

Historical Background and Endnotes

CONTENTS PAGE AND MAP

Quote....Bolton to Dr. J.P. Herrington (sic), December 13, 1930, Outgoing, Bolton Papers, as cited by James A. Sandos, "Junipero Serra's canonization and the historical record," *American Historical Review*, 93:5 (December 1988): 1256.

This drawing is adapted....Reginald G. Fisher, *The Archaeological Survey of the Pueblo Plateau: Santa Fe Sub-Quadrangle A: A Second Report* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1931).

PROLOGUE

In that short time....Aztecs were known as the Mexica (pronounced Meh-sheeh-kah) at the time of the expedition. Aztec is a reference not coined until the 1800s by naturalist Alexander Von Humboldt. It is used in this book because it is much better known today. Charles C. Mann, *1491: New Revelations of the Americas before Columbus* (New York: Vintage Books, 2005/2006), 124.

Even the....David Carrasco, ed., *The History of the Conquest of New Spain by Bernal Díaz del Castillo* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 176.

Despite his opulent lifestyle....This book uses the term of "the Americas" for the New World, despite that expression not being common until the late 1500s. At that time the reference encompassed what is now the United States, Canada, Mexico, Central America, and South America. The original Spanish term of "the Indies," which is how Coronado's time would have referred to the landmass, included the Caribbean.

By water.... Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, "Narrative of Alarcón's voyage," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539-1542* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012), 188-205.

By land....Recently found documents indicate that 2,000 or more Mexican Indians were on the expedition. Richard Flint, "Without them, nothing was possible: The Coronado expedition's Indian allies," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 84/1 (Winter 2009), 73. "Tarascan" is the name Spaniards gave to the Purepecha, also P'urhépecha.

With an advance....Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, eds. "The Coronado Exploration Program" by Nugent Brasher, *The Latest Word From 1540: People, Places, and Portrayals of the Coronado Expedition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2011), 236.

Encountering.... Hammond and Rey, "Report on Alarcón's expedition," *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542*, 127. Also, Flint and Flint, "Narrative of Alarcón's voyage," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 189.

Indians brought....Hammond and Rey, "Report on Alarcón's expedition," *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 147. Also, "Introduction" by Donald C. Cutter, *The Journey of Coronado, 1540-1542* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 1990), 59. Also, Flint and Flint, "Narrative of Alarcón's voyage," 200.

It astonished.... Hammond and Rey, "Report on Alarcón's expedition," *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 149.

PART I — INVASION

Section Quote.... Flint and Flint, "Viceroy's appointment of Vázquez de Coronado," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 108-110.

CHAPTER 1

Two months....The basic knowledge of the Coronado expedition, and a key source for the remainder of this narrative, is the chronicle written about twenty years afterward by Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera, an expedition horseman. It was not published in English until 1896 by the Smithsonian Institution in George Parker Winship, ed. and trans., "The Coronado Expedition," in *The Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Part I* (Washington: Government Printing Office, Smithsonian Institution, 1896). It was reprinted slightly revised as the book: Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera, et al., *The Journey of Coronado*, trans. and ed. by George Parker Winship (New York: A.S. Barnes & Co., 1904).

The banner....Alonso's banner fits the description of the banner carried fifty years later by Juan de Oñate and now on display at the New Mexico History Museum in Santa Fe. Coronado would have carried a similar or identical banner. Diana del Mauro, "Time exposure," *New Mexico Magazine*, 87:6 (June 2009): 37-39.

"Are you well....All Europeans named in this narrative accompanied Coronado. Alonso Álvarez del Valle was a native of Barcarrota in western Spain. He arrived in the New World in 1537 or 1538. He was a page to Coronado in Mexico and served as his standard-bearer for the first year on the expedition. Coronado lent him a horse to ride. Richard Flint, *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported: The 1544 Investigation of the Coronado Expedition* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 2002), 312-313; also Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 666.

We are at....Ethnohistorian Carroll L. Riley believes Friar Marcos de Niza heard the Zuni name for their homeland, *Shíwana*, or the Zuni word for buffalo, which modern Zuni historian Edmund Ladd said is *ciwolo*. Riley thinks the friar identified one of those words with what came to be called the Seven Cities of Cibola, consequently assigning that name to Hawikku. Today's Zuni Reservation is partly in New Mexico's Cibola County, which features a picture of a buffalo on its county seal. Riley, *Rio del Norte*, 120, and Edmund J. Ladd, "Zuni on the day the men in metal arrived," *The Coronado Expedition to Tierra Nueva: The 1540-1542 Route Across the Southwest*, eds. Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint (Denver: University Press of Colorado, 2004), 190.

Coronado had pushed.... Winship, ed. and trans., "The Coronado Expedition."

Spain's king....The name of Holy Roman Emperor Carlos V, who also ruled as king of Spain as Carlos I, is Anglicized in many books as Charles. The name of Carlos is used in this account because expeditionaries knew him by that name.

"Stop your complaining....The matchlock arquebus (harquebus) was used in great numbers on European battlefields, but relatively few were used at first in the New World against the lightly armed natives. It was so heavy that men rested the barrel on a forked pole to fire the weapon.

"And gold....The refusal of hidalgos to do manual or commercial work after being disinherited under Spain's primogeniture law is detailed in David Ewing Duncan, *Hernando de Soto: A Savage Quest in the Americas* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1996; and Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 13-14. Also, Anthony Pagden, "Introduction," Bartolomé de las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, trans. Nigel Griffin (London: Penguin Classics, reprint of the 1552 original edition, 1992/2004), xxvi.

I should have done....The Coronado expedition was the only Spanish incursion into the Southwest that used crossbows, a weapon that was being replaced by the arquebus. As for Beatriz de Estrada, Coronado married her when she reached the age of 12, which was the age of consent throughout much of Europe at the time.

He will be....It had been thought that about 1,300 Mexican Indian allies accompanied the expedition, but recently found documents indicate the total was 2,000 or more. Richard Flint, "Without them, nothing was possible."

“Say what you.... Coronado’s executions of Indians after Samaniego’s death is in Castañeda, *The Journey of Coronado*, 17. He executed at least eight men and women, some by hanging and others by quartering, according to Lorenzo de Tejada. Hammond and Rey, “Testimony of Lopez de Cardenas,” *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 394.

“Yes,” said the.... Coronado’s boast of quartering Ayapín is in Flint and Flint, “Letter of Vázquez de Coronado to the King, July 15, 1539,” *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 39.

They knew about.... Marcos de Niza, *A Relación of the Reverend Father Fray Marcos de Niza, Touching His Discovery of the Kingdom of Ceuola or Cibola*, linked to on the website page at dennisherrick.com/winter-of-the-metal-people. The *Relación* was written in 1539. It first became available to English readers in the third volume of the final edition of Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London: 1598-1600).

We are certain.... Esteban is also referred to as Estevan, Estevanico, and Estebanillo in books. He is little remembered except for Estevan Park in Tucson, Arizona. He was among the first Old World people to see the Mississippi River and Texas, the first one to visit Arizona and New Mexico, and the first to see the Pueblo people. He was an African slave who survived the cross-continent trek from the ill-fated invasion of Florida in 1527-28 by Pánfilo de Narváez. Esteban scouted ahead for the Friar Marcos exploration in 1539 into present-day Arizona and New Mexico.

They talked.... The three Castilians on the cross-continent trek with Esteban were Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Alonso del Castillo Maldonado, and Esteban’s slave-owner, Andrés Dorantes de Carranza. In 1539 Hernando de Soto would find a fifth survivor of the Narváez expedition, Juan Ortiz, living among the Florida Indians. Because of terms used interchangeably at the time, various historians have described Esteban as an Arab, Berber, Moor, or black African. Spanish accounts almost always refer to him as *El Negro*. It’s known he lived for a time in the Morocco slave-trading town of Azemmour, although he might have arrived there as a captured black slave from sub-Saharan Africa. Upon becoming a Spanish slave, he could speak Arabic and very likely was a converted Muslim. Cutter, “Introduction, *The Journey of Coronado*, xxiii. Also, Robert Goodwin, *Crossing the Continent, 1527-1540*. (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 79-89.

Coronado’s goal.... “He was killed not because he was black,” Zuni scholar Edmund Ladd said about Esteban, “not because of his demands, but because of his statement that he was leading ‘white men more powerful than himself.’” Ladd, “Zuni on the day the men in metal arrived,” *Coronado Expedition to Tierra Nueva*, 190.

CHAPTER 2

Hundreds of miles.... Many Puebloan languages also called the Rio Grande the “Big River.” Carroll L. Riley, *Rio del Norte: People of the Upper Rio Grande from Earliest Times to the Pueblo Revolt*. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995), 9-11.

Father Sun warmed.... Variations of the Katsina religion still are common to Pueblo tribes. Often Anglicized as “kachina,” most Puebloans prefer the Hopi word of “katsina.” The Zunis referred to each of their supernaturals as “kokko” or “katsina,” so the word katsina is used here as a default for the sixteenth-century masked spirits of the Rio Grande pueblos. Katsina can refer to a god, deity, or ancestor as well as to masked impersonators of katsina spirits during ceremonies. Nancy Yaw Davis, *The Zuni Enigma: A Native American People’s Possible Japanese Connection* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2001), 171. A simplified explanation of katsinas is: “Borrowing the bodies of living men, these lesser gods [katsinas] visit the villages to distribute presents and receive prayers to [the Creator]. He who wears the mask of a kachina believes he loses his personal identity and assumes that of the spirit.” Paul Coze, “Kachinas: Masked dancers of the Southwest,” *National Geographic Magazine*, 112(2) (August 1957), 219.

Poquis, four other.... Poquis travels to a line of five ridge volcanoes and grassland west of today’s Albuquerque. (A sixth volcano was obliterated when it was mined for lava pumice in the 1900s.) A high wall of black volcanic rock seventeen miles long marks the end of the lava flow when the volcanoes

erupted 140,000 years ago. Those rocks have about 20,000 native petroglyphs hundreds of years old of religious symbols and figures of humans, animals, and birds. The area now is Petroglyph National Monument and remains a sacred place to native people.

Turshán's cry of alarm....The enemy warriors that Poquis fights could have come from several nomadic tribes that wandered northern New Mexico's Rio Grande valley in pre-contact times. The area around present-day Albuquerque was near the dividing line between the traditional ranges of what came to be known as Jicarilla Apaches and Mescalero Apaches. Utes and Navajos also regularly traded with and raided against the pueblos. Pecos Indians blamed a buffalo-hunting tribe from the Great Plains they called the Kirauash for destroying pueblos in the Galisteo Basin only a few miles from Ghufloor, which occurred a few years before Coronado's arrival. The enemy warriors might even have been a tribe at war with Pecos. Spaniards phonetically spelled the name of those Pecos enemies as the Nanapagua.

The others stayed....Ghufloor is a Tiwa word meaning "parched corn town." Riley, *Rio del Norte*, 170. The pueblo came to be known by many names, the Spaniards approximating the Tiwa word with Coofor (co-AH-for) or Coofer as well as Alcanfor, the Spanish word for camphor. The site has been known as Santiago since at least 1602.

The others stayed....Tiguex is pronounced TEE-wesh because the Spanish "gu" sometimes sounds like an English "w." Thus, older references refer to the "Tigua" Indians, although modern references prefer the English phonetic spelling of "Tiwa." Adolph Bandelier provided a further explanation, saying: "As for the word Tiguex . . . a woman of Isleta in my presence plainly pronounced the plural of that name Ti-guesh; 'x' in old Spanish records of Mexico has the 'sh' sound." See Adolph Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations Among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Carried on Mainly in the Years from 1880-1885*, Part II (Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, 1890/1892), 223. The original spelling of Tigua for Tiwa is still used for referring to Isleta Puebloans who the Spaniards forcibly relocated to El Paso, Texas, during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. The Tigua tribe at Isleta del Sur Pueblo near El Paso was not allowed to join the 19 New Mexico pueblos in the All Indian Pueblo Council until 2009.

CHAPTER 3

For centuries....The Zunis are consolidated now into the single community named Zuni. In their unique language, they refer to themselves as the Ashiwi, also spelled A:Shiwi, and pronounced Ah-she-wee. Coronado referred to them as Cibolans. The word Zuni was not used by Spaniards until 1583 by Antonio de Espejo, but it's used in this book because it is the most familiar word to today's readers. Spaniards claimed there were seven Zuni villages, but it seems likely there were only six.

I have seen men....The Aztec-Mexica language of Nahuatl was the trade language used throughout Mexico and the American Southwest, similar to how people in the world's key cities today know English.

CHAPTER 4

Poquis leaned on his bow....The Ghufloor site has been known as Santiago Pueblo since at least 1602 on a Spanish map. Elinore M. Barrett, "The geography of Middle Rio Grande pueblos revealed by Spanish explorers, 1540–1598," in *Coronado Expedition to Tierra Nueva*, 205. The pueblo was abandoned in the 1600s and dissolved into ruins north of Albuquerque on the west bank of the Rio Grande. In the late 1800s Adolph Bandelier mistakenly identified the site as Puaray, leading many archaeologists to refer to Santiago as "Bandelier's Puaray" into the 1930s, even though it was known that Puaray was on the east side of the river below Sandia Pueblo. Charles Wilson Hackett, "Location of the Tigua [sic] pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia in 1680-81," vol. II, No. 4, *Old Santa Fe* (April 1915), 381-391.

Crickets chirped in the....It's probable the sixteenth-century Puebloans, like many American Indians, had names for each of the moon periods. This part of the story takes place in the Corn Moon month, June of 1540. Kim Long, *The Moon Book: Fascinating Facts About the Magnificent, Mysterious Moon* (Boulder, CO: Johnson Books, 1988/1998), 107.

Ishpanyan laughed again....The kiva is a square or circular underground room, which was the center of religious activity for Pueblo men.

It is Panpahlu....The traditional Tiwa name for Poquis's mate, Panpahlu, means "Road Bright." Her hairstyle and manner of dress are based on rare depictions of women in kiva paintings at nearby Kuaua Pueblo. Bertha P. Dutton, *Sun Father's Way: The Kiva paintings of Kuaua* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1963). For a different Puebloan hairstyle, in which the hair is cut shoulder length on one side and at ear level on the other, see Laurie D. Webster, "Ritual costuming at Pottery Mound." ed. Polly Schaafsma, *New Perspectives on Pottery Mound Pueblo* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 182.

He has returned....Poquis's chant is in the style of Indian songs but are not the actual words to any Indian ceremonial. Puebloans believe words have power and to print the words to an actual ceremonial is sacrilege.

And the warrior twins....There are various spellings of the Warrior Twins, Maseway and Oyoyeway. They are spirit-beings called katsinas familiar to all Pueblo tribes and a central part of their religion in the sixteenth century. Some modern references call them the Twin War Gods. These spellings are the ones used by the late Joe S. Sando, a Towa from Jemez Pueblo, in his book with Herman Agoyo, a Tewa from Ohkay Owingeh, titled *Po'Pay: Leader of the First American Revolution* (Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishing, 2005), 11. The names are similar to those used for the Warrior Twins in all pueblos. Stanley J. Milford, "The twin war god myth," *El Palacio* XLIII/1-2-3 (July 7, 14, 21, 1937): 1-13.

She smiled....The generosity of Puebloans toward feeding others is legendary. To this day a major expense for Puebloan families is the cost of food they give away to friends, neighbors, and strangers. With the Puebloans, as with most Native American tribes, the greatest leaders were known for their generosity as well as their courage. Several Europeans would remark over the centuries about what they considered the odd propensity of Indians giving away their food.

His stubbornness had cost....Poquis's home pueblo—Puaray, pronounced pwah-RYE—was on the opposite side of the river, the east side. Nearby Sandia Pueblo lost a court battle in the late 1800s for ownership of Puaray's site, which is three miles south of Sandia. David H. Snow, "The identification of Puaray Pueblo," in *Collected Papers in Honor of Florence Hawley Ellis*, ed. by Theodore R. Frisbie (Albuquerque: Archaeological Society of New Mexico, 1975), 1.

After Poquis saved....The ruin of Pecos Pueblo, the largest and most powerful of the pueblos in the sixteenth century, is now the site of Pecos National Historical Park near the edge of the Great Plains. In Coronado's time, the village was referred to by several spellings of Spanish attempts to pronounce its original Towa name of Äqiu (often spelled as Cicuique or Cicuye). Spaniards did not refer to the village as Pecos until Oñate documents of 1598. Adolph Bandelier, *Historical Introduction to Studies Among the Sedentary Indians of New Mexico* (Boston: A. Williams and Co., 1881), 151. The name of Pecos is used for today's reader, who would not be familiar with earlier Spanish renditions nor the native name.

CHAPTER 5

Castañeda would write....Castañeda, *The Journey of Coronado*, 22. Unless otherwise specified, translations of Castañeda's work are by Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint in Flint and Flint, "Castañeda de Nájera's Narrative, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 384-434.

Field Master García....Hammond and Rey, "Testimony of López de Cárdenas," *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 349. The distance was given as three leagues in "Eleventh de oficio witness Pedro de Ledesma," in Flint, *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 235.

Coronado looked around....The expeditionaries' weaponry and armor were recorded at a muster call before leaving Mexico. Richard Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 62.

That afternoon....Castañeda, "Translation of the letter from Coronado to Mendoza," *The Journey of Coronado*, 170.

CHAPTER 6

Poquis emerged....The Tewa word for the open courtyard inside a pueblo is *bupingeh*, which means Middle-Heart Place. The common term today is the Spanish word of *plaza*.

Xauían pulled the....In a jail cell deposition in 1546, former Field Master García López de Cárdenas referred to the Tiwa leader whom Spaniards called Juan Alemán, using the man's Indian name of Xauían (shah-WEE-on). Hammond and Rey, "Testimony of Lopez de Cardenas," *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 359.

Xauían pulled the....Turtle Mountain is now known as Sandia, a Spanish word meaning watermelon. This book uses the Tewa name, which was *Oku Pin*, for Turtle Mountain, because of its shape when approaching it from the north from present-day Santa Fe. The Tiwa name is *Bien Mur*, for Big Mountain, or *Kee-bien-ob*. John P. Harrington, "The Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians," *Twenty-ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (1916), 513-515. Also, Robert Julyan and Mary Stuever, eds., *Field Guide to the Sandia Mountains* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 224. Also, Stephanie Poston, "From the editor's desk," *Pueblo of Sandia* newsletter, 3/3 (Summer 2002): 1.

He paused at the squawk....The Pueblo tribes traded all the way into Mexico and Central America for scarlet macaw feathers and live birds. The colorful feathers are still seen today in Pueblo dances.

The old man's....The sun priest's cane is an ancient Pueblo symbol of authority. Recognizing that fact, were authorized for each pueblo by the Spanish crown in 1620; by the Mexican government after winning independence from Spain in 1821; and by President Abraham Lincoln in 1863. Each pueblo treasures its surviving canes. The cross is both an ancient Native and a modern Christian symbol.

Walking to his....Although often referred to as "gods," katsinas seem to be more like Catholic saints.

Poquis's eyes....Paintings described for the Ghufloor kiva were found in 1934 at nearby Kuaua (Kwah-wah) Pueblo, now home to the Coronado State Historic Site. For images and an in-depth description of Tiwa paintings in kivas, see Dutton, *Sun Father's Way*. Most figures described here are from layer G-26 in the Kuaua Pueblo kiva, which Dutton labeled "A depiction of the universe," although some from other layers have been included. Kuaua Pueblo was about two miles north of Ghufloor. Dutton learned that the figures are familiar to religious leaders of Zuni, Navajo, Tiwa, Keres, and Towa tribes. Ma-Pe-Wi (Velino Shije Herrera), a Zia artist, reproduced the paintings in the restored kiva at Kuaua in 1938. Only a Zuni elder would explain them, however, resulting in all the figures and ceremonies in Dutton's book bearing Zuni names, which might be identical, similar, or different from the Tiwa names. The twentieth-century Zuni symbolism of the paintings also might be different from the sixteenth-century Tiwa understanding of the Katsina religion. See Richard B. Woodbury, "Sun Father's way: the kiva murals of Kuaua," *American Anthropologist*, 66 (1964):1212-1213. No paintings were found in the one kiva excavated at Ghufloor/Santiago, but historian Richard Flint believes most pueblos the size of Ghufloor would have had at least one more kiva.

Between the sitting....Rio Grande Pueblos generally do not use masks today in Native ceremonials open to the public. However, they did in the sixteenth century before Franciscan friars condemned their use. Diego Pérez de Luxán wrote in 1582-83 about Southern Tiwas who "have many [Katsina religion] masks which they use in their dances and ceremonials." Carroll L. Riley, *The Frontier People: The Greater Southwest in the Protohistoric Period* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987). Also see Elsie Clews Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), 1032.

As Poquis revolved....The following description of the kiva meeting is inspired by writings of white researchers who studied ceremonials, including those of Northern Tiwas at Taos Pueblo. See Frank Waters, *The Man Who Killed the Deer* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press—Sage/Swallow Press Books, 1942/1970), 13-25 and 111-113. He in turn undoubtedly was inspired by the kiva meeting that Adolph Bandelier described in *The Delight Makers* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1890), 243-272.

Poquis grabbed....News of the Spanish conquest of the Mexicas (Aztecs), as well as other Spanish expeditions and the slave raids in Mexico, had for years spread northward along the trade routes the Puebloans maintained into present-day Mexico. Richard Flint, email to the author, May 30, 2011.

CHAPTER 7

The earth and rock walls....Hawikku has been abandoned since a devastating Apache attack in 1672. The ruin's site is occasionally available for tours through the Zuni tourism office.

They would be back....The Zuni summer solstice ceremonies are still held in June and July with masked katsinas, including rain dancers and mudheads witnessed by the author. Ladd, "Zuni on the day the men in metal arrived," *Coronado Expedition to Tierra Nueva*, 193-194. Also, Matilda Coxe Stevenson. *The Zuni Indians: Their Mythology, Esoteric Fraternities, and Ceremonies*. Second printing of the original 1904 Bureau of Ethnology Report #23 (Glorieta, NM: The Rio Grande Press, 1985.)

He heard the rustle....Expeditionary Juan Troyano's testimony in 1544 revealed the name of the Christianized Guasave Indian from Petatlán in Mexico taken from Esteban's retinue. Bartolomé would have shared his knowledge about Spanish warfare with the Zunis. See "Eighth de oficio witness Juan Troyano" in Flint, *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 168. Coronado wrote about Bartolomé, saying, "He is an interpreter. ...He understands (Zuni and Spanish) very well." George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, "Report on Alarcón's expedition," *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), 178.

"I will say....Many believe the Zunis memorialized Esteban with the black katsina Chákwaina, which spread to other pueblos. Ladd, "Zuni on the Day the Men in Metal Arrived," *The Coronado Expedition to Tierra Nueva*, 188. Dances at some pueblos still commemorate Esteban's arrival by featuring a black-faced dancer representing Esteban. Robert Goodwin, *Crossing the Continent 1527-1540: The story of the first African-American explorer of the South* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 368. For discussions of the black katsina, see Colin G. Calloway, *One Vast Winter Count: The Native American West Before Lewis and Clark* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 133, and Joe S. Sando, *The Pueblo Indians* (San Francisco: The Indian Historian Press, 1976), 45-46.

Nayuchi tightened....According to Virgil Wyaco's autobiography, the Zuni term for arrowhead is "tip of the lightning bolt." Virgil Wyaco. J.A. Jones, ed. *A Zuni Life: A Pueblo Indian in Two Worlds* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998).

"The strangers have come....Castañeda wrote that the Zunis shouted taunts at the Spaniards from "a safe place." Castañeda, *The Journey of Coronado*, 23. Coronado gave a different version, possibly to justify his later battle at Hawikku, by reporting that the Zunis "attacked" the Spaniards. Flint and Flint, "Vázquez de Coronado to Viceroy," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 256.

CHAPTER 8

Among those on the hilltop....July 7, 1540, of the Julian calendar, would be July 17 in the modern Gregorian calendar, adopted in 1582. To update Coronado dates to the Gregorian calendar, add ten days. Ladd, "Zuni on the day the men in metal arrived," *Coronado Expedition to Tierra Nueva*, 192.

After all, upon hearing....If Marcos went to Cíbola/Hawikku, he would have seen a large apartment-block type of building three or four stories high on a sixty-foot hill. Historian David J. Weber examines the controversy of whether Marcos ever made it as far as Hawikku in his essay "Fray Marcos and the

historians,” *Myth and the History of the Hispanic Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 19-32.

Castañeda remembered....Marcos de Niza, *A Relación of the Reverend Father Fray Marcos de Niza*.

The Spaniards now saw....Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 393.

Coronado, wearing his....Coronado sent an advance party to read to the Zunis the *requerimiento*, a sixteenth-century legal document commanding Indians to submit to Spanish rule and become Catholics. It often was unintelligible to the natives. Nevertheless, any objection or resistance gave Spaniards the legal pretext to attack. For a full text of the *requerimiento*, used for decades by Spaniards to assert hegemony over Indians, go to en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Requerimiento.

“I have asked them....Coronado’s comment is a paraphrase of what he reported saying in his letter to Viceroy Mendoza on August 3, 1540. Castañeda, “Translation of the letter from Coronado to Mendoza,” *The Journey of Coronado*, 159-185.

The Zunis would learn....*Maestre de campo* was a sixteenth-century Spanish army rank translated by different scholars as field master, camp master, army master, and field commander. Second in command only to a captain-general like Coronado, the *maestre de campo* rank approximated the modern Army ranks of brigadier general or colonel. Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon James Knight Jr., and Edward C. Moore, eds. *The De Soto Chronicles: Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539-1543*, v.1 (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1993), 260.

Nayuchi and the elders....Spanish chronicles depict the firing of Zuni arrows as an attack. Historian Richard Flint has concluded the Zunis must have been firing warning shots because no one was hit. If Indian archers aiming from close range at a massed group of Spaniards and horses had intended to hit some, they certainly would have done so. Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest*, 110. Castañeda, in writing about the accuracy of Indian bowmen, attested to the accuracy of Indian archers, writing, “We have seen them shoot down birds that are flying and shoot jackrabbits while running after them.” Flint and Flint, “Castañeda de Nájera’s Narrative,” *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 430.

The man in yellow armor....The Spaniards attacked when, as Coronado later wrote, the Zunis “approached the horses’ legs to shoot their arrows.” Yet the Zunis still didn’t hit any men or horses. Flint and Flint, “Vázquez de Coronado’s Letter to the Viceroy,” in *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 257.

PART II — SPANISH DOMINANCE

CHAPTER 9

The Indians wore....Although sword fighting is often romanticized in modern culture, sword warfare was actually vicious and bloody. Against unarmored Indians, Europeans would often incapacitate a warrior by first chopping off an arm or leg, then stabbing or else slashing to disembowel or decapitate. Early Spanish drawings of battle scenes against Indians show the ground covered with legs, arms, and heads. Spanish chronicles tell of Indians trying to hold in their intestines after being eviscerated by swords.

You add cannon balls....The deep ravines of the Southwest are known as arroyos in New Mexico and as washes in Arizona and many other states. They are much more numerous, deeper, and wider today because of erosion resulting from overgrazing by colonists’ cattle and sheep. Junipers are also much more plentiful today in grasslands as a result of overgrazing.

The Franciscans....Other Catholic monastic orders such as the Dominicans strongly criticized the Franciscan order for its aggressive role in conquering, subjugating, and exploiting natives in the Americas.

Then there were....The *encomienda* jurisdiction was the hallmark of the Spanish Conquest. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, conquered Indians of the Americas were forced to pay the

encomienda owner one third or half of all they produced. Uncountable numbers died from forced labor, hunger, and thirst. Although technically not slavery, it felt the same to the Indians.

“Well, I heard....It is debatable whether Zuni warriors attacked the expeditionaries in the pass or if, as Castañeda reports, some Zunis only yelled at them. See final endnote for Chapter 6. Some Spanish accounts insist the Zunis attacked, which seems unlikely since only warning shots were fired at Hawikku.

Juan became animated....Several Spanish accounts say a Franciscan friar urged the expeditionaries to attack the Zunis.

“That came later....A survey using metal detectors showed that the expeditionaries attacked from all sides. Jonathan E. Damp, “The summer of 1540: Archaeology of the Battle of Hawikku,” *Archaeology Southwest*, 19/1 (winter 2005): 4-7.

Galiveer paused....The Spaniards referred to the natives of the flat-roofed towns as Pueblo Indians, because the Spanish word “pueblo” can mean village. It was meant to distinguish them from the Southwest’s roaming tribes. The designation of “Pueblo Indians” was applied to about seventy autonomous villages along the Rio Grande and for several miles on each side in the sixteenth century. Puebloans spoke eight mutually unintelligible languages, of which six survive today: Hopi, Zuni, and Keres, as well as the Tanoan dialects of Tiwa, Towa, and Tewa.

Galiveer reached....Zuni tradition says that Coronado’s expeditionaries burned wooden Zuni altars. Marc Simmons, “Coronado blunder led to Zuni fight,” *The (Santa Fe) New Mexican* (May 8, 2010): A-8. Because of that desecration, Zunis banned Hispanics until the late twentieth century from attending their religious ceremonies. J. Wesley Huff, “A Coronado episode,” *New Mexico Historical Review*, 16/2 (April 1951): 121.

The Englishman’s face....After the conquest in Mexico, Spain’s public conscience recoiled at the realization that millions of Indians had perished through disease, warfare, and forced labor in just four decades. People began asking how a religious country like Roman Catholic Spain could condone so many deaths. After all, one of the stated purposes of the conquest had been the baptism and conversion of Indians to Christianity. As a result of directives from the king and pope, Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza of Mexico City had ordered Coronado to humanely treat Indians he encountered. Allowing the surviving Zunis to escape shows how Coronado and his officers tried early on to follow Mendoza’s orders of leniency. That attitude would be abandoned in the Tiguex War that followed.

CHAPTER 10

Poquis and Xauían....Because of his role in organizing all Tiwa pueblos into armed resistance to the expedition, historians believe Xauían had to have been a war chief or bow chief.

The teenage boy....Men did the weaving on looms inside the kivas in sixteenth-century pueblos.

Tiwas who had been tending....Castañeda provided this description of Tiguex life, including the nudity of unmarried young women. Castañeda, *The Journey of Coronado*, 96-101.

The boy had run....Pueblo Indians referred to the conquistadors by their armor and weapons, calling them “Metal People.” Sando and Agoyo, *Po’Pay*, 9. Also, Edmund Ladd, “Zuni on the Day the Men in Metal Arrived,” *Coronado Expedition to Tierra Nueva*, 187-194.

CHAPTER 11

“Are you the....The Spaniards referred to a pueblo’s religious leader by the Caribbean term of cacique (pronounced kah-seeek or kah-seeek-kay, depending on the pueblo). Rio Grande Puebloans still use the word today to refer to each pueblo’s religious leader. Today’s position of cacique is approximately equal to the sun priest of the sixteenth century.

It had surprised....Winship, "Translation of the letter from Coronado to Mendoza," *The Journey of Coronado*, 180. The paragraph is a paraphrase of what Coronado described in his letter.

Coronado asked....Hammond and Rey, "Report of Alarcón's expedition," *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 145. This is what the Cibola chieftain had told an Indian elder whom Alarcón met in Arizona.

After Coronado declared....Bartolomé became one of Coronado's most valuable assets as an interpreter because he understood the Zuni and Spanish languages. Flint and Flint, "Vázquez de Coronado to Viceroy," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 262.

In their last....Indians throughout the Americas learned the best way to get Spaniards to leave was to convince them that something they wanted was somewhere else.

The domed....Even though Coronado was more than a thousand miles from Mexico City, horseback couriers raced back and forth delivering communications. The context of the letter implies Coronado was at Hawikku when he wrote the letter, but other reports indicate he might have been at Mats'a:kya at the base of the Dowa Yalanne mesa.

Who would go north....Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest*, 42.

Referring to Friar Marcos....Winship, "Translation of the letter from Coronado to Mendoza," *The Journey of Coronado*, 172.

Coronado described....The prospect of the expedition bankrupting its members, many of whom were investors, began worrying expeditionaries even before the first disappointing sight of Cibola.

I tried to lift their spirits....Flint and Flint, "Vázquez de Coronado to Viceroy," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 254-255. This and the next few quotes are all from the letter.

CHAPTER 12

Coronado relied on....Cárdenas was promoted to field master after an Indian killed his predecessor, Lope de Samaniego, in Mexico.

"I did not find....Flint and Flint, "Vázquez de Coronado to Viceroy," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 259.

Then he went on....Flint and Flint, "Vázquez de Coronado to Viceroy," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 257.

"When the Indians saw....Winship, "Translation of the letter from Coronado to Mendoza," *The Journey of Coronado*, 170.

"As that was where....Winship, "Translation of the letter from Coronado to Mendoza," *The Journey of Coronado*, 170. This reference also includes the next quote.

Coronado went back....Flint and Flint, "Vázquez de Coronado to Viceroy," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 257.

"I am now well....Flint and Flint, "Vázquez de Coronado to Viceroy," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 258.

"When three days....Flint and Flint, "Vázquez de Coronado to Viceroy," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 260-261. Dowa Yalanne Mesa is 900 feet high, a little more than a mile long, and a half-mile wide. It is also known as Corn Mountain. Unexcavated ruins are on top of the mesa.

Coronado told Viceroy....Flint and Flint, "Vázquez de Coronado to Viceroy," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 259.

"God knows....Flint and Flint, "Vázquez de Coronado to Viceroy," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 260. The Spaniards approximated distance by designating men to count their steps. When over rough ground, that left a lot of room for miscalculation. In the *legua legal*, 300 Spanish leagues equal about 781 miles. In the *legua comun*, 300 leagues equal about 1,038 miles. See Roland Chardon, "The elusive Spanish league: A problem of measurement in sixteenth-century New Spain," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 60(2), 1980, 294.

"From what I am able....Flint and Flint, "Vázquez de Coronado to Viceroy," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 262.

CHAPTER 13

Xauían set....By the start of the Tiguex War in December 1540, the mesa-top fortresses were well provisioned, and all the Puebloan villages had united behind Xauían as their war leader. Therefore, preparations for the inevitability of war must have started well before Tiwas had met the invaders. Something like the scenario in this chapter must have begun by early August.

Poquis was well known....Gordon Vivian, unpublished master's thesis, "A Re-Study of the Province of Tiguex," University of New Mexico, 1932.

Poquis leaned forward....Bandelier recounted a similar story from Puebloan oral history about a Spaniard turning into a wolf or vice versa. Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations Among the Indians*, 117.

CHAPTER 14

In addition to....A Franciscan missionary reported in 1630 that the people of Pecos spoke a dialect of Towa, the same language as at Jemez. Baker H. Morrow, trans. and ed. *A Harvest of Reluctant Souls: The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630* (Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1996), 22. See also Rev. Anselm Weber, O.F.M. "The last of the Pecos Indians," *The Franciscan Missions of the Southwest* (1918): 1.

As soon as....Flint and Flint, "Castañeda de Nájera's Narrative," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 430. This notable Pecos man, Bigotes, was referred to from 1896 to 2005 by the wrong name of "Whiskers" because of George Parker Winship's translation error. The Spanish word *bigotes* actually means "mustaches."

These metal people....*Cacique* is a Taino word meaning chief or headman. The Spaniards first learned the word on the island of Hispaniola (present-day Dominican Republic and Haiti) in the 1490s and continued using it for any tribe's principal leader.

He used....The confusing translations back and forth led Coronado to assume what he wanted to believe—that Bigotes was pledging Pecos submission to Spain's royalty and the Catholic Church. However, Bigotes did not have that authority. He was seeking trade and a military alliance. Bigotes's assumption of an alliance came to light weeks later when the Pecos Indians asked Hernando de Alvarado to help them attack enemies they called the Nanapagua.

"Make preparations....Alvarado's mission to travel east to the Great Plains was one of three exploring parties Coronado sent out from Zuni. The first, headed by Pedro de Tovar, found the Hopi villages to the northwest, with his horsemen attacking over a corn-meal line drawn by the Hopis. Coronado also had sent García López de Cárdenas west with another group of expeditionaries, and they would be the first Europeans to see the Grand Canyon.

Bigotes led Alvarado....For the sake of clarity, today's name of Zia has been substituted for the expeditionaries' name of Chia.

CHAPTER 15

Caoma stood....Safe passage for traders was a universal Indian tradition. Even the Spaniard Cabeza de Vaca said he was allowed to visit any tribe he wished without harm during the time he claimed he acted as a trader while a captive in Texas in the 1530s. Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, *Adventures in the Unknown Interior of America (La Relación)*, trans. and ed. by Cyclone Covey (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 66.

Ácoma warriors....Castañeda described Ácoma warriors as "marauders feared throughout the land and region." Flint and Flint, "Castañeda de Nájera's Narrative," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 398.

Alvarado would later....Ácoma is still atop the steep-walled mesa, little changed from the days of the conquistadors. Tourists travel to the top of the mesa by bus but can descend the foot trail that Alvarado used to climb to the top. Castañeda, *The Journey of Coronado*, 38.

"Look," Padilla exclaimed....Castañeda reported the reaction that's attributed here to Friar Padilla about the sight of crosses thought to represent Christian origins. It's far more likely the crosses were prayer sticks calling the katsinas to visit Ácoma. Castañeda, *The Journey of Coronado*, 142. Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Earth Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991), 82.

Fifteen miles northeast....The beaver pond Alvarado found is now the site of Laguna Pueblo. Laguna was not founded until about 1700, although Keres people had been living there long before that. It lies along I-40 west of present-day Albuquerque.

From the ridge....Thirteen miles was the distance between the main Tiwa villages that would become involved in the Tiguex war. The entire Tiguex Province, extending from Isleta Pueblo to Kuaua Pueblo, is about thirty miles.

"We must call this....River of Our Lady (*Rio de Nuestra Señora*) was only the first of several names Spaniards gave over the years until the river came to its present name: the Rio Grande.

CHAPTER 16

Bigotes handed....The word that Zunis first used to describe the Spaniards as "Bundle of Body Hair People" was *tsibolo:wa:kwe*, broken down as follows: *tsiwe*/body hair, *bololo:we*/bundle or roll of, and *kwe*/people. Wilford Eriacho and Edward Wemytewa. Dudley Cocke, Donna Potterfield and Edward Wemytewa, eds. *Journeys Home: Revealing a Zuni-Appalachia Collaboration* (Zuni: Zuni A:shiwí Publishing, 2002), 14.

CHAPTER 17

Bigotes and Xauían....Descriptions of the Mexica weapons and shields are based on sixteenth-century Aztec codex books. Poquis's shield is identical to a known ancient Tiwa shield.

Alvarado's Zuni interpreter....The cumbersome communication between the Spaniards and the Puebloans was aided by sign language.

Alvarado turned to....This passage shows how the sixteenth-century Castilians were at least as superstitious in their own way as they thought the Puebloans were.

CHAPTER 18

Their leader....Spaniards called Xauían by the odd nickname of Juan Alemán because they thought he resembled a German man named Juan Henche in Mexico City. *Alemán* is the Spanish word for a

German. Flint and Flint, endnote 243, "Castañeda de Nájera's Narrative, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 677.

Stars sparkled....Coronado and later Spanish expeditions substituted Spanish words for the names of nearly every pueblo. Although Castañeda would occasionally refer to Ghufoor as Tiguex in his book twenty years later, Coronado called it Coofer and Coofor in his 1544 testimony. Mota y Padilla referred to it as Coofer in his writings in 1742 taken from now lost documents. At some early point, some Spaniards also referred to Ghufoor as Alcanfor, the Spanish word for camphor. By 1602, the pueblo had become known as Santiago. The original Ghufoor site is best known today as Santiago Pueblo and is in Bernalillo, New Mexico, slightly straddling the boundary into Rio Rancho.

Each woman....Descriptions of the women's appearance are from Matías de la Mota y Padilla, *Historia de la Conquista del Reino de la Nueva Galicia*, ed. José Ireneo Gutiérrez (Guadalajara, Mexico: Talleres Gráficos de Gallardo y Alvarez del Castillo, 1920), 226.

The Puebloans presented....Most of this comprises the list of gifts that were presented earlier to the expeditionaries by the Keres Indians of Ácoma Pueblo.

PART III: PRELUDE TO WAR

CHAPTER 19

Las Casas took pride....Las Casas returned to Spain seven times to take his appeals to the king, the pope, and—with his books—to Spanish citizens. He knew Christopher Columbus and bloodthirsty conquistadors like Francisco Pizarro, and he'd seen the genocide first-hand.

Las Casas wanted....Francis Augustus MacNutt, "The Brevissima Relacion," *Bartholomew de las Casas: His Life, His Apostolate, and His Writings* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1909), 414.

The king, pope, and citizens....MacNutt, "The Brevissima Relacion," *Bartholomew de las Casas*, 383. The result, Las Casas said, was that "not a whisper" of the extent of murderous atrocities by conquistadors and colonists in the Americas had reached the ears of the average Spanish citizen even by the mid-1500s. Las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, 3.

He paused....There is a term called "The Black Legend"—a propaganda ploy by Spain's sixteenth-century European enemies. It attempted to depict the Spanish as unusually cruel. In actuality, most Old World nations exploiting the Americas acted with genocidal malice toward the natives, including the British, French, Dutch, Germans, Portuguese, and Russians. Ultimately, so did the Americans. Las Casas spoke out against the cruelty and slaughter and tried to stop it in the Americas.

Yes, I judge them....The 1537 papal bull *Sublimus Dei* is in MacNutt, *Bartholomew de las Casas*, 429. Both the papacy and Catholic Spain's royalty disapproved of the harsh treatment and enslavement of Indians. New World colonists and conquistadors nevertheless continued abusing and exploiting Indians throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The text of the encyclical *Sublimus Dei* is at papalencyclicals.net/Paul03/p3subli.htm.

I plan to send....The description of Brother Luis is from Rev. Angelico Chavez, *Coronado's Friars* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1968),

I have concern about....Chavez, *Coronado's Friars*, 41, 60, and 68. Even this Franciscan historian, who usually presented friars in the best possible light, conceded that Padilla pursued "his mad vision of the Seven Cities" to the end.

Never mind that....MacNutt's biography of Las Casas includes the friar's report of his visit with the viceroy, *Bartholomew de las Casas*, 203.

Las Casas sighed....His book, *Brevísima Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias*, was the first and most bitter condemnation of Spanish atrocities in the New World. It was published in 1542, after he'd persuaded King Carlos I to issue the New Laws of the Indies that same year, phasing out the *encomienda* system. The *repartimiento* system continued, which was less abusive but still ended up relying on Indian forced labor.

CHAPTER 20

In the morning....Unlike Mexican tribes that twirled corn meal dough into tortillas, the Indians of Tiguex made their corn meal into a batter that they poured onto a stone griddle and cooked like a pancake. A. Grove Day, "Mota Padilla on the Coronado Expedition," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 20/1 (February 1940): 97. All rights reserved. Reprinted with permission of Duke University Press.

Panpahlu pulled her blanket....The "corn grinding stones" consist of a trough-shaped rectangular rock known today as a metate and a smaller stone known as a mano. Kernels were crushed between the mano and metate. Broken manos remain a clear indication of an ancient pueblo site.

CHAPTER 21

As she waited....Description of the following dance combines aspects of today's modern corn dance of the Rio Grande pueblos and a public Zuni dance that still includes masked katsinas. Christian missionary efforts have stripped masked katsinas from the dances of the Rio Grande pueblos—at least from the public ones.

The ancient dance....Autumn Moon refers to August of 1540. Long, *The Moon Book*, 108.

Circling and....The koshare, better known today as "sacred clowns," usually are painted in black and white stripes in today's Puebloan dances. However, an ancient painting on the walls of Kuaua Pueblo more than five hundred years ago shows a koshare painted all black. The stripes came later, probably due to Franciscan missionaries. The koshare is a visible link to the katsina religion.

"This is an abomination....The Spaniards considered the Katsina religion to be "devil worship" and referred to Indian prayer as "speaking to the devil." This mystified Puebloans because their religion had no concept of Satan or hell. Sando and Agoyo, *Po'Pay*, 10. Franciscan opposition to the Katsina religion is explained from a Native point of view at the Indian Pueblo Cultural Center in Albuquerque, where an exhibit states: "Our people already had a religion that permeated every aspect of Pueblo life. The Pueblo religious principles were similar to Christian principles. When the Catholics came into Pueblo territory, they did not attempt to understand Pueblo religion; rather, they moved to destroy it, persecuted some religious leaders, and destroyed the ceremonial kivas."

Luis sighed....The Laws of Burgos, written in late 1512, declared that Indians should not be mistreated. They were an ineffective attempt to make conquistadors and colonists treat Indians more humanely. The conquistadors and colonists ignored the laws. MacNutt, "The Brevissima Relación," *Bartholomew de las Casas*, 414.

Padilla glared....Like Padilla, many sixteenth-century Franciscan missionaries believed in a millennial, apocalyptic branch of evangelism. Such Franciscans believed that conversion of the Indians to Christianity would bring about a thousand-year terrestrial paradise ruled by Jesus Christ before the end of the world, as they interpreted the Book of Revelation. John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1970).

CHAPTER 22

Friar Padilla had spent....Flint and Flint, "Hernando de Alvarado's narrative," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 306.

Poquis and Panpahlu....Many Puebloans still use prayer sticks. One or more feathers are tied to them to lift their prayers to the Creator. Rio Grande pueblos observe a syncretism of the Katsina religion with Christianity, usually Catholicism.

CHAPTER 23

Alvarado's group....Today's Tiguex ruin of Kuaua is the site of Coronado Historic Site north of Bernalillo, New Mexico. Pronounced kwah-wah, the word Kuaua is Tiwa for "evergreen." *Coronado* tourist brochure, Coronado State Monument, New Mexico. Museum of New Mexico, Office of Cultural Affairs.

Although his....Coronado's expeditionaries confused the purpose of kivas, calling them *estufas*, a Spanish word for stoves that can also refer to warm rooms. When the missionaries realized that a kiva was each pueblo's religious center for the Katsina religion, they began filling kivas with dirt and trash and then building churches on top of them. The early Catholic churches at Bernalillo, Socorro, Ácoma, and many early New Mexico villages are built on top of kivas.

When on the march....The confluence of the two rivers Alvarado reached is the point where the Jemez River flows from the west into the Rio Grande. This area marked the start of a high mesa upon which Puebloans built fortifications for defense.

Bigotes was able....It's unknown which of the Keres and/or Tewa pueblos resisted Alvarado's advance up the Rio Grande. The only mention of the battles came a few years later in testimony describing how every pueblo greeted Alvarado peaceably "with the exception of two pueblos where they came forth in war and which he had pacified." Flint, "A transcript of the testimony: ninth de oficio witness Rodrigo de Frías," *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 194. The word "pacified" was a sixteenth-century Spanish euphemism for conquering Indians through warfare.

After seven days....Spanish accounts referred to Taos by various names, including Braba, Yuraba, and Valladolid. The present name of Taos is used here for clarity. Taos vies with Ácoma for the honor of being the oldest inhabited city in the United States. Winship, "Translation of the Relacion del Suceso," *The Journey of Coronado*, 204.

The houses abut....Flint and Flint, "The Relación del Suceso," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 499.

CHAPTER 24

One of the kiva chiefs....Even the book's fictional Puebloan characters have authentic names believed to date as far back as the 1500s.

He told them....Tsugwaga is one of the original Tiwa names for today's Isleta Pueblo, and means "Kick-Flaking Stone Place People." Isleta still exists south of present-day Albuquerque. Isleta is the Spanish word for "little island" because the Rio Grande flowed on both sides of the village in the sixteenth century, especially during spring floods. For original names of existing pueblos, see Daniel Gibson, *Pueblos of the Rio Grande: A Visitor's Guide* (Tucson: Rio Nuevo Publishers, 2001) or the displays in the Indian Pueblo Cultural Center in Albuquerque. When there is a difference of opinion on pueblo place names, this book defers to the cultural center displays organized by each pueblo's members.

They journeyed east....Kua' p'o-oge is the name in northern Tewa dialect meaning "The Place of Shell-beads Near the Water." F. Joseph Sanchez with Stephen Wall and Ann Filemyr, eds., *White Shell Water Place* (Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2010), 21. One of several Tewa villages now under the city of Santa Fe, Bandelier spelled it as Cuâ-po-oge. Adolph Bandelier, *The Gilded Man: And Other Pictures of the Spanish Occupancy* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1893), 221. Ancient burials were accidentally unearthed during construction in a downtown parking lot in 2007. Because of dams and reservoirs, the Santa Fe River is dry most of the year now.

Bigotes kept walking....The Indians Bigotes describes were Teyas of the Great Plains. The Teyas were a branch of the Lipan Apaches, the largest of the Plains Apache groups. John Upton Terrell, *The Plains Apache* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1975), 195.

A Castilian with....Descriptions of Pecos are from Castañeda, *The Journey of Coronado*, and related translations in that edition.

Another wrote....The phrase “very large bears” marks the Spaniards’ first recorded sighting of North American grizzly bears.

“The people of the pueblo....Flint and Flint, “Castañeda de Nájera’s narrative,” *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 399.

Is he the one who....The guide who will lead the Spaniards out onto the Great Plains is the Pawnee whom Spaniards called “the Turk,” because his turban made him resemble someone from Turkey.

CHAPTER 25

Poquis looked around....The comment about the sour smell of unwashed Spaniards might seem derogatory, but all Europeans of the time seldom if ever bathed. Spain’s Queen Isabella (reigned 1479-1504) said she took only two baths in her life—the day she was born and the day she married. Jay Stuller, “Cleanliness has only recently become a virtue,” *Smithsonian*, 21/11 (February 1991): 126.

“This Cárdenas....Most Spanish accounts state or imply the Tiwas abandoned Ghufloor voluntarily. However, discovery of thirty copper crossbow points—including one inside a Tiwa skeleton—and dozens of lead balls, many of them flattened by impact, proves an unreported battle took place there. Dee Brecheisen, “Looking at a mule shoe: Sixteenth-century Spanish artifacts in Panama,” *The Coronado Expedition from the Distance of 460 Years*, Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, eds. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 261-262. Also, the term *desembarazaron* (they evicted), implying force, is used by Mota y Padilla, *Historia de la Conquista*, 226.

PART IV: POWER AND GOLD

CHAPTER 26

Clouds of frosted breath....Night Moon would be December 1540. Long, *The Moon Book*, 111.

“But, if you do not....Imagine how you would react if your enemies read a threat such as this from the requerimiento to you.

The Tiwas on the roof....The Spanish battle cry of *Santiago y a ellos!* invokes the name of the patron saint of the conquistadors and translates to “For St. James and at Them!”

Poquis picked up....Puebloans began using maquahuitls, apparently captured, during the Tiguex War.

While Tiwa warriors....The crossbow battle fatality was discovered in 1934 during an excavation of Ghufloor, when a Tiwa skeleton was found in the west wing of rooms. Inside the chest cavity was a copper point from a crossbow, a weapon that only the Coronado expedition used in New Mexico. Marjorie Ferguson Tichy, “The Archaeology of Puaray [sic],” *El Palacio* XLVI/7 (July 1939), 163. Also, Bradley J. Vierra, *A Sixteenth-Century Campsite in the Tiguex Province* (Santa Fe: Laboratory of Anthropology, 1989), 12.

“Our town has been stolen....Oral tradition holds that the expedition’s take-over of Ghufloor resulted in the Tiwas calling it *Bei-juí Tu-ay*, a Southern Tiwa term meaning “Stolen Town.” Elinore M. Barrett, *Conquest and Catastrophe: Changing Rio Grande Settlement Patterns in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 27.

Coronado's mouth....There are numerous accounts of Spaniards using dogs to execute Indian prisoners and to attack in warfare, including on the Coronado expedition. At the 1544 hearings, Coronado denied attacking Indians with dogs. However, expeditionaries Alonso Sánchez, Rodrigo Xímon, Rodrigo de Frias, Melchior Pérez, Juan de Zaldívar, and Alonso Álvarez all testified that dogs were used to kill Indian captives. See their testimonies in Flint, *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*. Also, the Spanish officer Oviedo defined *aperear* as “to have the dogs attack or kill, tearing the Indians to pieces, for *conquistadores* in the Indies have always used greyhounds and fierce and brave dogs in their wars.” David Karunanithy, *Dogs of War: Canine Use in Warfare* (London: Yarak Publishing, 2008), 102.

CHAPTER 27

In early December....In early Spanish accounts, the Isleta area is referred to as Tutahaco.

In a way....Denying the Tiwas were forced to leave Ghufloor after a battle is another example of Coronado trying to keep knowledge of the expedition's aggressions understated and in some cases never reported.

Coronado felt a charge....Now a captive in Coronado's camp, Turk provides news of gold far to the east. Turk is believed to have been a Pawnee, although the river country he described was far to the South—it being unlikely he would show Spaniards how to find his own tribe.

The horseman Pedro....Flint and Flint, “Castañeda de Nájera's narrative,” *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 400. Except for gold and silver, Turk was describing a powerful Mississippi River culture. Compare his description to one written the following year by a member of the Hernando de Soto expedition along the Mississippi River: “The cacique came with two hundred canoes full of Indians with their bows and arrows, painted with red ocher and having great plumes of white and many colored feathers on either side and holding shields in their hands with which they covered the paddlers, while the warriors were standing from prow to stern with their bows and arrows in their hands. The canoe in which the cacique came had an awning spread in the stern and he was seated under the canopy.” James Alexander Robertson, trans., *True Relation of the Hardships Suffered by Governor Hernando de Soto and Certain Portuguese Gentlemen During the Discovery of the Province of Florida* (Florida State Historical Society, from the 1577 copy), floridahistory.com/elvas-3.html.

The horseman Pedro....Turk was not exaggerating about the size of some fish in the Mississippi River in that day. Sturgeon weighing up to a ton or more, as well as 10-foot-long catfish, alligator gars, and even bull sharks populated the river.

Turk also said he once owned....Coronado's role in the violence that soon would sweep Tiguex started with his obsession to find the gold arm bands. Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest*, 137-138.

“This was the beginning....Flint and Flint, “Castañeda de Nájera's narrative,” *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 401.

Coronado knew....Mendoza based his order on the wishes of King Carlos I and Pope Paul III, who wanted native inhabitants treated with leniency. The report by Friar Bartolomé de las Casas that he visited Mendoza is in MacNutt, *Bartholomew de las Casas*, 203.

Coronado dispelled....If an Indian promised gold, conquistadors would believe even the most improbable tale.

Supply concerns....The council Coronado frequently called together was common among sixteenth-century Spanish expeditions. In them, the commander sought and received opinions from officers, missionaries, and royal advisers, including the king's financial representative.

Alvarado's discovery....Coronado's six cannons were bronze *versillos*, which fired balls usually less than two inches wide. Relatively portable, they could be transported on horses or mules. Flint and Flint, endnote 598, “Castañeda de Nájera's narrative,” *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 689.

Coronado nodded....Captain Hernando de Alarcón sailed three ships up the Gulf of California with additional supplies for the expedition. But as the expedition turned inland, the distance became too great. Thus, Coronado decided to have his expeditionaries force Puebloans to supply them with food, clothing, and shelter. Alarcón was surprised that news of an attack against Hawikku by “fierce people like us” armed with “things that shot fire” was already common knowledge a few days later 360 miles away near today’s Yuma, Arizona. Hammond and Rey “Report of Alarcón’s expedition,” *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 146-148*, and Donald C. Cutter’s translation in the introduction to Fulcrum Publishing’s edition of *The Journey of Coronado*, 57.

“Yes, your excellency”....Melchior Díaz was killed when he threw his lance at a dog harassing the expedition’s sheep. The lance embedded in the ground and impaled Díaz as his horse ran forward.

Coronado’s mouth twisted....At his 1544 hearing in Mexico City, Coronado denied he ever ordered dogs set on Bigotes. However, several expedition members testified that Coronado knew about the dog attack, and that it would not have been done without his orders.

CHAPTER 28

Shocked by what....The frigid winter of 1540-41 froze the Rio Grande for several months, which has never happened in modern times. Deep snows also fell on the valley below the mountains, which is a rare occurrence today. Today’s mild winters belie the hardships the Coronado expedition endured in 1540, which was near the end of the Little Ice Age.

He stopped....*Wachte* was directly across the Rio Grande from Ghufloor. It now is beneath a Catholic church and school in the mostly Hispanic city of Bernalillo. *Tuf Sheur Teui*, which means “Green Reed Place” in Tiwa, is the site of a rebuilt Sandia Pueblo on the east side of the Rio Grande. The website for the Pueblo of Sandia is at sandiapueblo.nsn.us/home.html.

CHAPTER 29

“They did not give....A mix of translations from Castañeda, *The Journey of Coronado*, 47-48, and Flint and Flint, Castañeda de Nájera’s narrative, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 402.

When Poquis found....His visit to the mountain shrine is similar to a shrine visit in the 1900s described by Andres Lauraino, a Sandia Pueblo elder. Poston, “From the editor’s desk,” *Pueblo of Sandia* newsletter, 1.

He wondered why....Since prehistory, Puebloans believed the Warrior Twins lived on top of Sandia Mountain. Many shrines were there, but none have been reported since settlement.

CHAPTER 30

Every day patrols....A hiking trail now exists along the bluff on the west side of the Rio Grande where the expeditionaries rode in 1540-42 as they traveled between the pueblos.

Xauían clenched....Xauían’s comment paraphrases an Achese chief describing what his people felt when they first encountered the forces of Hernando de Soto in what is now the American South, also in 1540. Edward Gayor Bourne, ed., and Buckingham Smith, trans., *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto* (New York: Allerton Book Co., 1922), 55.

Xauían paused....The Tiwa name of the stronghold referred to by Xauían is unknown. It’s called here “the mesa with lichen-covered rocks” for reference. That’s because Spaniards would call the stronghold Moho. That’s a Spanish word generally limited to meaning “moss” today, but in the sixteenth century *moho* also referred to lichens. Flint and Flint, “Moho and the Tiguex War,” *The Latest Word From 1540*, 361.

“These horses....Stealing and killing horses became a traditional Indian tactic for weakening Spaniards. In two of the expeditions penetrating Pueblo country four decades later, Spaniards reported that Puebloans stole or killed some horses. There is no evidence either way whether Puebloans kept any of the horses they stole from Coronado. It seems plausible that a far-sighted leader might have seen their value and tried to keep a few.

The boy gasped....Twenty years later, Castañeda would write about the pivotal rape incident, recalling how an expeditionary had gone from the Coofor headquarters to Arenal. “Seeing a beautiful woman there, [the Castilian] called to her spouse to hold his horse by the reins for him. He climbed up to the roof. Because communication in the pueblo is by way of the roof, the Indian believed that [the Castilian] was going to another part of it. As (the husband) waited there, there was a certain vague noise. [The Castilian] took his horse and went away. The Indian climbed up and found out that [the Castilian] had raped or tried to rape his wife.” Flint and Flint, “Castañeda de Nájera’s narrative, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 402. The Castilian was later identified as Juan de Villegas, whose brother served on Mexico City’s council with Coronado.

Poquis followed....*Arenal* is a Spanish word meaning “sandy ground.” Ethnohistorian Carroll L. Riley believes the most likely site for Arenal was Puaray Pueblo, LA 717, on the east side of the river about three miles south of present-day Sandia Pueblo. Historians Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint believe Arenal was Kuaua, home of today’s Coronado State Monument. Riley, *Rio del Norte*, 170, and Flint, *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 570-571.

Poquis watched as Cárdenas....Coronado would testify in 1544 that he had not known about the rape. His groomsmen, however, testified that Coronado was aware of what Villegas had done but never punished him. Flint, “A transcript of the testimony: fifth de oficio witness Juan de Contreras,” *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 112.

Cárdenas said the accuser....Although the rape was the final straw for the Tiwas, many Spaniards did not consider it important—only five of fifteen expedition members questioned in the 1544 hearings ever mentioned the rape. Sending Troyano to retrieve the cannons is in Flint, “Juan Troyano, the eighth de oficio witness,” *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 170.

“As I thought....Rapes of Native women by European men (not just Spaniards) facing years of celibacy on the frontier constituted one of the most common crimes of European conquest. Rapes by other European colonizers as well as by American soldiers, cowboys, and frontiersmen were reported into the 1800s. Quick baptisms before raping women are detailed during the contemporaneous Soto expedition in Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, *A Narrative of De Soto’s Expedition Based on the Diary of Rodrigo Ranjel, His Private Secretary*, online facsimile edition at www.americanjourneys.org/aj-023/.

Francisca....Flint, “The first de oficio witnesses, Francisca de Hozes and Alonso Sánchez,” *Great Cruelties Have been Reported*, 59.

CHAPTER 31

“They have rebelled....Coronado and most expeditionaries maintained that the Tiwas started the war. The Cárdenas statement is a paraphrase of his 1546 testimony insisting that the Tiwas rebelled for no reason. Hammond and Rey, “Testimony of López de Cárdenas,” *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 349.

The news is spreading....Coronado testified he sent López, but Cárdenas testified that Coronado sent him. Therefore, it’s likely that both López and Cárdenas went.

Coronado’s eyes narrowed....Coronado later testified that at his council everyone (including the Franciscans) agreed that he had to wage war because of the horse thefts. “It seemed to everyone [at the council meeting] that they ought to make war.” Flint, “Sworn statement of the governor, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado,” *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 290.

Remember what the friars....A war of “fire and blood” was a Spanish term for total war, in which all enemy combatants were to be killed except, possibly, women and children. Many other nations in Europe and Asia conducted the same kind of total war.

PART V: FIRE AND BLOOD

CHAPTER 32

Ishpanyan understood....The Spaniards called the pueblo Arenal, but its Indian name is unknown and its location remains uncertain.

CHAPTER 33

“We’ve read....The requerimiento ordered Indians to surrender, pledge their allegiance to the king of Spain and the pope, and become Catholics—or die.

Killing of the emissaries....Flint, “Juan Troyano, the eighth de oficio witness,” *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 176.

Atop the roof....Flint, “Juan de Zaldívar, the twelfth de oficio witness, *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 257-258. Also, Herbert E. Bolton, *Coronado: Knight of Pueblos and Plains* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1949, second printing of fourth paperback edition, 1991), 211.

CHAPTER 34

Melchior Pérez....Crossing their hands in the shape of a cross was the Puebloan way of promising peace and safety. Castañeda, *The Journey of Coronado*, 38.

“Lord, do not show them....Flint, “A transcript of the testimony: tenth de oficio witness Melchior Pérez,” *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 216. At his trial, Cárdenas denied this incident took place and even denied knowing Melchior Pérez.

“Wait,” Coronado said....In testimony two years later, Coronado denied he knew about the stake burnings. However, his groomsmen Juan de Contreras, who was with him almost constantly, testified otherwise. Flint, “A transcript of the testimony: fifth de oficio witness Juan de Contreras,” *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 114.

Some men chortled....Most details of the stake burnings and killings at the tent are from Contreras’s testimony and from Castañeda’s account.

At one point, a warrior....Flint, “A transcript of the testimony: eleventh de oficio witness Pedro de Ledesma,” *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 240. Of course, the name of the Indian is not known from this astonishing incident.

CHAPTER 35

While drinking....This incident is based on a story Friar Bartolomé de las Casas told about Hatuey (pronounced Ah-Tway), a Taino leader captured on Cuba in 1512. When Hatuey was tied to a stake to be burned alive, a Franciscan friar offered to baptize him. Baptism would let him go to heaven, the priest explained, while otherwise he would go to hell. Hatuey asked if Christians went to heaven. When the priest told him that Christians did, Hatuey said he would rather go to hell so he’d never see cruel Christians again. MacNutt, “The Brevissima Relación,” *Bartholomew de las Casas*, 330.

“I am sorry....It’s reasonable to assume the Puebloans kept at least one or two horses, because in encounters with other expeditions the Puebloans were eager to steal Spanish horses.

The sun priest brought out figures....Praying to the Warrior Twins for revenge against the expedition is a rare glimpse of oral history passed down from that time, as reported by Puebloan authors Joe Sando and Herman Agoy in *Po’Pay*, 11.

CHAPTER 36

Tlecanen cared....Tlecanen was one of four Aztecs and a leader from Michoacán who testified in Mexico City in 1546 about the expedition. Others named in this chapter were also Mexican Indians on the expedition. Flint, "Without them, nothing was possible: The Coronado expedition's Indian allies," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 78-95.

"There are places....Social advancement for Aztec warriors largely depended on capture of prisoners of war. That had become possible only by joining Spanish expeditions, because Spaniards had banned intertribal warfare in Mexico. Coronado scholar Richard Flint says it is a near certainty that Aztecs took some Tiwa captives back to Mexico for sacrifices because it has been documented that secret Aztec sacrifices continued for years after the Spanish conquest. Flint, "Without them, nothing was possible: The Coronado expedition's Indian allies," 72, and interview with Richard Flint on October 4, 2011.

CHAPTER 37

"The army continued....Castañeda, *Journey of Coronado*, 45-46. Coronado's time in Pueblo country was unusually wet, cold, and snowy. SRI Foundation and other tree-ring dendochronologists have recorded the region's annual precipitation between the years 622 and 1992. Edgar K. Huber and Carla R. Van West, eds., *Fence Lake Project* (Tempe, Ariz.: Salt River Project Agricultural Improvement and Power District), and Henri D. Grissino-Mayer, et al., *Multi-Century Trends in Past Climate for the Middle Rio Grande Basin* (Albuquerque: USDA Forest Service, 2002). Also, see Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest*, 179.

Velasco de Barrionuevo....Castañeda mistakenly referred to Velasco by his famous namesake's name in his written account, resulting in early New Mexico historical markers as well as many current books and websites crediting Francisco instead of Velasco for some of the expedition's activities.

Coronado rose....The centuries-old game of chess was popular among Spaniards. Hernando de Soto was reported to have taught chess to Inca ruler Atahualpa in 1533. They often played against each other in Peru until Francisco Pizarro ordered Atahualpa's execution.

"Perhaps, my esteemed general....Many expedition activities were not reported to the viceroy if it were felt the news would be negative. Any possibility of horses being stolen certainly would have qualified as an example.

"As you say....The memory of Enriquillo still festered in conquistadors' minds. His successful rebellion in the Caribbean had ended only seven years earlier. Enriquillo started a revolt against the Spaniards in 1519 when he fled to the mountains of Hispaniola with a large number of Tainos and Africans he freed from encomiendas or who later escaped and joined him. Enriquillo is a Spanish diminutive. His real Spanish name was Enrique.

Barrionuevo bowed....In a mistake the Spaniards tried not to repeat, the Tainos in Enrique's Rebellion had horses and access to Spanish weapons. Repeated military forays resulted in only Spanish defeats, and Taino horsemen raided Spanish encomiendas and towns.

Barrionuevo grimaced....Enriquillo's native name was Guarocuya, but missionaries renamed him Enrique and raised him. During his rebellion, Spaniards used the disparaging nickname of Enriquillo ("little" Enrique), as they would refer to a child or a slave. He is usually remembered today by that nickname. The largest lake in the Dominican Republic is named Lake Enriquillo in his honor.

Coronado stroked....The Spaniards signed their first treaty with warring Indians with the Taino cacique Enrique in 1533, ending the rebellion and granting freedom to the Tainos.

CHAPTER 38

The stronghold was built....The historian Matías de la Mota y Padilla, writing from now-lost expedition documents, provided details of the fortifications of the Tiwa stronghold that Spaniards called Moho. Mota y Padilla, *Historia de la Conquista*, 227-228.

On his last night....Puebloans believed that at least some ancestors became cloud beings and brought rain. Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion*, 171-172. Only insights already published about Pueblo religion are in this narrative.

CHAPTER 39

“Rest,” ordered Maldonado....The mesa-top pueblo was about 260 feet by 190 feet. The same stronghold would be used 140 years later by the Keres tribe in the Pueblo Revolt. Richard Flint, “Moho and the Tigues War,” *The Latest Word from 1540*, 357. An outline of the ancient walls is still visible from the air.

Maldonado wondered why....This book continues using Xauían’s nickname of Juan Alemán when Spaniards are speaking about the Tiwa leader because Spanish accounts always referred to him that way.

CHAPTER 40

Instead of a volley....The location of Moho and the perilous stairway-path up to it, similar to the path up to Ácoma, are based on the research of historian Richard Flint and an illustration by Douglas Johnson for Flint’s book, *No Settlement, No Conquest*. Flint believes this main stronghold was Basalt Point Pueblo on the Santa Ana Mesa. Flint, *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 573. Also Harrington, “The ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians,” 497, 498. There has been conjecture that Moho might have been Canjilon Pueblo, atop a small mesa near the junction of the Jemez and Rio Grande rivers. However, that site is too small and indefensible. Canjilon is more likely a refuge pueblo built by a remnant of survivors from the Spanish attack against Santa Ana in 1687. Matthew Liebmann, *Revolt: An Archaeological History of Pueblo Resistance and Revitalization in 17th Century New Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013), 165.

CHAPTER 41

“When (Cárdenas)....Flint and Flint, “Castañeda de Nájera’s narrative,” *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 404, combined with Castañeda, *The Journey of Coronado*, 52-53.

As he rode....The only expeditionary to give the second besieged stronghold a name was Rodrigo de Frias, who called it “Pueblo de la Cruz” (Pueblo of the Cross). Flint, *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 195, 574. Several Spanish chronicles refer only to Moho.

Coronado led....Although almost the entire perimeter of the vast Santa Ana Mesa consists of sheer cliffs hundreds of feet high, there are a few areas where men and horses can ascend to the top.

CHAPTER 42

After the first week’s....Ruins of Spanish churches built in the 1600s at the Piro and Tompiro pueblos (later to be named Quarai, Abó, Gran Quivira, and Las Humanas) comprise today’s Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument. They are on the east side of the Manzano Mountains, which are south of the Sandia Mountains. The last of the Salinas people were absorbed into Isleta Pueblo in the late 1600s.

CHAPTER 43

With the battle cry....Friar Antonio Tello wrote about the expedition using documents that no longer can be found. Because of Castañeda’s sparse reporting, many details of the battle and siege of Moho come from Tello, *Libro Segundo de la Crónica Miscelánea* (Guadalajara: Guevara Y Co., 1891), and from Mota y Padilla, *Historia de la Conquista*, both based on lost documents.

Several Aztecs....Spanish casualties were relatively light in the expedition's fighting, partly because the Mexican Indian allies were often the tip of the spear. Hundreds of Indian allies never returned from the expedition, but the Spaniards rarely mentioned their Indian allies' casualties.

At the wall....Castañeda, *The Journey of Coronado*, 54.

Three Europeans and many....Castañeda, *The Journey of Coronado*, 54.

When men began dying....After several men died from their wounds from the first charge at Moho, the expedition's surgeon blamed poisoned arrows. Castañeda however, suspected the deaths were due to the surgeon's incompetence.

Field Master Cárdenas....Although Castañeda never used the term, several expeditionaries in their 1544 testimonies referred to Moho as *Pueblo del Cerco*, which Spanish exchange students at the University of New Mexico told the author was a term they translated to "Town of the Surrounded Wall." Others have translated it to "Town of the Siege."

Thirty days....Pedro de Tovar was one of the expedition's few military veterans. He had learned cruelty using dogs under Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán in the merciless conquest of Nueva Galicia in Mexico a few years before. Shirley Cushing Flint, "Sobresalientes of the Coronado Expedition," *The Latest Word from 1540*, 17.

More snow fell....Richard Flint, "Moho and the Tiguex War," *The Latest Word from 1540*, 352.

Contreras would later testify....Flint, "Juan de Contreras, the fifth de oficio witness," *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 114. Spanish war dogs were trained to kill humans, and siccing them on unarmed Indians was a common method of execution during the Conquest.

Forty days....Castañeda, Mota y Padilla, and Tello all wrote of Francisco de Ovando's death with only slightly differing details. Castañeda, *Journey of Coronado*, 55; Mota y Padilla, *Historia de la Conquista*, 227-228; and Tello, *Libro Segundo de la Crónica Miscelánea*, 422, translated by the author from the original Spanish.

Sixty-five days....Castañeda, *The Journey of Coronado*, 55.

Coronado had sent....Such an order by Coronado would have been consistent with a Spanish war of fire and blood. The exact wording here is from U.S. Army General James H. Carleton's order to Kit Carson in warfare against the Mescalero Apaches in the 1860s. Robert N. Scott, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, series 1, v.15 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1886), 580, and quoted in Alvin M. Josephy Jr., *500 Nations: An Illustrated History of North American Indians* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 421.

CHAPTER 44

Xauian mourned....Although archaeologists and historians remain eager to find a pueblo ruin they can pinpoint as Moho through the presence of a reported well, such a well might be a Spanish myth. Castañeda and Mota y Padilla claimed thirty Indians were buried alive when a well collapsed. It seems unlikely, however, that Spaniards would take on the dangerous, arduous, and pointless labor of excavating a deep hole just to count Tiwa bodies. The "well" might have been a concave rock reservoir or even a roof-less room or kiva. It probably was not deep or large as described in Spanish accounts.

The Tiwas had held off....Strong Wind Moon would be March of 1541. Long, *The Moon Book*, 105.

"Bring all the....Bolton, *Coronado: Knight of Pueblos and Plains*, 135. Also, George G. Daniels, ed., *The Spanish West* (New York: Time-Life Books, 2nd ed., 1979), 41, and A. Grove Day, *Coronado's Quest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), 209.

Then he told them....Castañeda reported, “This siege ended the last of March.” There was a new moon ensuring the darkest night on March 27, 1541, which would be March 17, 1541, under the old Julian calendar used by the expedition. Lunar Circumstance Tables compiled by astronomer Dennis L. Mammana at floridahistory.com/inset77.html. Different Spaniards claim the Moho siege lasted fifty or eighty days. The siege began in early January, so if it ended in mid- to late-March the eighty-day figure would be the most accurate.

The shadow....Although Castañeda frequently mentioned Xauían up to and including the siege, Xauían is never mentioned after Moho, indicating that he died there. Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest*, 153.

“Castañeda would later....Flint and Flint, “Castañeda de Nájera’s narrative,” *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 405, combined with Castañeda, *The Journey of Coronado*, 57.

“And thus, one night....The chapter’s closing quote shows that many Spaniards have long condemned Coronado’s ruthlessness and ineffectiveness. Day, “Mota Padilla on the Coronado expedition,” *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 102. All rights reserved. Reprinted with permission of Duke University Press.

CHAPTER 45

Pedro de Castañeda....Castañeda, *The Journey of Coronado*, 101.

As for the men....[At Moho] “the Indians who had been captured alive were stabbed and lanced, and dogs were set on many others.” Flint, “Alonso Sánchez, second de oficio witness,” *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 64. Also, [The expeditionaries] “lanced, stabbed and set dogs on [male Indians], so that very few survived.” Flint, “Rodrigo Ximón, the sixth de oficio witness, *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 132.

Some Tiwa men....“Many other Indians were burned within their houses because [the expeditionaries] could not overcome them without setting fire, nor were the Indians willing to submit.” Flint, “Juan de Contreras, the fifth de oficio witness,” *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 114. Also, Cárdenas admitted to burning survivors in their rooms under Coronado’s orders after fighting ceased. Hammond and Rey, “Testimony of López de Cárdenas,” *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 361.

Alonso Álvarez stood....The thoughts attributed to Alonso Álvarez are a paraphrase of his testimony at the investigation against Coronado three years later. Flint, “A transcript of the testimony: fourteenth de oficio witness Alonso Álvarez,” *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 316-319. Similarly, Castañeda’s comments are based on a summary of points Castañeda wrote twenty years later in his account.

As the final measure....Coronado denied any Indians at Moho were killed by dogs, executed, or maimed. And although Castañeda wrote of atrocities at Arenal, he omitted the fate of male captives at Moho. However, several expedition members in the 1544-45 hearings testified that Moho captives were killed by dogs, or burned alive, or had their hands and noses cut off. Flint, *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*.

While the smell....“Concerning those captured alive, [the witness] did not see that any were burned, except a few as punishment. And to put fear in the rest, [the expeditionaries] cut off their hands.” Flint, “Domingo Martín, the fourth de oficio witness,” *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 96. Also, “[At Moho] Francisco Vázquez ordered about thirty Indians to be killed, set upon by dogs, and have their hands cut off.” Flint, “Melchior Pérez, the tenth de oficio witness,” *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 218.

CHAPTER 46

Great Creator....Puebloans believe words have power, and to print a prayer is sacrilege. Therefore, the mutilated men’s death song is in the style of Puebloan chants but not the actual words to any known ceremonial.

They sang the song....The episode about the mutilated Tiwas committing suicide by jumping off a cliff was inspired by a famous incident a century and a half later during the Spanish reconquest after the Pueblo Revolt. On July 24, 1694 — with their mesa-top pueblo in flames, Spanish soldiers advancing over the bodies of villagers and fellow defenders, and escape seen as hopeless — several Jemez warriors at Astialakwa jumped off a cliff, preferring to die by suicide than be killed in defeat.

CHAPTER 47

The Franciscan friars....“A servant of God ought always to desire to die and to end by the death of a martyr,” St. Francis preached to his followers. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Earth Mothers Went Away*, 69.

It’s all the fault....Coronado would write these opinions to the king the following October 1541. Flint and Flint, “Vázquez de Coronado to the king,” *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 321.

There was still....In his letter to the king in October 1541, Coronado said he’d doubted he would find gold at Quivira. He said he felt a duty to the king to investigate such a rumor nevertheless.

Pero Méndez....Endnote 67 in Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 670.

The scribe had tried....As the marqués, Cortés still wielded power. If Cortés succeeded in removing the viceroy from power, Coronado’s position as Mendoza’s protégé would make him vulnerable as well.

He fed the first page....This is one possible scenario to explain why the official chronicler’s account has never been found. Twenty years later, Castañeda would only say, “There was no one who was willing to spend the time to write down its details.” Flint and Flint, “Castañeda de Nájera’s narrative,” *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 384.

He’d already omitted....In addition to never-reported battles at the Ghufoor/Coofor and Piedras Marcadas pueblos, the Hopis told a 1583 Spanish reconnaissance of a never-reported battle in which Coronado’s expeditionaries attacked one of their villages. Diego Pérez de Luxán, “Expedition into New Mexico Made by Antonio de Espejo 1582-1583 as Revealed in the Journal of Diego Pérez de Luxán, a Member of the Party,” George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds., *The Rediscovery of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966), 188-189.

CHAPTER 48

They watched horsemen....Coronado said he saw columns of smoke and was told pueblos were being destroyed so the Tiwas could not reoccupy them while the expeditionaries were on the Great Plains. He denied ordering the destruction. Flint, “Sworn statement of the governor, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado,” *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 289.

CHAPTER 49

A month after....The date of April 23, 1541, is by the old Julian calendar. In the modern calendar, it would be May 3, 1541. Several weeks later, Coronado would go on toward Quivira with thirty horsemen, about ten men on foot, and scores of Mexican Indian allies while sending everyone else back to the Tigüex Province.

Many weeks later....Ethnohistorian Carroll L. Riley originated the term of the “Pecos plot.” Riley, *Rio del Norte*, 180-181.

After seventy-seven....Discovered artifacts attributed to Juan de Oñate, who half a century later also traveled to Quivira to check Coronado’s trip, indicate that Coronado traveled as far east as central Kansas. There Coronado found Quivira on the north side of the Arkansas River, near present-day Great Bend, Kansas. It was the territory of Wichita Indians. Coronado said his horsemen reconnoitered for 65 miles around Quivira but found no gold or prosperous Indian towns.

Pedro de Castañeda reported....Castañeda, *The Journey of Coronado*, 74.

Expeditionary Gaspar....Flint and Flint, "A translation of the testimony summary," *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 445,

Worst of all....Flint and Flint, "Castañeda de Nájera's narrative," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 407.

PART VI: NEVER GIVE UP

CHAPTER 50

In a field....Castañeda described gender roles in early pueblos' society. The women built the village walls with irregular-sized balls of clay mortared together, maintaining them with fresh coats of adobe. The men cut and brought logs from the mountains for ceiling beams, hunted, and tended the fields.

Castañeda, *Journey of Coronado*, 96-97.

Banqín was the first....When Coronado's expedition arrived, the Tiguex Province extended from Isleta Pueblo more than thirty miles north along the Rio Grande to a point north of where the Jemez River flows into the Rio Grande. At some point, the Tiwas gave up some northern territory. The Keres pueblo of Santa Ana is in what was once the northern portion of the old Tiguex Province, as is the present site of another Keres pueblo, San Felipe.

"Soon our villages....Although many do not think of Puebloans as buffalo hunters, a summer hunting trip to the Great Plains was a common practice even into the 1800s.

It was the mid-summer month....July of 1541. Long, *The Moon Book*, 108.

CHAPTER 51

"Fight the strangers....Orlando, a late tour guide at Ácoma, explained why no Puebloan American soldiers died during the Bataan Death March of World War II. The reason was, he said, "We never give up."

CHAPTER 52

Besides, Coronado....This date is in the Julian calendar in use at the time. In the modern calendar, the date would October 12, 1541.

"The Seven Cities must lie....In Alvarado's report, part of which might have been written by Padilla, there's a report of finding "an ancient city" between Cíbola and Tiguex whose walls were "six times as tall as a man, the wall well made of good worked stone, with gates and gutters like a city in Castile." Several ancestral Puebloan ruins are scattered across the Zuni homeland resembling ancient European construction, which encouraged Padilla to believe that Portuguese descendants of the Seven Cities must be near. Winship, "Translation of the report of Hernando de Alvarado," *Journey of Coronado*, 241.

"In this province....Flint and Flint, "Vázquez de Coronado to the king," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 321.

Coronado said....Coronado stayed in Tiguex for two of its snowiest, coldest winters in years.

And despite Troyano's....Castañeda never referred to a guerilla war upon the expedition's return to Tiguex in 1541. However, other expeditionaries testified later that Tiwa warriors "attacked expeditionaries when they found them alone or at a distance from their quarters," using the mountains as safe haven. Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest*, 153 and 185. Also, Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Earth Mothers Went Away*, 45.

Coronado had been forced....Coronado scholar Shirley Cushing Flint discovered a document revealing the second winter's east-side garrison, which had not been previously known. Probably a response to the

Indians' guerilla warfare, it lay directly across the river at Watche or at some as-yet undiscovered pueblo in or near what is now Bernalillo, New Mexico. Flint and Flint, "Disposal of the Juan Jiménez estate, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 332.

Several rebuilt pueblos....Flint, "Cristóbal de Escobar, the seventh de oficio witness," *Great Cruelties Have been Reported*, 151.

Coronado had not...."On returning from Quivira to Tiguex . . . the [Tiwas] of that province were still at war and were never willing to come to peace." Flint, "Cristóbal de Escobar, the seventh de oficio witness," *Great Cruelties Have been Reported*, 151. "[The expeditionaries] did not dare to go to the mountains for fear of their enemies and the deep snow." Flint, "Juan de Zaldívar, the twelfth de oficio witness," *Great Cruelties Have been Reported*, 257.

CHAPTER 53

There was Shiw-tu....Coronado must have sent some forays, even if limited, into the mountains. This chapter gives a scenario of what could have happened to discourage attempts to find the Tiwas there.

Remember what....Not killing all enemies reflects a strategy some guerilla forces have used around the world. This kind of restraint was demonstrated in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 when the allied Pueblo tribes allowed Spaniards to evacuate Santa Fe unchallenged. Also, in the successful Taino rebellion of 1519-1533, Enrique had his fighters confiscate weapons from captured Spaniards and then release them. Francis Patrick Sullivan, trans., *Indian Freedom: The Cause of Bartolomé de las Casas, 1484-1566, A Reader*. (Kansas City, MO: Sheed & Ward, 1995), 192. Also, Manuel de Jesús Galván. *The Cross and the Sword*, trans. Robert Graves (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1954), 326-327.

CHAPTER 54

Since the previous....As with all expeditionaries named in this account, Luisa was on the expedition. She served as a translator.

She bared her teeth....The deaths remained a fresh memory for even Coronado. He wrote to the viceroy in August 1540, "In this last desert, we lost more horses than before; and some Indians and a Spaniard named Spinosa [Francisco de Espinosa], besides two Negroes, died from eating some herbs because the food had given out." Winship, "Translation of the letter from Coronado to Mendoza, August 3, 1540," in *Journey of Coronado*, 166.

He wondered if....Alonso lost or resigned his position as Coronado's standard-bearer after Moho's fall. He would later provide damaging testimony about Coronado to the *Audiencia de Nueva España*. He was reassigned as an arquebusier on foot for the second year of the expedition. Flint, *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 312.

CHAPTER 55

Barrionuevo shifted....A copper ingot, possibly stolen from Coronado's expedition, was discovered during excavation of nearby Kuaua Pueblo in the 1930s.

Chiwtemanin and Parraga....This is a possible scenario for an attack during the second winter on the Tiwa pueblo known now as *Piedras Marcadas*, near Albuquerque's Petroglyph National Monument. No Spanish reports referred to any attack there, so it had been thought that Piedras Marcadas had avoided conflict. In 2007, however, metal detectors found crushed crossbow points and arquebus balls, proving expeditionaries had attacked Piedras Marcadas. Matthew F. Schmader, "New Light on the Francisco Vázquez de Coronado Expedition of 1540-1542," Biannual Southwest Symposium, January 2010.

"Necessity knows no law....Castañeda, *The Journey of Coronado*, 118.

CHAPTER 56

Bigotes led Poquis....The Corn Ripe Moon was November 1541. Long, *The Moon Book*, 110.

Poquis knew the details....Castañeda, *The Journey of Coronado*, 80.

CHAPTER 57

Arellano stared....The pueblos' small population discouraged Spaniards, who had counted on establishing forced-labor and tribute-paying encomiendas. It's been estimated that the total population of all pueblos in 1541 was about 20,000 to 60,000. That's compared to a population of at least five million in central Mexico alone and uncounted millions in the rest of Mexico, Central America, and Peru. The population disparity prompted Castañeda to observe that there were many encomiendas in Mexico with more people than in all the pueblos combined. Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest*, 132 and 141.

"My mind is all....Castañeda was among those who thought they should stay in the Tiguex Province. He accused Coronado of encouraging a petition among those who wanted to leave. Castañeda, *The Journey of Coronado*, 120.

Coronado turned....This includes a quotation from Coronado's August 1541 letter to the king. It's either staggering in its denial of reality, or he was referring to only Quivira and disregarding his execution of Turk. Historians' unqualified use of statements such as this created the myth of a benign expedition to Tiguex. Flint and Flint, "Vázquez de Coronado to the king," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 321.

CHAPTER 58

It was a bright....Night Moon is December 1541. Long, *The Moon Book*, 110.

The news struck Poquis....The death of Poquis's wife and baby underscores the fact that when Ghufloor/Coofor/Santiago Pueblo was excavated, a disproportionate number of burials contained babies and young women. Vierra, *A Sixteenth-Century Campsite in the Tiguex Province*, 10.

An eyewitness....Tello, *Libro Segundo de la Crónica Miscelánea*, 440.

After he awoke....Flint and Flint, "Castañeda de Nájera's narrative," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 425. The injury probably left him physically damaged for the rest of his short life, possibly with a frontal lobe cerebral contusion that can lead to personality change. Flint and Flint, endnote 508 to "Castañeda de Nájera's narrative," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 687. However, Castañeda was not alone in thinking Coronado faked the severity of his head injury. Castañeda, *Journey of Coronado*, 120.

Castañeda would later....Flint and Flint, "Castañeda de Nájera's narrative," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 425.

"Sir," Jiménez said....Flint and Flint, "Disposal of the Juan Jiménez estate," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 332.

By the time Alonso....The remains of Juan Jimenéz have never been located. Legal documents dating from 1542 were found in 2003 about his death, which occurred apparently at a pueblo on the east side of the Rio Grande. Flint and Flint, "Disposal of the Juan Jiménez estate," *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 326-329.

CHAPTER 59

"I will tell you what to say....Existence of Coronado's gallows at Coofor came out in the testimonies of Francisca de Hozes, Alonso Sánchez, and Rodrigo de Frías, all in Flint, *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 61, 65, and 196.

"I cannot tell these Franciscans....Because Viceroy Mendoza had forbidden the expedition to take slaves, Coronado released hundreds of captured Tiwa women and children before he returned to Mexico. Castañeda, *The Journey of Coronado*, 128.

“I married a Pueblo....Juan Troyano’s wife is the only Puebloan woman known to have returned to Mexico with the expedition. Carroll Riley speculates she might have been Inés, a Tano woman from the Galisteo pueblos, whom Juan de Oñate brought back to New Mexico as an interpreter fifty-six years later. Riley, *Rio del Norte*, 205-206, 249.

Two years later....First de parte witness, Lorenzo Álvarez,” *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 366.

Castañeda reported....Castañeda, *The Journey of Coronado*, 118.

The expedition was dying....Flint and Flint, “Castañeda de Nájera’s narrative, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 426 and 429.

CHAPTER 60

Everyone in the expedition....The text has the Julian calendar date used by the expedition. The date in the modern calendar would be April 11, 1542.

“Good,” Alonso said....It was still a common belief that the Americas were connected to China and India. Even twenty years later, when Castañeda wrote his account, he still believed Coronado missed Asia only because he walked in the wrong direction. Castañeda, *Journey of Coronado*, 135.

Our English....This is a paraphrase of what Castañeda wrote in his account.

Luisa came out....Luisa and several Mexican Indian allies stayed behind. Many were reported four decades later still living at Zuni and even at Pecos. Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest*, 60, 192. Also George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds. *Obregón’s history of 16th century explorations in western America, entitled Chronicle, commentary, or relation of the ancient and modern discoveries in New Spain and New Mexico, Mexico, 1584* (Los Angeles: Wetzel Publishing Co., 1928).

When the last....Mixed-race Tiwas resulting from the Coronado expedition were described thirty-nine years later. The Chamuscado-Rodríguez expedition in 1581 found several “beautiful and fair [-skinned]” Tiwa women and reported that “some have auburn hair, which is startling.” Richard Flint translation for this book of the 1581 report by Hernán Gallegos.

CHAPTER 61

“No,” Poquis said....The Puebloans’ decision to not attack the withdrawing expeditionaries presaged the Pueblo Revolt 138 years later. Victorious Pueblo tribes simply monitored the Spanish retreat at that time out of New Mexico.

“This is the end....For many years, it was thought that tribes on the Great Plains had obtained horses captured or escaped from Coronado’s expedition. However, the expedition had only three mares, and all were accounted for upon Coronado’s return. However, soon after the Spaniards returned in 1598, New Mexico Apaches began stealing horses and quickly became mounted raiders. By the middle 1600s many Great Plains tribes had horses and guns.

PART VII: CHARGES OF WAR CRIMES

CHAPTER 62

The charges came out....Henry Stevens and Fred W. Lucas, trans. and eds., *The New Laws of the Indies for the Good Treatment and Preservation of the Indians* (London: Chiswick Press, 1893), xviii.

Carlos I....Translations of Tejada’s commission by Flint, “The fiscal’s accusations against Vázquez de Coronado,” *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 330-331. Also, Hammond and Rey, “Charges against Coronado,” *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 393-397.

Alonso appeared....Flint, "A transcript of the testimony: fourteenth de oficio witness Alonso Álvarez," *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 315-319.

Just two days earlier....Coronado's defense of denying all charges, claiming he did not remember events, and maintaining his officers did not keep him informed, might have some validity. It's possible Coronado lost mental capacity, as well as control of the expedition at the end, because of head injuries he suffered at Zuni and in Tiguex Province.

By then a noble....After spending three months in prison at Pinto, Cárdenas was switched to house arrest on April 2, 1546. He was allowed only a few brief trips outside his home. Flint, *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported*, 339.

The Council of the Indies accusation....Translation of Council of Indies charges against Cárdenas is from Hammond and Rey, "Testimony of Lopez de Cardenas," *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 338-339.

Hernando de Alvarado was almost....Bolton, *Coronado: Knight of Pueblos and Plains*, 379.

Despite Coronado's acquittal....Day, "Mota Padilla on the Coronado Expedition," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 105. All rights reserved. Reprinted with permission of Duke University Press.

The numerous contingents....It's ironic that the people all but ignored in the Spanish accounts—the Mexican Indian allies—suffered the vast majority of the expedition's casualties. Aztec leader Tlecanen testified in 1546 that only 144 of 207 Aztecs under his command returned, a casualty rate of 30.4 percent. Flint, "Without them, nothing was possible: The Coronado expedition's Indian allies," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 74.

That year....Oñate was the son of a Spaniard who used Indian slave labor in his silver mines so ruthlessly that uncountable numbers perished. Oñate arrived in New Mexico with well-armed soldiers and colonists in 1598, quickly establishing Spanish dominance over the Puebloans with warfare, intimidation, and forced labor.

That year....Poquis might represent a composite of several guerilla leaders in 1541-42. It is a fact, however, that Oñate met with only one Tiwa elder in 1598. That Tiwa leader's name was Poquis, according to Elizabeth A.H. John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds: The Confrontation of Indians, Spanish and French in the Southwest, 1540-1795* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 42. Or the name was Poquia, as in Albert H. Schroeder, "Pueblos Abandoned in Historic Times," *Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest*, vol. 9, gen. ed. William C. Sturtevant, and vol. ed. Alfonso Ortiz, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), 243.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A history....Absurd misinterpretations have resulted from the Spanish chronicles. Historian Herbert E. Bolton fostered a myth of a "quite exemplary—mild and gentle" Coronado expedition. Bolton, *Coronado: Knight of Pueblos and Plains*, 393. A book on the Indian wars states: "Nevertheless, he (Coronado) left behind him a general atmosphere of good will, which persisted so long that it influenced profoundly for many years the relations between white man and red in that corner of the continent," from John Tebbel and Keith Jennison, *The American Indian Wars* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1960), 7. An even worse distortion is by the online *New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia*, which states, "The conduct of Coronado towards the Indians during the whole campaign was humane and he secured their respect and sympathy," at newadvent.org/cathen/04379e.htm.

Pablo Abeita....Rev. Anselm Weber, O.F.M., "The Pueblo Indian question," *The Franciscan Missions of the Southwest*, 4 (Arizona: Franciscan Fathers at St. Michael's, 1916), 8.