, AZ 403, Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson; Robert Eccleston, *Overland to California on the Southwestern Trail, 1849: Diary of Robert Eccleston*, ed. George P. Hammond and Edward H. Howes, Bancroft Library Publications, no. 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950), 174–93; Sweeney, *Cochise: Chiricahua Apache Chief*, 73–74; James Ohio Pattie, *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie: The True Wild West of New Mexico and California*, ed. Timothy Flint (Santa Barbara, Calif.: The Narrative Press, 2001), 87–94; Carl D. W. Hays, “David E. Jackson,” in *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West: Biographical Sketches of the Participants by Scholars of the Subject and with Introductions by the Editor*, ed. LeRoy R. Hafen, vol. 9 (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1972), 232–34; Philip St. George Cooke, *The Conquest of New Mexico and California in 1846–1848*, Rio Grande Classic series (Chicago: Río Grande Press, 1964), 139–44, map front cover; and Cave Johnson Coutts, *Hepah, California!: The Journal of Cave Johnson Coutts from Monterey, Nuevo Leon, Mexico, to Los Angeles, California, during the Years 1848–1849*, ed. Henry F. Dobyns (Tucson: Arizona Pioneers’ Historical Society, 1961), 49–54.
79. John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua, Connected with the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission during the Years 1850, ’51, ’52, and ’53*, 2 vols., Rio Grande Classic series (1854; repr., Chicago: Río Grande Press, 1965), 1:368–78; Vernon B. Schultz, *Southwestern Town: The Story of Willcox, Arizona* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1964), 17, 48; and William R. Turvey, US Patent 326,188, filed 1913.
80. Kino, *Kino’s Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*, 1:162–63.
81. Turley, e-mail message, 7 January 2008.
82. La Rocca, e-mail message, 8 April 2008; and Turley, e-mail message, 6 January 2008.
83. Vierra, *A Sixteenth-Century Spanish Campsite*, 26–27.
84. Damp, *The Battle of Hawikku*, 22–24.
85. Jeff Waseta and Davis Nieto (supervisory archaeologists for the Zuni Cultural Resources Enterprise), in communication with the author, 30 May 2007.
86. Donald J. Blakeslee and Jay C. Blaine, “The Jimmy Owens Site: New Perspectives on the Coronado Expedition,” in *The Coronado Expedition: From the Distance of 460 Years*, ed. Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 205, 210; and *Floyd County (Tex.) Hesperian-Beacon*, 11 June 1998.
87. Castañeda, “Relación,” 465.
88. Blakeslee and Blaine, “The Jimmy Owens Site,” 215.
89. Richard Flint, e-mail message to author, 14 June 2008.
90. Vierra, *A Sixteenth-Century Spanish Campsite*, 75; Damp, personal communication with author, 14 June 2008; and Regge N. Wiseman, personal communication with author, 23 January 2008.



91. Blakeslee and Blaine, "The Jimmy Owens Site," 217.
92. Ibid.
93. Charles R. Ewen and John H. Hann, *Hernando de Soto among the Apalachee: The Archaeology of the First Winter Encampment*, Ripley P. Bullen series (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 52-53.
94. Blakeslee and Blaine, "The Jimmy Owens Site," 217.
95. See Brasher, "The Chichilticale Camp," 437-38, 441.
96. Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, the leading scholars of the Coronado Expedition, state: "What drew the expedition to the Southwest was principally the prospect of populous and wealthy native peoples from whom significant tribute likely could be extracted. More than raw precious metals, gemstones, or pearls . . . it was the indigenous people themselves who were the chief attractions. . . . Thus, when the expedition withdrew from Tierra Nueva in 1542 it was because 'there was no settlement in what had been reconnoitered where *repartimientos* [*encomiendas*] (tribute and labor) could be made to the whole expedition.'" Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 3, 706.
97. Brasher, "The Chichilticale Camp," 435.

## Without Them, Nothing Was Possible

THE CORONADO EXPEDITION'S INDIAN ALLIES

Richard Flint

**E**nterprises of Spanish conquest and reconnaissance such as the Coronado Expedition would not have been possible without a large cadre of Indian allies.<sup>1</sup> Like virtually all of the 130 or so major Spanish-led expeditions that took place in the Western Hemisphere during the sixteenth century, the Coronado Expedition of 1539–1542 relied heavily on a contingent of *indios amigos*, or Indian allies. The very survival of the expedition, as well as what success it had, depended on an estimated 1,300 to 2,000 natives of what is now central and western Mexico. Those *indios amigos* far outnumbered the European expeditionaries, who in traditional accounts were for all practical purposes its only members.

Despite the critical importance and tremendous size of the Mexican Indian contingent of the Coronado Expedition, information about those indigenous *conquistadores* has been extremely meager. Spaniards who left written records of the expedition generally ignored the roles, and even the very presence, of the *indios amigos*. For example, in the 27 known strictly

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contemporaneous manuscript documents dealing with the Coronado *entrada*, comprising more than 200 printed pages, which historian Shirley Cushing Flint and I have recently published, the expedition's Indian allies are mentioned in only 111 sentences, including 25 that refer only to a single Indian man, an interpreter used by Hernando de Alarcón.<sup>2</sup> Most of the remaining references make only brief mention, revealing little about who the *indios amigos* were, where they came from, or what possessed them to participate in the expedition.

Nevertheless, ethnohistorians and historians, including myself, have diligently and minutely scrutinized that tiny written record about the Indian allies and have extracted a surprising assortment of data. The admittedly fragmentary documentary evidence demonstrates, for example, that Indian allies constituted the largest component of the expedition as a whole and all of its subsidiary units or detachments, except the maritime group headed by Alarcón. *Indios amigos* fought alongside their less numerous Old World associates during repeated conflicts with natives of the American Southwest and northwest Mexico—Tierra Nueva as it was known to the expeditionaries. Their participation helps account for the ease with which most of the indigenous communities met by the expedition were subdued or overawed into pro forma submission.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps routinely some Indian allies traveled ahead of the expedition's advance guard, acting as intermediaries and emissaries. The *indios amigos* also carried equipment and supplies, guarded livestock, and constructed shelters.<sup>4</sup>

The surviving documents have also yielded sketchy information about the places of origin of the expedition's Native allies. According to Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera, a Spanish member of the expedition and its best known chronicler, "about eight hundred Indians native to Nueva España" assembled for the troop's departure from Mexico City in late fall 1539.<sup>5</sup> They came from various unspecified places in a wide east-to-west band across present-day Mexico, from Veracruz to Puebla to Mexico City to Pátzcuaro to Colima, with an additional five hundred or more *indios amigos* from what are now the Mexican states of Jalisco, Nayarit, and Sinaloa, and perhaps other places as well.<sup>6</sup>

The Spanish documentary record has not been wholly devoid of data specific to individual *indios amigos*. The previously known documents, for instance, record the home communities of a few individual indigenous expeditionaries: a couple dozen from Tlatelolco, Coyoacán, Pátzcuaro, Guadalajara, Zapotlán, and Culiacán.<sup>7</sup> One further pencil of documentary

light was thrown on that subject recently with our publication of a portion of the *Codex Aubin*, an indigenous pictorial codex glossed in Nahuatl. An annal-style document, it records the departure of a party of Tenochca (natives of Tenochtitlan, in what is now Mexico City) bound for Tierra Nueva with the Coronado Expedition in 1539, and the return of the survivors in 1542. No information, however, is provided as to the number of Tenochca who made up that contingent.<sup>8</sup> One other group of allies of unknown size was reported in 1546 as having joined the expedition from Pátzcuaro under the leadership of a man known to the Spaniards as don Alonso.<sup>9</sup> Those bits of information, however, still left the origins of most of the Indian allies in the dark.

Information about the *indios amigos* was not recorded during muster of the expedition in Compostela in February 1540. The list that was prepared then has proven to be a rich source of data about European expeditionaries, at least the male men-at-arms. The entries set down by the recording scribe, Juan de Cuevas, focused on the number of horses and the types and quantities of arms and armor each man was taking with him to Tierra Nueva. The declarations concerning arms and armor, although not made about the Indian allies, do, however, allow general inferences about their war gear.

Fully 90 percent of all the European men-at-arms listed on the muster roll declared that they possessed *armas de la tierra*, or arms and armor native to the Americas. Occasionally, indigenous American war gear was supplemented by European pieces such as crossbows, arcabuses, swords, helmets, and pieces of metal armor: a sleeve of mail here, a neck protector there. But, by and large, the European expeditionaries were outfitted exclusively with traditional Indian equipment. Given the obvious scarcity of European arms and armor among the Europeans, it is safe to assume that the Indian allies carried only their traditional armament. Likely exceptions to this rule were a few of the *amigo* leaders, who may have been given individual European weapons or accoutrements as confirmation of their high status. Thus, overwhelmingly the allies carried and employed such items of war as atlatls, bows and arrows, slings, thrusting spears (*tepoztopilli*), obsidian-edged swords (*macuahuitl*), clubs, shields, wood and bone helmets, and quilted cotton body armor (*ichcahuipilli*).<sup>10</sup>

Until very recently these few details were virtually all that was known about the *indios amigos* who made up the bulk of the Coronado Expedition. While working in the Archivo General de Indias in Sevilla, Spain, in spring 2006, Shirley Cushing Flint and I had set the goal of reviewing every folio of the massive surviving record of a *visita*, or administrative-judicial

review, of all the royal officials of Nueva España that was conducted between 1543 and 1546. Because of its size—20 *legajos*, or between 24,000 and 30,000 pages—and the fact that no finding aid or index for it exists, researchers rarely can afford to take the weeks required to read through its entire bulk on the chance of finding material pertinent to their research interests.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, based on our own previous forays into the *visita* record, we were sure that hitherto unstudied material about members of the Coronado Expedition would be found there.

Within the first week of methodically paging through the *legajos*, we were astounded by what we found, while reading the testimonies of 108 witnesses to an *interrogatorio*, or questionnaire, formulated by *visitador general* Francisco Tello de Sandoval.<sup>12</sup> At the end of that record we came upon the statements of sixteen Indian witnesses, five of whom testified that they had participated in the Coronado Expedition. Of equal importance, several of the *visitador's* questions dealt specifically with the *entrada* and its Indian allies. The resulting record of proceedings is remarkably rich in information about the expedition that has not previously been available for study and sheds light on a range of issues that until now have been approachable only through speculation and educated guesswork.

The Tello de Sandoval testimonies add to current knowledge about the *indios amigos* in three different ways. First, they reveal the identities of five previously unknown indigenous men who made the *jornada*, as well as the names of their home communities and the men's political status within those communities. Second, we learn more than we ever have about the size of several contingents of allies. Third, the Indian witnesses provide the first-ever evidence from Natives themselves as to why they chose to participate in the expedition.

Before delving into the data resulting from the *visita* record in more detail and then providing complete, unabridged transcripts and English translations of the testimonies of the five former Indian expeditionaries who served as witnesses, some background is in order concerning the investigation and the witness statements.

### The Tello de Sandoval *Visita*

The authority of Hernando Cortés, who in 1521 led the conquest of México-Tenochtitlan, the Mexica capital, over governance and control of indigenous populations was severely restricted after 1535 by Viceroy Antonio de

Mendoza, who acted under royal direction. Cortés, though, made persistent efforts to regain his lost status, first in Nueva España and, beginning in 1540, at the royal court in Spain. Much of this administrative counterattack was directed at Mendoza, who had served as the king's alter ego in Nueva España since 1535 and, as Cortés saw it, had arrogated to himself rights and privileges that properly pertained to Cortés.

He and his supporters repeatedly pushed for the recall of the viceroy. In the wake of Carlos I's and his councilors' promulgation in 1542 of the "New Laws of the Indies for the Good Treatment and Preservation of the Indians" and in response to intense lobbying by Cortés and his partisans, the king authorized a sweeping *visita* to be made of all the royal officials in Nueva España, especially the viceroy. Eighty years ago, historian Arthur Aiton accurately described the *visita* as "a determined endeavor to discredit [Viceroy Mendoza's] rule and to oust him from his high office."<sup>13</sup> Tapped in early summer 1543 to conduct the *visita* was *licenciado* (holder of an advanced degree) Tello de Sandoval who had recently been appointed a member of, and would later serve as president of, the Consejo de Indias, the royal body with responsibility for oversight of most activities in Spanish America.<sup>14</sup>

Tello de Sandoval traveled from Spain to Mexico City already prepped with written complaints and accusations against the viceroy leveled by Cortés.<sup>15</sup> Clearly these complaints figured heavily in the formulation of the outline of his investigation. The *visitador* arrived in Nueva España in February 1544 and energetically set about discharging his duties, traveling around the viceroyalty questioning witnesses for the next three years. In May and June 1546, he was back in Mexico City, where he called 108 witnesses, which, as already mentioned, included the sixteen American Natives of interest in this article.

As was standard practice for such investigations, Tello de Sandoval formulated a long list of questions, an *interrogatorio*, from which he selected in interviewing the witnesses. In the case of the *indios*, he focused on questions 57–77, which dealt with *encomiendas* and the treatment of Natives by *encomenderos*; question 89, concerning expeditions of reconnaissance undertaken or supported by Viceroy Mendoza; and questions 90 and 91, which concentrated on mistreatment of Indians who participated in or were encountered during expeditions of conquest and reconnaissance. In the actual questioning, the *visitador* adhered to those themes, but modified and amplified the questions to suit individual witnesses, repeatedly asking specifically about the Coronado Expedition and the later voyage of Ruy López de Villalobos to the Orient.

## What the Indian Witnesses Tell

None of the Native witnesses was expected to answer in Spanish, although several proved to be minimally literate in that language, to the extent of being able to sign their names at least. Almost certainly they all had at least rudimentary conversational skills in Spanish. Nevertheless, they were questioned and made their replies through interpreters, two priests named fray Hernando Méndez and fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz.<sup>16</sup> The process of translation and the tendency of recording *escribanos*, or scribes, to paraphrase witness responses in language that was often formulaic account for the seeming uniformity of tone and phrasing of the various testimonies. The investigation record does not literally record the words of the Native witnesses:

Even though this series of testimonies comes second and third hand, its substance, if not its specific vocabulary and phraseology, is of major significance for study of the Coronado Expedition and other similar enterprises of the first half of the sixteenth century. This source provides the only extant evidence originating directly from indigenous former members of the expedition and contains unique insights into recruitment, treatment, origins, roles, and numbers of *indios amigos*. Most exciting are the statements made by the five Indian witnesses who actually went on the expedition to Cibola: Juan Tlecanen, a *principal*, or leader, from the former Native city of Tenochtitlan; Martín Cacçol, also a native of Tenochtitlan; Juan Coavis, a native of Tlatelolco, Tenochtitlan's companion settlement prior to the conquest, known as Santiago since the coming of the Europeans; Francisco Yautl, from the portion of Tlatelolco known as Los Reyes; and Francisco Abuy, a *principal* from Pátzcuaro, in what now, as then, is Michoacán.<sup>17</sup>

In addition to the testimony of the five former expeditionaries, valuable information about the Coronado *entrada* was also provided by four other Native witnesses, who, because of the positions of leadership they held within their communities, were privy to what incentives the expedition's European organizers had offered to potential indigenous expeditionaries, as well as other conditions of participation by *indios amigos*.<sup>18</sup> The remaining seven Indian witnesses, of the sixteen, had nothing substantive to say about the Coronado Expedition and testified primarily in response to questions concerning Viceroy Mendoza's and *licenciado* Lorenzo de Tejada's employment of indigenous laborers in and around Mexico City.<sup>19</sup>

All but two of the sixteen Indian men (all the witnesses were men) who were called as witnesses by Tello de Sandoval had been born before the

coming of Europeans to México, Michoacán, and the rest of modern Mexico's Occidente, or west; nearly half of them were adults at the time of that collision.<sup>20</sup> Seven of the Native witnesses stated that they had been baptized as Christians. Whether others also had been taken into the Catholic Church is unclear because they made no statement either way. In any case, nearly all had experienced the shift in control of their communities from Native American to European elites and had weathered the associated changes.

All had at least heard about the expedition to Cíbola led by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and had been affected by it. Those who spoke specifically about the expedition agreed that the *indios amigos* had joined the *entrada* voluntarily, without coercion. As Francisco Abuy put it, "when they learned that the viceroy was sending [people] to Tierra Nueva, they were saying among themselves that they would like to go there."<sup>21</sup> Similarly, he stated that the governor of Pátzcuaro, like other governors, had ordered that the indigenous people of the town provide food and other supplies to the expeditionaries when they asked for them.<sup>22</sup> His and similar statements by other Native witnesses rebut the common assumption that "allies" were physically coerced participants in the expedition.<sup>23</sup>

The fact that most of the witnesses acquired and retained positions requiring routine, official contact with Spanish authorities, as well as at least nominal conversion to Catholicism by some of them, suggests a high degree of cooperation on their part with the colonial regime. Whether their cooperation was eager or reluctant, there is no way to judge. In either case, it was decidedly in their interest to maintain congenial relations with the Europeans. Thus, when it was made known to them, their peers, and predecessors that Viceroy Mendoza was in need of personnel for the intended expedition to Cíbola, they understandably "volunteered" groups from their communities in order to demonstrate goodwill. Juan Tlecanen told it this way:

*licenciado* [Lorenzo de] Tejada, an *oidor* of this royal *audiencia*, talked with don Diego, *gobernador* of México, and the *principales*, [telling them] that Tierra Nueva had been discovered and that the viceroy was sending people there. [He asked] whether some Indians would be willing to go there voluntarily . . . The [*gobernador* and *principales*] said that they were willing to go.<sup>24</sup>

Native officials may have wanted to ingratiate themselves with the viceroy and his subordinates by sending their compatriots on the expedition



and, in some cases, going themselves, but they had other incentives too. Statements made by the Tello de Sandoval witnesses make it clear for the first time that Mendoza's minions offered direct cash payments to Indian leaders, ostensibly for purchase of supplies for the contingents they would send with the expedition. Again it was Lorenzo de Tejada, who, according to Juan Coavis, "gave a certain number of gold pesos to the governor don Martín for the purchase of provisions for the Indians who were having to go . . . don Martín gave leather sandals, hardtack, and chocolate to this witness and the other Indians who went, for [their needs] along the road."<sup>25</sup>

Also newly apparent from their testimony, Indian *principales* and *gobernadores* may have been offered, before the expedition was launched, a reduction in the amount of tribute their communities were required to pay to *encomenderos* or royal officials. Either that or temporary lowering of tribute rates was made later as compensation for indigenous participation in the *entrada*. Speaking of what transpired at Pátzcuaro, the *principal* don Alonso testified through an interpreter:

After those who went with the armed force that traveled to the Tierra Nueva de Cíbola had [already] gone, don Luis de Castilla came and called the *principales* to the Franciscan monastery in that *pueblo* and told them he wanted to pay for the food and *tamemes* [load bearers] they had provided to those who had gone to Tierra Nueva. Because of that he was canceling [some of their tribute requirement] and ordering that they pay less of the tribute in *mantas* [blankets] which they were obligated to pay to His Majesty.<sup>26</sup>

In a more timely manner, Mendoza sent Juan de León Romano ahead of the expedition, at least as far as Michoacán (of which he was *corregidor*), to purchase foodstuffs and other supplies from Native communities along the route.<sup>27</sup> Often, these same communities afterward contributed personnel to the expedition.

Although not mentioned by any of the Native witnesses, the opportunity to perform deeds of war must have been a major incentive for individual allies to participate eagerly in the expedition. For most of them, social advancement was tied to the capture of prisoners in war, which had become all but impossible within territory under Spanish colonial administration. Thus, official sanction of the opportunity for exploits in war through participation in the Coronado Expedition would have been a welcome development in

many central Mexican indigenous communities—an opportunity not to be rejected.

With regard to how many *indios amigos* joined the expedition to Cíbola, Tello de Sandoval's Indian witnesses provided a wide range of estimates, presenting a far greater measure of accuracy than has previously been possible for modern historians. Generally, the new information pertains only to the particular communities of individual respondents, ranging from 204 to 440 from Mexico City and from 100 to a "great many" from Pátzcuaro and the rest of the *provincia* of Michoacán.<sup>28</sup> The witnesses suggested no numbers for *indios amigos* from other locales, but it seems clear from their aggregate testimony that the Native contingent included "many Indians from everywhere." As Juan Coavis stated, the allies originated from "México [Tenochtitlan], from Michoacán [Pátzcuaro], from [the *provincia* of] Culiacán, from many other *pueblos*, and from Zacayuca."<sup>29</sup> If anything Castañeda de Nájera's figure of 1,300 Indian allies for the Coronado Expedition, which until now has been the only solid figure available, is probably low. A total of 2,000 *indios amigos* for the expedition now seems reasonable.<sup>30</sup> This number is significantly larger than has previously been estimated for the contingent of Indian allies and suggests that the expedition had an even more dominantly indigenous character than has been supposed.

The question of numbers of people, as it turned out, was a complex one for the witnesses to answer, because some Native groups completed the entire course of the expedition and others, notably *tamemes*, accompanied the force for only a few days and then passed their burdens on to bearers from other towns and returned to their homes. Don Alonso from Pátzcuaro made the safest estimate when he said simply that he did not know how many Indians made the trip and he did not count them. He went on to explain: "[I]n some instances two [people or troops] went and in others four, and in still others five. Furthermore the number of *tamemes* provided depended on the [number of] expeditionaries who were passing through. [Besides] not everyone went by way of that *pueblo* [Pátzcuaro], since they were divided onto two routes."<sup>31</sup> This last statement regarding the use of multiple routes is consistent with the implications of previously studied Spanish documents concerning the expedition. As Castañeda de Nájera wrote, "since it seemed to [the viceroy] that if the expedition departed from [the Ciudad de] México en masse, it would do some injury [as it passed] through the lands of the [Native] allies, [he] decreed that they were to go [separately] to meet in the *ciudad* of Compostela" in the Pacific coastal *provincia* of Nueva Galicia.<sup>32</sup>

The total indigenous enrollment on the expedition was one matter, how many *indios amigos* survived the often grueling and violent conditions of the *entrada* was another. When the *visitador* queried the Indian witnesses on that point, they responded with answers indicating that deaths and other losses among the Native expeditionaries were significant. This account represents the first such information that has been available to historians. Witness Juan Tlecanen, for example, reported with apparent precision that only 144 of 207 natives of México returned home after the “war,” as he called it, a casualty rate of 30 percent.<sup>33</sup> Following an evidently even more disastrous experience on the expedition, only twenty natives of Tlatelolco returned safely, according to Tlatelolco’s *gobernador* don Hernando, indicating a catastrophic loss of life.<sup>34</sup> Speaking of Pátzcuaro, don Ramiro from Michoacán could say only that “some [Indians] died [on the *entrada*], but he did not know how many.”<sup>35</sup> Also testifying about Michoacán, Francisco Abuy said that about 20 out of 100 of the region’s Indians died during the *entrada*.<sup>36</sup> Such high casualty rates support the inference that *indios amigos* routinely participated in warfare during the expedition and were thus subjected to the possibilities of injury and death much more frequently than if they had simply served as load bearers and herders, as the record of the Tello de Sandoval *visita* could lead one to conclude.

Even more elusive than firm statistics concerning Native American participation in the expedition has been any indication as to exactly how, or even whether, the *indios amigos* were integrated into the European force. Again, the testimonies of Indians given to Tello de Sandoval in 1546 illuminate this topic, although they do not settle it. Once more, Juan Tlecanen, the senior Native witness who provided the most copious detail in his answers, made a particularly telling statement:

[T]he [people] from this *ciudad* of México traveled in the service of Captain General Francisco Vázquez, thirty Indians from the community of México and another thirty from the community of Santiago carrying loads belonging to the captain [general]. The rest served him in carrying forage and in other ways, as the [Spaniards] directed them. The Indians from the other *pueblos* served other Spaniards.<sup>37</sup>

Tlecanen’s testimony strongly suggests that many of the *indios amigos* were assigned to specific Spanish individuals on the expedition and may have

traveled with those individuals, rather than as a segregated, all-Indian unit that would have included individuals assigned to multiple Spaniards. This arrangement probably applied especially to *tamemes* and men given the chore of tending the private livestock of individual *conquistadores*. There may, nevertheless, have been others, especially those who served a primarily warrior function and those who served the force as a whole, who were not as a rule mixed with the European expeditionaries. The Tello de Sandoval records provide the first documentary evidence available on this matter.

An anecdote reported by witness Francisco Yautl demonstrates that many indigenous members of the expedition remained largely independent of Spanish leadership and could operate on their own. "Six days' journey from this *ciudad* [de México]," he said, "the aforesaid don Martín returned unwell because he fell from a horse, and many Indians returned with him."<sup>38</sup> The story also suggests that the authority of indigenous leaders such as don Martín remained largely undiluted by the presence of a parallel Spanish hierarchy. Thus, when he decided not to make the journey to Tierra Nueva, it appears that all the people who were with him from his community left the expedition at his direction and returned home. It is also interesting to note that don Martín had been riding a horse, an activity generally forbidden to Indians, although his case was certainly not a unique exception to the prohibition.

The testimonies of several Tello de Sandoval witnesses reveal that recruitment of contingents of *indios amigos* was done at the level of the indigenous dynastic state, or *altepetl*. Individual Indians did not enlist separately. Size of the aggregate group to be sent from any given *altepetl* (Tenochtitlan, for example) was set by the Native governor/*tlatoani* and the leaders of the constituent *barrios/calpolli*. The quotas thus established were then filled under the leadership of traditional *calpolli* leaders, or *teuctlatoque*, who then maintained authority over their individual *calpolli* corps while on the expedition, regardless of where within the expeditionary force they traveled or lodged.<sup>39</sup> Again, no documentary evidence has been available before now regarding the mechanism of recruitment of the Indian allies.

The size and organization of the various contingents of *indios amigos* referred to in the testimony of 1546 are consistent with the reconstructions of protohistoric indigenous Mesoamerican fighting forces described by anthropologist Ross Hassig. As he writes in *Aztec Warfare: Imperial Expansion and Political Control* (1988):

[E]ven where the figures [for the sizes of armies and their subunits] do not appear to be round, they are often from the perspective of the Aztec vigesimal (base-20) numerical system . . . resulting in typical troop numbers of 200, 400, 8,000, and so forth. . . . The basic Mesoamerican army units (called squadrons in the Spanish chronicles) were probably town or calpolli commands. Each town marched under its own banner with its own leaders, and if it was large enough to have more than one calpolli, it had one overall leader, or *tlahtoani*, and subordinate leaders for each of the several calpolli units. These calpolli units were often dispersed among and incorporated into the larger armies of a major campaign, but they apparently were not divided.<sup>40</sup>

Juan Tlecanen was about forty-eight years old at the time he joined the Coronado Expedition, making him probably the most senior member of the force, either Native American or European. The four other indigenous witnesses during the *visita* of 1546 who had served on the expedition had been in their late twenties and early thirties in 1539, ranking them among the oldest expeditionaries and likely the most experienced men-at-arms. They could have been a tremendous asset to the Spanish leadership of the expedition, if they chose to take advantage of the *amigos'* experience.

All indications are that the Indian allies of the Coronado Expedition maintained traditions of organization, dress, accoutrements, travel, and provisioning that antedated the arrival of Spaniards at Tenochtitlan in 1519. As historian James Lockhart and others have shown about many aspects of Nahuatl life under the colonial regime, the participation of Tenochcas, Tlatelolcas, Tarascos, and others in the expedition to Cibola also reveals the strong persistence of indigenous norms, even while Europeans claimed to have brought those American Natives within a new orbit of kings, popes, tribute, and world trade. While the *indios amigos* appeared to serve Spanish ends, they continued to pursue modes of behavior and motivations that were distinctly their own.

Many questions about the expedition's *indios amigos* remain unanswered even after studying the Tello de Sandoval *visita* testimony. Although I suspect, for instance, that Native allies frequently undertook activities largely or wholly unknown to the Spanish leadership of the expedition, documentary confirmation of that supposition remains elusive. Nor do we know whether such freelance activities sometimes embroiled the full expedition with natives of Tierra Nueva or, on the contrary, whether they may sometimes have

forestalled conflict. I hope that someday conclusive evidence will be brought to bear on the question of whether the *indios amigos* continued their preconquest practice of capture and sacrifice of high-status war prisoners in the course of the Coronado *entrada*. Was there trade or other peaceful communication between the allies and Indians of Tierra Nueva?

These and other similar issues remain untouched by the testimony of Native witnesses during Tello de Sandoval's *visita*. In fact the *visitador* did not complete his investigation, being recalled to Spain in 1546 after the viceroy's brother became president of the Consejo de Indias. Nevertheless, the testimony that he did take and that has survived the vicissitudes of time adds substantially to the store of what is known about the *indios amigos*.<sup>41</sup> This source repeatedly throws light where before there was none.

Aside from what the Indian witnesses had to say about the expedition, identification, however sketchy, of individual indigenous expeditionaries is an important development. Little by little, discrete individuals emerge from what has been known only as a mass and then only with the scantest of detail.<sup>42</sup> My special hope over the years has been to shed light on the expedition's Indian members, but such information has been extremely scarce. Thus, it gives me great pleasure to present in Spanish transcription and English translation the following testimonies of Juan Tlecanen, Martín Cacçol, Juan Coavis, Francisco Yautl, and Francisco Abuy. Without them and their companions the expedition, for better or worse, would have been all but impossible.

### Translation of the Testimonies

Note on editorial protocols: Folio numbers are included in both transcripts and translations to facilitate navigation back and forth between the two, and even between them and the original manuscripts when that may seem advisable. Folio numbers, either recto [r] or verso [v], are shown in square brackets [ ].

Many words that occur in the original manuscripts, including archaisms, technical terms, and obsolete usages of seemingly familiar words, are extremely cumbersome to render into English. Spanish words that fall into this category include *criado*, *caballero*, *encomendero*, *entrada*, *hidalgo*, *oidor*, *repartimiento*, *requerimiento*, and dozens of others. I have left such words untranslated throughout the documents, but have provided a glossary at the end of the article that contains explanations of those terms not defined elsewhere in the text.

The sixteenth-century usage of *ciudad*, *pueblo*, and *villa* deserves special note. Spanish society of the era was thoroughly hierarchical. Persons had their ranks and stations, but so did political and social entities. When speaking of settlements, that hierarchy was never out of mind. Thus, to designate a place a *ciudad*, was to recognize that community as being among the highest ranking, most important, and largest settlements. In the Spanish world, to be called a *ciudad*, a place had to be so designated by the king. Outside the Spanish sphere of control, a *ciudad* was a place of comparable status, importance, and, usually, size. In descending order of importance and size, *ciudad* was followed by *villa*, *lugar*, and *aldea* (hamlet). *Pueblo*, although less precise, referred to a place of minor importance.

In both transcripts and translations, scribal marginalia, titles, addresses, and like matter are enclosed and designated by flourished brackets { }. In preparing the original-language transcriptions, I have adhered to the following conventions: All emendations, additions, and expansions, whether scribal or editorial, are rendered in italics. In the case of scribal emendations, the characters or words in italics are preceded by a caret ^. Marginal notes, symbols, and marks appearing in the texts are rendered in roman type but are enclosed between flourished brackets { }. Letters that are superscribed in the documentary text are lowered to the main text line in the transcriptions. Both scribal and editorial deletions are preserved in the transcripts, but are identified as deletions by being enclosed between standard parentheses ( ). In the case of scribal deletions, a caret is also included within the parentheses (^).

[604v]

... {93rd witness}

{Juan Tlecanen, *principal*}

Afterward the lord *visitador* ordered Juan Tlecanen to appear before him. [He is] a *principal* whom don Diego [*governador* of México] brought with him.<sup>43</sup> Since he was present, the oath was taken and received from him in the form prescribed by law. In this he employed a representation of the cross and promised to tell the truth by means of the aforementioned interpreter. He was questioned under that oath and said the following:

{1} In response to the first question of the *interrogatorio* he said that he is familiar with Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza [and has been] since he came to this land.

[605r] In response to the questions concerning personal data required by law he stated that he is about fifty-five years old and is a baptized Christian

and that none of the other such questions are relevant or impede him [from testifying]. He said that he will tell the truth about what he may know and will not withhold it because of fear or for any other reason.

{Viceroy} {}

He was asked what service it is that [the Indians] provide each day to the viceroy in his house. [In response] he said that every day they provide forty measures of forage, each measure being two large loads. Also fifteen loads of firewood and three sacks of charcoal, plus one handful of split pitch pine. That is what they provide and have provided each day to the aforesaid viceroy. In addition, every day [they provide] ten loads of water from Chapultepeque, as well as twenty or twenty-five [loads] of water that comes to this *ciudad* in the aqueduct. The aforesaid service is provided for twenty days by the community of México [Tenochtitlan] and the next twenty days by the community of Santiago [de Tlatelolco]. By this rotation they have always provided him the aforementioned service, since he came to this land.

Furthermore, they provide him with Indian servants who serve him in his house, both in the pantry and in the kitchen, and in other things. The community of México ordinarily provides him sixty Indians who serve him, and sometimes seventy or seventy-five. And these [people] have always served him. This the witness knows because he, as a *principal* of this *ciudad*, which he is, was, in the past, in charge of service in the house of the aforesaid viceroy, involving the aforementioned Indians. He saw it.

Indians from the community of Santiago also ordinarily serve. This witness has seen that because while the one [group] serves upstairs in the pantry, the other serves downstairs in the kitchen. He does not know, however, the number of those who serve from the community of Santiago.

In addition, ten or twelve Indians, and sometimes thirteen, carry wheat for [the viceroy] to the mill and bring it [back] from there ground. [This they do] every third day, and sometimes every day. This is the service they provide him and have always provided him [605v] since he has been in this land. They have never, in all that time, been given or paid anything for this. He knows this because he has seen it and is a *principal* and has been in charge of affairs of the community and of the *maceguales* [common people].

{}

Asked whether this witness went on the conquest of the Tierra Nueva of Cíbola, to which the aforementioned viceroy sent Francisco Vázquez de Coronado as captain general, he said, yes, he went.

{}



He was asked how many Indians went with the aforesaid Francisco Vázquez on that conquest and how many of them returned. He stated that four hundred and forty Indians from this *ciudad* of México went on the aforesaid conquest. Likewise, Indians from Michoacán and other *pueblos* went, but this witness does not know how many. He did not count them or have a count made, except of those who went separately from this *ciudad*. But [he can say] that [there was] a great multitude of [Indians from other places].

From this *ciudad* of México, one hundred forty-four Indians, of two hundred and seven who went, returned from that war. The rest died there and along the way.

{}

He was asked whether the aforementioned Indians had carried loads on the route. He replied that the [people] from this *ciudad* of México traveled in the service of Captain General Francisco Vázquez, thirty Indians from the community of México and another thirty from the community of Santiago carrying loads belonging to the captain [general]. The rest served him in carrying forage and in other ways, as the [Spaniards] directed them. The Indians from the other *pueblos* served other Spaniards. This witness saw that some of those [Indians] carried loads. They did not [begin] carrying loads at this *ciudad*, but rather they started carrying loads in the way he has said twenty-six days' journey from this *ciudad*.

{}

He was asked by whose order the Indians who went on the aforesaid conquest did so. [In response] he stated that *licenciado* [Lorenzo de] Tejada, an *oidor* of this royal *audiencia* [high court], talked with don Diego, *gobernador* of México, and the *principales*, [telling them] that Tierra Nueva had been discovered and that the viceroy was sending people there. [He asked] whether some Indians would be willing to go there voluntarily [606r] because they could be sure that [the Spaniards] would not use force or take them against their will, as Nuño [Beltrán] de Guzmán had done when he went to Jalisco.

The [*gobernador* and *principales*] said that they were willing to go [to Tierra Nueva], and they went willingly. The aforementioned *licenciado* Tejada gave the [*principales*] from the community of México sixty pesos [of silver] *de tepuzque* [while they were still] in this *ciudad*. [This was] so that they could buy sandals and provisions and other things for those who had to go to the war. The witness believes that [Tejada] gave a similar amount to the [*principales*] from Santiago. When they had arrived at Jalisco, where

they found the aforesaid viceroy, the viceroy asked them if they were going willingly or under compulsion.<sup>44</sup> And they said that they were going by their own free will and not by coercion. There [Mendoza] ordered the people from México to carry 30 loads for the captain [general], and those from Santiago [were ordered to carry] an equal number. [Tlecanen said] that for this [the Spaniards] did not give them any payment, neither outbound or on the return, except seven loads of hardtack that they gave them to eat.

The witness [stated] that he knows all the foregoing because he went on the aforementioned journey and saw it. Further, he was in charge of the Indians from the community of México who went there. [He] also [said] that in everything else they themselves carried their food and sustained themselves. This is what he knows and what occurred concerning what he has been asked.

{/}

[Tlecanen was] asked whether the Indians who he said traveled with loads with the aforesaid Francisco Vázquez, were always carrying loads along the whole route. He replied that they were bearing loads until the supplies that they carried in the aforementioned loads were exhausted. From there onward they carried nothing except their own food. He said that he believes [it was] at Culiacán that the supplies that made up their loads were used up and that from there on they did not carry loads.<sup>45</sup>

{/}

[He was] asked whether in this *ciudad* [de México] they provided any *tamemes* or supplies for the people who went on the aforementioned conquest and [with] other armed forces, he stated that he did not know more than he has said before. And he reaffirmed that. When he was read [his statement] he said that it is rightly recorded, and he confirmed it. The aforesaid interpreter signed it with his name because the witness did not know [how].

[606v] Afterward he said that it is five days [on] and five days [off] to bring water to the house of the aforementioned viceroy. The [people] from the community of México provide service for five days, and those from Santiago [do so] for the next five days. Thus they alternate five days and five days bringing water. [It is] likewise as concerns transporting wheat to the mill to be ground. He said that by turns those from México provide service for five days and those from Santiago [do so] for the next five days. During these five days pertaining to them, sometimes they go every day and other times every third day, as he has said and stated above.

Likewise, he declared, regarding what he has said about being in charge of the Indians who went to Cíbola, that this witness and three other Indians were in charge of them.<sup>46</sup> This is the truth, everything he said and declared through the translation of the aforesaid fray Hernando Méndez, interpreter, who signed it.

Where it reads “tre,” “Francisco Vázquez,” [and] “y” [the words are] struck out. It stands as struck out.

fray Hernando Méndez [rubric]

Miguel López [rubric]

{94th witness}

{Martín Cacçol}

After what was stated above, on the aforesaid day the lord *visitador* ordered Martín Cacçol to appear before him. [He is] an Indian [and] *vecino* [citizen with full political rights] of this *ciudad*. Since he was present, the oath was taken and received from him in the form prescribed by law. He gave [his oath] and promised to tell the truth. He was questioned under that oath and said the following:

[He was] asked whether he is familiar with the viceroy don Antonio de Mendoza and for how long. He replied, yes, he knows [him and has] since he has been in this land.

Asked the questions concerning personal data, he stated that he is thirty-eight years of age, more or less, and that he is a baptized Christian and a native of the *ciudad* de México. [He said] that none of the other such questions are relevant or impede him [from testifying] and that he will tell the truth about what he may know, and nothing else.

[607r] {viceroy} {/}

[He was] asked how many Indians from the community of México provide service in the house of the viceroy in this *ciudad*. He replied that from the community of México sixty Indians serve continuously in the house of the aforementioned viceroy. [They serve] for twenty days in the pantry and twenty [days] downstairs in the kitchen. When they are serving in the pantry, those from Santiago serve in the kitchen, and when those from México are serving in the kitchen, those from Santiago serve in the pantry. He does not know, though, how many [persons] from the community of Santiago provide service, but he knows and has seen that sixty Indians [from] the community of México serve continuously. He knows this because for two years this witness was in charge of those who provide service there and saw it.

Likewise, they serve [the viceroy] in carrying wheat to the mill for grinding. Concerning this matter of the mill, those from México serve five days and alternate with those from Santiago for five days that fall to them. Sometimes they go twice and other times three times; every time fourteen Indians travel with loads to the mill. It has always been this way since the aforementioned viceroy came to the land. [The Spaniards] have not given or paid them anything for this, not [anything] to eat or anything else.

Asked whether this witness went with Francisco Vázquez de Coronado to the tierra nueva of Cíbola, he said, yes, he went.

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[Cacçol was] asked how many Indians from the Ciudad de México went to the aforesaid tierra nueva of Cíbola. He replied that two hundred and four Indians went from the community of México. Four of them fled along the way and two hundred went [all the way] there. Indians from the community of Santiago also went there, but he does not know how many went nor did he count them. Likewise, he saw that Indians from other *provincias* and *pueblos* also went to the aforesaid war. But he did not count them, nor does he know how many they were.

[He was] asked how many Indians of the ones who went to the aforementioned war from the community of México returned. This witness replied that he does not know because he returned from Cíbola [607v] with *padre* fray Marcos [de Niza] and did not go beyond there. Afterward, when the Spaniards returned, he heard it said that a hundred and forty Indians from the community of México returned.

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[Cacçol was] asked by whose order the aforementioned Indians went to the war. He stated that the *oidor* [legislator/judge] *licenciado* [Lorenzo de] Tejada spoke with don Diego [Huanitzin] and the *principales*, [asking] whether they wished to go to the aforesaid war and conquest. And they said, yes. Thus, they went of their own free will. The aforementioned *licenciado* Tejada gave them a certain sum, which he does not remember, of *pesos de oro* for [purchase of] equipment and provisions. He also stated that four *principales* went from the community of México; they were in charge of the two hundred Indians from their community who went to the aforesaid war.

[He said] that from Jalisco to Culiacán they carried twenty loads, more or less, on *tamemes*, for the aforementioned Francisco Vázquez, who went as captain general. He did not give them anything or pay them for that,

except this witness saw that he gave them a certain number of loads of corn to eat. And at Culiacán [the Spaniards] gave them some fresh tortillas, and they provided service to Francisco Vázquez in carrying forage for the horses and in [doing] other things he ordered them [to do]. [The Spaniards] did not pay them anything for it, which this witness knows of. Further, the Indians themselves carried their own food.

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[Cacçol was] asked who ordered them to carry the aforementioned loads and to provide service to the aforesaid Francisco Vázquez. He stated that those four *principales* who were in charge of the common people ordered them to do so. He does not know by whose order [beyond that]. Those four who were in charge of the Indians and were *principales* are called don Pedro (who is now dead), Damián (who, likewise, is dead), Juan Tecçane from the barrio [or *calpollí*] of San Juan, and Martín Xalacate from the barrio [or *calpollí*] of Santa María.<sup>47</sup> They will know better.

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[He was then] asked whether he knows that some Indians from this *ciudad* went in other armed forces that the aforementioned viceroy dispatched, and further whether [the Indians] had provided some *tamemes* or some food-stuffs for [the forces] and the people who went in them. [He] replied that [608r] he did not know and that this is the truth and what he knows and saw concerning what he has been asked about. When he was read his statement he said that it is rightly recorded, and that he was confirming and did confirm everything he said and declared through translation by the aforementioned interpreter fray Hernando Méndez, who signed his name. [Cacçol] was ordered to keep secret everything stated above under pain of one hundred lashes. He promised to hold it close and keep it secret.

fray Hernando Méndez [rubric]

Miguel López [rubric]

{...}

[615v] {...}

{98th witness}

{Juan Coavis}

After what was stated above, in the aforesaid *ciudad*, on the aforementioned day, the lord *visitador* ordered that the Indian Juan Coavis appear before him.<sup>48</sup> He says that he is a native of the community of Santiago [de Tlatelolco]. Since he was present, the oath was taken and received from him in the form prescribed by law. He gave [his oath] and promised to tell

the truth. He was questioned under that oath by means of translation by the interpreter fray Hernando Méndez. He said and declared the following:

When he was questioned according to the first question of the *interrogatorio*, he answered that he is familiar with all of those mentioned in that question, and [has been] since they each came to the land.

In response to the questions concerning personal data required by law he stated that he is thirty-six years of age, more or less, and is a baptized Christian. [616r] He is a native and *principal* of Tlatelolco and is in charge of the commoners of the barrio of Santa Catalina.<sup>49</sup> None of the other such questions are relevant or impede him [from testifying]. [He said] that he will tell the truth about what he may know and will not fail to tell it because of fear or for any other reason.

{}

[Coavis was] asked whether he knew of any injuries or abuses that the Indians and commoners of this *ciudad* had received at the hands of the aforesaid viceroy [and] president or from the *oidores*, or from any one of them. Or whether [the Spanish officials] had treated them well and held them justly. He replied that he did not know of any person having done [them] harm or having abused [them]. Rather, they have treated everyone justly, as far as this witness has seen.

{}

[He was then] asked what service it is that the Indians of Tlatelolco provide in the house of the viceroy, for how long they have provided it, and by whose order [they did so]. He replied that they serve him in [bringing] forage and firewood. The [people] of Santiago [de Tlatelolco] serve him for twenty days, and those from México the next twenty days. Thus they serve him by turns. For the twenty days during which it falls to those of Santiago to provide service he knows and has seen that they supply him forty quantities by weight of forage every day. That is eighty large loads, because each quantity by weight equals two loads. Likewise, they provide firewood to him, but he does not know how many loads per day. [The viceroy] is also provided *ocote* [pitch pine], and they bring him water, but he does not know how much.

They also supply [Mendoza] with Indians who serve him in the pantry and in the kitchen. It is thirty-five Indians from the community of Santiago who serve the viceroy continuously in his house. The people from México also provide service, but he does not know how many. But when the one group provides service in the pantry, the other provides service in the kitchen,

and the ones in the pantry and the ones in the kitchen switch every twenty days. This they have provided to him and do still ever since he came to the land [616v] by order of the *caciques*.<sup>50</sup>

[Coavis was] asked whether the aforementioned viceroy has paid or is paying them anything for that service. He stated that, no, he has not nor is he paying them anything for it.

Asked whether, at the viceroy's house, [the Spaniards] feed the Indians whom he says provide service there, he said, no, rather they take their own food.

{}

[He was] asked [next] how many Indians from the community of Santiago went to the tierra nueva of Cíbola with Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and the people who went with him. He answered that eighty Indians from the community of Santiago went on the aforementioned conquest. He knows this because this witness went there. Furthermore, he and three other [men] took and were in charge of the Indians from the community of Santiago who went.<sup>51</sup>

{}

[Then he was] asked by whose order the aforesaid eighty Indians from the community of Santiago [de Tlatelolco] whom he says went to the war did so. He replied that the *oidor licenciado* Tejada spoke with the *caciques* of Santiago, telling them that the Spaniards were going to that tierra nueva and [asking] whether any Indians would want to go there voluntarily and whether they might consider it. The *caciques* and don Martín, who was governor at the time, but is now dead, told the Indians what the aforementioned *licenciado* Tejada had told them.<sup>52</sup> And the Indians voluntarily wanted to go, and they went as he has said.

Also [he said] that the aforesaid *licenciado* Tejada gave a certain number of gold pesos to the governor don Martín for the purchase of provisions for the Indians who were having to go. [He stated] that he does not know how much [money] it was, except that the aforementioned don Martín gave leather sandals, hardtack, and chocolate to this witness and the other Indians who went, for [their needs] along the road.

Of the eighty Indians from Santiago who went, twenty carried loads of foodstuffs for the aforesaid Francisco Vázquez from Jalisco as far as Cíbola. [Those foodstuffs] were being used up along the way. The rest [of the Indians from Santiago] provided service to Francisco Vázquez by guarding the livestock which [the Spaniards] were taking and in putting up shelters in which the encampment was settled.

[617r] [Coavis was then] asked how many Indians returned of those who he says went to the aforementioned war from the community of Santiago. He replied that sixty Indians returned and the other twenty died there.

Asked what payment [the Spaniards] gave them for going to the war, he said that they did not give or pay them anything more than what he has said.  
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[The witness] was asked by whose order [the Indians] carried the loads belonging to Francisco Vázquez, and who directed them to serve him in the ways he has said they served him. He answered that the aforementioned Francisco Vázquez ordered it and they did it by his order.  
{/}

[He was then] asked whether Francisco Vázquez paid them anything for it and whether, along the road, he fed the Indians who were carrying his loads. He stated that [Francisco Vázquez] did not pay or give them anything. Nor did he feed them. The witness said that he knows this, as to whether sometimes he fed them, because this witness did not see it.

Asked for how long they traveled around there providing service to the aforesaid Francisco Vázquez, [Coavis] replied that the going and coming and the being there lasted three years.<sup>53</sup>  
{/}

[He was] asked from what other *pueblos* Indians went on the aforesaid journey with Francisco Vázquez. He said the [Indians] went from México [Tenochtitlan], from Michoacán [Pátzcuaro], from [the *provincia* of] Culiacán, from many other *pueblos*, and from Zacayuca.<sup>54</sup> And he stated that he did not know how many [went] from each community, except that many Indians went from each and especially many went from the *provincia* of Michoacán. And they were divided up to serve the Spaniards. [But] he does not know how many.  
{/}

Asked whether many of the aforementioned Indians died during the journey, [Coavis] answered that he does not know because he did not keep track [of anyone] except the [people] from Santiago whom he was in charge of.

[617v] {Tejada}

{[note this] in regard to [questions] 16 and 17 [regarding] Tejada}

{/}

[The witness] was asked whether he is aware and has knowledge of a certain property and parcels of land that *licenciado* Tejada has close to



Chapultepecque. He replied, yes, he knows about them because he has seen them.

[Coavis was then] asked whose the parcels were before they were the aforesaid *licenciado* Tejada's. He stated that they were lands of the Indians of México and Santiago who had their properties there.

Asked what was on those parcels when, [as he] says, they belonged to the Indians, he replied that [they were] farm lands where the Indians planted corn. Also there were maguey plants, a few fruit trees, and some Indians' houses. It seems to this witness that in the portion belonging to Santiago there were seven houses and that there were also houses in the portion belonging to México, but he does not know how many because he did not count them. He knows what is stated above because he saw it during the time it belonged to the Indians.

[He was] asked whether on those parcels there were any churches or religious retreats. He answered that on the portion that belonged to Santiago there was a small church, like a small religious retreat. He does not know whether there were more.

[Coavis was] asked who gave the aforementioned parcels to *licenciado* Tejada. This witness stated that he does not know because at the time he was in the tierra nueva of Cíbola.

[Next he was] asked whether the church, houses, trees, and maguey plants that he says were there are presently on those parcels. He stated, no, everything [has been] removed and torn down. He does not know who removed [them] because he was at that time, as he has said, in Tierra Nueva. Because of this he was not questioned further on this matter.

[He said] that this is the truth. When he was read his statement, he said that it was well recorded, and he was confirming and did confirm it. He was instructed to keep secret everything that he said and stated through translation by the aforementioned interpreter, who signed his name here.

Later this witness stated that [regarding] the church that he said was on those lands that the *licenciado* presently holds [618r] he does not remember whether it was there before the parcels belonged to *licenciado* Tejada, but after he returned from Tierra Nueva he saw it had been done. It may have been about a year ago that this witness went there and saw the aforesaid church on those lands, and it had not been removed or torn down. He does not know whether since that time they have removed it or whether it is [still] there. The aforesaid church was inside the fence of the land that *licenciado* Tejada has enclosed, on a portion that was not being planted.

It is valid where “hardtack,” “it,” and “he said” are written between the lines. Where “os” is struck out it stands as struck out, and it is not affected.

[Further, he was] asked whether he knows that the Indians of Santiago provide service to the aforementioned viceroy in carrying wheat to the mill and carrying it after it has been ground. He replied that he has heard it said by other Indians that the [people] of Santiago provide service of the type stated above for five days and the [people] of México [do so] for the next five days. During the five days that apply to [the people of Santiago], eight loads of wheat go to the mill. The Indians carry it every day and sometimes every third day. Further, they carry it once it has been ground. This witness does not know more than what he has heard said. And he ratified it, and the aforesaid interpreter signed it with his name.

fray Hernando Méndez [rubric]

Miguel López [rubric]

{99th witness}

{Francisco Yautl}

After what was stated above, on the aforesaid day, the aforementioned lord *visitador* ordered the Indian Francisco Yautl to appear before him. He said that he is a native of the barrio of Los Reyes in Santiago [de Tlatelolco]. Since he was present, the oath was taken and received from him in the form prescribed by law. He gave [his oath] and promised to tell the truth. He was questioned under that [618v] oath by means of translation by the interpreter fray Hernando Méndez. He stated the following:

To the first question he replied that he is familiar with everyone mentioned in it [and has been] since each of them came to this land.

In response to the questions concerning personal data required by law he stated that, in his opinion, he is thirty-five years of age, more or less, although he does not know for sure. He is a baptized Christian. He is in charge of tribute in the barrio of Los Reyes, which is in Santiago.<sup>55</sup> None of the other such questions are relevant or impede him [from testifying]. [He said] that he will tell the truth about what he may know and will not fail to tell it because of fear or for any other reason.

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[This witness was] asked whether the Indians and the common people of Santiago have been treated benevolently by the aforementioned viceroy, president, and *oidores*, and whether they have treated them justly, or whether they have done [the Indians] any injury or abuse. He replied that

[the officials] have treated them well. He does not know that [the officials] have done them any injury or abuse. Rather, they have treated them justly.

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[Yautl was then] asked what sort of service it is that the Indians of Santiago have provided and do provide in the house of the aforementioned viceroy. He stated that they provide him with forage, firewood, water, and Indians to serve in the kitchen. But he does not know how many [or how much] of each item [they provided] because he was not in charge of that. [The Indians] have always provided it to [the viceroy] since he has been in the land. [They did it] by order of the governor and *principales* of Santiago. This witness does not know whether or not [the viceroy] paid for it because he has not seen him pay.

[He was] asked what service or Indians they provide to the *oidores*, or any one of them, or have provided since they have been in the land. He answered that he does not know.

[619r]

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[This witness was then] asked how many Indians from Santiago went to the Tierra Nueva of Cíbola with Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and the Spaniards who went with him, and by whose order [they went]. He answered that don Martín, who at that time was *governador* of Santiago, went on the aforementioned expedition with Francisco Vázquez de Coronado.<sup>56</sup> Six days' journey from this *ciudad* the aforesaid don Martín returned unwell because he fell from a horse, and many Indians returned with him. Those who went on and traveled on the aforementioned journey, it seems to this witness, were up to a hundred Indians. [That is,] concerning [only] the [people] from the community of Santiago. However, he did not count them. This witness [said] that he went there and was one of four [men] who was in charge of the Indians from Santiago.<sup>57</sup>

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Asked by whose order they went on the aforementioned expedition, he said the *oidor licenciado* Tejada told the *caciques* and *principales* of México [Tenochtitlan] and Santiago [de Tlatelolco] that the Spaniards were going to Tierra Nueva and [asked] whether they would see if some Indians would want to go voluntarily, because [that way] they would not have to be forced and taken against their will. And the *principales* talked with the Indians. Thus [it was] that they went voluntarily.

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[Yautl was then] asked whether [the Spaniards] gave them anything because they went on the aforementioned expedition. He stated that he did not know more than that don Martín gave to each one [going] a pair of leather sandals and some chocolate that they took together, in order to eat along the way.

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[He was] asked what it [was] that the [Indians] did on the aforesaid expedition and whom they served. [He replied] that, from Jalisco to Culiacán, twenty-eight of those Indians carried loads for the aforementioned Francisco Vázquez. [These were loads] of provisions and foodstuffs that were used up along the road, as well as arms and armor. The other Indians provided service to Francisco Vázquez [619v] by herding and guarding the livestock and by gathering forage and making his shelter.

[This witness was then] asked by whose order the [Indians] provided service to Francisco Vázquez and carried loads for him during that expedition. He declared that the aforementioned Francisco Vázquez told and ordered [the *principales*] and put them in charge of it. They did it by his order.

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[He was] asked what Francisco Vázquez gave and paid them for the aforementioned service and *tamemes*. [Yautl] replied that he did not give or pay them anything except that at Culiacán he ordered that those from Santiago be given twenty loads of unshelled corn. He gave them nothing else.

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[He was then] asked whether, along the road, Francisco Vázquez fed the Indians whom he took along carrying his loads. He replied that [Vázquez de Coronado] did not feed them or give them anything else, except what he stated above he gave them in Culiacán. This witness knows it because he went on the aforesaid expedition and was in charge of the Indians from Santiago, as he has said.

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[Yautl was then] asked how many of the Indians who went from the community of Santiago returned [there]. He replied that he does not know more than that he had heard it said by one of the four [men] who were in charge of them that it was sixty who had returned.

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[He was] asked how much time they spent on the aforementioned expedition, [to which] he answered that they spent three years from when they left this *ciudad* until they returned to it.

This witness [was] asked whether he is married and whether he was married at the time he says he went to Tierra Nueva. He stated that he is married and was [married] then and that he has children.

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[Next he was] asked from which other *pueblos* Indians went to the aforesaid Tierra Nueva and how many. He replied that they went from México, Culiacán, Zacayuca, and from the *provincia* of Michoacán. They were many, but he does not know the number [620r] because he did not count them. But he knows and saw that many Indians went.

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[Yautl was then] asked who [it was] that the other Indians served, who went to the aforementioned war. He said that some of them traveled with particular Spaniards. This witness knows everything that he has stated above because he went on the aforesaid expedition and saw it.

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[Next he was] asked whether many of the Indians who went from this land died on the expedition. He replied that many [of them] died there, but he does not know the number. This is the truth. When he was read his statement, he confirmed it and said that it is well recorded because it is the truth as translated by the aforementioned interpreter. He was directed to hold and keep secret everything stated above, which he promised to hold and keep [thus]. He did not sign because, he said, he did not know how to write. The aforementioned interpreter signed his name.

fray Hernando Méndez [rubric]

Miguel López [rubric]

{ . . . }

[625r]

{102d witness}

After what was stated above, in the *ciudad* de México, on the sixteenth day of the month of June in the aforesaid year the lord *visitador* ordered the Indian Francisco Abuy to appear before him. He said that he is a native of the *pueblo* of Pátzcuaro which is in the *provincia* of Michoacán. Since he was present, the oath was taken and received from him in the form prescribed by law. He gave [his oath] and promised to tell the truth. He was questioned under that oath by means of translation by the interpreter fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz and stated the following:

[He was] asked whether he is familiar with don Antonio de Mendoza, [who is] viceroy and governor of Nueva España. He replied that he has known him for about the last ten years.

When [he was] asked the questions concerning personal data required by law he said that he does not know how old he is, [but] that he is a native of Pátzcuaro in the *provincia* of Michoacán and a *principal* of that *pueblo*. None of the other such questions are relevant or impede him [from testifying]. [He said] that he will tell the truth about what he may know and nothing else. From his appearance he seemed to be forty years old, more or less.  
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[Abuy was] asked whether he knew or had heard about certain armed forces that Viceroy don Antonio de Mendoza has put together. He replied that he knows and has seen that the aforesaid viceroy sent one armed force by land to the Tierra Nueva of Cíbola because this witness went there. Furthermore, he saw that [the viceroy] dispatched another armed force by sea, and this witness saw many Spaniards go with it.<sup>58</sup> [He said] that it is six years ago, more or less, that [the viceroy] dispatched the armed force that went to the Tierra Nueva of Cíbola and a little less than four years [since he sent off] the one that went by sea. This is public knowledge and widely held.  
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[He was] asked what are the things that [the Indians] provided in the *pueblo* of Pátzcuaro, where this witness says he is a Native, for those [625v] armed forces. He answered that they did not provide anything that this witness knows of, except that, for one expedition, they fed and provided *tamemes* to the Spaniards who passed through that *pueblo* of Pátzcuaro and were going on the aforementioned expeditions.  
{/}

[The witness was] asked by whose order they provided the food and *tamemes* that he says were provided to the people who went in the aforementioned armed forces. He stated that the Spaniards who passed through there asked for it for the aforementioned armed forces and the Indian don Pedro, who was governor at the time, ordered them to provide it to [the Spaniards]. And they provided, as he has said, food and *tamemes* to carry their loads for one day's journey.  
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[He was] asked how much food and how many *tamemes* it was that he says [the Indians] in the aforesaid *pueblo* provided to the Spaniards who went in those armed forces. He stated that he does not know the quantities of them.  
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[He was then] asked whether [the Spaniards] paid them for the aforesaid food and *tamemes* or whether they provided it without payment. He stated

that [the Spaniards] did not pay them anything then, but afterwards everything has been paid for.

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[Abuy was] asked who paid them for it and how much he gave them and paid for it. This witness answered that he did not see the payment, but he heard it said by other *principales* of the aforesaid *pueblo* that El Romano had paid them for everything.<sup>59</sup> He does not know how much it was. But he heard him tell them that everything they had provided for the aforementioned armed forces had been counted, from the chickens to the firewood that they provided, and that [the Spaniards] had paid them for everything.

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[He was] asked whether he knows that, in the aforesaid *pueblo*, they had provided anything for which they have not been paid. He answered that he does not know more than what he has stated above.

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[He was] asked whether the people who went in the aforementioned armed forces did [the Indians] in the *pueblo* of Pátzcuaro any injury or abuse. This witness said that he does not know that they did anyone any hurt or abuse whatsoever.

[626r] This witness [was] asked whether he went to the Tierra Nueva of Cíbola with the people and Spaniards who went there. He said, yes, he went.

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[Abuy was] asked how many Indians went to the aforesaid Tierra Nueva. He replied that about a hundred Indians went from that *pueblo* of Pátzcuaro, and no others went from the *provincia* of Michoacán. Indians also went from México and its land, but he does not know how many because he did not count them. Of the hundred who went from Pátzcuaro about twenty Indians died there, and the rest returned. This witness knows it because he went there and saw it.

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[He was] asked by whose order the aforementioned Indians went on that expedition. He said that they went voluntarily because when they learned that the viceroy was sending [people] to Tierra Nueva, they were saying among themselves that they would like to go there. And, thus, those he has said went did so.

[He was] asked whether [the Indians] carried loads belonging to the captain [general] or to the Spaniards who went on the expedition, or whether they provided service to them in any other way. He answered that they did not

carry loads belonging to anyone, but they served the Spaniards in bringing forage for the horses. They did not serve [the Spaniards] in any other way.

[This witness was] asked whether [the Spaniards] paid them or gave them anything because they went on the aforementioned expedition. [To which] he said, no.

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[He was then] asked how long it took them and [how much time] they spent in traveling to and from the aforesaid Tierra Nueva. He stated that they were there for two years, and during the third they returned.

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[Abuy was] asked whether he knows of any injury or abuse that Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza did to any persons or [whether] he took anything from them in the *pueblo* of Pátzcuaro or in any other *pueblos* of the *provincia* of Michoacán. He replied that, no, he does not know of, nor did he see, that the viceroy himself or by his order did any injury or abuse to [626v] any person in the aforementioned *provincia* or in any other community. Nor has he heard such a thing talked about. Rather, he has seen that [the viceroy] loves and is very fond of [the Indians]. This is the truth and what he knows about this matter.

He was read his statement, and when he was, he said that it is well recorded and he confirmed it because it is the truth. He was directed to hold and keep secret everything stated above, under penalty of one hundred lashes, which he promised to hold and keep [thus]. He signed his name to everything he said and declared by means of translation by the aforementioned interpreter fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz, who, likewise, signed it with his name.

Where it is written between lines and says "les" is valid.

fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz [rubric]

Francisco

Miguel López [rubric]

{...}

### Transcription of the Testimonies

[fol. 604v]

{...}

{*testigo xciiij*}

{joan tlecanen / prinçipal}

E luego el señor visitador mando pareçer Ante sy a Juan tle- / Çanen prinçipal *que el dicho don diego truxo Consigo del / qual siendo presente*



fue tomado E *Recibido Juramento en forma / debida de derecho* y el lo hyzo sobre la señal de la cruz E *pro- / metio de decir verdad por lengua del dicho ynterprete E / so Cargo del dicho Juramento le fue preguntado E dixo lo siguiente*

{1}

A la primera pregunta del ynteRogatorio dixo *que / conoÇe al VisoRey don antonio de mendoça despues / que vino a esta tieRa*

[fol. 605r]

{{(^ dxcij) ^ dcV}

a las preguntas generales dixo *que es de hedad de ÇinCuenta / E çinco años poCo mas o menos e que es cristiano baUtizado / E que no le toCan ny enpeçen nynguna de las otras preguntas generales E que dira verdad de lo que supiere E no la / dexara de dezir por temor ny por otra CaUsa*

{VisoRey}

{/}

preguntado *que servycio es El que dan cada dia al Visorrey en su / casa dixo que le dan cada dia quarenta pesos de / yerba que son dos Cargas de las grandes cada peso y / quinze cargas de leña y tres costalejos de Carbon / y un manojo de ocote y que esto es lo que le han dado E / dan al dicho Visorrey cada dia y mas diez cargas de / agua de la de chapultepeque y veynte cargas y veynte / e ÇinCo de agua de la del caño del agua que viene a esta / Çiudad cada dia y que este dicho servycio le dan veynte dias / de la parte de mexico y otros Veynte dias de la parte de / santiago y asy por esta (h)orden le han dado el dicho / servycio sienpre despues que vyno A la tieRa y que asy- / mysmo le dan yndyos de servycio que le sirVen en su Casa / asi En el aparador como en la Cozina y en otras cosas / y que de la parte de mexico le dan sessenta yndyos que le / sirVen ordynariamente y algunas Vezes setenta E seten- / ta E Çinco y que estos le han servydo sienpre E que lo sabe / porque este testigo como prinÇipal que es de esta Çiudad los dias / pasados tuVo cargo de servyr en Casa del dicho VisoRey / con los dichos Yndyos E lo Vido y que tambien sirVen / yndyos de la parte de santiago ordynariamente y este testigo / lo ha Visto por quando los unos syrVen aRiba en el / aparador los otros syrVen abaxo en la Cozina pero / que no sabe quantos son los que sirVen de la parte de san- / tiago E que asymysmo le lleVan ^ diez o doze yndios / y algunas Vezes treze trigo al molyno y lo traen mo- / lido de el (terçer) a terçer (a) dia y otras Vezes cada / dia y que esto es el de servycio que le han dado y dan sienpre*

[fol. 605v]

despues *que esta* En la tieRa y *que nunCa* les han dado ny /pagado cosa  
nynguna por ello En todo el dicho tienpo E / *que lo sabe porque* lo ha Visto  
y es prinÇipal E tiene cargo / de las Cosas del pueblo y de los maÇeguales  
{/}

preguntado si Fue este *testigo* a la Conquista de la tieRa nue- / Va de Çibola  
donde el dicho (^francisco Vazquez) VysoRey / enVio a francisco Vazquez  
de Coronado por Capitan general / dixo *que* si fue

{/}

preguntado *que* tantos yndyos fueron con el dicho francisco Vaz- / quez a la  
dicha conquista E *quantos* Volvyeron de ellos dixo / *que* de esta Çiudad de  
mexico fueron quatro çientos E Catorze yn- / dios a la dicha Conquista E  
*que* de mechuaCan y de otros pueblos / *asymysmo* fueron yndios pero *que*  
este *testigo* no sabe *quantos* / ny los Conto ny tuVo cuenta sino con los de  
esta Çiudad / *que* yban por si *aparte* mas de *que* fue mucha Cantidad de  
ellos / y de muchas *provincias* e pueblos y de esta Çiudad de mexico /  
Volvyeron Çiento E quarenta E quatro yndios de la dicha / *gueRa* de la  
parte de mexico de dozientos E siete *que* fueron / y los demas muryeron  
Alla e por los Camynos

{/}

preguntado sy yban cargados por el Camyno los dichos yndios / dixo *que* de  
los de esta Çiudad de mexico fueron *servyendo* a francisco / Vazquez capitan  
general y *que* fueron cargados treynta / yndios de la parte de mexico y otros  
treynta de la parte de / santiago con cargas del dicho capitan y los demas / le  
*servyan* En traer yerba y en otras Cosas *que* les mandaban / y *que* los yndios  
de los otros pueblos *servyan* a otros españoles / y algunos de ellos Vio este  
*testigo* *que* yban cargados y *que* de esta Çiu- / dad no fueron cargados sino  
*que* de Veynte E seys jornadas de *es-* / ta Çiudad començaron a yr Cargados  
Como dicho tiene

{/}

preguntado por Cuyo mandado fueron a la dicha conquista / E jornada los  
yndios *que* dize *que* fueron a ella dixo *que* el *licenciado* / tejada oydor de esta  
Real aUdiencia hablo a don diego *gobemador* / de mexico y a los prynÇipales  
como se *habia* desCubiertó *aquella* / tieRa nueVa y *que* el VisoRey EnViaba  
gente a ella *que* si al- / gunos yndios de su Voluntad quysiesen yr a ella *que* lo  
[fol. 606r]

{{(^dxciij) ^dcVj}}

Viesen *porque* no les *habian* de hazer fuerça ny lleVarlos / contra su Voluntad  
como lo hizo nuño de guzman *quando* / fue a xalisCo y *que* Ellos dixeron

que queryan yr alla / y de su Voluntad fueron y el dicho licenciado teJada les / dio sessenta pesos de tepuzque en esta Çiudad a los de la / parte de mexico para conprar cutaras y matalotaje / E otras Cosas para los que habian de yr a la dicha gueRa / cree este testigo que otros tantos dio a los de santiago / y que llegados que fueron a xalisCo donde hallaron al / VisoRey El dicho VisoRey les pregunto sy yban de / su Voluntad o por fuerça y (e) ellos dixeron que yban de / su Voluntad y no por fuerça y ally les mando / que lleVasen al capitán treynta Cargas los de mexico / y otras tantas los de santiago y que no les dieron / por ello paga nynguna A la yda ny a la Venyda syno / fue siete Cargas de bizcocho que les dieron para Comer / E que sabe todo lo susodicho este testigo porque fue a la dicha / Jornada E lo Vido y tenia (^y) Cargo de los yndios de la / parte de mexico que fueron Alla E que en lo demas Ellos mys- / mos lleVaron su Comyda E se mantuVieron E que esto / es lo que sabe y pasa ÇerCa de lo que le ha sido preguntado

{/}

preguntado si los yndios que dize que fueron cargados con el dicho / francisco Vazquez si fueron cargados sienpre todo el Ca- / myno dixo que fueron cargados hasta que se aCabo el / bastimento que lleVaban en las dichas Cargas y dende en / adelante no lleVaban syno sus Comydas de los mys- / mos yndyos y que en CuliaCan cree que se aCabo el basti- / mento de las cargas y de ally adelante no lleVaron / cargas

{/}

preguntado si sabe que para la gente que fue a la dicha Conquys- / ta E otras armadas si dieron Algunos tamemes / o bastimentos en esta Çiudad dixo que no sabe mas / de lo que dicho tiene de suso y en ello se afirmo E / siendo le leydo dixo que esta bien escryto y RatifiCose en ello / y el dicho ynterprete lo firmo de su nombre porque el testigo no sabia

[fol. 606v]

E luego dixo que se traer del agua a Casa del dicho Vy- / soRey y es de Çinco a Çinco dias los de la parte de mexico / sirVen ÇinCo dias y los de santiago otros ÇinCo E asy / se mudan de ÇinCo a Çinco dias para traer la dicha agua / E asy mismo En lo que toCa a lleVar el trigo al molino / A moler dixo que sirVen a Vezes los de mexico Çinco dias / y los de santiago otros Çinco y en estos Çinco dias que les caben Van algunas Vezes cada dia y otras Vezes de ter- / Çer a terÇer dia como de suso tiene dicho y deClarado / y asy mismo dixo que En lo que tiene dicho que este testigo lleVaba / cargo de lo yndyos que fueron a Çibola dixo que este testigo y otros / tres yndios lleVaban cargo de ellos E que esta es la verdad / todo lo qual dixo E deClaro por lengua del

dicho fray hernando / mendez ynterprete el qual lo firmo Va testado / donde  
dezia tre Francisco Vazquez y pase por testado

Fray hernando / mendez [rúbrica]

miguell lopez [rúbrica]

{testigo xciii}

{martyn cacçol}

E despues de lo susodicho en este dicho dia el / señor Visitador mando  
pareçer ante sy a martyn cacçol / yndio Vezino de esta Çiudad del qual  
siendo pre(^guntado)^sente / fue tomado e Recibido Juramento en forma  
debida de derecho y el lo hyzo / e prometio de (de) dezir verdad e so Cargo  
del dicho Juramento / le fue preguntado E dixo lo syguiente

preguntado si conosçe al VisoRey don antonyo de mendoça y de / quanto  
tiempo a esta parte dixo que si conosçe despues que esta / en esta tieRa

preguntado por las preguntas generales dixo que es de hedad de treyn- / ta e  
ocho años poCo mas o menos E que es cristiano baUtiza- / do y natural de  
esta Çiudad de mexico E que no le toCan ny / enpeçen nynguna de las otras  
generales y que dira / verdad de lo que supiere E no otra Cosa

[fol. 607r]

{{(^dxc111j) ^devij}

{Vysorey}

{/}

preguntado que tantos yndios sirVen de la parte de mexico / En Casa del  
VisoRey en esta Çiudad dixo que de la parte / de mexico sirVen a la Con-  
tinua en Casa del dicho VisoRey sessenta yndyos Veynte dias En el aparador  
/ y Veynte En la cozina abaxo E que quando Ellos sir- / Ven En el aparador  
los de santiago sirVen en la / cozina E quando los de mexico sirVen En la  
Cozina / En el aparador sirVen los de santiago pero que / no sabe quantos son  
los que sirVen de la parte de santia- / go mas de que sabe y ha Visto que la parte  
de mexico / sirVen a la continua sienpre sessenta yndyos E que / lo sabe porque  
este testigo tuVo cargo de los yndyos que / alli sirVen dos años e lo Vido E que  
asymismo le / syrVen En lleVar trigo a moler al molyno y que en / esto del  
molino sirVen a Vezes ÇinCo dias los de / mexico y ÇinCo dias los de santiago  
y en estos ÇinCo / dias que les caben algunas Vezes Van dos Vezes E otras /  
Vezes tres cada vez catorze Yndyos cargados al moli- / no y que esto ha sido  
asy sienpre despues que el dicho Vy- / sorrey vino A la tieRa e que no les han  
dado ny pa- / gado cosa nynguna por ello ny de Comer ny otra / cosa  
preguntado si Fue este testigo con Francisco Vazquez de Coronado / a la  
tieRa nueVa de Çibola dixo que si Fue

{/}

preguntado *que* tantos yndyos fueron a la dicha tieRa / nueVa de Çibola de esta Çiudad de mexico dixo *que* de la / parte de mexico fueron dozientos E quatro yndyos E / los quatro de ellos se huyeron del Camyno e los dozientos / fueron alla y *que de la parte* de santiago tambien Fue- / ron yndios pero *que* no sabe *quantos* (h)eran ny los Con- / To y *que* de otras provyncias e pueblos asymysmo Vido / *que* fueron yndyos a la dicha gueRa pero *que* no los conto / ny sabe *quantos* (h)eran

{/}

preguntado *quantos* yndios de los *que* dize *que* fueron de la / parte de (^xalysCo) mexico a la dicha gueRa VolVieron / dixo *que* no lo sabe porque este *testigo* Volvyo desde Çibola

[fol. 607v]

con el padre Fray marCos y no paso de ally adelante / y despues quando Volvyeron los españoles oyo dezir / Volvyeron de los de la parte de mexico Çiento E quaren- / ta yndyos

{/}

preguntado por cuyo mandado fueron a la dicha gueRa / los dichos yndyos dixo *que* el licenciado tejada oydor ha- / blo a don diego y a los prinÇipales si queryan yr / a la dicha gueRa E Conquysta y ellos dixieron *que* sy asy / fueron de su Voluntad y *que* el dicho licenciado tejada les dio / para matalotaje Çiertos pesos de oro *que* no se aCuerda *quantos* / fueron E *que* de la parte de mexico fueron quatro prinÇipales / *que* lleVaban cargo de los dozientos yndios *que* de su parte / fueron A la dicha gueRa y *que* desde xalisCo hasta Culia- / can lleVaron veynt(a)e cargas poCo mas o menos en tame- / mes al dicho francisco Vazquez *que* yba por Capitan general / y *que* no les dio ny pago cosa nynguna por ello *que* este *testigo* / Viese syno fueron Çiertas cargas de mayz *que* les dio / para Comer y en CuliaCan les daban algunas tortillas / frescas y servian al dicho francisco Vazquez en traerle / yerba para los Caballos y en otras Cosas *que* les mandaba / E *que* no les pagaron nynguna Cosa por ello *que* este *testigo* supie- / se y *que* los yndyos ellos mysomos lleVaban su Comyda

{/}

preguntado quien les mando *que* lleVasen las dichas Cargas y *que* sirViesen / al dicho francisco Vazquez dixo *que* aquellos quatro prinÇipales / *que* lleVaban cargo de los maçeguales les mandaban / *que* lo hiziesen E *que* no sabe por cuyo mandado y *que* estos / quatro *que* tenian cargo de los yndios se dizen don pedro *que* es / ya muerto y damyan *que* asymysmo es muerto y

Juan / tecçane del baRio de san Juan y martyñ xalacate del baRio / de santa  
 marya y que estos que (h)eran prinÇipales sabran / meJor /

{/}

preguntado si sabe que a otras Armadas que al dicho Viso- / Rey haya enViado  
 hayan ydo algunos yndyos de esta Çiudad / o hayan dado para ellas y para la  
 gente que yba a ellas / algunos tamemes o algunos bastimentos dixo que  
 [fol. 608r]

{{(^dxcV) ^dcViiij}}

no lo sabe E que esta es la verdad y lo que sabe e Vido / sobre lo que ha sido  
 preguntado e syendo le leydo su / dicho dixo que esta bien escryto y en ello  
 se RatifiCaba / E RatifiCo todo lo qual dixo e deClaro por len- / gua del  
 dicho fray hernando mendez ynter- / prete el qual lo firmo de su nombre  
 mandosele /que tenga secreto de todo lo susodicho so pena de / Çien(t)  
 aÇotes el qual prometio de lo tener E / guardar

Fray hernando / mendez [rúbrica]

miguell lopez [rúbrica]

{...}

[fol. 615v]

{...}

{testigo xcViiij}

{Joan co(^y)^avis}

E despues de lo susdicho En la dicha Çiudad en este / dicho dya El dicho  
 señor Vysytador mando parecer / ante sy'a Juan coaVis yndyo natural que  
 dixo ser de esta / Çiudad de la parte de santiago del qual siendo presente /  
 fue tomado E Reçeydo Juramento en forma debida de derecho /y el lo hizo  
 E prometio de decir verdad E so Cargo del dicho Juramento / le fue  
 preGuntado por lengua del dicho fray hernando men- / dez ynterprete dixo  
 E depuso lo syguiente

preGuntado por la primera preGunta del ynteRogatorio / dixo que Conoçe  
 a todos los En la dicha pregunta Conteny- / dos desde que Cada Uno de  
 ellos Vynieron a la tieRa

preGuntado por las preGuntas generales dixo que es de hedad / de treynta E  
 seys años poCo mas o menos E que es cristiano baU-

[fol. 616r]

{dcxVj}

tizado E natural de tlalelulCo E que es prynÇipal / E tiene Cargo de  
 maçeguales En el baRio de santa / Catalyna E que no le toCan ny enpeçen

nynGuna / de las otras generales E que dira *verdad* de lo que supiere / E que no la dexara de dezir por myedo ny por otra / cosa alguna

{/}

preguntado si sabe de algunos *agraVios* o malos- / *tratamyentos* que los yndyos E maceguals de esta Çiu- / dad o de otras partes hayan ReÇeydo de los dichos / VisoRey presydenste E oydores o de alguno de ellos / o si los han tratado bien E los han tenydo *en Justicia* / dixo que no sabe que a nynGuna persona hayan / hecho *agraVio* my *maltratamyento* syno que A todos / han tenydo *En Justicia* En lo que este *testigo* ha Visto

{/}

preGuntado que *servycio* es el que dan los yndyos de tlate- / lulCo En Casa del VisoRey E que tanto tienpo / ha que lo dan E por Cuyo mandado dixo que le sir- / Ven de yerba E leña E que los de santiago le sirVen / Veynte dias E los de mexico otros Veynte dyas / y asy a Vezes le sirVen E que los Veynte dias que Ca- / be a servir a los de santiaGo sabe E ha Visto / que le dan cada dya quarenta pesos de yerba que son / ochenta cargas de las grandes que Cada peso es / dos cargas y que *asymismo* le dan leña pero / que no sabe quantas Cargas cada dya y que tambien se / le da ocote y le traen agua pero que no sabe que tan- / To y que tambien le dan yndyos que le sirVen En el / aparador y *en* la Cozina y son treynta E ÇinCo yndyos / los que A la Continua sirVen En Casa del dicho VisoRey / de la parte de santiago y que tambien sirVen de los de / mexico pero que no sabe quantos mas de que quando los / Unos syrVen En el aparador los otros syrVen *en* la / Cozina y se mudan de Veynte a Veynte dias los / Unos al aparador y los otros a la Cozina y que esto le / han dado y dan sienpre despues que Vyno a la tieRa

[fol. 616v]

por mandado de los CaÇiques

preguntado si les ha (^y)^paGado o paga alGuna Cosa / El dicho VisoRey por El dicho *servycio* dixo que no les ha pagado ny paga cosa nynGuna por ello preguntado si dan de Comer En Casa del dicho Vysorrey a / los yndyos que dize que sirVen En ella dixo que no syno / que Ellos se traen su Comyda

{/}

preguntado quantos yndyos Fueron de la parte de santiago / a la tieRa nueva de Çibola con Francisco Vazquez de Coronado / y Con la gente que Con el yba dixo que de la parte de santiago / fueron ochenta yndyos a la dicha conquysta e que lo sabe por- / que este *testigo* Fue Alla y el y otros tres lleVaban y tenyan / cargo de los yndyos que fueron de la parte de santiago

{/}

preguntado por Cuyo mandado Fueron los dichos ochenta (^de) / yndios que dize que fueron a la dicha gueRa de la parte de / santiago dixo que el licenciado tejada oydor hablo a los ca- / Çiques de santiago como los españoles yban a aquella / tieRa nueVa que si algunos yndyos quysiesen yr alla de / su Voluntad que lo Viesen y que los caÇiques y don martyn / que (h)era A la sazón gobernador que es ya muerto hablaron / a los yndyos lo que el dicho liçençiado tejada les habia dicho / y que los yndyos de su Voluntad quysieron yr y se Fue- / Ron Como dicho tiene y que el dicho licenciado tejada dio Çier- / tos pesos de oro a don martyn gobernador para conprar de ma- / talotaJe para los yndyos que habian de yr que no sabe / quantos fueron mas de que el dicho don martyn les dio a este testigo / y a los otros yndyos que Fueron cacles ^E bizcocho E cacao para el Camyno / y que de los ochenta yndyos que fueron de santiago los Ve- / ynte de ellos lleVaban cargas del dicho Francisco Vazquez des- / de xalisCo hasta Çibola de Cosas de Comer que fueron Ga- / standose por el dicho camyno E los demas servyan al dicho / francisco Vazquez En guardar El Ganado que lleVaban y en / hazerle Ranchos donde se asentaba El Real [fol. 617r]

{dcxVij}

preguntado quantos yndyos Volvyeron de los que dize que dize que / Fueron a la dicha GueRa de la parte de santiaGo dixo / que Volvyeron sessenta yndyos E que los otros Veynte / murieron por Alla

preguntado que paga les dieron porque fuesen A la dicha / GueRa dixo que no les dieron ny paGaron Cosa nynGuna / mas de lo que dicho tiene

{/}

preguntado por Cuyo mandado lleVaban las Cargas / del dicho francisco Vazquez y quien les mando que le / sirViesen En ^lo que tiene dicho que le servyan dixo que el / dicho francisco vazquez se lo mando E por su mandado / lo hazian

{/}

preguntado si les paGo alguna Cosa por ello El dicho / francisco Vazquez E si les daba de Comer por el Camyno / a los yndyos que lleVa(^C)^ban sus Cargas dixo que no / les dio ny pago cosa nynguna ny les dio de / comer que este testigo lo supiese E que si alguna Vez les / dio de Comer que este testigo no lo vido

preguntado que tanto tiempo anduVieron por alla / servyendo al dicho Francisco Vazquez dixo que En la / yda y Venyda y estada Alla se detuVieron tres / años

{/}



preguntado de *que* otros pueblos fueron yndyos a la dicha / Jornada con el dicho Francisco Vazquez dixo *que* fueron / de mexico y de mechuaCan y de culuaCan y de otros / muchos pueblos E de ÇaCayuca y *que* no sabe *quantos* / de Cada parte mas de *que* Fueron muchos yndyos por / todos y espeÇialmente de la provnçia de mechuaCan fueron / muchos E *que* Como yban Repartidos servyendo / a los españoles no sabe *quantos*

{/}

preguntado si murieron muchos de los dichos yndyos / En la dicha Jornada dixo *que* no lo sabe porque no te- / nya cuenta syno con los de santiago *que* llevaba a / su Cargo

[fol. 617v]

{tejada}

{para el 16 teJada / y 17}

{/}

preguntado si sabe E tiene notiÇia de Çierta here- / dad E tieRas *que* el liçençiado tejada tiene Çerca de cha- / pultepeque dixo *que* si sabe porque las ha Visto

preguntado cuyas (h)eran las dichas tieRas Antes *que* Fue- / sen del dicho licenciado tejada dixo *que* (h)eran tieRas / de yndyos de mexico E santiago *que* tenyan ally / sus heredades

preguntado *que* habia En las dichas tieRas quando dize / *que* (h)eran de los yndyos dixo *que* tieRas de labor En *que* / los yndyos senbraban mayz E *que* habia magueyes y algunos arboles frutales Raros E algunas / casas de yndyos y *que* le pareÇe a este testigo *que* En la parte / de santiago habia siete Casas y *que* tambien habia / casas En la parte de mexico pero *que* no sabe *quantas* / porque no las conto E *que* sabe lo susodicho porque lo / Vido En el tienpo *que* (h)era de los yndios

preguntado si habia En las dichas tieRas algunas yGlesias / o hermytas dixo *que* habia Una yGlesia pequena en la / parte de santiaGo como hermyta pequena E *que* no sa- / be si habia mas

preguntado quien dyo las dichas tieRas al dicho li- / Çençiado tejada dyxo *que* no lo sabe porque a la sazón / este testigo estaba En la tieRa nueva de Çibola

preguntado si Estan al presente En las dichas tieRas / la yGlesia E Casas E arboles y magueyes *que* dize *que* habia / en ellas dixo *que* no *que* todo Esta quytado y deshecho E / *que* no sabe quien lo quyto porque el Estaba Como dicho tiene / a la sazón en la tieRa nueva E por esto no se le preGunto / mas en este Caso E *que* esta es la verdad fue le leydo su dicho / E siendo le leydo

dixo *que esta bien escrito y en ello se Rati- / fiCaba E. Ratifico mandosele que tenga secreto de todo lo / qual dixo E deClaro por lengua del dicho ynterprete que / aquy firmo de su nombre y luego dixo Este testigo que la yGlesia / que ^dixo habya en las dichas tieRas que el licenciado tiene al presente*

[fol. 618r]

{dcxVii}

no se a Cuerda si la *habia Antes que las tieRas Fuesen del / liçençiado tejada mas de que despues que vino de la / tierra nueVa la Vido hecha E que podra haber Un / año poCo mas o menos que este testigo fue Alla E Vido / la dicha yglesia En las dichas tieRas E que no Estaba / quytada ny deshecha y que despues aCa no sabe / si la han quytado o sy esta Ally E que la dicha / yGlesia Estraba dentro del ÇerCado de la tieRa /que tiene ÇerCado El dicho licenciado tejada En parte que no / se senbraba Va escrito entre Renglonos donde dize E biz- / cocho lo dixo Vala Va testado donde dezia os pase / por testado E no le EnpezCa*

preguntado si sabe *que al dicho VisoRey le sirVen / los yndyos de santiago En lleVar triGo al molino / y traerlo molido dixo que ha oydo dezir a otros yndyos / que los de santiago sirVen ÇinCo dyas en lo susodicho / y los de mexico otros ÇinCo y que En estos ÇinCo dias / que les caben Van ocho Cargas de triGo al molyno y / lo lleVan los yndyos cada dya y algunas Vezes a / terçero dya y lo traen molido porque este testigo no / lo sabe mas de haber lo oydo dezir y aFirmose / en ello y el dicho ynterprete lo Firmo de su nonbre*

Fray hernando / mendez [rúbrica]

miguell lopez [rúbrica]

{testigo xcjx}

{francisco yautl}

E despues de lo susodicho En este dicho dia el / dicho señor Visytador mando pareçer Ante sy / Francisco yaUtl yndio natural *que dixo ser de santiago / del baRio de los Reyes del qual siendo presente fue / Tomado E Reçivido Juramento en forma debida de derecho y el / lo hizo E prometio de dezir verdad E so Cargo del dicho*

[fol. 618v]

Juramento siendo preguntado por lengua del dicho fray hernando / mendez ynterprete dixo lo syguente

a la primera pregunta dixo *que Conosçe a todos los en ella / Contenydos desde que Cada Uno de ellos Venyeron a esta / TieRa*

preguntado por las preguntas generales dixo *que es* de hedad de / treynta E ÇinCo años poCo mas o menos a su pareçer / aUnque no lo sabe de Çierto y *que es cristiano* baUtizado / y *que* tiene cargo del tributo En el baRio de los Reyes *que es* / En santiaGo e *que* no le toCan ny enpeçen nynGuna / de las otras generales E *que* dira la *verdad* de lo *que* supie- / Re E *que* no lo dexara por myedo ny por otra Cosa

{/}

preguntado si han sido bien tratados los yndyos de / santiago E los maçeguales de los dichos VisoRey / presydenTe E oydores E si les han hecho Justicia o sy / les han hecho algunos agravios o malostratamyentos / dixo *que* les han tratado bien E *que* no sabe *que* les / hayan hecho agravio ny maltratamyento Alguno antes / los han tenydo *en* Justicia

{/}

preguntado *que* *servycio* es El *que* han dado E dan En Cassa del / Visorrey los yndyos de santiago dixo *que* sabe E / ha Visto *que* le dan yerba y leña y agua y yndyos / para *que* sirVan En la Cozina pero *que* no sabe *que* tan- / To de Cada Cosa porque no ha tenydo Carga de ello E *que* sien- / pre se lo han dado despues *que* esta *en* la tieRa por / mandado del *gobemador* E prinÇipales de santia- / Go E *que* no sabe Este *testigo* sy lo paGa o no porque no / lo ha Visto paGar

preguntado *que* *servycio* o yndyos dan a los oydores o a / alguno de ellos o lo hayan dado despues *que* estan / *en* la tieRa dixo *que* no lo sabe

[fol. 619r]

{dxcjx}

{/}

preguntado quantos yndyos de santiago Fueron / a la tieRa nueVa de Çibola con Francisco Vazquez de / Coronado E Con los españoles que fueron Con el E por / cuyo mandado dixo *que* don martyn *gobemador* *que* a la / sazón (h)era de santiago yba A la dicha Jornada / con el dicho francisco Vazquez de Coronado y *que* de seys / Jornadas de esta Çiudad Volvyo El dicho don martyn / Enfermo *que* Cayo de Un Caballo y Con el Volvyeron / muchos yndyos y *que* los *que* pasaron adelante E Fueron / a la dicha Jornada le parece a este *testigo* *que* seryan / hasta Çien(t) yndyos de los de la parte de santiago / aUnque no los Conto y *que* este *testigo* fue Alla *que* Fue / Uno de quatro *que* lleVaban Cargo de los yndios de / santiago

{/}

preguntado por Cuyo mandado fueron A la dicha Jornada / dixo *que* el licenciado tejada oydor hablo a los caÇiques / y prynÇipales de mexico E

santiago como los / Españoles yban A la tieRa nueVa que si querian yr / algunos yndyos de su Voluntad que lo Viesen porque no / habian de ser apremyados ny los habyan de lleVar / contra su Voluntad y que los prynÇipales hablaron / con los yndyos y asy fueron Ellos de su Voluntad  
{/}

preguntado si les dieron alguna Cosa porque Fuesen / a la dicha Jornada dixo que no lo sabe mas de que el / dicho don martin dio a Cada Uno Un par de cotaras / y algun cacao que llevaban En Comun para Comer / En el Camyno  
{/}

preguntado que es lo que hizieron en la dicha Jornada / y a quyen sirVieron dixo que Veynte ocho yndyos de ellos / fueron CarGados desde xalisCo hasta culiaCan / con Cargas del dicho francisco Vazquez de bastimentos / E Vyuallas que se Gastaban por el Camyno y armas E que / los otros yndyos seruyan al dicho francisco Vazquez  
{/}

[fol. 619v]

En lleVar E guardar El Ganado y en ReCoger yerba / para los Caballos y en hazerle su Rancho  
{/}

preguntado por Cuyo mandado sirvyeron en la dicha Jornada / al dicho francisco Vazquez y le lleVaron sus Cargas dixo / que el dicho francisco Vazquez se lo dixo E mando y les dio / cargo de ello y por su mandado lo hazian  
{/}

preguntado que les dio E paGo El dicho Francisco Vazquez por el / dicho seruycio E tamemes dixo que no les dio ny paGo / cosa nynGuna mas de que En CuliaCan les mando dar / a los de santiago Veynte Cargas de marçorCas de mayz / E que no les dio otra Cosa  
{/}

preguntado si daba de Comer por el Camyno El dicho francisco Vazquez / a los yndyos que lleVaba Cargados con sus Cargas dixo / que no les daba de Comer ny otra Cosa nynGuna sino / lo que aRiba tiene dicho que les dio en Culiacan E que lo / sabe porque este testigo fue A la dicha Jornada y tenya / Cargo de los yndyos de santiago Como dicho tiene  
{/}

preguntado quantos yndyos VolVyeron de la dicha Jornada / de los que Fueron de la parte de santiago dixo que no / lo sabe mas de que oyo dezir a Uno de los quatro que / Tenyan cargo de ellos que (h)eran sessenta los que habyan / Vuelto  
{/}

preguntado *que* tanto tiempo se detuvieron en la / dicha jornada dixo *que* (^sa) tardaron tres años desde *que* / salieron de esta Çiudad hasta *que* Volvieron a ella

preguntado si es casado este *testigo* e si lo (h)era al tiempo / *que* dize *que* Fue a la tierra nueva dixo *que* es casado / y lo (h)era entonces y tenya hijos  
{/}

preguntado de *que* otros pueblos fueron yndios a la / dicha tierra nueva y *que* Cantidad dixo *que* Fueron de / Mexico y de CuluaCan y de ÇaCayuca y de la provincia de / mehuaCan fueron muchos pero *que* no sabe la Cantidad

[fol. 62or]

{dcxx}

porque no los conto mas *que* sabe e Vido *que* Fueron mu- / chos yndios

{/}

preguntado a quien servyan los yndios de los / otros pueblos *que* dize *que* fueron a la dicha tierra / dixo *que* Algunos de ellos yban con algunos españoles / E *que* sabe todo lo *que* de suso ha dicho porque este *testigo* fue / a la dicha Jornada E lo Vido

{/}

preguntado si murieron En la dicha Jornada / mucha cantidad de los yndios *que* fueron de esta tierra dixo / *que* muchos murieron alla pero *que* no sabe la / cantidad y *que* esta es la verdad E siendo / le leydo su dicho se Ratifico en ello E dixo *que* / esta bien escrito porque es asy la verdad por / lengua del dicho ynterprete mandosele *que* tenga / E guarde secreto de todo lo susodicho el qual / prometio de lo tener E guardar E no firmo / porque dixo *que* no (^C)^sabia escribir y el dicho ynterprete / lo firmo de su nombre

Fray hernando / mendez [rúbrica]

miguell lopez [rúbrica]

{. . . }

[fol. 625r]

{dcxxv}

{testigo cij}

E despues de lo susodicho En la Çiudad de Mexico / diez e seys dias del mes de Junio del dicho / año el señor Visitador mando parecer ante sy / a Francisco a (^h)^buy yndio natural *que* dixo ser del pueblo / pazcuaro *que* es En la provincia de mehuaCan del qual / siendo presente fue tomado E Reçevydo Juramento en forma / debyda de derecho y el lo hizo E prometio de dezir verdad / E so Cargo del dicho Juramento por lengua del dicho fray / alonso

de la Vera cruz ynterprete le fue preGuntado E / dixo lo siguiente preguntado si conoçe a don Antonyo de mendoça VisoRey / E Gobernador de esta nueVa españa dixo que si conoçe /de diez años a esta parte poco mas o menos

preguntado por las preGuntas generales dixo que no sabe la / hEdad que tiene E que es natural de pazCuaro de la provncia de / mechuaCan E prinçipal del dicho pueblo E que no le to- / Can ny enpeçen nynGuna de las otras preGuntas gene- / Rales E que dira verdad de lo que supiere E no otra cosa / pareÇia por su aspeto ser de quarenta años poCo mas / o menos {/}

preguntado si sabe E tiene notiÇia de Çiertas arma- / das que el VisoRey don antonyo de mendoça ha hecho / dixo que sabe E ha Visto que el dicho Visorrey EnVio Una / armada por tieRa a la tieRa nueVa de Çibola porque / este testigo fue Alla E que asmysmo Vido que EnVio otra / armada por mar y este testigo Vido muchos españoles / que yban de ella y que ha seys años poCo mas o menos que / EnVio El armada que fue a la tieRa nueVa de Çibola / y poco menos de quatro años la que fue por mar E que esto / es publico E notorio

{/}

preguntado que Cosas son las que dieron para las dichas

[fol. 625v]

armadas y para la gente que fue a ellas En el pue- / blo de pazcuaro donde este testigo dize ser natural / dixo que no dieron cosa nynGuna que este testigo sepa syno / es que daban comyda E tamemes para Una Jornada / a los Españoles que pasaron por el dicho pueblo de pazcuaro / que yban A las dichas armadas

{/}

preguntado por Cuyo mandado dieron la Comyda E tame- / mes que dize que daban a la gente que fue A las dichas / armadas dixo que los Españoles que pasaban por ally / para las dichas armadas lo pedian y don pedro / yndyo Gobernador que A la sazón (h)era les mandaba que se / lo diesen y ellos se lo daban Como dicho tiene comy- / da y tamemes para llevar sus Cargas Una Jornada

{/}

preGuntado que tanta cantidad de tamemes E Comyda / fue la que dize que dieron En el dicho pueblo a los / españoles que fueron A las dichas armadas dixo que no / sabe la Cantidad de ello

{/}

preguntado si les pagaban la dicha Comyda E *tamemes* / o si lo daban sin paGa dixo *que* no les paGaban cosa / *nynGuna* entonces y *que* despues se la han paGado todo

{/}

preguntado quyen se la paGo y *que* tanto les dio E paGo / por ello dixo *que* este *testigo* no Vido la paGa mas de oyo / dezir a los otros prinÇipales del dicho pueblo *que el* / Romano les *habia* paGado todo E *que* no sabe la Can- / tidad *que* fue mas de *que* les oyo dezir *que* todo lo *que* / *habyan* dado para las dichas armadas se *habia* conta- / do hasta las Gallinas y hasta la leña *que* dieron / E todo les *habia* pagado

{/}

preguntado si sabe *que* *hobiesen* dado En el dicho pueblo / alguna cosa *que* no se les *haya* paGado dixo *que* no sabe / mas de lo *que* de suso tiene dicho

{/}

preguntado si les hizieron algunos agraVios o malos- / tratamyentos En el dicho pueblo de pazCuaro o en otro alguno / la gente *que* Fue A las dichas armadas dixo *que* no sabe / este *testigo* *que* a nadie hiziesen agraVio my maltratamyento alguno

[fol. 626r]

{dcxxVj}

preguntado si fue Este *testigo* a la tieRa nueVa de Çibola / con la gente y españoles *que* fueron alla dixo *que* si fue

{/}

preguntado *que* tantos yndios fueron a la dicha tieRa / nueVa dixo *que* del dicho Pueblo de pazCuaro fueron / Çien(t) yndyos poco mas or menos E *que* de la provyncia de / mechuaCan no fueron otros *nynGunos* y *que* de mexico / y su tieRa fueron yndyos pero *que* no sabe quantos / porque no los conto y *que* de los Çiento *que* fueron de / pazCuaro murieron por Alla obra de Veynte yndy- / os pocCo mas o menos y los demas Volvieron / E *que* lo sabe porque este *testigo* fue Alla E lo Vido

{/}

preguntado por Cuyo mandado fueron los dichos yn- / dyos En la dicha armada dixo *que* Fueron de su Vo- / luntad porque Como supieron el VysoRey EnVyaba / a la dicha tieRa nueVa Ellos hablaron Entre sy *que* que- / Rian Ellos yr alla E asy fueron los *que* dicho tiene

preguntado si lleVaron Cargas del Capitan o de los es- / pañoles *que* fueron a la dicha Jornada o si <sup>^</sup>les servyan En / otra Cosa alguna dixo *que* no lleVaron

Cargas *nyn*Gunas / de nadie y *que* servyan a los españoles En traer yerba / para los Caballos E *que* no les servyan En otra Cosa  
preGuntado si les paGaron o dieron alguna Cosa por- / *que* fuesen A la dicha jornada dixo *que* no

{/}

preGuntado *que* tanto tiempo estuVieron y tardaron / En yr y Venir A la dicha tieRa nueVa dixo *que* dos / años EstuVieron Alla y al terçero se venyeron

{/}

preGuntado si sabe de algunos agraVyos o malostra- / Tamyentos *que* el VisoRey don antonyo de mendoça *haya* / hecho a Algunas personas o les *haya* tomado al- / Go asy En el pueblo de pazCuaro como En otros quales- / *quer* pueblos de la provyncia de mechuaCan dixo *que* no / sabe ny ha Visto *que* el VisoRey ny otro por su mandado / *haya* hecho agraVio ny maltratamiento alguno a

[fol. 626v]

*nyn*Guna persona En la dicha provyncia ny en / otra parte alguna ny tal ha oydo dezir an- / tes ha Visto *que* los ama E *quere* mucho / E *que* esta es la verdad E lo *que* sabe de este Caso

fue le leydo su dicho E siendole leydo dixo / *que* esta bien escrito y *que* En ello se RatifiCaba E / RatifiCo porque *es* asy la verdad mandosele *que* tenga / E guarde secreto de todo lo susodicho so / pena de Çien(t) aÇotes El qual prometio de lo tener / E guardar E Firmolo de su nonbre todo lo qual / dixo E deClaro por lengua del dicho fray alonso / de la Vera cruz ynterprete El qual asy mismo / lo firmo de su nombre Va escrito *entre* Ren- / Glones donde dize les Vala

Fray alonso / de la Vera cruz [rúbrica]

Francisco

miguell lopez [rúbrica]

{...}

## Glossary

*cacique*: an Arawak word meaning “headman,” widely used in Spanish America; usually a Native ruler with vassals or someone understood by Spaniards to have such status

*corregidor*: a salaried, royally appointed official who administers an *encomienda* held directly by the crown; that person serves at the pleasure of



the king/Consejo de Indias as the chief administrator and justice for the Native community embraced by the *encomienda*

*encomendero*: a person holding and exercising an *encomienda*

*encomienda*: grant of the right to collect tribute and/or labor from an indigenous community, usually granted by the king as reward for service; limited to a specific Native polity; the grant also entails responsibility for providing defense and religious instruction to the community; the term also applies to the community and its territory so granted

*entrada*: an expedition penetrating new territory

*gobernador*: the leader of an indigenous community recognized and sanctioned by the Spanish colonial regime

*licenciado*: the holder of an academic degree roughly equivalent to a modern masters degree

*principal*: an indigenous leader, usually one of several in a community

*provincia*: a political division of a *reino*, or kingdom, administered by a governor; when the term is applied in indigenous contexts, a similar political hierarchy is assumed

*tameme*: indigenous load bearers common in Mesoamerica from prehistory through much of the Spanish colonial period

*tepuzque*: term applied to silver pesos of 272 *maravedíes* each, nearly equal to the gold peso

*vecino*: a person with full political rights in a municipality; such rights were not automatic but granted by the *cabildo*, or city council, after payment of a fee and pledge to establish and maintain a residence for a certain length of time

*visitador*: a special investigator dispatched to make an inspection of the government of a *reino* or *provincia*, or some part thereof, whether secular or ecclesiastical; often sent to resolve some particular problem or complaint

## Notes

1. In recent years scholarly interest has been increasingly engaged by the decisive presence of *indios amigos* on sixteenth-century expeditions throughout the hemisphere. Two excellent volumes that detail the major role of indigenous *conquistadores* in what traditionally has been thought of as the Spanish conquest of the Americas are Matthew Restall, *Maya Conquistador* (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 1998); and Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk, eds., *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007).

2. Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, eds. and trans., *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539–1542: “They Were Not Familiar with His Majesty, nor Did They Wish to Be His Subjects”* (Dallas, Tex.: Southern Methodist University Press, 2005).
3. Flint and Flint, introduction to “Record of Mexican Indians Participating in the Expedition, 1576,” in *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 165.
4. One of the non-Indian witnesses called by Tello de Sandoval, Juan Baeza de Herrera, testified that many of the *amigos* served as interpreters and guides. Administrative Review of the Viceroy and Oidores Conducted by Tello de Sandoval, Justicia, 258, Pieza 1, fol. 529r, Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Spain [hereafter AGI].
5. Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera’s Narrative, 1560s [copy, 1596], Rich Collection, no. 63, fols. 16r–16v, New York Public Library, transcribed and translated as “The Relación de la Jornada de Cíbola, Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera’s Narrative, 1560s (copy, 1596)” in Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 389, 440.
6. It has been stated that Tlaxcaltecas also joined the expedition to Cíbola. The *Tlaxcala Codex*, prepared probably in the 1580s, contains a drawing and caption claiming that during the Coronado *entrada* “the Tlaxcaltecas were there in the service of His Majesty and the royal crown of Castilla.” However, I know of no instance of a person who was actually on the *entrada* referring to the presence of such a contingent, and there is no other known evidence that confirms that claim. The *Tlaxcala Codex*, MS Hunter 242 (U.3.15), fol. 317r, Glasgow University Library, University of Glasgow, Glasgow, Scotland. The *Tlaxcala Codex* accompanies the *Descripción de la ciudad y provincia de Tlaxcala* written by Diego Muñoz Camargo, the *mestizo* interpreter at Tlaxcala in the 1570s to the 1590s: See also Marc Simmons, “Tlascalans in the Spanish Borderlands,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 39 (April 1964): 107.
7. For the names of the specific Natives, as well as the respective documentary source citations, see Flint and Flint, introduction to “Record of Mexican Indians Participating in the Expedition, 1576,” in *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 165–66.
8. *Codex Aubin*, Chronicle of Mexican History to 1576, continued to 1607, Add MSS 31219, fols. 46v and 47r, Library of the British Museum, London; transcribed and translated as “Record of Mexican Indians Participating in the Expedition, 1576,” in Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 169–70.
9. Testimony of Francisco Troche and Padre Juan Vanegas, in Probanza hecha en nombre de don Antonio de Mendoza, Zacatula, 1546–1547, Justicia, 263, Pieza 1, AGI.
10. Ross Hassig, *Aztec Warfare: Imperial Expansion and Political Control* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 75–90.
11. Justicia, 258–277, AGI.
12. Over the next month and a half we finished reading through the entire 20 *legajos*. Significant new information about European members of the expedition resulted, but we found no further information about the *indios amigos*.
13. Arthur S. Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza, First Viceroy of New Spain* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1927), 137.

14. Ernesto Schäfer, *El Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias: Su historia, organización y labor administrativa hasta la terminación de la Casa de Austria*, 2 vols. (Sevilla, Spain: Universidad de Sevilla, 1935), 1:351, 354.
15. José Luis Martínez, *Documentos Cortesianos*, 4 vols. (México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1992), 4:210–15, 248–55.
16. Fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz was a well-known Augustinian teacher and writer of theology. Pedro Oroz, *The Oroz Codex: The Oroz Relación, or Relation of the Description of the Holy Gospel Province in New Spain, and the Lives of the Founders and Other Noteworthy Men of Said Province*, ed. and trans., Angélico Chávez (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1972), 128; and Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *Crónica de la Nueva España* (México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, 1985), 45.
17. These five men were ages 55, 48, 36, 35, and 40, respectively, in 1546 (48, 41, 29, 28, and 33 in 1539), easily placing them among the most senior members of the expedition. These Indians' experience, in warfare for instance, far exceeded that of most of the European expeditionaries, many of whom were to see their first fighting in the course of the *entrada*. Administrative Review of the Viceroy and Oidores Conducted by Tello de Sandoval, Justicia, 258, Pieza 1, fols. 602r–636r, AGI. A document from Michoacán in 1559 (Complaint by the Indians of Michoacán, México, 96, R. 4, AGI) shows Francisco Abuy still alive and still a *principal*. It also gives variant spellings of his name, Ahuy and Huzi.
18. These four witnesses were don Hernando, *gobernador* of Tlatelolco, about 65 years old; don Alonso, a *principal* of Pátzcuaro, about 40 years old; don Francisco, from Tzintzuntzan and who went to Castilla with the bishop of Michoacán, about 25 years old; and Diego Guaçaquy, also from Tzintzuntzan, who appeared to be about 40 years old.
19. The seven Native men were don Diego, *gobernador* of “México de los Indios,” about 50 years old; Diego Tepeacmecatl, from México, about 57 years old; Luis Guaxtle, from México, 75 years old; don Ramiro, a *principal* of Michoacán, who appeared to be more than 50 years old; Domingo, a *principal* of Tzintzuntzan, more than 25 years old; Marcos Coany, from Tzintzuntzan, who seemed to be about 40 years old; and don Francisco, a *principal* of the barrio of Yuarço in Michoacán, more than 55 years old. According to the *Codex Aubin*, *gobernador* don Diego is Diego Teuetzquititzin (also spelled Tehuetzqui). He was a grandson of Moctezuma's uncle Tizoc, and he was actually the sixteenth ruler of the Tenochca, rather than the thirteenth as this entry states. See Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 169–70; Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519–1810* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1964), 169; and Ross Hassig, *Time, History, and Belief in Aztec and Colonial Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 21.
20. In this article, the use of the Spanish spelling of México (with an accent over the *e*) is used in reference to events both contemporary to and prior to the Spanish conquest of the Americas.

21. Administrative Review of the Viceroy and Oidores Conducted by Tello de Sandoval, Justicia, 258, Pieza 1, fol. 626r, AGI.
22. *Ibid.*, fol. 625v.
23. See, for example, Philip Levy, *Fellow Travelers: Indians and Europeans Contesting the Early American Trail* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007). He describes sixteenth-century Spanish-led expeditions as “half-blind, brutal, anxiety-ridden bands of Europeans led from place to place by coerced and terrified Natives” (p. 21).
24. Administrative Review of the Viceroy and Oidores Conducted by Tello de Sandoval, Justicia, 258, Pieza 1, fols. 605v–606r, AGI.
25. *Ibid.*, fol. 616v.
26. *Ibid.*, fol. 623r.
27. This Juan de León Romano is probably the Juan de León who, as an *escribano* of the Audiencia de México, was later sent by Mendoza to Suchipila with Miguel de Ibarra in an attempt to put a quick and peaceful end to the Native uprising that became known as the Mixtón War. The “Romano” portion of his surname may have been an epithet or perhaps an indication of his place of origin. Thomas Hillerkuss, *Diccionario Biográfico del Occidente Novohispano, Siglo XVI*, vol. 4, J–L (Zacatecas, Mexico: Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, forthcoming).
28. Administrative Review of the Viceroy and Oidores Conducted by Tello de Sandoval, Justicia, 258, Pieza 1, fols. 605v, 607r, 626r, AGI.
29. *Ibid.*, fol. 623r. One non-Indian witness during the Tello de Sandoval *visita* contributed information that some *tamemes* that served during the expedition came from Toluca and Tiripitío. Administrative Review of the Viceroy and Oidores Conducted by Tello de Sandoval, Justicia, 258, Pieza 1, fol. 492r, AGI.
30. In contrast to the indigenous witnesses before Tello de Sandoval, several of the non-Indian witnesses offered comprehensive estimates of the number of *indios amigos* who participated in the expedition. Serván Béjarano, the most conservative in his estimate, had been present at the muster of the expedition in Compostela in February 1540. He testified that a total of “between 1,300 and 2,000 native Indians of this land” joined the expedition. Meanwhile, Gonzalo Cerezo estimated the number at 3,000 to 4,000, and Iñigo López de Anuncibay said the number was about 4,000 to 5,000. Administrative Review of the Viceroy and Oidores Conducted by Tello de Sandoval, Justicia, 258, Pieza 1, fols. 432r, 494r, 589v, AGI.
31. Administrative Review of the Viceroy and Oidores Conducted by Tello de Sandoval, Justicia, 258, Pieza 1, fol. 623r, AGI.
32. Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera’s Narrative, 1560s [copy, 1596], Rich Collection, no. 63, fol. 20r, New York Public Library; and Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 390, 442.
33. Administrative Review of the Viceroy and Oidores Conducted by Tello de Sandoval, Justicia, 258, Pieza 1, fol. 605v, AGI.
34. *Ibid.*, fol. 614r.
35. *Ibid.*, fol. 622r.
36. Administrative Review of the Viceroy and Oidores Conducted by Tello de Sandoval, Justicia, 258, Pieza 1, fol. 626r, AGI.

37. Ibid., fol. 605v.
38. Ibid., fol. 619r.
39. For a concise generalized description of the political organization of Nahuatl communities, see James Lockhart, *The Nahuatl after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992), 16–17.
40. Hassig, *Aztec Warfare*, 55–56.
41. For a wider-ranging and more in-depth discussion of the *indios amigos* of the Coronado Expedition, see Richard Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest: A History of the Coronado Entrada* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), see esp. chaps. 1, 5.
42. Six months after locating the testimonies of the former *indios amigos* published here, we came across references to another indigenous former member of the expedition. He was don García de Padilla, *gobernador* of Zapotitlán in the *provincia* of Tlaxpán. He led a contingent from his Otomi-speaking community. René Acuña, ed., *Relaciones Geográficas del Siglo XVI*, vol. 10, *Nueva Galicia* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1987), 58.
43. Don Diego is don Diego Huanitzin, or Panitzin, nephew of Moctezuma and twelfth *tlatoani*, or dynastic ruler, of Tenochtitlan, who was recognized by Viceroy Mendoza as the first official Spanish-style governor of México-Tenochtitlan about 1536. He died in 1539 before departure of the Coronado Expedition. Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule*, 169; *Codex Aubin*, Chronicle of Mexican History to 1576, continued to 1607, Add MSS 31219, fol. 46v, Library of the British Museum, London; and Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 169. For a genealogical chart of Huanitzin's descent, see Emma Pérez-Rocha and Rafael Tena, *La nobleza indígena del centro de México después de la conquista*, Colección, Obra Diversa (México, D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000), 79.
44. The indigenous community of Jalisco was located less than two leagues (about five miles) south of Compostela, the capital of Nueva Galicia at the time and the place where the muster of the expedition was conducted in February 1540. Compostela was then located at the site of modern Tepic in the Mexican state of Nayarit. At the time the expedition began, Jalisco was held in *encomienda* by Cristóbal de Oñate, lieutenant governor of Nueva Galicia under Vázquez de Coronado. Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain*, rev. ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 140.
45. Culiacán was then the most northerly Spanish settlement in Nueva Galicia, situated about ten miles upstream from the mouth of what is now known as the Río San Lorenzo in west-central Sinaloa. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 601.
46. Throughout the testimonies taken by Tello de Sandoval, the Spanish term *principal* is used to designate the political status of many of the witnesses. This designation obscures the complexity of indigenous political organization. Reference in Juan Tlecanen's testimony to authority shared by four men of the community, or *parte*, of México strongly suggests that the Native classification of that polity was probably an *altepetl*, the basic Nahuatl political entity both before and after Spanish

conquest. Each *altepetl* was divided into constituent parts, or *calpolli*, usually in an even number, most commonly four, as appears to be the case here. Tlecanen may have been the leader of his *calpolli*, a leader known as a *teuctlatoani*. As James Lockhart has written, "As equal and separate entities, the *calpolli* would contribute separately and more or less equally to common obligations of the *altepetl* . . . in time of war, each contributed a fighting unit under its own leadership." Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest*, 16–17.

47. Juan Tecçane is presumably another spelling of the name of Juan Tlecanen, whose testimony immediately precedes that of Juan Cacçol. The community of San Juan mentioned here is San Juan Moyotlan, the southwestern quadrant of the Indian *altepetl* of Tenochtitlan, which in its entirety encircled the Spanish settlement, México. The remaining three component *calpolli* of early colonial Tenochtitlan were Santa María Cuepopan in the northwest (mentioned here as the home of Martín Xalacate); San Sebastián Atzacualco in the northeast; and San Pablo Zoquipan in the southeast. Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule*, 370.
48. Administrative Review of the Viceroy and Oidores Conducted by Tello de Sandoval, Justicia, 258, Pieza 1, fol. 612v, AGI.
49. According to a mid-sixteenth-century map of the Valley of Mexico attributed to Alonso de Santa Cruz, Santiago de Tlatelolco, the neighboring *altepetl* of Tenochtitlan, seems to have had eight constituent *calpolli*, which had become Catholic parishes. One of these parishes was Santa Catalina (Cohuatlán). The other seven were Santa Ana (Atenántech), San Martín (Atezcapan), los Reyes (Capoltitlán), Santa Inés (Hueipantonco), Santa Cruz (Atecocolecán), Santa Lucía (Telpochealtitlán), and San Antonio. Robert H. Barlow, "Las ocho hermitas de Santiago Tlatelolco," in *Obras de Robert H. Barlow*, vol. 2, *Tlatelolco, Fuentes e Historia*, Jesús Monjarás-Ruiz, Elena Limón, and María de la Cruz Paillés, eds. (México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1989), 453.
50. Again, the Spanish terminology obscures the indigenous political hierarchy. In this statement the term *cacique* is equivalent to the Nahuatl designation *tlatoani*, or dynastic ruler. Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest*, 611.
51. Contrary to the information provided in note 49 above, this statement suggests that in 1539 there may have been only four *calpolli* in Tlatelolco. Of one of them, Juan Coavis, was a *teuctlatoani*, just as Juan Tlecanen was of his *calpolli* in Tenochtitlan.
52. This don Martín is evidently don Martín Guavzin, whose surname is also given as Tlacatecatl, although Barlow shows that his term in office began in 1542, too late for the events described here, and lasted until 1548, beyond the life span of the don Martín referred to by Juan Coavis. Monjarás-Ruiz, Limón, and de la Cruz Paillés, *Obras de Robert H. Barlow*, following page 361. The *Anales de Tlatelolco* show his surname as Ecatzin. Rafael Tena, ed. and trans., *Anales de Tlatelolco*, Cien de México (México, D.F.: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2004), 35–39.
53. The expedition left the Ciudad de México beginning in November 1539, and most members did not return until September 1542, just short of three years later.
54. Zacayuca may be an error for Acayuca, an indigenous community in the *provincia* of Michoacán, east of the Spanish town of Colima. Joan Blaeu, "Nova Hispania et

Nova Galicia," in *Atlas maior sive cosmographia Blaviana, qua solum, salum, coelum, accuratissime describuntur*, vol. XI (Amstelaedami: Labore and sumptibus Ioannis Blaeu, 1665), 548–49.

55. See note 49 above, for the identity of the barrio of Los Reyes.
56. See note 52 above, for probable identity of this don Martín.
57. The reference to four *teuctlatoque* suggests once again the existence of four *calpolli* in Tlatelolco at this time. See also note 47 above.
58. The sea voyage referred to here is the one led by the viceroy's nephew Ruy López de Villalobos, which sought to cross the Pacific to the Molucca Islands. It departed from the port of Santiago on the coast of what is now the Mexican state of Colima in November 1542. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America*, vol. 2, *The Southern Voyages, 1492–1616* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 492–93.
59. El Romano is Juan de León Romano. See note 27 above.

## In Memoriam

TONY HILLERMAN, 1925–2008

Louis A. Hieb

**T**ony Hillerman, author of the acclaimed Navajo Tribal Police mystery novels featuring Lt. Joe Leaphorn and Officer Jim Chee, died in Albuquerque, New Mexico, on 26 October 2008. Read by millions worldwide, Hillerman's fiction and nonfiction shape how many people understand and experience the cultures and landscapes of the American Southwest, particularly the Four Corners, an area now known popularly as "Hillerman Country."

Anthony Grove Hillerman was born on 27 May 1925 in Sacred Heart, Oklahoma. He went to a school for American Indian girls run by the Sisters of Mercy, St. Mary's Academy, and attended high school in Konawa, Oklahoma, with Potawatomi children. After attending Oklahoma State University, he enlisted in the U.S. Army, serving with the 410th Regiment in the 103d Infantry Division in Europe from 1943 to 1945. After his return, he enrolled at the University of Oklahoma. There he met his wife, Marie Unzner. He received a bachelor's degree in journalism in 1948. During the next four years, he was a crime reporter for the *Borger (Tex.) News-Herald* in the Texas Panhandle, city editor of the *Morning-Press Constitution (Lawton, Okla.)*, and a political reporter for the United Press International in Oklahoma City.

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Louis A. Hieb (Professor Emeritus, University of New Mexico) has published articles on the Hopis, Navajos, and Zunis and on the history of anthropological research in the Southwest during the nineteenth century.



In 1952 Hillerman relocated to New Mexico. From 1952 to 1954 he was bureau manager and political reporter for the United Press International in Santa Fe. Between 1954 and 1963, he worked as political reporter, city editor, managing editor, and finally executive editor of the *Santa Fe New Mexican*. Hillerman and Marie had six children, five of whom they had adopted, by the mid-1960s.

Hillerman eventually quit the *New Mexican* and moved his family to Albuquerque, where he enrolled in the University of New Mexico (UNM). He received a master's degree in English in 1966. Between 1965 and 1985, Hillerman wore two hats at UNM. He served as an assistant to two university presidents and was a professor in the Department of Journalism, chairing it from 1966 to 1974. In 1967 he began work on a manuscript, "The Enemy Way" (published in 1970 as *The Blessing Way*), a mystery drawn from his memories—"fateful" he later called them—of seeing mounted Navajos on their way to an Enemy Way Ceremony on the Navajo Reservation. Beginning in 1985, he focused evermore attention on his writing career.

My initial encounter with Tony Hillerman's literary work came in 1975 when I was a professor at Washington State University in Pullman. A teaching assistant in a graduate seminar on the American Southwest handed me a copy of *The Blessing Way* and said, "I think you'll like it." I did.

I found Hillerman to be a remarkable storyteller whose stated goals were to entertain and, more importantly, to "leave the reader with a better understanding of the Dinee." Toward those ends, he wrote novels that honored the humanity of his characters and the dignity of the Navajo people, while at the same time respecting the intelligence of his readers. In the opening paragraph of *The Blessing Way*, Luis Horseman carefully constructs a dead-fall trap, hoping to catch a kangaroo rat. Hillerman writes, "He should have put more blood on the twig, he *thought*. . . . There was another part of the song, but Horseman couldn't remember it. He sat very still, *thinking*. Something about the Black God, but he couldn't *think* how it went" (emphasis added). Hillerman shares the thoughts of Lieutenant Leaphorn, the anthropologist Bergen McKee, and of Old Man Sandoval as he prepares the sandpainting, chants, and medicines used in the Enemy Way Ceremony. In an essay entitled "The Reader as Partner," Hillerman notes that "every writer is engaged in a joint venture every time he writes. . . . The reader is a working member of the team." In novel after novel, he engages the reader in thinking with Leaphorn and Chee as they explore cultural conflicts often central to solving the crime.



TONY HILLERMAN, CA. 1960

*(Photograph courtesy Center for Southwest Research, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, Tony Hillerman Collection, box 6, 000-501)*

That Hillerman sought to “leave the reader with a better understanding of the Dinee” does not mean his novels overflow with ethnographic data. Certainly, he believed that “the details must be exactly accurate—from the way a hogan is built, to the way a sweat bath is taken, to the way it looks, and sounds, and smells at an Enemy Way Ceremony at 2 A.M. on a wintry morning.” But the reader is given fragments of prayers and glimpses of rituals, kinship obligations, hogans, and trading posts. The reader’s life experience, knowledge, and imagination enlarge the meaning and power of these religious beliefs, kinship obligations, and visual images.

The complex humanity of Hillerman's characters, good and bad, also enhances the effectiveness of the mysteries in achieving cross-cultural understanding. In *Dance Hall of the Dead* (1973), Leaphorn investigates the murder of an important figure in the Zuni Shalako Ceremony. Hillerman noted that, as a Navajo, Leaphorn occupied a "touchy" place in the story and had no "more knowledge of the Zunis than was available to interested outsiders. In other words, no more than I did." Nor did the reader. Leaphorn's respect for Zuni sacred knowledge becomes that of the reader as well.

Ultimately, Hillerman's success derives more from what literary critic Wayne C. Booth terms "the quality of encounter" than from the factual accuracy of the stories. Through Leaphorn and Chee, Hillerman created an encounter with Navajo culture and the Navajo people that is clearly one of respect, dignity, and equity. Unsurprisingly, Hillerman's most prized award, a plaque that hung on the wall of his study, bears this inscription: "Special Friend to the Dineh awarded to Tony Hillerman by The Navajo Nation[,] September 12, 1987, as an Expression of Appreciation and Friendship for Authentically Portraying the Strength and Dignity of Traditional Navajo Culture."

In 1978 I became head of Special Collections in the University of Arizona Library and soon began collecting every format of Hillerman's novels that I could find. Four years later, I mounted an exhibit, "Five Southwestern Writers" (Edward Abbey, Tony Anaya, Tony Hillerman, John Nichols, and Leslie Marmon Silko), and sent Hillerman a copy of the exhibit brochure. He responded immediately to note that "Silko, Nichols & Anaya are long-time friends. Unfortunately I haven't met Abbey."

I first met Hillerman in person in 1985 at a Tucson Public Library conference, "Writers of the Purple Sage," where he gave a talk, "Joe Leaphorn Goes to Hollywood." The ease of his storytelling and the insight of his humor delighted his listeners. After he spoke, he happily signed copies of his novels that I and others had brought. I was struck and reassured by his approachability and openness as we talked.

In summer 1988, Hillerman again came to Tucson to sign copies of *A Thief of Time* (1988) at Footprints of a Gigantic Hound, a mystery bookstore. For that event I prepared a sixteen-page keepsake bibliography of Hillerman's fiction, nonfiction, and magazine articles, and of the growing literature about his writing. Fortunately, I had set aside several copies for Hillerman; the one hundred copies I had printed disappeared well before he finished greeting admirers and signing books for the long line of fans.

Soon after the signing, I wrote to say I would like to do a more comprehensive bibliography of his work, hoping to get to know this man whose storytelling built bridges of cross-cultural understanding that I so admired. The intellectual generosity, hospitality, and friendship that followed over the next twenty years was beyond anything I could have anticipated.

A few months later, I drove through Albuquerque on the way to a conference in Santa Fe. Knowing of my trip, the owners of Tucson's Footprints of a Gigantic Hound asked me to take a box of books for Hillerman to sign and arranged for me to drop by his home. He and I chatted as he signed thirty or forty first editions of his books. During the conversation, I mentioned that I had grown up in Wyoming. Always the storyteller, Hillerman recalled flying to Wyoming one February or March to participate in a National Endowment for the Humanities lecture series at local libraries. Heavy winds between Denver and Gillette, Wyoming, forced a landing at an airport not only ninety miles from where he was to talk but in a town without rental cars. His problem was solved by a departing passenger who tossed him the keys to his "new 280Z" and told Hillerman to just leave them under the floor mat when he got back. The trust so easily given to a stranger as well as the intellectual sophistication of the audiences impressed Hillerman. That I was from Wyoming was far more meaningful to him than the degrees on a résumé that I had sent to him. As I was leaving, Hillerman introduced me to several members of his family as "my bibliographer."

I began work on a bibliography to be issued on the twentieth anniversary of the publication of *The Blessing Way*. Hillerman sent me a copy of his résumé, answered questions about his career, and arranged for his foreign-rights agent to send me a list of foreign-language editions of his books. In Albuquerque Hillerman opened his study and book storage room to me. On his shelves were galley proofs, advance reading copies, trial dust jackets, first editions of cloth, paperback, and large-print and foreign-language editions. I occupied a guest room, and Marie prepared dinner and breakfast for us as I worked. (A journal I kept indicates that I began writing on 11 October 1989.) On 1 June 1990, a thousand copies of *Tony Hillerman: A Bibliography; From "The Blessing Way" to "Talking God"* arrived at Footprints of a Gigantic Hound. Hillerman wrote: "Thanks for the copies of the bibliography—and for doing it. It is beautifully done & amazes me with its completeness. I notice several items I had totally forgotten—and some work about me I hadn't known about. From now on I will try to keep better records in the event you'd want to update it."

By then Hillerman had been invited to be the keynote speaker for the University of Arizona Department of Anthropology's Diamond Jubilee (1915–1990). I began work on a twelve-case exhibit of Hillerman's work for the Main Library and prepared a brochure, "On Collecting Hillerman." He viewed the exhibit, and afterward I invited him to my office to ask him about his next novel and to tell him about the Hopi clown ceremony, the subject of my dissertation. He said he was trying to develop a plot involving the Lincoln canes, a symbol of the power of authority and sovereignty and their right to self-governance given to each Pueblo by Pres. Abraham Lincoln when their representatives visited Washington, D.C., in 1863, and was intrigued with the idea of the sacred clown. In the months following, I sent him several accounts of the clown ceremony and the role of the Hopi sacred clown as an embodiment of "life as it should not be." Hillerman was busy finishing—"except for the inevitable galley proofs"—*Hillerman Country: A Journey through the Southwest with Tony Hillerman* (1991) and an anthology, *The Mysterious West* (1994), "which the ineffable Jack Rittenhouse and I (but mostly Jack) have put together." Hillerman added: "I am fairly sure . . . the clown idea is alive and well and will sprout into something—most likely a plot and if not, almost certainly a subplot. . . . I will probably be making a pest of myself with questions and will want to come to Tucson or meet with you here if that can work out."

That summer, somewhat on the spur of the moment, my son and I decided to visit Santa Fe. We were aware that Hillerman would be signing copies of *New Mexico, Rio Grande, and Other Essays* (1992) at the Little Professor Book Store in Albuquerque. We arrived just in time to join the last of his readers having their books signed. Hillerman greeted us with "Where are you staying? Why don't you have dinner with us?" That evening he opened a package containing the "rough cut" of a film adaptation of his novel *The Dark Wind* (1982). As fans, my son and I enjoyed the movie, but Hillerman was troubled. Although there were a number of visually interesting scenes, the plot was too convoluted for even Hillerman-the-author to follow, and he was concerned about the attribution of authorship.

For Hillerman a move into a new home, an operation, and other events delayed work on what his publisher first announced as *Mudhead Kiva*. The manuscript was not published under that name. In September 1992, he wrote to say, "NEXT BOOK grows slowly." The following spring, Hillerman had breakfast with my family in Tucson, delighting my daughter with his stories. The writing was going well. In April he sent the opening chapter of *Sacred*

*Clowns* for me to review (“to certify its purity,” he said). On 1 August 1993, Hillerman sent me an advance reading copy of *Sacred Clowns* “with the original ending,” a very generous acknowledgment of my help in the author’s note, and an invitation for my family to stay with him during an upcoming trip to Santa Fe.

Here and there on the shelves in Tony’s study were a growing number of foreign-language editions, remarkable for their cover art. I had listed thirty-three translations in *Tony Hillerman: A Bibliography*. Making use of color xerography, I began work on an illustrated update. In 1991 Parker Books of the West in Santa Fe published *Fifty Foreign Firsts: A Tony Hillerman Checklist*. Once again Hillerman gave me the freedom to go through the shelves in his study and then forwarded correspondence from his foreign-rights agent with lists of additional and forthcoming titles. During the next two years, more than fifty new translations appeared; they included Czech, Hebrew, Icelandic, Korean, and Portuguese (Portugal and Brazil) editions. In fall 1993 *Tony Hillerman Abroad: An Annotated Checklist of the Foreign Language Editions* was issued.

During the summer of 1995, I became director of the Center for Southwest Research in the University of New Mexico Library. Some years before, I had written Hillerman to assure him that his papers should be archived there. In spite of health problems, he invited me to lunch every few months. During those “working” sessions, we talked, and he gave me additions to his archive.

In 2000 my wife and I moved to Seattle. Soon after, a note from Hillerman concluded, “And let it be known that you are missed by your friends in the Land of Enchantment.” Fortunately, during the next five summers, I had occasion to return to New Mexico for research and writing and once again enjoyed lunches with Tony.

In her obituary for the *New York Times*, Marilyn Stasio wrote, “Within the narrow, specialized and frequently contentious world of mystery fiction, Hillerman was that rare figure, a best-selling author who was adored by his fans, admired by his fellow authors, respected by literary critics and universally liked for his personal modesty and legendary professional generosity.”<sup>1</sup> Over the thirty-seven years from *The Blessing Way* to *The Shape Shifter* (2006), readers have seen dramatic changes take place in Navajo culture through Hillerman’s rich descriptions. His lyrical portraits of the Four Corners region have shifted from detailed miniatures to large canvas descriptions of the landscapes and skylines. His heroes, Leaphorn and Chee, have grown older. Hillerman’s respect for Navajo culture, the humanity of his

characters, and the quality of the cultural encounter experienced in his stories, however, did not change through those years.

### Honors and Awards Received by Tony Hillerman

- 1945 Silver Star, Bronze Star with Oak Leaf Cluster, and Purple Heart for wounds received while a member of the 103d Infantry Division, U.S. Army
- 1961 E. H. Shaffer Award for news writing
- 1962 E. H. Shaffer awards for news writing and for editorial writing
- 1973 Junior Book Award (*The Boy Who Made Dragonfly*), Border Regional Library Association
- 1974 Edgar Allan Poe Award for Best Novel (*Dance Hall of the Dead*), Mystery Writers of America
- 1976 Dan Burrows Award, Society of Professional Journalists, for significant contributions to journalism in New Mexico
- 1987 Special Friend of the Dineh Award, The Navaho Tribal Council  
Grand prix de littérature policière (*Dance Hall of the Dead*), awarded by France for police procedural mystery fiction  
Golden Spur Award for Best Western Novel (*Skinwalkers*), Western Writers of America
- 1988 President, Mystery Writers of America  
Anthony Award for Best Novel (*Skinwalkers*), Bouchercon (Anthony Boucher Memorial World Mystery Convention)
- 1989 Macavity Award for Best Novel (*A Thief of Time*), Mystery Readers International
- 1990 Public Service Award (*A Thief of Time*), U.S. Department of the Interior  
National Media Award (*A Thief of Time*), American Anthropological Association  
The [New Mexico] Governor's Award for Excellence in the Arts (Literature)  
D. Litt. (Doctor of Letters), University of New Mexico
- 1991 Grand Master Award, Mystery Writers of America  
Arrell Gibson Lifetime Award, Oklahoma Center for the Book  
Nero Wolfe Award (*Coyote Waits*), The Wolfe Pack  
D. Litt. (Doctor of Letters), Arizona State University
- 1992 Ambassador Award (*A Thief of Time*), D'Arcy McNickle Center for the American Indian, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois

- Macavity Award for Best Critical/Biographical Mystery Work (*Talking Mysteries: A Conversation with Tony Hillerman*), Mystery Writer's International
- 1993 Distinguished Achievement Award, Western Literature Association  
Oklahoma Journalism Hall of Fame
- 1994 Lifetime Achievement Award, Bouchercon (Anthony Boucher Memorial World Mystery Convention)
- 1995 Anthony Award for Best Anthology (*The Mysterious West*), Bouchercon (Anthony Boucher Memorial World Mystery Convention)
- 1997 Oklahoma Hall of Fame
- 1998 Jack D. Rittenhouse Award, Rocky Mountain Book Publishers Association
- 2001 Agatha Christie Award for Best Nonfiction Book of the Year (*Seldom Disappointed: A Memoir*), Malice Domestic Ltd.  
D.H.L. (Doctor of Humane Letters), University of Portland, Oregon
- 2002 Anthony Award for Best Critical/Non-Fiction Work (*Seldom Disappointed*), Bouchercon (Anthony Boucher Memorial World Mystery Convention)  
Agatha Christie Lifetime Achievement Award, Malice Domestic Ltd.
- 2004 Notable New Mexican, Albuquerque Museum Foundation
- 2005 Robert Kirsch Award for lifetime achievement for having "reinvented the mystery novel as a venue for the exploration and celebration of Native American history, culture, and identity,"<sup>2</sup> Los Angeles Times
- 2007 Spur Award for Best Western Short Novel (*The Shape Shifter*), Western Writers of America
- 2008 D. Litt. (Doctor of Letters), College of Santa Fe, New Mexico  
Owen Wister Award (for lifetime contribution to the literature of the American West), Western Writers of America

### Bibliography of Tony Hillerman

#### The Joe Leaphorn and Jim Chee Mysteries

*The Blessing Way* (1970)

*Dance Hall of the Dead* (1973)

*Listening Woman* (1978)

*People of Darkness* (1980)

*The Dark Wind* (1982)



*The Ghostway* (1985; a limited edition, *The Ghostway: The Door into Darkness*, was published in 1984)

*Skinwalkers* (1986)

*A Thief of Time* (1988)

*Talking God* (1989)

*Coyote Waits* (1990)

*Sacred Clowns* (1993)

*The Fallen Man* (1996)

*The First Eagle* (1998)

*Hunting Badger* (1999)

*The Wailing Wind* (2002)

*The Sinister Pig* (2003)

*Skeleton Man* (2004)

*The Shape Shifter* (2006)

#### **Other Adult Fiction**

*The Fly on the Wall* (1971)

*Finding Moon* (1995)

*Canyon de Chelly* (1998)

#### **Children's Books**

*The Boy Who Made Dragonfly: A Zuni Myth* (1972, Laszlo Kubinyi, illus.; 1986, Janet Grado, illus.)

*Buster Mesquite's Cowboy Band* (2001; Ernest Franklin, illus.)

#### **Nonfiction**

*The Great Taos Bank Robbery, and Other Indian Country Affairs* (1973)

*New Mexico* (1974; David Muench, photos)

*Rio Grande* (1975; Robert Reynolds, photos)

*Indian Country: America's Sacred Land* (1987; Bela Kalman, photos)

*Hillerman Country: A Journey through the Southwest with Tony Hillerman* (1991; Barney Hillerman, photos)

*New Mexico, Rio Grande and Other Essays* (1992; David Muench, Robert Reynolds, photos)

*Kilroy Was There: A GI's War in Photographs* (2004; Frank Kessler, photos.)

### Autobiography

*Words, Weather and Wolfmen: Conversations with Tony Hillerman*, Ernie Bulow, ed. (1989; revised and reprinted as *Talking Mysteries*, 1991)  
*Seldom Disappointed: A Memoir* (2001)

### Edited Works

*The Spell of New Mexico* (1976)  
*The Best of the West: An Anthology of Classic Writing from the American West* (1991)  
*The Mysterious West* (1994)  
*The Oxford Book of American Detective Stories* (1996; with Rosemary Hebert)  
*Best American Mysteries of the Century* (2000; with Otto Penzler)  
*A New Omnibus of Crime* (2005; with Rosemary Hebert)

### Filmography (Robert Redford, producer)

*Dark Wind* (1991)  
*Skinwalkers* (2002; PBS Mystery!)  
*Coyote Waits* (2003; PBS Mystery!)  
*A Thief of Time* (2004; PBS Mystery!)

### Notes

1. Marilyn Stasio, "Tony Hillerman, Novelist, Dies at 83," *New York Times*, 27 October 2008.
2. Dennis McLellan, "Tony Hillerman, 83, Dies," *Los Angeles Times*, 28 October 2008.

## Book Reviews

*The Billy the Kid Reader*. Edited by Frederick Nolan. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007. xv + 384 pp. 36 halftones, map, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-3849-7.)

British author Frederick Nolan, the acclaimed authority on Billy the Kid and the Lincoln County War, adds to his notable output with this appealing collection of essays about the magic but enigmatic Billy. Already the author or editor of the warmly received *The Lincoln County War: A Documentary History* (1992), *The West of Billy the Kid* (1998), and an annotated edition of Pat Garrett's *The Authentic Life of Billy, the Kid* (2000), Nolan now brings together here twenty-six selections in two parts: "The Legend" of Billy Bonney (nine items) and his "Legend Into History" (seventeen items). Each selection is prefaced with a very helpful one- to two-page headnote by the editor. The book also includes thirty-six illuminating photographs.

Nolan's purpose for this volume, he tells us, is to provide "a selection of the most seminal, the most influential" of the numerous essays and books published about the Kid (p. xi). This survey "from the first dime novel [1881] . . . to the present day" should help readers comprehend "the Kid's life, personality, and legend" (p. xi). A valuable and entertaining book, this volume does all that—and more.

Nolan's *The Billy the Kid Reader* provides important insights into the major legend-making and truth-telling books and essays even while it adds factual information about Billy the Kid and New Mexico in the 1870s and

1880s. This anthology helps us see the formative impact of the first dime novels, books by Pat Garrett and Charlie Siringo, essays by Emerson Hough and Harvey Fergusson, and the shaping influence of Walter Noble Burns's *The Saga of Billy the Kid* (1926). The second half of Nolan's collection spotlights the notable essays of grassroots historians like Philip J. Rasch, Robert N. Mullin, and Waldo E. Koop. Nolan also reprints some of Billy's own works from legal hearings and newspaper articles. This "Legend into History" section is structured so as to cover Billy's life from boyhood through his death and on to his immortality in fiction, film, biography, and history.

Nolan hopes that his book "will encourage someone, somewhere to begin asking" more searching questions about Billy. It does. We need to move beyond the dreamscape-desperado Billy and disappointing summary narratives like the recent *Billy the Kid: The Endless Ride* (2007), and on to wider and more complex probings of Billy's sociocultural contexts and his supporting cast. New studies of Billy, his House opponents, and Lincoln County should tell us more about the Santa Fe Ring and federal government connections. We ought to have full-scale biographies of Alexander and Susan McSween, John Chisum, and a new life story of Pat Garrett. Historian Darlis A. Miller has shown us, too, how we might view the complicated gender, racial, and ethnic ingredients of a larger story. Even without the discovery of dozens of new sources, the Kid story merits retellings in larger and thicker contexts. Those more comprehensive stories ought to be a major goal of the next generation of historians.

Richard W. Etulain  
Clackamas, Oregon

*Death and Dying in New Mexico.* By Martina Will de Chaparro. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007. xxiv + 261 pp. Halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8263-4163-1.)

Martina Will de Chaparro combs through archival evidence in order to illustrate the religious significance of testaments, wills, and burial book entries. Her area of concentration is eighteenth- and nineteenth-century municipalities in the archdiocese of Santa Fe and territorial Albuquerque. She argues that illnesses, subsistent existence, and baroque faith, which she clarifies as a sensory experience that promoted a communal and participatory piety, shaped deathways that were marked by an active

female presence (women dictated one-third of the 469 wills). Distinguishing New Mexican rituals and practices as unique and different from Mexican and North American rituals, Will de Chaparro defends the thesis that Hispanic religion was pragmatic. New Mexican ceremonies were family initiatives. For the longest time, these families were highly resistant to change. They especially were reluctant to accept the reforms mandated by the crown and Mexican authorities seeking to rearrange burial geography in light of concerns over hygiene and public health. She concludes that religion changed with the arrival of English-speaking immigrants in the late nineteenth century. These newcomers transformed religious practices by implementing a funeral industry.

Organizing her analysis of deathways into five parts, the author reconstructs the strategies by which believers dealt with death and the dead. First, she shows how they understood the immanence of death itself, which required a penitential discipline activated by the dying testator and advanced by heirs who executed sacramental celebrations. She makes the assumption that “good death” models shaped a vast discourse influencing oral culture. More evident in her data of popular religion are holy objects, santeros, and Passion plays. Second, she shows how believers used the law and prescriptive literature to craft wills that detailed concerns about their soul, the children’s inheritance, and the household. She establishes some statistics, revealing that over 50 percent of wills from 1751 to 1825 contained requests for masses, charity, and burial attire. After showing how inheritance and the distribution of property were critical features, she assesses the role of the sacraments and the saints, especially the Virgin Mary. Between 1730 and 1850, over 80 percent of the population received last rites and sought spiritual help from holy people. Her final chapter addresses the power of self-ruling communities that challenged public health reforms mandated by the Bourbons, which caused many revolts. New Mexicans simply would not bury their loved ones outside the church. Although the crown believed that dead bodies spread epidemics, the rich and the poor alike disregarded new cemetery regulations; some of the wealthy constructed private chapels and the poor demanded a burial inside the church.

The importance of her book is the detailed reconstruction of local religion as the creative and artistic agency of a participatory citizenry. The author details how pre-modern religion was a prophylactic aesthetic that waned with the advent of modern medicine and capitalism. She is indefatigable, which is why she succeeded in restoring a lost world by synthesizing surviving piles of

cabildo records, hundreds of ayuntamiento details, and scores of ecclesiastical documents.

*Aurelio Espinosa*

*Arizona State University*

*New Mexico's Palace of the Governors: History of an American Treasure.* By Emily Abbink. (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2007. 123 pp. 28 duotones, 63 halftones, maps, references. \$29.95 paper, ISBN 978-089013-500-6.)

This book has made a timely appearance—just in time to remind New Mexicans that our most treasured building will celebrate its four-hundredth anniversary in 2009. Emily Abbink has authored a well-researched history of the Palace of the Governors on the plaza in Santa Fe, illustrated with many fine photographs and maps as well as delightful drawings and sketches. The book is well designed and easy to read.

Abbink dedicated the book to children, the few children of the governors who lived in the palace and to the many children, “Mexican and Indian who worked as servants, stable hands, adobe makers, and soldiers” (p. 8). But this is not a children’s book. It begins with a description of the early Spanish explorers who established the first capital in San Juan Pueblo. It continues through the establishment of the capital in Santa Fe to the creation of the Museum of New Mexico in 1909 to the ways these buildings are used today.

The book adequately describes how the buildings have changed through time, but it also tells the story of the people who occupied them. Abbink makes it clear that there were good governors and bad governors in the early days. Some kept peace with the Apaches and Pueblos only to have agreements voided by successors. Most governors moved their families into the palace but some did not. The author also includes the story about the American governor Lew Wallace and his life in the capitol.

The palace was part of a complex of structures surrounding a courtyard, and it changed appearance several times throughout its lifespan. Abbink describes the original building as having two stories and being in what we now call the Pueblo style. Somewhere along the way, it lost the upper floor, and the plaza-facing portal was added, making it look somewhat “territorial” in appearance. Photographs show the changes pretty well, but it might

have been helpful if she had used a few of the beautiful drawings made by unemployed architects in the Historic American Buildings Survey of 1936. The author mentions that the palace was, along with the plaza, designated a National Historical Landmark in 1960. It was also added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1966 and designated an Official Project of Save America's Treasures in 1999.

Now that I have read this book, I am waiting for someone to write a detailed book or article about the many archaeological excavations and findings in the palace, the plaza, and surrounding areas, which are covered only briefly here.

*Van Dorn Hooker*

*American Institute of Architects*

*Expressing New Mexico: Nuevomexicano Creativity, Ritual, and Memory.* Edited by Phillip B. Gonzales. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007. x + 319 pp. 27 halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8165-2628-4.)

The genesis of this anthology evolved from an initiative at the University of New Mexico to create a link between the curriculum offered Latino/a students and a familiar cultural context that would motivate them to develop their academic potential. One aspect of this effort was to invite scholars of Nuevomexicano culture to contribute essays related to their research interests for the Expressive Cultural Symposium and to initiate new academic avenues that would ultimately lead to new courses at the University of New Mexico. This book is a product of that endeavor.

*Expressing New Mexico* is like a buffet table offering eleven tasty samples of scholarly work that pique interest of readers and encourage them to delve more deeply into the topics that are presented. In a sense, the book is an attempt to capture a few of the reflections of the "cultural prism" that constitutes Nuevomexicano life. Some essayists draw from the arts, including painting, sculpture, dance, drama, and film. Others draw from the complex topic of place and its impact and ramifications on culture. A common theme running through much of the material is the connectedness of the various rays of culture and their inevitable impact on one another. Recent and historical events, rituals and traditions, and self-identity are key themes in the selected essays.

Many of the contributing authors are familiar names in the field of Nuevomexicano scholarly research. In part 1 of the anthology, "Continuity of Volk," Sylvia Rodríguez examines morality and religion as it applies to the acequia system in northern New Mexico. Enrique Lamadrid recounts four centuries of *Milagro* (miracles, signs, and preternatural interventions) narratives in New Mexico, and Brenda M. Romero examines La Dansa Matachines as New Mexico heritage.

In part 2, "Performing Nuevomexicano Culture on Stage and Film," Marcos Martínez describes community development through actor-centered theater and A. Gabriel Meléndez explores competing images of Mexican Americans in the films *Salt of the Earth* (1954) and *And Now Miguel* (1966). Part 3 of the anthology examines the art and politics of canvas representation. Tey Diana Rebolledo looks at Chicana artists and writers and Tey Marianna Nunn discusses Chicana art, Hispanic identity, and the politics of place and gender in Nuevomexico.

The final two sections include the essays "Ritual and Return: Diasporic Hispanos and the Santa Fe Fiesta" by Susan Horton; "History Hits the Heart": Albuquerque's Great Cuartocentenario Controversy, 1997–2005" by Phillip B. Gonzales; "Contesting Oñate: Sculpting the Shape of Memory" by Kathy Freise; and "El Desmadre: Curse and Disorder" by Alvin O. Korte.

The overall effect of the book is to evoke appreciation for the diverse cultural richness of Nuevomexico historically and today. The strength of the assembled essays makes this text an enriching read for those wishing to discover more about the scope and nature of the flavor of Nuevomexicano culture.

*Andrew Leo Lovato*  
*College of Santa Fe*

*Doña Tules: Santa Fe's Courtesan and Gambler.* Mary J. Straw Cook. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007. xiv + 173 pp. Halftones, line drawings, appendix. \$21.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8263-4313-0.)

Mary J. Straw Cook aptly ends her book with a quote from Mark Twain: "Why ruin a good story with truth?" While the story of Doña Tules is a fascinating subject, there is so little historical documentation relating to her that it is difficult for a biographer to shed much new light on her already well-examined life. Moreover, the few sources that exist often come from



racist and sexist observers, such as W. W. H. Davis, who made no secret of their disdain of New Mexican culture and Tules's public persona. Unfortunately, while Cook is sympathetic to, and I think admires, Tules, she too falls prey to similar prejudices in the book. The opening line of the first chapter, "Fruit and young girls ripen early in the sultry Bavispe Valley of east central Sonora," sets up her perpetuation of the myth that Tules was a hypersexualized woman of loose morals (p. 1).

Cook attempts to put Tules within a nineteenth-century historical context to fill out the chapters because there is so little historical material specifically on Tules available to researchers. These sections, however, seem disconnected from her subject. Some chapters, such as "La Hijuela," which is about the content and witnesses to her will, read like narrative genealogies with little to connect the people into a coherent story. Cook also provides little historical context for the significance of a Mexican married woman writing a will in English and having it witnessed by important Anglo men.

Cook's *Doña Tules* illustrates a larger problem in the field of the history of the U.S. West in general and New Mexico history in particular. Academic presses feel the pull to publish popular histories that feed our cherished myths of the West and further bolster a mythic portrayal of New Mexico as a "land of enchantment." What is interesting about Tules, however, is not the myth of her as a courtesan, but that she was a powerful woman who owned property and was known to have cash reserves readily available, allowing her to finance bankers, businessmen, and even the U.S. government. No historical documentation (court records, for example) exists to prove that Tules was a prostitute, a madam, or even a courtesan, and to perpetuate this untruth only furthers derogatory portrayals of Tules and other public Mexican women. Books such as Cook's that are more concerned with romanticizing figures like Tules than understanding their complexity and context do much damage to our understanding of the past. Cook's account, while engaging and charming, does little to shed any new light on Doña Tules, American occupation of New Mexico, or Santa Fe society in the middle of the nineteenth century.

*Maria E. Montoya*  
New York University

*Valles Caldera: A Vision for New Mexico's National Preserve.* By William E. DeBuys and Don J. Usner. (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2006. 126 pp. 59 duotones, halftones, map. \$34.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-89013-493-1.)

You might be thinking about preserving a unique ecosystem with unsurpassed beauty and a fascinating environmental history. You should then read William E. DeBuys and Don J. Usner's work for a reality check on what it actually takes to accomplish such a noble dream. DeBuys is a noted environmental historian of acclaimed works such as *Enchantment and Exploitation: The Life and Hard Times of a New Mexico Mountain Range* (1985) and *Salt Dreams: Land and Water in Low-down California* (1999). Usner is an ecologist and photographer, and together, they have created a brilliantly illustrated volume complementing a telling narrative.

The Spanish word *valles* emphasizes "openness" as opposed to "valley," and *caldera* is a circular depression at the summit of a volcano. Valles Caldera is a grass-laden basin twelve miles across located just to the west of Bandelier National Monument in New Mexico. Several *ceros* (mountain peaks), now heavily forested by conifers, dot the interior of the caldera. Humans have always found the Valles Caldera a matchless place in terms of natural resources, spiritual connotations, and unparalleled beauty. In 2000 Pres. William J. Clinton signed legislation creating the 88,900-acre Valles Caldera National Preserve.

The creation of the preserve came with abundant difficulties. DeBuys, who was deeply involved in this story, carefully and thoroughly chronicles these travails. As he points out, the \$101 million purchase of the preserve would still be wanting without Sen. Peter Domenici's support and the federal budget surpluses toward the end of Clinton's administration. This accomplishment also took the willingness of the seller, the Dunigan family, who owned the land. When the Dunigans acquired the ranch in 1963, they envisioned developing a recreational spa of sorts, but as DeBuys phrases it, "the spell of the place" overcame the Dunigans and led them toward placing it into public hands for preservation.

Trying work followed. They had to acquire funding for staffing and maintenance and do the politically difficult work of creating a board of trustees and policies. The enabling act made these tasks more difficult by requiring that the preserve be financially self-sufficient without causing "unreasonable" diminishment of scenic and natural values. The infusion of political partisanship and appointments during the George W. Bush administration made all the above more problematic. Still, DeBuys sees a bright future for the caldera.

Usner cleverly portrays the ecology of the preserve. He has four pages of photography revealing historical ecological change in the valleys. He includes a collection of photographs intended “to engage people in a process of inquiry and discovery that leads to a passionate appreciation for the place” (p. 53). To this end, Usner achieves his goals with a number of photographs neatly captioned with descriptions of the ecology, geology, biology, and history captured in each plate.

In short anyone interested in the history of the Southwest and its beauty, natural resource use, ecological change over time, or public land preservation and policy will find DeBuys and Usner’s aptly crafted volume a valuable and enjoyable read.

*James Sherow*

*Kansas State University*

*New Perspectives on Pottery Mound Pueblo.* Edited by Polly Schaafsma, preface by Linda S. Cordell. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007. xvi + 302 pp. 112 duotones, 50 halftones, 38 line drawings, 13 maps, 43 tables, appendixes, notes, bibliographies, index. \$55.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8263-3960-5.)

This important book provides the first substantial context for the well-known kiva murals found during the University of New Mexico excavations at Pottery Mound, a large prehistoric community on the lower Puerco River southwest of Albuquerque. These excavations, directed by Frank Hibben, are best known for the finding and documentation of magnificent murals on the walls of kivas, but relatively little else has ever been published on this extensive effort. Several southwestern scholars, a number of them participants in the excavations, contributed chapters. Polly Schaafsma provides an overview of the site, Hibben, his excavations, and the research potential in the curated data and collections. Gwinn Vivian, a participant in the excavations, summarizes research at the site and changing interpretations. Michael Adler presents a very useful description of the architecture, making use of the detailed mapping data compiled by David Phillips and presented in an appendix. Adler also has two appendixes, one with data on individual rooms, the other with a critical stratigraphic profile. Suzanne Eckert has a chapter on her analysis of glaze-decorated pottery from the site, and Tiffany Clark has a chapter on the archaeofaunal remains.

Several chapters deal with the kiva murals found at the site. Patricia Vivian, another participant in the excavations, contributed a chapter on the discovery of the murals and methods of study. Helen Crotty examines western Pueblo influences in the murals, while Kelley Hays-Gilpin and Steven LeBlanc consider the Sityatki style as expressed in some of the murals and pottery decoration. Schaafsma compares the kiva murals and rock art, and Laurie Webster analyzes ritual costuming as represented in the murals. Finally, David Wilcox presents a useful and sometimes provocative summary of the other chapters.

This book is valuable and important for several reasons, not the least of which is the presentation of much baseline research data. It is not, however, a complete report on the excavations and recovered materials. Readers should consult Hibben's book for the most nearly complete publication on the kiva murals, but this new book has much important contextual, architectural, and artifactual data. Moreover, several chapters that explore Pottery Mound's place in the late prehistory of the Southwest, particularly as it relates to the movement of people and ideas. Some authors argue that the mural art style is consistent with the Rio Grande style; others, the Sityatki style (Hopi area). For many readers, one of the most useful aspects of the book is perhaps the presentation of divergent views on the fourteenth-century migrations, arguably a critical and fascinating series of population movements that shaped the Native American landscape that the Spanish first encountered in the sixteenth century.

This book will be important to archaeologists and anthropologists interested in Puebloan prehistory and history in particular, and migration, architecture, and stylistic analysis more generally. It is well written and organized, with clear, useful, and pertinent illustrations and tabular data.

*Darrell Creel*

*University of Texas at Austin*

*Matilda Coxe Stevenson: Pioneering Anthropologist.* By Darlis A. Miller, foreword by Louis A. Hieb. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007. xx + 298 pp. 14 halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-3832-9.)

This fine book lifts the veil of professional obscurity that descended on the early American anthropologist Matilda Coxe Stevenson after her death

in 1915. Historian Darlis A. Miller carefully documents Stevenson's life and her contributions to southwestern anthropology. Along the way she reveals fissures in an emerging profession that denigrated and then forgot Stevenson for seventy years. Near the end of the twentieth century, anthropologist Nancy J. Parezo reintroduced Stevenson in a series of profiles. In this full-scale biography, Miller offers a compelling portrait of a deeply committed scholar who was unusually generous to colleagues. Stevenson helped some of the very associates who later dismissed, or tried to appropriate, her work in southwestern anthropology.

That work began in 1879 when Matilda Stevenson and her husband went to the Southwest. John Wesley Powell sent James Stevenson there to carry out ethnological and archaeological exploration. He was the newly appointed executive officer of Powell's Bureau of Ethnology, and had previously held the same position with the Hayden Geological Survey. The self-taught geologist and ethnologist was an experienced explorer.

After marrying in 1872, Matilda Stevenson had joined her husband on several journeys with the Hayden Survey, an unusual choice that reflected her own ambition and deep interest in science. As Miller points out, writing up her husband's field notes and observing how he interacted with American Indians formed part of Matilda Stevenson's apprenticeship in anthropology. Formal training was not yet available.

At Zuni Pueblo in 1879, the Stevensons established contacts and collected artifacts. They returned to New Mexico, and to Zuni, several times in the 1880s. Matilda Stevenson undertook the research that qualifies her for the title of the first woman to do ethnographic fieldwork in the Southwest. After her husband's untimely death in 1888, Powell hired her to finish writing up their work, thereby making her the first—and only—woman to hold a permanent position as ethnologist at the Bureau of Ethnology. She continued her research at Zuni, completing a dozen field trips and producing the landmark ethnography, *The Zuni Indians: Their Mythology, Esoteric Fraternities, and Ceremonies* (1901–1902). She also extended her fieldwork to other pueblos, with funding—often inadequate—from the Bureau of Ethnology.

In a new field that was desperately short of funding and jobs, Stevenson—a woman, and without recognized academic credentials—held on to a prized position for more than twenty years. Anthropology had begun to professionalize, and men earned the first graduate degrees. Miller recounts the attempts to dislodge Stevenson from the bureau, and her resistance.

Among the many strengths of this book is the attention Miller gives to Stevenson's field methods, which included early use of observation and participant observation, not simply interviewing. Some anthropologists will be surprised to learn that she did not pay Zuni informants in order to extricate secret knowledge. More surprising still, even to Stevenson, after *The Zuni Indians* appeared in print, some Zunis responded not with anger but with pride. They considered it an accurate rendering, which attests to Stevenson's skill as an ethnographer who was meticulous, thorough, and empathic. Miller shows those same qualities as Stevenson's biographer.

Virginia Kerns

College of William & Mary

*On the Edge of the Law: Culture, Labor, and Deviance on the South Texas Border.* By Chad Richardson and Rosalva Resendiz. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006. xv + 347 pp. Map, tables, graphs, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$60.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-292-71333-8, \$24.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-292-71475-5.)

Life along the U.S.-Mexico border is quite unlike that elsewhere in America. Institutions there are commonly shaped by a logic that flows from the special character of the international boundary. In this book, Chad Richardson and Rosalva Resendiz examine a host of issues germane to the Texas Lower Rio Grande Valley, including problematic health care access, unemployment and worker displacement, the presence and impact of a large undocumented workforce, enforcement efforts against the smuggling of people and illegal drugs, the cross-border commission of property crime, and the generally low level of schooling achievement among residents. Interwoven through much of the book is the attempt to understand beliefs and attitudes toward these issues among the large low-income population of the region who tend to be the most adversely affected by them.

Too often academic treatment of the border has been based on impressionistic evidence ultimately employed to serve an ideological position. However, this approach is clearly not the case with this book. Richardson and Resendiz firmly ground their treatment of each issue in systematic, empirical observation generated through ethnographic and survey research sources. Also to their credit as professors at the University of Texas-Pan American, they have involved their students in much of the discovery process. Several chapters, in fact, list students as coauthors.

The authors attempt to conceptually orient the region and its problems by placing them within the context of two opposing forces: globalization and nationalism. Many local problems, they argue, represent the collision of these cross-currents at the boundary and are largely imposed by outside forces. For example rampant unemployment and worker displacement resulting from the relocation and then flight of capital in search of cheap labor and the corrupting influence of an underworld servicing the smuggling of people and commodities are clear expressions of activities generated on behalf of groups often far removed from the border.

The authors do an excellent job describing how the border creates special opportunities for some, while simultaneously diminishing the life quality of others. Richardson and Resendiz are at their best when focusing on the boundary and how it is negotiated and manipulated by various interests. Their research on cross-border shoplifting, vehicle theft, and smuggling is detailed and illuminating and provides first-rate contributions to the limited extant literature on these activities.

Conversely, their concern with cultural orientations is somewhat misplaced. Perhaps to dispel nativist arguments, they consistently show that Valley Mexican Americans become increasingly acculturated to the American mainstream across a wide range of indicators with generational distance from immigration. Yet, the authors also make quite apparent from their broader findings that local social problems are a function of structural forces within the larger political economy, rather than in any way due to the values, beliefs, or norms of those people most commonly victimized. Indeed, the authors might have emphasized more strongly their own survey data indicating that cultural orientations rooted in Mexico, certainly no less than those reputedly American, do not support behaviors that would in themselves contribute to causing such problems.

*Michael V. Miller*

*University of Texas at San Antonio*

*Amarillo: The Story of a Western Town.* By Paul H. Carlson. (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2006. xiii + 283 pp. Halftones, maps, notes, index. \$28.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-89672-587-4.)

Apart from B. Byron Price and Frederick W. Rathjen's *The Golden Spread: An Illustrated History of Amarillo and the Texas Panhandle* (1986), there has

been surprisingly scant scholarly publication on the history of Amarillo. For this reason, Paul H. Carlson's *Amarillo: The Story of a Western Town* is a welcome addition to the Texan bookshelf. The book provides "a broad, chronological sweep of the social, cultural, political, and economic history" of the city, showing how it developed as the major urban center for a region that includes not only the Texas Panhandle but parts of Oklahoma, New Mexico, Colorado, and Kansas as well (p. xi). If Amarillo is thoroughly modern, as a center for manufacturing, transportation, the regional petroleum industry, and medical care, Carlson argues that it is also thoroughly western: "the Old West, both the real and the imagined, remains hearty" (p. xii).

Certainly Amarillo's history has much in common with many other western settlements. Nearby water sources made it a crossroads for ancient Indian and later traders' trails. Transportation, in the form of railroads, like the early Fort Worth and Denver City Railroad and later the Santa Fe system, and highways, including U.S. Route 66, spurred growth in Amarillo as a regional center. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the arrival of farmers from the Middle West eroded but did not replace the importance of ranching in agribusiness. The twenties brought new wealth generated by the petroleum industry, and Amarillo began to build a modern skyline. Like other Texas towns, Amarillo saw the crises of the Depression and World War II greatly moderated by a substantial injection of federal money. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, a U.S. Army air base, and the Pantex Army Ordnance plant meant thousands of new jobs, bringing in large numbers of outsiders and continuing prosperity until the air base closed in 1968. Thereafter, successful diversification into manufacturing, given an assist by the abundant local supply of natural gas, let the town bounce back from a diminished supply of federal dollars.

Working primarily from newspaper sources, Carlson provides a useful overview of Amarillo's evolution into a modern Texas city. Locals will appreciate an abundance of city lore: the great duster of 1935, the epic ice storm of 1940, the Double Dip Drive-In, and the night life at the Natatorium. Those readers who traveled Route 66 in its legendary days will find references to a legion of its tourist courts and cafes. Others may find information about events such as the Amarillo Public Library's Children's Book Week in 1980 less than absorbing. Carlson could have included more coverage of petroleum in the town's economy; the impact of Anadarko Basin development from the sixties onward, for example, receives no mention. More to the point, does Carlson really convince us that Amarillo is still very



much a western town? Does becoming a feedlot epicenter represent the endurance of a western ranching legacy? Do pickup trucks, cowboy boots, country and western music, and ranch-theme steak houses add up to a continuing western heritage, as Carlson suggests? By that standard, Lubbock; Odessa; Hobbs, New Mexico; and even Houston are as western as Amarillo. Perhaps being western is a state of mind: you are part of the Old West if you think you are.

*Diana Davids Hinton*

*University of Texas of the Permian Basin*

*Victorio: Apache Warrior and Chief.* By Kathleen P. Chamberlain, foreword by Richard W. Etulain. The Oklahoma Western Biographies series. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007. xxi + 242 pp. 16 halftones, maps, bibliographic essay, index. \$24.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-3843-5.)

In the 1970s and early 1980s, Dan L. Thrapp drew extensively on American military sources to tell the story of the nineteenth-century Apaches and their resistance to the occupation of the Southwest. In the 1990s, Edwin Sweeney consulted Mexican archival materials to place the Apache wars in a larger cross-border context in a series of studies of notable Apache leaders. On a parallel track, various researchers began to publish Apache oral histories, beginning with Eve Ball and extending into the work of Ruth McDonald Boyer and Sherry Robinson. Kathleen P. Chamberlain's recently published *Victorio: Apache Warrior and Chief* draws on this rich legacy, particularly the oral accounts of the Apaches, to write a biography plentiful in historical and ethnographic detail.

Chamberlain begins her study with a brief consideration of the Apache world, juxtaposing Apache creation stories with the migration stories posited by cultural anthropologists and linguists. Next, she sketches the Spanish colonization of northern New Spain and the development of the Apaches' "raiding and trading" economy. Chapter 2 introduces Victorio, born a Warm Springs Apache at a time when young men and women still underwent the full complement of puberty rituals. For Victorio these rituals were the series of four raids undertaken by a novice warrior under the close supervision of adult relatives, which were designed to build strength and endurance and instill Apache values of loyalty, perseverance, and generosity. Subsequent chapters follow Victorio into adulthood and a leadership role among

his people as they struggled to maintain their homeland in the face of an increasing American presence.

Chamberlain unravels the complicated swirl of territorial, national, and military politics, policies, and personalities that vied for control over Indian affairs, to the detriment of numerous opportunities for a lasting peace. Exiled to the dreaded San Carlos reservation, Victorio and his people tried repeatedly to return to their homeland at Cañada Alamosa, where the U.S. government stubbornly refused to establish a reservation. Finally caught between the forces of two expanding and modernizing nations, Victorio met his death at the battle of Tres Castillos, fighting to the end to protect his people. Chamberlain ends with a brief assessment of Victorio's legacy and a bibliographic essay that provides a thorough review of Apache studies to date.

Victorio's story, as told by Chamberlain, is a welcome addition to the Oklahoma Western Biographies series. Her skillful incorporation of oral and ethnographic materials into her study provides a model for future work while enlarging our perspective on the struggles and challenges facing nineteenth-century Apache leaders.

*Joseph C. Jastrzembski*  
*Minot State University*

*Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans: Indigenous Education in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World.* By Margaret Connell-Szasz. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007. xv + 285 pp. 25 halftones, line drawing, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-3861-9.)

Among the various British organizations established to promote missionary work and spread "civilization" in the early modern period, the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) was unusual because it expended most of its resources on work in the Scottish Highlands. Founded in 1709, in its first sixteen years the SSPCK established twenty-five schools in the Highlands, with the aim of introducing Gaelic-speaking children to English, Presbyterianism, and some of the skills that (it was thought) would facilitate participation in the imperial economy. By 1783 the society was operating more than 170 such schools. In the middle years of the eighteenth century, the group also began offering subsidies to individuals and missionary organizations working among Native Americans.

Margaret Connell-Szasz's *Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans* provides a much-needed scholarly overview of the history and operations of the SSPCK. Connell-Szasz opens her book with a chapter broadly comparing Highlanders to Indians, emphasizing what she sees as their common characteristics as indigenous people. In the next two chapters, she provides an extended discussion of conditions in Scotland and the circumstances surrounding the founding of the missionary organization. She then devotes one chapter to the SSPCK's educational program in the Scottish Highlands. The society's work in North America, or to put it more precisely, the American work funded by the society, is outlined in the next two chapters. The book ends with a thought-provoking two-chapter vignette, culminating with the simultaneous visits of two of the SSPCK's star pupils, the Mohegan Samson Occom and the Highlander Dugald Buchanan, to Edinburgh in the summer of 1767.

Historians of Native Americans, if they are interested in Presbyterian and Congregationalist missionary work, will learn much from this book. The careers of such familiar figures as David and John Brainerd, Eleazer Wheelock, and Occom take on new dimensions when considered in this transatlantic institutional context. Connell-Szasz is at her best when comparing Buchanan to Occom. Her broader comparative project is less successful, however. One difficulty involves scale. Her chapter on the society's schools in Scotland encompasses several decades and literally hundreds of schools. In America the society subsidized only a handful of efforts over a shorter period, so Connell-Szasz is able to provide deeper analysis of local contexts and fill out her narrative more effectively. A more fundamental problem with her comparative approach relates to her effort to associate Gaelic with Native American culture. Although Connell-Szasz depicts Christianity as a relatively recent imposition on older, indigenous Gaelic traditions, the Highlanders as a group had been exposed to Christianity for at least as long as the Lowlanders who sought to convert them. Connell-Szasz depicts the Highlanders as isolated, but they were fiercely engaged in the sectarian and dynastic struggles troubling Britain in the eighteenth century. The historical and contemporary circumstances of the Gaels and the Indians were quite different, but they had one thing in common: both groups were misunderstood and targeted by the directors of the SSPCK.

*Geoffrey Plank*  
*University of Cincinnati*

*Weaving Women's Lives: Three Generations in a Navajo Family.* By Louise Lamphere, with Eva Price, Carole Cadman, and Valerie Darwin. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007. xiii + 314 pp. 41 halftones, notes, references, index. \$24.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8263-4278-2.)

*Weaving Women's Lives* is the story of Eva Price and her family, whom Louise Lamphere met in 1965 in Sheep Spring, New Mexico, while Lamphere was doing fieldwork for her dissertation in sociocultural anthropology. Over the next forty years, Lamphere developed a close friendship with Price that bridged three generations to include Price's daughter, Carole Cadman, and granddaughter, Valerie Darwin. In response to Price's desire to pass on her teachings about Navajo life to her descendants, Lamphere decided to create a generational narrative through the voices of these three Navajo women. Instead of presenting Navajo culture as an isolated indigenous culture, Lamphere chose to use the voices of Eva, Carole, and Valerie, as well as her own voice, to present episodes that highlight their "different positionalities within the same political economy," that of U.S. society (p. 11). Lamphere selects episodes that illustrate how their individual "cultural, class, and racial/ethnic backgrounds" have shaped their responses to similar situations, such as "parental drinking, schooling, [and] missionary activities," in different ways (p. 11). Such an approach not only expands the boundaries of the life-history genre, but also heightens the dynamic nature of the overall narrative, making both Navajo individuals and society come alive for the reader.

Another major strength of this book is Lamphere's use of metaphors to develop a model of change that has broad applications. For example the centrality of place is the theme around which Eva organizes the narrative of her life. She took Lamphere to the places where her ancestors lived, the place where she was born and grew up, and the location of her first and second winter homes. To highlight the salience of this concept, Lamphere contrasts her own focus on chronological time as a way to organize the events of her life with Eva's approach. The metaphor that Eva uses to describe her family is one used often in Navajo culture, that of the cornstalk with its main stalk and branches growing off from this central stem. Lamphere describes different kinds of change through two key symbols of Navajo womanhood, the weaving of rugs and the stirring of the batter for the cake that is a central part of the girl's puberty ceremony. Weaving illustrates changes that combine elements in a way that produce new patterns in which it is still possible to see the disparate cultural elements that have

been woven together. In contrast changes that are produced from stirring obscure the separate cultural elements.

Lamphere uses these metaphors to accomplish what is arguably the major contribution of this book. Just as she did in *To Run after Them: Culture and Social Bases of Cooperation in a Navajo Community* (1977), Lamphere explores an aspect of Navajo culture in a way that develops a model of change that is applicable far beyond the boundaries of a single society. The strength of *Weaving Women's Lives* lies in the way that Lamphere brings this model alive for readers through the four women narrators. She presents a new model of change that avoids the pitfalls of both the assimilationist model and the dualistic torn-between-two-worlds model by using metaphors to reveal the complexities of change. Lamphere articulates the Navajo way of knowing the world in a manner that has theoretical implications that extend far beyond the context of Navajo culture. In doing so, Lamphere advances anthropological theory, especially scholarship on the U.S. West, Borderlands, and the Southwest.

*Trudy Griffin-Pierce*  
*University of Arizona*

*The Seminole Freedmen: A History.* By Kevin Mulroy. Race and Culture in the American West Series, vol. 2. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007. xxxiii + 446 pp. 39 halftones, maps, charts, notes, bibliography, index. \$36.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-3865-7.)

Kevin Mulroy's work on the history of the Seminole freedmen offers an engaging and interesting interpretation. He argues that, unlike blacks who moved west with other members of the Five Civilized Tribes, the Seminole freedmen were primarily maroons. Mulroy bases his conclusion on the relationship between the Seminoles and the freedmen both in Florida and Indian Territory. Except for a few slaves belonging to Seminole leaders, the majority of blacks moving to Indian Territory continued their maroon existence by living on their own and maintaining a distinct African-based culture.

Mulroy explains that most blacks who took up residence with the Seminoles in Florida were escaped slaves. They lived in separate communities, paid tribute to Seminole leaders, and offered military support to their Indian neighbors against white raids, British incursions, and, later the U.S. Army. In return the Seminoles provided protection from slave catchers and

allowed the maroons to exist undisturbed. The maroons also acted as liaisons between U.S. government officials and Seminole leaders before and after Removal. Consequently, the maroons were able to negotiate independently with the U.S. government to secure passage west and maintain a separate identity as freed people.

The two groups maintained cultural autonomy both in Florida and in Indian Territory. Mulroy challenges popularly held views by arguing that the number of mixed marriages was low. According to Mulroy, with few exceptions, the maroons did not intermarry with tribal members and were neither granted tribal citizenship nor adopted into clans. Mulroy believes that this separation, cultural and social, allowed the Seminoles to accept the rights extended to freedmen under the Reconstruction Treaty of 1866.

Problems arose between the two groups, however, after Oklahoma gained statehood in 1907. The freedmen were now subjected to Jim Crow laws established by the southern-dominated state government. This younger generation of Seminoles shared many of the same racial attitudes of the larger society. By 1930 the Seminole tribe petitioned the federal government to remove the rights of financial support and property granted to the freedmen in 1866, arguing, "they had incorporated the freedmen into the nation but not into their tribe" (p. 309). The government denied these claims, but the lawsuit put into motion a struggle between the "blood" Indians and descendants of freedmen that continues today. More recently the freedmen's descendants have even lost tribal voting rights.

Mulroy's history of the Seminole freedmen is insightful, thoughtful, and needed. It fills a gap in the scholarship on Indian-black relations. Recent attempts by some tribes to disenfranchise and strip freedmen's descendants of tribal benefits makes this study timely. Mulroy aptly explains the Seminoles' affinity with blacks before and after the Civil War and offers some understanding as to why that relationship has subsequently deteriorated. His portrayal of the freedmen as maroons is thought provoking. One drawback is Mulroy's terminology. As some Seminole leaders did own slaves, distinguishing freedmen from bondsmen and fugitive slaves is sometimes difficult. Nonetheless, this book provides a thorough and much needed history of the Seminole freedmen, while offering new insights into Indian-black relations.

*Amy E. Carreiro*  
*University of Tulsa*

*Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West.* By Ned Blackhawk. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006. 372 pp. 18 halftones, maps, graph, notes, index. \$35.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-674-02290-4.)

In *Violence over the Land*, Ned Blackhawk argues forcefully for understanding Great Basin Indian history as, first and foremost, a history of colonial violence. Rejecting the view of Great Basin Indians as timeless “primitives,” Blackhawk shows us that their history was complex and dynamic, violent and full of pain. Violence shaped relations between peoples; transformed, and often devastated, Indian societies and economies; and continues to affect the lives of Great Basin people today. More broadly Blackhawk argues that histories of colonial violence are foundational to American history. He challenges us to “reckon with the violence upon which the continent was built” (p. 3).

Blackhawk teases out information about Indian movements and motives from a wide variety of historical sources. He begins by describing the shifting strategies of Ute bands from their first encounters with the Spanish as victims of slave raids. He then continues through to their emergence in the 1750s as slave raiders in their own right, capturing and selling nonequestrian Paiute and Shoshone peoples in exchange for horses, guns, and ammunition. As Blackhawk demonstrates, Spanish demands for Indian labor and “sexual comfort,” and the acquisition of horses and guns by Utes and other Native peoples produced cycles of violence that transformed the political geography of the region.

After tracing the erosion of Ute–New Mexican relations, Blackhawk examines the effects of American expansion: the incursions of traders in the 1830s, the ecological havoc wrought by immigrants, and the devastating impact of invasion following the U.S.–Mexico War. Moving outside the limits of national history, Blackhawk shows that earlier historical experience shaped how Native peoples responded to this onslaught. Colorado Utes used the diplomatic skills they had acquired in their dealings with the Spanish to negotiate the retention of their homelands in the treaty of 1868. Nonequestrian Western Shoshones, by contrast, rendered destitute by the destruction of their resource base and without effective federal protection in Mormon-dominated Utah, suffered a massacre at the hands of the U.S. Army at Bear River in 1863. This horrifying event, Blackhawk argues, must be seen in the “larger context of violent social relations” and their history of colonial destitution (p. 225).

Blackhawk's project is personal as well as scholarly. In his epilogue, he discusses the recent history of his own people, the Western Shoshones, and the troubled past of his family. In intimate and often tragic ways, he reveals that the traumas of colonialism continue to reverberate in Great Basin lives.

Blackhawk argues his case eloquently. However, more analytic attention to the different cultures of violence would have further strengthened his argument. How, precisely, did the Spanish and the Americans conceive of the use of violence and how did this change under colonial conditions? How did the adoption of European weaponry alter indigenous conceptions of war, honor, and masculinity? How did the repeated trauma of violent death affect Native forms of grieving? These are questions for future research. As an account of the "epic ordeals" of Great Basin Indians, *Violence over the Land* is a major contribution to the history of the Intermountain West.

Anne Keary

University of Utah

*Native American Placenames of the United States.* By William Bright. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004. xviii + 600 pp. References. \$59.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-3576-2, \$29.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8061-3598-4.)

In the final years of his life, William Bright (1928–2006), one of the most distinguished linguists of his generation, produced a scholarly masterpiece. He synthesized his sweeping knowledge of the Native languages of North America into a very accessible volume on placenames, one of his lifelong passions. In this book, Bright surveys over two hundred languages and uses his expertise to provide word histories and meanings for many of the townships and geographical landmarks throughout the United States whose names have identifiable origins in Native American languages.

The book is organized alphabetically, according to the official English spellings currently in use on public maps and road signs throughout the country. Based on his extensive linguistic and historical research, Bright identifies the linguistic source and provides the original name in the Native language. These placenames fall into a series of types based on the history of transmission from Native languages into English. Some are mere translations from Native languages, such as Heron Lake, Minnesota, which is based on the Dakota (Siouan) name *Okabena*, a word that also makes reference to herons, although in the sense of eggs hatching.



Other placenames are based on Native words that have often undergone predictable changes in sound and meaning when adopted into English. Some of these are fairly faithful to the originals, such as Oklahoma, which comes from a Choctaw (Muskogean) compound consisting of the elements *oklah*, meaning “people,” and *homma*, meaning “red.” However successfully the sounds have been transferred in this case, English speakers are generally unaware of the linguistic source and the original meaning. Other placenames have undergone significant modification, such as Mississippi, which derives from the Ojibwa (Algonquian) word *mshi-ziibi*, meaning “big river.” Still others were originally borrowed by the Spanish or French, before secondarily becoming English placenames, often preserving a telltale foreign spelling along the way. Consider the name Chicago, which comes to English via a French interpretation of an Algonquian word, possibly Fox *shekaakooheki* (“at the wild onion place”) or Ojibwa *shikaakonk* (“at the skunk place”). As illustrated in this final example, in some cases it is simply not possible to reconstruct the entire history of the word based on the available sources. Here, all the author can provide are educated guesses, documenting the current state of knowledge and leaving the rest for future research.

The book also provides a glimpse into the social history of the United States by providing evidence of linguistic contact, among Native peoples as well as the Spanish-, French-, and English-speaking settlers who later came to adopt some of the indigenous placenames. The resulting reference piece will appeal both to seasoned scholars in the fields of anthropology, linguistics, geography, and history, as well as to the lay audience, especially those interested in U.S. geography and history and Native American languages.

Sean O'Neill

University of Oklahoma

*Big Dams of the New Deal Era: A Confluence of Engineering and Politics.* By David P. Billington and Donald C. Jackson. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006. xiv + 369 pp. 131 halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$36.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-3795-7.)

Anyone who has stood atop a dam in wonderment, pondered how workers set such a structure into a flowing river, or simply flicked a switch in their home that came from hydropower will appreciate *Big Dams of the*

*New Deal Era*. In addition to explaining the concrete aspects (literally and figuratively) of American big dam construction, David P. Billington and Donald C. Jackson explain the politics behind the dams. The authors do well at placing dams at the confluence of technological, environmental, and political history.

The New Deal era began in the 1920s and lasted until the 1950s. Extensive surveys ("308 Reports" completed after the Flood Control Act of 1928) provided the basis for New Deal projects. The era was defined by progressive ideals and by the initiative and federal funding of the New Deal, but the authors show that dams were also products of the local landscape, economy, and people; each project was surprisingly unique.

The book begins by delineating between structural and massive dams, the latter of which typified the New Deal dams. Different engineering styles created dam types that relied on fewer resources and more calculated placement of materials, versus dams that used sheer volume of material. The concept of the multipurpose dam was born but hydroelectricity was the selling point.

At the book's center are four watersheds and one or more representative dams. The first is the Colorado River and Hoover Dam, which preceded the New Deal but became its "poster child." Hoover Dam was debated, however; the future of federal infrastructure on rivers was not yet defined. Hoover Dam and the Tennessee Valley Authority became the touchstones for later decades. Succeeding chapters cover the Bonneville and the Grand Coulee dams on the Columbia River, Fort Peck and Garrison dams on the Missouri River, and finally the Shasta and Friant dams of the California Central Valley Project.

The focus on politicians and engineers in their international context and government agencies reveals contingency. Early in the century, the agency leaders of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation (focused on navigation and irrigation, respectively) did not foresee the degree of influence that federal funding would bring them. Today the corps is perceived as domineering, but at the time, the agency was reluctant to assume the responsibilities that came with these massive watershed projects. Additionally, corps leaders opposed the building of some projects that surveys identified as feasible. For example reports showed the Missouri River system of dams was a viable engineering feat but promised limited economic benefits for the region and the corps therefore judged the projects unwise.

The authors argue that big dams were far from inevitable, and that those dams became the concrete linchpins in a new economic and political order on the landscape, an order we have uncomfortably inherited. In the introduction, the authors are suggestive in the ways that dams serve as multifaceted cultural symbols and, in the conclusion, they briefly contrast public attitudes toward dams in the New Deal era and today—both topics that beg for a few extra pages. Finally, the book is valuable for its generous number of visuals and informative captions that illustrate dam building.

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*The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*. Vol. 3, June 1, 1878–June 22, 1880. Edited and annotated by Charles M. Robinson III. (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2007. ix + 555 pp. Halftones, maps, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth, ISBN 978-1-57441-231-4.)

First Lt. John Gregory Bourke was easily the U.S. Army's most prolific chronicler of events and observations on the western frontier. Bourke is perhaps best remembered for his classic *On the Border with Crook* (1891), an account of his service with the Third Cavalry in Arizona and later in the Great Sioux War of 1876. Less well known, however, are the journals Bourke maintained from his days as a young second lieutenant in the early 1870s until his untimely death in 1896.

Composed of 124 volumes in all, the diaries represent a massive body of information useful not only to military historians, but also to ethnologists and western historians in general. Bourke, ever a student of humanity, took special interest in documenting the character, habits, language, and customs of the American Indians he encountered. Until recently this unparalleled resource has been available only to those diligent enough to consult the originals at the U.S. Military Academy Library. Charles Robinson III, however, has undertaken a task nearly as monumental as Bourke's by editing, annotating, and publishing the diaries in a projected series of eight hefty volumes, thus making them readily available.

Volume three embraces one of the quieter but nonetheless interesting periods in Bourke's army career. In his role as Gen. George Crook's aide-de-camp, he enjoyed wide-ranging opportunities for experiences not shared by most line officers. Bourke accompanied the general on some official

missions, for example being present during Crook's meeting with Bannock leaders during the uprising of 1878. Bourke also was present during a little-known episode when Crook heard the grievances of the forcibly displaced Poncas. Although the general is well known as an unrelenting enemy of Indians in the field, Bourke reinforces the view that Crook could be an equally sympathetic friend and Indian rights advocate once they were peaceably disposed.

On another occasion, Bourke rode with Gen. Wesley Merritt's column to relieve Maj. Thomas T. Thornburgh's battalion after Ute warriors surrounded and besieged it in northwestern Colorado. Those interested in the Milk Creek episode will find Bourke's account to be a previously untapped source.

Bourke digressed frequently in his diaries and this volume is no exception. Included are recollections of his early army days in New Mexico and vignettes about numerous officers with whom he crossed paths at various times. Additional material on the Sioux War of 1876 and the death of Crazy Horse are also presented.

By the end of the 1870s, John Bourke was keenly aware that the West was changing dramatically. The burgeoning development of the West is a constant thread throughout the volume, providing us with a fascinating first-hand sense of national growth and optimism during America's Gilded Age. Robinson deserves praise for making another outstanding contribution to the literature of the Indian Wars era. We look forward to the next installment.

*Douglas C. McChristian*  
*Tucson, Arizona*

*Buffalo Soldiers in the West: A Black Soldiers Anthology.* Edited by Bruce A. Glasrud and Michael N. Searles. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2007. vi + 319 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95 paper, ISBN 978-1-58544-620-9.)

This edited anthology focuses on the accomplishments and troubles of African American soldiers in the later nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. The book tells their story using an organized collection of scholarly articles previously published by highly regarded historians in professional journals. Bruce A. Glasrud begins with an excellent review of literature on the subject and the book ends with an exhaustive Buffalo Soldier bibliography,

which alone are worth the price of the book. Each of the four parts of the anthology start with an introductory section that sets the theme, summarizes the articles, and discusses the rationale for their inclusion.

I enjoyed several of the essays in the first section titled "The Officers and the Troops." Both William A. Dobak's "Fort Riley's Black Soldiers and the Army's Changing Role in the West, 1867-85" and Douglas C. McChristian's "Dress on the Colors, Boys! Black Noncommissioned Officers in the Regular Army, 1866-98" offer great detail about the lives of black soldiers and noncommissioned officers. I also learned a great deal from the paper by Alan K. Lamm, "Buffalo Soldier Chaplains of the Old West," although I would have liked to read in this section about at least one of the three contemporary black cavalry line officers: Henry O. Flipper, John Alexander, or Charles Young. My favorite in the second section titled "The Black Soldier" was Thomas R. Buecker's essay, "One Soldier's Service: Caleb Benson in the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry, 1875-1908," which provides a rare glimpse of the soldier's career from beginning to end.

In the third section, "Discrimination and Violence," I was familiar with Frank Schubert's "Black Soldiers on the White Frontier: Some Factors Influencing Race Relations," which covers the experience of black soldiers in Wyoming. Garna Christian's paper on the racial problems in "Rio Grande City," however, was a special treat. The unfortunate commander of the beleaguered fort near Rio Grande City, Texas, Lt. E[rubian]. H[olland]. Rubottom was later removed from duty and the fort was assigned "to the command of a seasoned officer," as recommended by the investigating official Col. Cyrus Roberts (p. 192). Rubottom later served many years under Capt. Charles Young in the Philippines and Wyoming in the Ninth Cavalry. In the final section of the book, "Community of Soldiers," I found Marvin Fletcher's essay on "The Black Soldier-Athlete" very informative, showing athletics played an important role in the lives of the Buffalo Soldiers after the Indian Wars.

I enjoyed this book immensely and also learned a great deal. It would make a wonderful reference book for anyone interested in the subject of African American soldiers. It would also serve nicely in any college course covering African American military history. I recommend it highly.

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*Alexandria, Virginia*

*Uniforms, Arms, and Equipment: The U.S. Army on the Western Frontier, 1880–1892. Vol. 1, Headgear, Clothing, and Footwear.* By Douglas C. McChristian, foreword by Jerome A. Greene. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007. xii + 330 pp. 273 halftones, color plates, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$60.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-3789-6.)

*Uniforms, Arms, and Equipment: The U.S. Army on the Western Frontier, 1880–1892. Vol. 2, Weapons and Accouterments.* By Douglas C. McChristian, foreword by Jerome A. Greene. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007. xii + 297 pp. 162 halftones, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$60.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-3790-2.)

By publishing books such as Randy Steffen's multivolume *The Horse Soldier, 1776–1943: The United States Cavalryman; His Uniform, Arms, Accouterments, and Equipments* (1978), William K. Emerson's *Encyclopedia of United States Army Insignia and Uniforms* (1996) and *Marksmanship in the U.S. Army: A History of Medals, Shooting Programs, and Training* (2004), in addition to other works, the University of Oklahoma Press has become the authoritative publishing house for reference books on U.S. Army uniforms, equipment, and insignia. The recent publication of Douglas C. McChristian's two-volume *Uniforms, Arms, and Equipment*, a follow up to his 1995 work covering the years 1870 to 1880, cements the press's reputation in this field of study.

McChristian's latest work examines the uniforms, insignia, equipment, and arms used by the U.S. Army during the final years of the Indian Wars and the closing of the American frontier. In addition McChristian discusses the bureaucratic squabbles within the U.S. Army's Quartermaster and Ordnance departments, the two branches of the army responsible for procuring uniforms, equipment, and arms, during this period. During these years, the author points out, soldiers who were junior officers during the Civil War or were too young to have even served during that conflict began to emerge to take control of the army's ponderous procurement system and reform it. Older Civil War veterans reluctant to change, such as Montgomery Meigs, the army's quartermaster general, were eventually forced out and replaced by younger officers like Nelson Miles, Samuel Holabird, and Richard Batchelder. He also discusses how the enormous surplus of Civil War era supplies, especially in uniforms, was finally exhausted by 1880, leading to new army uniforms influenced by European styles but that remained uniquely American.

Volume 1 of McChristian's work looks at the headgear, clothing, and footwear used by soldiers on the western frontier. While some of these items were used by soldiers throughout the army, not just by those troops posted in the West, much of this attire was developed for soldiers on the frontier who faced extreme weather conditions unique to the region. It was during this time that the army began adopting buff-colored campaign hats, instead of the previously issued black felt hats, which soaked up the summer sun's rays and became unbearably hot. McChristian also looks at other unique uniform items and summer clothing worn by frontier soldiers. The most interesting aspect of Volume 1 is the chapter on winter clothing issued to protect soldiers from the brutal winter climate of the Northern Plains and the Rockies. In addition to standard regulation heavy wool overcoats, soldiers could be found wearing buffalo overcoats, felt boots, and muskrat hats and gauntlets. Each chapter of this volume is lavishly illustrated with dozens of black and white photographs (a set of duotones is included in Volume 1 as well), many from the author's private collection and various museums and archives in the western United States.

Volume 2 focuses on firearms, edged weapons, and other equipment used by American soldiers in the West, and how the unconventional nature of the Indian Wars influenced development. McChristian discusses the army's Ordnance Department's reluctance to adopt repeating rifles due to the belief that widespread use of repeaters would result in soldiers wasting large amounts of ammunition. This issue came to a head in 1876 following the Battle of the Little Big Horn, when it was reported that the Sioux warriors who annihilated Custer's column of Seventh Cavalry troopers possessed large numbers of repeating rifles, giving them overwhelming firepower. McChristian dispels this myth, stating that the number of Indians who possessed repeaters was relatively small and that Custer's defeat could be attributed to the overwhelming numbers of attacking Indians.

McChristian contends that no simple solution to the problem of weaponry existed at this time, as there were few practical repeaters before 1880 that could handle the rigors of frontier warfare or use the heavier cartridges required by the army. As a result army firearms remained relatively unchanged into the 1880s. Nevertheless, McChristian states that by 1884, adequate repeating rifles had been developed, and ordnance officers found it increasingly difficult to defend their decisions that favored the continued use of single-shot rifles and carbines.

The chapter on arms is further enhanced by a section highlighting the technical details of weapons used by the army from 1880 to 1892. McChristian also makes some interesting points about weapons and warfare during this period, especially in reference to cavalry. For instance while cavalry forces played a major role in the Indian Wars in the West, the army's cavalry units rarely fought mounted. Instead, they were generally deployed as mounted infantry, using horses to transport themselves to an engagement, then fighting dismounted. As a result, two of the traditional cavalry weapons, sabers and pistols, were rarely used in combat on the frontier.

One minor issue with this work is the inadequate mention of artillery in the West. While infantry and cavalry units dominated the Indian campaigns, the army employed some artillery, including Gatling guns, sometimes to great effect. Additional color illustrations and some maps showing key battles and army posts would also improve an already excellent piece of scholarship. These quibbles are minor.

McChristian's latest work, coupled with his earlier single volume, will remain the standard for reference books on the American soldier and his arms and equipment in the West during the late 1800s for years to come. This work is highly recommended to anyone with an interest in the U.S. Army during the latter years of the Indian Wars and the soldiers who served in the West.

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*Drifting West: The Calamities of James White and Charles Baker.* By Virginia McConnell Simmons. (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2007. xxviii + 210 pp. 28 halftones, 11 maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-87081-874-5.)

"Come, Watson, come! The game is afoot," exclaimed Sherlock Holmes, as he and Dr. Watson started investigating another case. He also observed, "When you have eliminated the impossible, whatever remains, however improbable, must be the truth."

The same observation could apply to Virginia McConnell Simmons, as she tries to track the elusive careers of Charles Baker and James White. These two vagabond drifters enjoyed brief moments of fame—Baker for



being the Paul Revere of the rush into Colorado's San Juan Mountains in 1860–1861 and White for claiming to be the first to float down the Colorado River through the Grand Canyon. Colorado historian Simmons has done yeoman work following Baker's and White's often faint paths. Baker is a bit easier to trace because there can be no denying he played a role in promoting the mining potential of the San Juan Mountains. However, his efforts were more promotional than they were for successful prospecting and development. The result was a fiasco that left the region with a bad reputation.

White, on the other hand, stirred more controversy and doubt with his claim to have somehow floated on a raft down the Colorado River, all the way to Arizona, in 1867. Without question, White reached Callville, Nevada, as Simmons writes, "his skin, sunburned to a crisp, hanging on an emaciated body" (p. 86). How he got there is yet to be settled. White, Baker, and two others started on the adventure, perhaps to find gold. Only White came out alive, along with a trunk full of questions, the main one being did he actually float through the canyon? Other questions include did Baker die of natural causes or did White kill him during the journey and what happened to the other two men?

Simmons has to be a literary detective to sort out claims, counterclaims, elusive information, contrary information, misinformation, and the passing of 140 years. She sleuths as well as possible at this late date. *Drifting West* can be seen as a mystery book disguised as a history book. The author has included much of the evidence, and the reader is left to draw whatever conclusions she or he feels may be justified. Simmons includes some long quotes, from one perspective or another, about White's veracity or the possibility of his navigating the Grand Canyon. Certainly, this story is more than just a footnote for those students interested in the river's history.

So the mystery continues, but it provides an interesting story, one that Simmons handles with skill like the old pro she is in investigating history. As Sherlock Holmes said, "It is my business to know what other people don't know." So must the historian, and Simmons has done that as far as the evidence remaining allows.

Duane A. Smith  
Fort Lewis College

*Aryan Cowboys: White Supremacists and the Search for a New Frontier, 1970–2000.* By Evelyn A. Schlatter. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006. xv + 250 pp. 13 halftones, map, notes, bibliography, index. \$50.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-292-71421-2, \$19.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-292-71471-7.)

Evelyn Schlatter describes the West in American culture as “a land into which dreams are sown,” evoking the region’s mythic meanings as a place of freedom and renewal, a proving ground for manhood, and a crucible of national identity (p. 168). Historically, these elements of our collective psyche have informed several ideological currents in the United States, from the main streams of manifest destiny, nostalgia for agrarian virtues, and veneration of the cowboy as individualist hero to the strange backwaters of white supremacy, libertarian paranoia, and vigilante violence. Recognition of the mainstream currents within extremist ideologies makes Schlatter’s book provocative, even disturbing; after reading it one can no longer dismiss right-wing cults as anomalies. Rather, they emerge as organic features of the American political landscape.

Schlatter traces the emergence of white supremacist groups in western states during the last three decades of the twentieth century. Specifically, she investigates the Aryan Nations and its paramilitary offshoot, the Order; the Posse Comitatus; and two hybrid organizations, the Montana Freeman and the Republic of Texas. These groups are sometimes categorized as part of the Christian Identity movement, which also includes the post–World War II Ku Klux Klan. All these groups, to varying degrees, use biblical fundamentalism to support their notions of patriarchy and Caucasian privilege. Some promote anti-Semitism and apocalyptic millenarianism as well, predicting a violent showdown between their own ranks and the “enemy,” which they describe as a Jewish cabal or a tyrannical federal government.

In a deft synthesis of scholarly literature, Schlatter exposes historical precedents for such groups, including the Puritan concept of American exceptionalism, the valorization of colonial vigilantes like the Carolina Regulators, the nineteenth-century intellectual fascination with Germanic and Anglo-Saxon precursors to American political institutions, and assertions of Anglo entitlement to dominion over the American continent. Recurrent strains of nativism and Populist nostalgia for a preindustrial order also receive consideration. Add traditions of fraternalism and a desire to preserve white male privilege against challenges posed by women’s and minority rights groups to this mix, and one finds common threads woven into the warp of extreme right-wing groups and the weft of mainstream American conservatism.

In short Schlatter asks readers to acknowledge that there may be only a few degrees of separation between residents of Main Street and those of an Aryan Nations compound; what distinguishes extremists from other right-wing conservatives is their choice to operate outside the law, as domestic terrorists. Schlatter identifies several late twentieth-century historical forces behind the emergence of far-right vigilante groups in the West. A post-Vietnam crisis of masculinity and national identity gave rise to a romance with things paramilitary; an agricultural crisis during the 1970s and 1980s generated rural antipathy toward the federal government; and working-class reaction against environmental policies gave rise to the “Sagebrush Rebellion” opposing federal regulations on development of public lands—the fringes of which fed into militias and Christian Identity groups. By exploring ideological roots shared between white supremacists and less extreme groups, Schlatter makes a significant contribution to scholarship on the mythic West, manhood, and national identity.

*Dee Garceau-Hagen*  
*Rhodes College*

*Gender and Generation on the Far Western Frontier.* By Cynthia Culver Prescott. Women’s Western Voices series. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007. x + 219 pp. 14 halftones, maps, tables, graphs, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8165-2543-0.)

Researching the social history of early Oregon is difficult. Although the pioneers of the 1840s and 1850s left diaries and memoirs, most of these journals are about the difficult journey westward on the Oregon Trail, not the process of settlement. Cynthia Culver Prescott has gone a long way to remedy this problem. Her systematic research in private papers, combined with demographic evidence, allows her to describe, in some detail, changes in gender roles in the first two generations of Oregon settlers.

Briefly, Prescott finds that the first generation brought with them the gender-role expectations of their place of origin, the Midwest farming frontier. Midwest farm families were patriarchal: men were the providers and deciders, women the domestic supporters. Although the heavy workload of early settlement occasionally required women to work in the fields and take on other “male” tasks, and men helped with household chores, the ideology held firm. Prescott’s finding confirms that of historian Julie Roy Jeffrey, whose early

study, *Frontier Women: The Trans-Mississippi West, 1840–1880* (1979), confounded the expectation that women used the westward move to break free of gender constraints. Furthermore, as Prescott points out, this cultural continuity conforms to the first-generation attitudes found in migration studies worldwide. So much for Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier freedom (if anyone still believes it); at least in gender roles, the concept does not apply.

The changes in the second generation, Prescott claims, were small but important. Women reconfirmed their domesticity, but now as consumers rather than household producers, thus adopting the refined middle-class values developing in eastern cities. Husbands supported women in this change, and themselves adopted codes of manly middle-class restraint. At the same time, more marriages were companionate rather than strictly economic bargains. Patriarchy softened a little, allowing some women greater possibilities for civic involvement. Although Prescott claims otherwise, these changes do not add up to the rebellion against family values that other, ethnic, immigrants to America experienced.

This is all plausible, but puzzling. Farm families have traditionally been based on a gendered division of labor, yet Prescott's explanations are always cultural rather than economic. Her study might have benefited from the extensive recent work on farmwomen produced by members of the Rural Women's Studies Association, demonstrating that women's domestic work has always been more important than male ideology claimed. Nevertheless, this useful study fills a glaring gap in our knowledge of western women.

*Susan Armitage*

*Washington State University*

*Radicalism in the Mountain West, 1890–1920: Socialists, Populists, Miners, and Wobblies.* By David R. Berman. (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2007. xiv + 386 pp. 22 halftones, tables, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-87081-884-4.)

Scholars of the mining West have in recent years drawn a more complete picture of the economic and political worlds of workers circa 1900 than previous historians. Intensely urban communities emerged in remote, forbidding mountains. Rapid industrialization led to class mobilizations and violence within isolated landscapes. Third parties enjoyed surprising successes. David R. Berman's book refines this picture with a focused review of

socialist party development, mobilization, and influence across eight states in the Mountain West. Also considering religion and territorial status as factors, Berman presents a readable account of Socialist activism in the region. At the core of Mountain West socialism were radical miners, who play crucial roles in Berman's account.

Populism in the region similarly drew on the bitter resentments of mountain workers. Berman ably highlights Populist successes in Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, and Wyoming. By 1900 the People's Party had laid a foundation for socialism in terms of "an anti-corporate program, a core of leaders, a stirred-up working class" and lessons on the dangers of fusion (p. 28).

The early years of the twentieth century saw Socialists organizing across the region with close ties to the Western Federation of Miners (WFM). Berman finds support for Socialist candidates strongest in those communities that backed the WFM. The emergence of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) led to new divisions among left-wing and right-wing Socialists. Yet Eugene V. Debs, American union leader, founding member of the IWW, and candidate for president as a member of the Social Democratic Party and later the Socialist Party of America, often tallied a greater percentage of the vote in the Mountain West than other regions. Seventeen percent of Nevada voters cast ballots for Debs in 1912, the highest in the nation.

Between 1908 and 1912, Socialists enjoyed their greatest influence in the region, although largely at the local level. Many middle-class progressives came to embrace some initiatives that had previously been considered socialistic. Mayor Lewis Duncan of Butte, Montana, joined other right-wing Socialist mayors in the region who advocated municipal ownership of utilities, improved local infrastructure, and more efficient city administration. Berman also notes support for antiprostitution campaigns among some Socialist leaders.

The swell of support for Debs and local candidates in 1912 did not, however, increase party membership. In fact Berman indicates that labor setbacks in places like Ludlow, Colorado, paralleled the decline in Socialist party fortunes. The Socialist candidate for president in 1916 generated far less support than had Debs. Many Socialists deserted the party to vote for Woodrow Wilson that year, although Berman does not identify how many did so from the Mountain West. Loyalty campaigns during the war combined with antisindicalism laws and home guards to threaten the party's existence across the region.

Aptly linking Socialist party development and miner unionism across a number of states, Berman draws some interesting connections between radical and reform agendas. The book might also have offered more consistent analysis of ethnic responses to socialism, given that western miners were so often foreign born. Yet Berman provides a detailed portrait of Socialist organizing and influence across this troubled region.

R. Todd Laugen

Metropolitan State College of Denver

*Postwestern Cultures: Literature, Theory, Space*. Edited by Susan Kollin. Postwestern Horizons series. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007. xix + 267 pp. Halftones, notes, references. \$35.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8032-1114-8.)

*Postwestern Cultures* is a sensitive barometer to the changing scholarly climate. As Susan Kollin notes in her introduction, the thirteen contributors draw on “a variety of critical approaches, including global studies, feminist theory, cultural studies, environmental criticism, cultural geography, queer studies, and critical race theory” (p. xi). Six of the contributors cite the cultural geographer Edward W. Soja, for example. As a young scholar inured to the brave new world of academic criticism might say, quoting American journalist Lincoln Steffens upon his return from the Soviet Union in 1921, “I have seen the future and it works.” Ironically, as contributor Neil Campbell writes of J. B. Jackson, “His attentiveness to local, everyday detail *and* his unwillingness to engage in academic jargon might make his work unfashionable today” (p. 63). This risk is run by few of the contributors to this volume.

The best of the articles collected in this unindexed volume are meditations on the postmodern (or “postwestern”) condition. In “I’m Just a Lonesome Korean Cowgirl; or, Adoption and National Identity,” Melody Graulich ponders her experience in transnational adoption. John Streamas examines the use of frontier mythology in children’s literature about the Japanese American detention camps, particularly Florence Crannell Means’s *The Moved-Outers* (1945). In “The Romance of Ranching; or, Selling Place-Based Fantasies in and of the West,” Nancy Cook explicates advertisements for Montana acreage, which makes the essay required reading for anyone shopping for land in the Mountain West.

In “What’s Authentic about Western Literature? And, More to the Point, What’s Literary?” Lee Clark Mitchell joins the recent debate over issues of

authenticity in western literature on the side of the skeptics who scorn the merits of textual realism. As Mitchell declares, “cunning inauthenticity always trumps flat-footed truth” (p. 101). As the editor of a journal entitled *American Literary Realism*, I must respectfully demur. Realism should not be a standard of exclusion, but a standard of literary merit. Frederic Remington’s *John Ermine of the Yellowstone* (1902) is arguably a better novel than Owen Wister’s *The Virginian* (1904) precisely because, as a narrative by a visual artist, it is more realistic. One of Mitchell’s targets is *The Education of Little Tree* (1976), a purportedly authentic Indian autobiography by Forrest Carter, who not only was non-Native but turned out to be a former speechwriter for former Alabama governor George Wallace named Asa Carter. As Mitchell allows, the book “should have failed not for its lack of authorial authenticity . . . but for being so slapdash, maudlin, and banal” (p. 106). In effect Mitchell *would* proscribe the text for its failures of historical detail. Many Native American(ist)s were not surprised the story was a fraud because it was so inaccurate.

*Postwestern Cultures* may be “a sensitive barometer to the changing scholarly climate,” but the phrase cuts both ways. Or as the economist John Kenneth Galbraith said after visiting the Soviet Union in 1984, “I have seen the future and it doesn’t work.”

Gary Schamhorst

University of New Mexico

*Picturing a Different West: Vision, Illustration, and the Tradition of Cather and Austin.* By Janis P. Stout. Grover E. Murray Studies in the American Southwest series. (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2007. xxii + 295 pp. 69 halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$40.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-89672-610-9.)

This work is an ambitious study of how two major women writers of the Southwest utilized visual language in order to portray the region differently than traditional tropes of a rugged, Anglo, masculine West. The book also traces the juxtaposition of the prose of Mary Austin and Willa Cather with the illustrations of their books that complemented or diminished the innovative nature of their work. The result is a highly interactive book. Janis P. Stout documents the negotiations of the authors with book designers, interprets the subtext she sees in the resulting illustrations, compares multiple aspects of Austin’s southwestern works to Cather’s, and engages the long lineage of

scholarship on these two major writers. Stout is at her best in documenting how Cather and Austin would know about the work of each other and the artistic contexts of the Southwest prior to their legendary feud over Cather's *Death Comes for the Archbishop* (1927).

The challenge of analyzing visual art in a prose study is addressed by the sixty-nine illustrations in *Picturing a Different West*. The small size of the reproductions, however, is disappointing in comparison to the detailed analysis of western vastness Stout finds in their styles. This study does best in its close reading of the complex partnership between "the visual field" provided by illustrators and book designers with the novelists' prose. Stout's selection of illustrations is intriguing, particularly the photograph of Cather astride a horse in the West that she had pasted into her personal copy of *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, which serves as the culmination of Stout's well-argued analysis of Cather and Austin's vision of the Southwest as a site of female agency and gender flexibility. Stout is less successful in explicating illustrations that do not appear in her book or in any readily available editions, such as Austin's *California: The Land of Sun* (1914).

Readers of Austin and Cather will relish Stout's documentation of the interest each held in how her books were illustrated as well as the professional biographies of the illustrators. Her observations about how these illustrators, in response to the authors' influential vision of the Southwest, sometimes deviated from their traditional styles helps one appreciate John Berger's insight: "Seeing comes before words" (p. 42).

In her closing chapter, Stout turns to contemporary writers Leslie Marmon Silko and Margaret Randall and illustrator Barbara Byers to demonstrate that the creation of a space in southwestern letters that does not seek appropriation is "a continuing tradition" (p. 199). To some this coda may seem unnecessary, but in Stout's capable hands, it leaves readers with a sense of optimism. It is invigorating to see a book that tries to cover too much terrain rather than staying safely on the trail.

Judy Nolte Temple  
University of Arizona



*The American Discovery of Europe.* By Jack D. Forbes. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007. xii + 250 pp. 24 halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-252-03152-6.)

Pre-Columbian Brazilian hand-axes found on Spanish beaches, Inuit harpoons washed up in Scotland, and an Inuit kayak that hung in a Norwegian cathedral in 1420 stand as just some of the evidence of pre-Columbian expeditions made by Native populations from the Americas to Europe. These and other seemingly improbable occurrences are detailed in this unorthodox book. Other examples include Mexican death masks unearthed from medieval English archaeological sites, a Roman terracotta-head entombed in an Aztec burial mound, Hebrew inscriptions on a Cherokee-area cave, and accounts of pre-Columbian visits to Europe by “a totally strange people, probably with long dark hair and very brown skins” (p. 115). This study, really a hodgepodge of suggestive data, purports to rewrite the narrative of one-way discoveries by Europeans.

As usual this book begins with Christopher Columbus, but Jack D. Forbes’s narrative has a twist. Did Columbus meet Native Americans in Ireland prior to making his supposed discovery? Forbes believes so, and he goes on in the succeeding chapters to detail the facts supporting perhaps thousands of years of American maritime contacts with Europe predating Columbus’s voyage. “Maritime navigation by First American peoples stands as a very neglected subject,” Forbes argues (p. 41). In this analysis, one suspects he is correct. Forbes spells out the various details supporting ancient travels made by exploring indigenes over seven thought-provoking chapters.

Unfortunately the evidence suffers in this author’s analysis. “In all likelihood,” Forbes writes in one of many characteristic assertions, “we can reasonably suppose that (conservatively) at least once every century a major storm carried Americans out into the Atlantic from, say, 9,000 BP onward. That would equate to ninety involuntary voyages before 100 BP. At one voyage per half-century, we would be looking at 180 such trips” (p. 99). While one might agree with the likelihood given the technologies of Native sea-going craft that either Americans took advantage of prevailing winds and currents or were storm-blown involuntarily to Europe prior to 1492, the numerical certitude of Forbes’s argument seems misplaced.

That the work seems guided by a limiting racial logic is most disturbing. More troubling than the book’s anachronistic uses of the term “people of color” are Forbes’s selective uses of anthropological evidence. Discounting

the Beringia hypothesis as the special province of “white scholars,” he borrows elsewhere from archaeological findings to support his theories. When these facts are insufficient, Forbes relies on his own anecdotal evidence. “One can find Portuguese living in the Algarve and elsewhere,” he observes, “who still show evidence of American ancestry,” leaving the reader to wonder on what criteria Forbes bases his analysis (p. 172).

Repeating Forbes’s assessment that further research is necessary would be an understatement. He leaves unasked the question of when a discovery becomes historically significant. “But one thing is certain,” Forbes concludes, “agency can no longer be denied to Americans” (p. 132). Forbes presents a more accurate picture of American maritime societies, long adjudged as technologically backward, regardless of the book’s speculations. For a book intent on rewriting the conventional story, however, this one remains wedded to the Eurocentric trope of discovery with indigenes gaining credibility for having also crossed the ocean.

*Robert Campbell*

*Montana State University*

*Making the Americas: The United States and Latin America from the Age of Revolutions to the Era of Globalization.* By Thomas F. O’Brien. Diálogos Series. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007. 390 pp. 26 halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8263-4200-3.)

This survey of inter-Americas relations is presumably intended for the classroom market. Thomas F. O’Brien argues that the central theme that has characterized hemispheric relations has been the drive by U.S. citizens to transform Latin America into a facsimile of the United States. Borrowing from his previous works, *The Revolutionary Mission: American Enterprise in Latin America, 1900–1945* (1996) and *The Century of U.S. Capitalism in Latin America* (1999), O’Brien emphasizes that U.S. citizens were “confident that their Christian faith, capitalist economy, and republican form of government constituted an ideal society worthy of emulation” (p. 319). Policymakers, businessmen, philanthropists, and missionaries utilized the superior power and prosperity of the United States to embark upon a modernizing mission in Latin America.

The study focuses on the activities of private groups and institutions, like Pentecostal missionaries and the Rockefeller Foundation, in Latin America.

O'Brien assumes that U.S. citizens agreed on the diagnosis and cure for Latin America's perceived backwardness. But the U.S.-born Roman Catholic nuns, priests, and social workers who organized the poor in Central America in the post-1945 period had different aims than evangelical Christian missionaries. Executives of consumer-oriented corporations like Sears Roebuck and Wal-Mart often had dissimilar views on wages and living conditions than the captains of extractive industries like Standard Oil or Kennecott Copper. Clinging to the hoary dependency theory, O'Brien notes that the ruling elites of Latin America acquiesced in this mission to cast Latin America in the U.S. mold. The author does show how Latin Americans have tried to resist or reformulate U.S. ideas and institutions. Nonetheless, this survey is more about the role of the United States in Latin America than about Latin America.

However real the U.S. desire to transform Latin America, it has not been the central motif of the U.S. approach to the region, especially in the post-1895 period. Stability and the exclusion of extrahemispheric influences have been the overriding U.S. concerns. Terms like "balance of power," "sphere of influence," and "national security" do not appear in the text. O'Brien paints a picture of inter-Americas relations where the United States is free to work its will with little fear, whether imagined or real, about nations like the United Kingdom, Germany, or the Soviet Union. The United States supported the unmodern regime of Rafael Trujillo (1930–1961) because the Dominican strongman backed U.S. global policies. Pres. John F. Kennedy mutilated his Alliance for Progress by attacking modernizing social reformers like Arturo Frondizi of Argentina and João Goulart of Brazil, because they did not share the U.S. fear of communism. O'Brien misreads diplomat George Kennan's famous analysis in 1950 of Latin America as a screed against economic nationalism. Kennan shocked Washington by urging unabashed support for anti-Communist dictators.

This study also fails as a textbook. It lacks the charts, tables, and maps that would guide a student. Further, the photographs are not integrated into the text. In his chapter on the 1950s, O'Brien devotes less than two pages to U.S. intervention in Guatemala and several pages to the activities of Protestant missionaries. Students should know that the overthrow of Pres. Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán in 1954 sparked cycles of violence that cost the lives of two hundred thousand Guatemalans.

*Stephen G. Rabe*

*University of Texas at Dallas*

*Cycles of Conflict, Centuries of Change: Crisis, Reform, and Revolution in Mexico.* Edited by Elisa Servín, Leticia Reina, and John Tutino. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2007. xvi + 405 pp. Halftones, graphs, notes, index. \$89.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8223-3985-4, \$24.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8223-4002-7.)

If the title does not quickly invite the reader, it at least announces the underlying challenge of the book: a manifold historiographic focus coupled with the imperative of selecting essays that fit the title or vice versa. A cleaner title would have been: "Political Crisis, Nation, and Community in Mexico: A Long View."

This work addresses five central events: independence, liberal reform, the Porfiriato, the 1910 Revolution, and neoliberalism; ancillary subjects are state-making, the economy, corporatism, democracy, stress, and damage. Events are pegged to the common theme of "crisis," meaning in this context boilovers or political "ruptures," which trigger or trail a crisis. Where relevant there are linkages to the outside world.

The book resulted from collaborations through conferences and an earlier publication in Mexico. The contributors are well-established Mexicanists: Antonio Annino, the late François-Xavier Guerra, Friedrich Katz, Alan Knight, Lorenzo Meyer, Guillermo de la Peña, Leticia Reina, Enrique Semo, Eliza Servín, John Tutino, and Eric Van Young. Most of the chapters are rewrites of earlier research, but together they are a feast of cutting-edge knowledge.

The book is constructed on the alternation of micro- and macrohistory and the long view. For example emphasis is placed on "pueblo power" and the contention that communities played a greater role in independence than Creole elites, although the communities were empowered by the Spanish state (p. 88). Two essays shed light on one of the gray areas of independence—the implementation in Mexico of the Spanish Constitution of 1812.

This book begs the question of why forty years after the publication of Luis González y González's *Pueblo en vilo; microhistoria de San Jose de Gracia* (1968), microhistory has not been utilized with macrohistory in general accounts, especially in textbooks that assume a hegemonic perspective. With national Mexico in its third century, the long view is paramount as an approach that organizes and explains this history as a facilitating whole. A short-term study may be understood more meaningfully as an event or segment in a historical pattern. This book puts to good use the running themes and comparative periods of a long view.

Thus for Servín, millennial Mexico has similarities with the 1800s and 1900s. Nonetheless, the electoral mobilization that undergirds much of the political *apertura* (opening) in late twentieth-century Mexico also has contemporary causes, such as “electoral observers, human rights, ecology, religiosity, multiculturalism, gender politics, education, information, etc.” (p. 305). There are other challenges to the older order by “Protestant, Pentecostal, and New Age religions; feminist, ethnic, and transnational demands; punk and cholo styles; ethical and aesthetic models derived from novelas; and so on” (p. 306).

Two omissions in the treatment of the long view and micro-Mexico are the 1790s matched with the 1890s and 1990s as the first period of liberal economics, and the countryside as the location of the strength of the PRI (Mexico’s Institutional Revolutionary Party). Without being explicit or badgering, but critically substantive, this book is a wake-up call. It should be read carefully to digest its information and concepts. Mexicanists have a lot of material to consider in *Cycles of Conflict, Centuries of Change*.

Henry C. Schmidt

Texas A&M University

*Sex in Revolution: Gender, Politics, and Power in Modern Mexico*. Edited by Jocelyn Olcott, Mary Kay Vaughan, and Gabriela Cano. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006. x + 320 pp. Halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$84.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8223-3884-0, \$22.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8223-3899-4.)

This book, inspired by a 2001 conference, “*Las Olvidadas: Gender and Women’s History in Postrevolutionary Mexico*,” is a must-read for anyone studying revolution and the politics of gender and sexuality. The editors brought together a superb group of scholars who reveal new dimensions of the history of the Mexican Revolution as they uncover women’s influence on the national project even if women were, officially, rendered voiceless and powerless. Carlos Monsiváis—progressive journalist for the Mexican newspaper *El Universal*—reminds readers that patriarchal strategies of concealment left women at the margins of the written history of the Revolution. Although the sheer number of Mexican women who participated in the Revolution dramatically surpassed other military conflicts of modern

times, their male compatriots addressed them mostly in their traditional roles in an attempt to maintain domination and control.

The themes of revolutionary culture and changes in the domestic sphere set the location for the contributions in the first two sections. Gabriela Cano's analysis of Amelia/o Robles's transgender transformation and Julia Tuñón's work on femininity and *indigenismo* in cinema show the cultural tensions between old and new identities of specific individuals—and between tradition and revolutionary change. Anne Rubenstein reveals that even hairstyles offer clues about competing commitments to the modern or to tradition. The length of women's hair not only inspired violent confrontations in Mexico City, but also almost became a global conflict. Stephanie Smith uses the lens of "modernized" divorce legislation to show new understandings of marriage and romantic love. Men, more than women, profited from the use of divorce to restore their honor; they exchanged unwanted wives for "loved" mistresses. Ann Blum, finally, complicates the changes in family life; her study of adoption practices reveals that class privilege became a prerequisite for "proper" mothering. State-chosen mothers could adopt children only if they stayed home, had male financial support, and paid less privileged women to do domestic work, while the chosen mother held the affective status of motherhood.

Sections 3 and 4 illustrate how women challenged conventions of work relations, religious practices, and civil rights. Heather Fowler-Salamini, for example, presents workingwomen in the Veracruz coffee industry who made their own working-class culture and challenged not only male colleagues, but also the patriarchal value system of the elite and middle classes. Women workers also created tensions by threatening working-class masculinity. Susan Gauss demonstrates this conflict at the core of post-revolutionary society in Puebla, where masculinity underpinned union power. In response male-dominated textile unions promoted exaggerated forms of masculinity and strove to combine the role of women as modern producers with their submission to patriarchal privilege at home and at work.

The local details provided in this book make clear that in reality, there were many complex sides to the misleading, simple story of men's domination of women: Mexican women became what Mary Kay Vaughan calls a uniquely modern force who rode the waves of change rolling in from the previous century. The authors connect women's local agency to the transnational context in which it took shape, such as the modernization of infrastructure, rural production systems, and traditional models of woman-

hood. Indeed, Mexican women contributed new practices that challenged patriarchy throughout the process of revolutionary nation-building.

Jadwiga E. Pieper Mooney  
University of Arizona

*National Narratives in Mexico: A History.* By Enrique Florescano, translated by Nancy Hancock, drawings by Raúl Velázquez. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006. xiv + 430 pp. Halftones, line drawings, notes, bibliography, index. \$65.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-3701-8.)

From the Olmecs to Alvaro Obregón, Mexican historiography has privileged a long view. In the first English translation of *Historia de las historias de la nación Mexicana*, Enrique Florescano simultaneously explores and contributes to this tradition.

Florescano chronicles the development of a coherent structure of narrating the past through centuries of innovative borrowing from one dominant group to the next. The Olmecs created the first emblems of state power, and the rulers of Teotihuacán perfected their production, establishing patterns copied throughout Mesoamerica. By the Classic period (AD 250–900), a canon of historical memory celebrating the deeds of rulers had developed, and its forms dominated the post-Classic period.

Turning to the Conquest, Florescano recounts the well-known history of the privileging of textual over pictographic representation, the civilizational hierarchies thus sustained, and the violent campaigns against idolatry they fueled. The evangelization process, he argues, involved the imposition of a Christian historical canon, and reunited historical narration with the legitimation of an imperial state, often through insidious means.

Florescano continues with a good summary of the chroniclers of the Indies and the mendicant friars' indigenous histories. He concludes that Bernardino de Sahagún's massive study, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1540–1585), was the first mestizo history, not only because of the nod it gave to pre-Colombian civilizations, but because it valorized indigenous forms of narrating the past. He follows with a fascinating chapter on the *títulos primordiales* (primordial titles) where he summarizes three generations of historical research, arguing that these documents served more as a hybrid form of local historical knowledge than as land claims.

Florescano's recounting of Creole patriotism follows convention, but with style and fluidity, adding many "firsts" to the story, such as the first use of images from ancient Mexican cities. He underscores the role of the insurgent movement during the struggle for independence in investing national symbols with meaning, revalorizing indigenous resistance to the Spanish Conquest, and stimulating the first truly "national" histories of Mexico.

Florescano shows how, during the half century of civil strife that followed, lithography and newspapers fueled historical narratives that sustained partisan conflicts, while reacting to foreign domination. Florescano drives his argument home with the liberal historians of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Writers Manuel Payno, Vicente Riva Palacio, and Justo Sierra Méndez sought an integral vision of the nation, opting for a holistic, long view that would minimize recent civil strife and celebrate the development of a national state and a distinctively Mexican society.

The following chapter offers a brief introduction to post-Revolutionary memory, which is more than a capstone for the larger argument. He reviews polemics over the incorporation of defeated factions into official histories and the explosion of a new "Revolutionary" canon in public space with the murals, cinema, and other media. The final chapter relates the historiography of Mexico to broader trends in the discipline and its relationship to the state, but without integrating the content of contemporary research, and thus leaves the reader hanging.

*National Narratives* provides a provocative primer for Mexican history and its narration. Rich drawings by Raúl Velázquez offer an instant appreciation for the images the book describes, and a smooth translation into short, crisp sentences by Nancy Hancock completes a handsome volume.

Everard Meade

University of California, San Diego

*Antonio's Gun and Delfino's Dream: True Tales of Mexican Migration.* By Sam Quinones. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007. 318 pp. 15 halftones, map. \$24.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8263-4254-6.)

Sam Quinones gives us a candid report from the Mexican immigration front, a place where we usually expect, and get, gales of rhetoric. Whether they are for or against the massive migration, scholars will find things in this account to puncture their own positions or feed their own biases. Quinones



approaches the matter with his eyes and ears open and with his mind not already made up. He reports the actual lives of people so they become something larger and more fascinating than theory.

The various stories are framed by the obvious but seldom mentioned reality: this human migration is the largest occurring on earth, and the people are fleeing a nation of ancient class bigotry, low wages, and little future. Delfino Juarez comes from a poor village in Veracruz, becomes a man while still a boy, and eventually goes to the United States because even moxie and hard work are not sufficient to create a viable future in Mexico. Andres Bermudez rises from illegal field hand to grower in the great valley of California and then returns to his native Zacatecas to insert the American can-do attitude into Mexican politics—as well as to taste some class revenge against the professionals and the wealthy who have always run the place. If one trait ties all the pieces of this book together, it is simply that the people in it all have dreams and try to live them.

Those critics who scream about illegal immigrants can find solace in the tale of South Gate, a community in the Los Angeles area populated by migrants and briefly taken over by a corrupt government that seems like a transplant from Mexico itself. The community is redeemed by a kind of town hall peasant revolt as the new Americans decide they want to leave the electoral passivity and political corruption of their native land behind. For those analysts who want to believe all will be fine once the migrants adopt “our” ways, there is the painful story of the soccer team in Garden City, Kansas. These migrants must face down racism and brutal slaughterhouse jobs as well as their own failure to have ambition and rise through the ranks, a reluctance beaten into them by centuries of Mexican culture. Along the way we learn about the rise of velvet paintings in Juarez, the decline of the Chihuahua Mennonite communities into booze and drug running, and bootstrap capitalism of people from Atolinga, Zacatecas, who migrate to the Chicago area and discover a genius for taco stands and mutual aid.

Mainly what the reader takes away from this book is a sense of just how complicated human beings can be once we drop all this cheap, political rhetoric. In Tijuana, Quinones gives us the moving and beautiful story of how a group of people of limited means create a place there for classical music and opera. That single tale will surely get the reader through many a dark night.

*Charles Bowden*  
*Tucson, Arizona*

*Heroes and Hero Cults in Latin America*. Edited by Samuel Brunk and Ben Fallaw. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006. viii + 318 pp. 20 halftones, line drawing, notes, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-292-71437-3, \$22.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-292-71481-6.)

In this anthology, historians Samuel Brunk and Ben Fallaw seek to re-center the individual as the subject of inquiry. While historiographical trends of the past four decades have emphasized structural and cultural approaches to Latin American history, these editors argue the need to understand relationships between great heroes and the people and cultures that created them. Defining *heroes* as persons with remarkable attributes, including the unknowable trait of charisma, they offer as heroes a wide range of popular personalities, such as liberators, state-builders, revolutionaries, populists, caudillos, and artists.

Each of the volume's ten chapters features a personality prominent in modern Spanish American history, essentially covering a period from 1810 to 1950. Four chapters focus on heroes whose greatest impact was felt in the nineteenth century, and six chapters on heroes of the first half of the twentieth century. Two female heroic characters are considered, and, notably, half of the pieces deal with Mexico. None of the chapters addresses Brazil, Chile, or the Caribbean.

The authors engage a variety of methodologies and primary sources. This diversity of approaches is evident in the five chapters on Mexico. Shannon Baker's impressive research on Antonio López de Santa Anna suggests that Mexicans rejected the nineteenth-century caudillo-dictator's efforts to forge national identity in the image of his personality and rewrote Santa Anna as a national antihero. In contrast, in his fascinating study of presidential ritual and architectural remodeling, Víctor Macías-González argues that the infamous dictator José de la Cruz Porfirio Díaz Mori projected regal images and successfully redefined understandings of national leadership, proving himself a hero of his time. Of course the Mexican Revolution quickly reversed this perception of heroism and produced new heroes. Brunk's chapter on Emiliano Zapata and Fallaw's piece on Felipe Carrillo Puerto show how regional revolutionary leaders reshaped national perception of political legitimacy and culture in popular terms. In her introspective self-portraits, Frida Kahlo revealed a subject who was "female, Mexican, modern, and powerful" and thus countered presumptively masculine and public notions of revolutionary heroism, as suggested by Nancy Deffebach (p. 142).

While the book emphasizes Mexican heroes, chapters on other subjects also offer insights. For instance John Chasteen explains how Simón Bolívar actively constructed his own myth as the magnanimous, unifying, victorious, national patron and effectively responded to citizens' needs to fill the post-Independence void of political authority. According to Charles Walker on the other hand, Bolívar's contemporary, Peruvian politician Agustín Gamarra, failed to become a national hero despite his concerted efforts because he could not relate politically or culturally to the new nation's vast majority of indigenous people. Other chapters include Richard Grossman's biographical summary of Nicaraguan rebel Augusto César Sandino, Daniel Nugent's reading of Peruvian populist Víctor Haya de la Torre's success in combining personalism and a strong political party, and Linda Hall's analysis of Argentine icon Evita Perón's effective use of biblical imagery and response to popular expectations.

It should be self-evident that "heroes" are somehow able to connect to the needs, demands, and expectations of the people who admire them. While this volume may not come any closer to pinning down the concept of "charisma" (typically defined *ipso facto*), its chapters offer a variety of cases of the phenomenon. Readers may finish the book wondering how hero cults are distinctive to Latin America, but anyone interested in biography, memory, or political culture will find several thought-provoking chapters in this interesting collection.

Gregory S. Crider  
Wingate University

*America's 100th Meridian: A Plains Journey.* By Monte Hartman, with an essay by William Kittredge, foreword by John R. Wunder. Plains Histories Series. (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2006. xxii + 114 pp. 113 duotones, maps, notes, index. \$39.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-89672-561-4.)

In the days before cinema, audiences were entertained and educated by "moving panoramas," long landscape paintings that were slowly unrolled, creating the illusion of a landscape passing before the audience's eyes. *America's 100th Meridian: A Plains Journey* is a modern panorama, a photographic portrait of the unfurling Great Plains from the Canadian to the Mexican border. Most books are composed of texts, illustrated with a few photographs; this is a photographic text, illustrated by essays. Reading Wallace

Stegner's writings on the 100th meridian, Monte Hartman's project began "when the notion of a place where the East ends and the West begins tweaked my imagination" (p. 68). Through his photographs, Hartman presents a nuanced study of the region.

Hartman carefully photographs the ordinary places composing the meridian, each manifesting "a unique history, a private dream, an echo of the energy and spirit of its builders" (p. 76). Hartman's images at times evoke 1930s Farm Security Administration (FSA) photographs, for example "Cottonfield at Sunrise" or "Freshly Ploughed," but in rich, saturated colors, as if the FSA photographers had stepped into Oz. Hartman's images, however, range further and deeper, capturing those marvelous patterns that most of us miss as we move too quickly through landscapes, whether it is sunlight through a hanging lace tablecloth or swirling white teeth on red wheel rakes. Through Hartman's use of close-ups, camera angles, and framing, he takes us beyond the Plains icons (flat lands, bison, cowboys) to capture the colors, patterns, and rhythms that compose this ordinary, unique landscape.

Like the moving panoramas, narrators guide the viewers through the landscape, here in essays by William Kittredge and Hartman. Kittredge's "American Heartland" incorporates regional history with his experiences traveling the 100th meridian, contemplating the price of human survival along this line that is simultaneously the middle of the nation and the edge of it. Hartman's "Points of Departure" describes how he came to tell "the meridian human story" and reflects on his travels, coming to appreciate the interaction of people and land, as well as the vastness central to the region (p. 78). Kittredge and Hartman present thoughtful meditations that are apt illustrations to Hartman's photographic text.

My initial reaction was wariness to Hartman's regional portrait. I admire Hartman's photographic eye but was struck by the absence of humans in his photographs. By not portraying the inhabitants of this landscape, Hartman appeared to be further depopulating it. I found myself warming to his exclusive landscape focus, especially as I read his thoughts on the "emptiness" in the region: "Whether rumped and dusty, or ablaze with color, the land is unlike the East or the 'wild' West, and its so called emptiness is always filled with small miracles—the absolute blackness of a thunderstorm sky; bare tree branches abloom with a hundred yellow-headed blackbirds; the music of laughing coyotes dribbling across purple twilight" (p. 86). This quote, for me, captures both the joys of the region and the pleasures of

Hartman's photographs—those brilliant colors, carefully composed images—that together craft a luscious portrait of a region not usually captured in such a way.

I doubt if Hartman had the old panoramas in mind when he began his project of documenting the 100th meridian. He has, however, succeeded in creating his own moving panorama, taking us armchair travelers with him to explore a “geographer's line,” unfurling a ribbon of American life before our eyes, to both entertain and educate.

*Christina Dando*

*University of Nebraska-Omaha*

*Faith and Transformation: Votive Offerings and Amulets from the Alexander Girard Collection.* Edited by Doris Francis. (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, in association with the Museum of International Folk Art, 2007. 158 pp. 101 color plates, notes, select bibliography. \$29.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-89013-504-4.)

Any expectation of coherence disappears on reading *Faith and Transformation*. Inconsistency is the intriguing provocation of the book and its most serious methodological flaw. Perhaps the volume's greatest contribution is in thematizing the multiple difficulties inherent in dealing with the sacred objects of “others” as an art collection. As a museum catalogue, this richly illustrated volume is an attempt to contextualize religious ritual objects, responding to today's heightened interreligious and intercultural sensibilities. Alexander Girard (1907–1993) was an interior designer who bought votive offerings and amulets from twenty-two countries simply because of their visual appeal. He further aestheticized the objects by arranging them in symmetrical patterns in exhibition panels, which make up the majority of the book's stunning color plates.

In her introduction, Doris Francis subtly takes issue with Girard and explains that he had no interest in the provenance or religious significance of the objects. Indeed, Girard's panels are strictly aesthetic assemblages where the objects are brought together because of their shapes, textures, and colors. Francis envisions something different, hoping that the objects will “lead viewers from the secular, institutional space of the museum to the diverse ritual places of their genesis and then back to the museum to be ‘seen’ in new ways” (pp. 13–14).

Francis gathers thirty-one guides whose essays are meant to facilitate an encounter with the ritual traditions the objects represent. The quality, depth, and insight of the essays are quite uneven, yet, at the very least, they function as invitations. The title notwithstanding, the book deals little with either faith or transformation as these are understood theologically. Also, the bewildering range of traditions covered without mention of the ethical dimension of art relativizes human experience so that prayers of supplication for a child are placed alongside objects of “magic” meant to give the wearer control of others or cause harm. The book, then, is a potent witness to the exceedingly difficult task of dealing with difference among religious traditions, diverse cultures, aesthetic sensibilities, scholarly disciplines, and the art marketplace. Perhaps most telling of this powerful tension is the resource guide. As each contributor provides suggestions for readers interested in the particular objects, the contradictory ways these objects are viewed surfaces. Some suggest dealers and shops for purchasing these curious little objects (as commercial and decorative), others suggest museums where the objects may be viewed (as works of folk art). The most helpful contributors direct readers to shrines, temples, and other places of worship where the objects may be appreciated in their fullness as part of a complex of religious observances.

Provocative because of its incoherence and quite beautiful in its presentation, this book should serve to point scholars of both the arts and religion to the urgent need to work together. The human communities represented by these beautiful objects demonstrate the complexity of articulating the relationship of the material and spiritual through aesthetics, beckoning further investigation and, as Girard does with his panels, celebration.

*Cecilia González-Andrieu*

*Loyola Marymount University*

## Book Notes

*The Borderlands of Culture: Américo Paredes and the Transnational Imaginary.* By Ramón Saldivar. New Americanists series. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006. x + 525 pp. 33 halftones, map, notes, bibliography, index. \$89.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8223-3776-8, \$24.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8223-3789-8.)

*Law on the Last Frontier: Texas Ranger Arthur Hill.* By S. E. Spinks, foreword by Robert M. Utley. (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2007. xx + 265 pp. 33 halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$28.50 cloth, ISBN 978-0-89672-619-2.)

*Taste of Tombstone: A Hearty Helping of History.* By Sherry A. Monahan, foreword by Carl Chafin. (1998; repr., Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008. xvii + 214 pp. 67 halftones, bibliography, index. \$19.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8263-4449-6.)

*Truman's Whistle-stop Campaign.* By Steven R. Goldzwig. Library of Presidential Rhetoric series. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2008. x + 147 pp. Halftone, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth, ISBN 978-1-60344-005-9, \$17.95 paper, ISBN 978-1-60344-006-6.)

*Imagining la Chica Moderna: Women, Nation, and Visual Culture in Mexico, 1917-1936.* By Joanne Hershfield. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2008. xiv + 200 pp. 68 halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$79.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8223-4221-2, \$22.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8223-4238-0.)

*Feeding Chilapa: The Birth, Life, and Death of a Mexican Region.* By Chris Kyle. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008. xvii + 269 pp. 17 halftones, 10 maps, tables, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-3920-3, \$24.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8061-3921-0.)

*A Revolution for Our Rights: Indigenous Struggles for Land and Justice in Bolivia, 1880–1952.* By Laura Gotkowitz. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2007. xiv + 398 pp. 26 halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$84.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8223-4049-2, \$23.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8223-4067-6.)

*Shaky Colonialism: The 1746 Earthquake-Tsunami in Lima, Peru, and Its Long Aftermath.* By Charles F. Walker. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2008. xiii + 260 pp. 16 halftones, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$79.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8223-4172-7, \$22.95 paper, 978-0-8223-4189-5.)

*To Rise in Darkness: Revolution, Repression, and Memory in El Salvador, 1920–1932.* By Jeffrey L. Gould and Aldo A. Lauria-Santiago. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2008. xxvi + 368 pp. 36 halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$89.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8223-4207-6, \$24.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8223-4228-1.)

*American Empire and the Politics of Meaning: Elite Political Cultures in the Philippines and Puerto Rico during U.S. Colonialism.* By Julian Go. Politics, History, and Culture series. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2008. xi + 377 pp. 14 tables, graphs, appendix, notes, references, index. \$84.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8223-4211-3, \$23.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8223-4229-8.)



## News Notes

### Grants, Fellowships, and Awards

The West Texas Collection at Angelo State University in San Angelo announces the Excellence in West Texas History Fellowship Program. Applications are now being accepted for two fellowships of \$40,000 each to be awarded in April 2009. The application deadline is 27 February 2009. Fellowships are for a full academic year. In addition a \$5,000 publishing subvention will be provided to an academic press for each completed manuscript accepted for publication. Research must focus on the western half of Texas and utilize regional archives. Applicants must have completed a PhD or be ABD in a field of the humanities. Fellows will be expected to spend the 2009–2010 academic year utilizing the regional archives in West Texas. For more information, visit the website: [www.angelo.edu/services/library/wtcoll/index.html](http://www.angelo.edu/services/library/wtcoll/index.html).

### Archives, Exhibits, and Historic (Web) Sites

The New Mexico Museum of Indian Arts and Culture has opened “Native American Picture Books of Change.” The exhibition features original works by Hopi, Navajo, Apache, and Pueblo artists who illustrated children’s books from the 1920s through today. Emerging Indian artists illustrated the stories for Indian students based on Native oral traditions and narratives about everyday Indian life. “Native American Picture Books of Change” closes on 2 January 2010. The museum is located at 710 Camino Lejo in Santa Fe. For more information, call (505) 476-1250. 185

The Albuquerque Museum announces "The Alvarado Hotel." This exhibit presents the story of the Alvarado Hotel and the significant role it played in Albuquerque's economic and social vitality. The exhibit will run from 8 March to 7 June 2009. The Albuquerque Museum is located at 2000 Mountain Road NW. Call (505) 243-7255 for more information.

#### Calendar of Events

*4–7 March* The 56th Annual Conference of the Rocky Mountain Council for Latin American Studies (RMCLAS) will be held in Santa Fe, New Mexico, at the Hotel Santa Fe. The RMCLAS Annual Conference provides an opportunity for scholars and graduate students to share original research on Latin America. More information will be posted at the RMCLAS website, [www.rmclas.org](http://www.rmclas.org), as it becomes available.

*26–29 March* The Organization of American Historians will have their 102d annual meeting in Seattle at the Washington State Convention and Trade Center. More information about the conference is available on the website: [www.oah.org/meetings/2009](http://www.oah.org/meetings/2009).

*30 April* The Historical Society of New Mexico will hold a joint symposium with the Museum of New Mexico at the St. Francis Auditorium in Santa Fe. Contact Michael Stevenson at (505) 820-7250 for more information.

*1–2 May* The Historical Society of New Mexico will celebrate its 150th anniversary at the annual New Mexico State History Conference. The meeting will take place at the Santa Fe Community Convention Center. For more information, visit the website: [www.hsnm.org](http://www.hsnm.org).

The *New Mexico Historical Review*  
thanks

**Dr. Tobías Durán** and  
**the Center for Regional Studies**  
for generously funding  
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Fellowships that enable UNM  
students to pursue their course of  
study and receive editorial training  
at the *Review* during the 2008–2009  
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The *New Mexico Historical Review*  
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The *New Mexico Historical Review*  
congratulates

**Paul Andrew Hutton**, Distinguished  
Professor of History at the University  
of New Mexico, for receiving the  
2008 Award of Merit from the Western  
History Association.

The award honors outstanding service  
to the field of western history and to  
the Western History Association.

Professor Hutton served as Executive  
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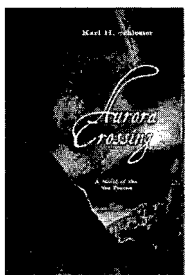


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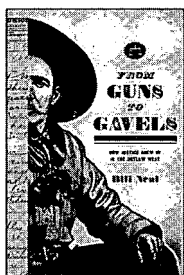
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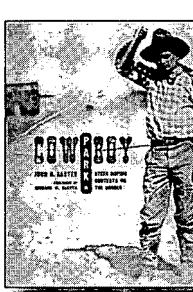
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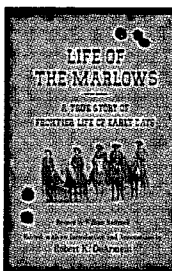
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