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Guido de Lavezariis

THE LIFE OF A FINANCIER OF THE CORONADO AND VILLALOBOS EXPEDITIONS

Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint

For most of its members, the Coronado Expedition of 1539–1542 was primarily a financial venture, as were nearly all the similar Spanish-led expeditions of the sixteenth century in the Americas. Both the opportunity and burden of funding such enterprises rested upon the individuals who planned and undertook them. The royal treasury rarely contributed funds, though the Council of the Indies did license reconnaissance and conquest missions. Individual expeditionaries invested funds to outfit and supply themselves and their retainers. Meanwhile, nonparticipant investors contributed large sums toward the general provisioning and maintenance of the expedition. The total thus invested, well in excess of half a million pesos in the case of the Coronado Expedition, was risked on the chance of acquiring lucrative returns in the form of booty, tribute, employment, and royal grants.

Without the aggregate outlay of a very large sum of money, an ambitious effort such as the Coronado Expedition was impossible. Approximately two thousand people needed to be outfitted and supplied for many months, if not

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several years, while they traveled thousands of miles, mostly on foot, toward a vaguely known goal, a place called Cíbola. Equipment, people, and beasts of burden in the hundreds were necessary to transport the personnel and their supplies. This huge force required about seventy-five hundred head of livestock to provide meat over a period of many months. No less critical were the many people needed to care for and maintain the expeditionary infrastructure. Ships were also needed for periodic resupply. To mount an *entrada* to Cíbola, therefore, was a decision not entered into lightly. Before recruitment of rank-and-file expedition members could begin, a cadre of large and medium investors had to be assembled.

Major investors in the expedition were first and foremost its organizers and instigators. They included Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy of New Spain acting as a private citizen, who contributed some eighty-five thousand pesos, and his twenty-nine-year-old protégé, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado. Vázquez de Coronado, along with his in-laws the Estradas and Gutiérrez Caballerías, put in about seventy-one thousand pesos. The *adelantado* (perpetual governor) of Guatemala, Pedro de Alvarado, supplied about ninety thousand pesos. Luis de Castilla and probably Cristóbal de Oñate, two other prominent men in mid-sixteenth-century New Spain, also made significant contributions, although the size of their investments is unknown.[1] And there were other investors, but identifying them has proved a laborious and, for the most part, fruitless task. Late in 2007, however, while at work in the Archivo General de Indias in Sevilla, Spain, we came across documents that revealed investments in the expedition by another man. Until that moment we were neither familiar with his name nor aware that he had any connection with the Coronado Expedition.

His name is Guido de Lavezariis.[2] He has been claimed as a Basque but was of Genoese extraction.[3] Like his forebears, Lavezariis was a *vecino* (citizen with full political rights) of Sevilla, Spain, the country's embarkation point for the New World. Lavezariis claimed to be a "*caballero hidalgo* [a prominent minor noble]," and was the son of Sebastián de Lavezariis and Catalina de Chávez. He came to New Spain with his brother Luis in 1536.[4] That same year, survivors of the Pánfilo Narváez Expedition to La Florida, including Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, reported hearing about large, prosperous Native cities far to the north of Mexico City.[5] Within three years that information would launch the Coronado Expedition in an effort to bring those places into the Spanish orbit.

We do not yet know how Lavezariis came to be a man of means by 1539. Did he arrive in the New World already well-to-do? If not, did he acquire or vastly increase his assets after arriving in New Spain?[6] His willingness and

ability to invest heavily not only in the Coronado Expedition but also in similar later enterprises suggest that he may have been a banker. And his role as *contador* (accountant) and *tesorero* (treasurer) on two subsequent expeditions is consistent with such a supposition. The only known documentary reference to his occupation, though, is as a bookseller in the 1550s, well after the Coronado and Villalobos expeditions that he helped to fund.[7] Lavezariis's association with books befits his high level of literacy and his family's bookselling tradition, but would not seem to explain his access to considerable sums of cash.

Since the thirteenth century, Genoese merchant-bankers had been very active in Sevilla and were heavily involved in Spanish activities in the New World. Genoese bankers were instrumental in financially backing Spain's expeditions of reconnaissance and conquest, from Alonso Fernández de Lugo's conquest of La Palma in the Canary Islands and Christopher Columbus's first voyage to the Indies in 1492, to Francisco de Orellana's trip down the Amazon in 1544. Indeed, Lavezariis's numerous loans to members of the Coronado Expedition match exactly with the kind of activity typical of public Genoese banks of the period.[8]

Further evidence of Lavezariis's activity as a financial force appears in 1550, when he was associated with Cristóbal Rayzer and Lázaro Martín Verger, two German entrepreneurs who were also vecinos of Sevilla. They imported innovative mining equipment and techniques to New Spain and used Lavezariis's recommendation to secure the reward of encomiendas.[9] Incontrovertible proof of Lavezariis's position in a formal banking establishment, perhaps linked with family members in Sevilla, has not yet come to light, although we would be very surprised if this does not happen eventually.

At any rate, in 1539, when recruitment and organization of the Coronado Expedition was underway, Lavezariis came forward to "purchase and acquire things necessary for the men-at-arms" and to "loan money and give other things to captains and men-at-arms." In 1550 Mexico City merchant Pedro de Toledo testified that Lavezariis had "taken from his store large quantities of clothing, as well as *gineta* saddles, horseshoeing supplies, and silk for banners" for the expeditionaries. Lavezariis paid more than four thousand *castellanos* in cash for each category of goods. Among those whom he aided with the loan of money and goods were Captain don Pedro de Tovar (at least two thousand pesos), Captain General Vázquez de Coronado (about two thousand pesos), Captain don Rodrigo Maldonado, and Juan Pérez de Vergara, as well as other unnamed captains and members of the rank and file.[10] Lavezariis spent considerably more than twenty thousand pesos in this way to support the expedition. To put that amount in some perspective, a

common laborer of the day made about one hundred pesos a year. Only merchants, bankers, and the well-to-do had access to the large sums that Lavezariis invested in the expedition.

Lavezariis also sent a *criado*, or retainer, of his own, Cristóbal Gallego, on the expedition to Cíbola. He supplied Gallego with arms, horses, and trappings. When Gallego mustered into the expedition company at Compostela, Mexico, in February 1540, he declared that he had "one horse and native arms and armor." All had evidently been purchased for him by Lavezariis. It remains unclear if Lavezariis was Gallego's patron, employer, or a member of his family.[11] Gallego, an unassigned horseman as the entrada began, must not have stood out during the expedition because we find no record of him in the surviving contemporaneous documents.[12] There is every reason to suppose, though, that he survived the long trip to Cíbola, Tiguex, and the Great Plains, since relatively few of the European members of the expedition died, and Gallego was not among the known dead. Given Lavezariis's later activities, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Gallego was to act as a buyer of merchandise and that he carried a significant amount of currency for that purpose. Lavezariis, like most of his contemporaries, expected the Coronado Expedition, and Gallego with it, to reach cities of Cathay, where silks, porcelains, and spices could be found at favorable prices.

In addition, to insure the success of the enterprise, Lavezariis stood surety for many expeditionaries in the purchase of equipment and supplies and expected to be reimbursed at the conclusion of the entrada. With the high expectations of Cíbola that buoyed many people in New Spain in 1539, his role seemed to entail only a modest financial risk. What was found in Tierra Nueva to the north, however, was so inferior to what members of the expedition had been led to expect that most of them returned south in 1542 heavily in debt and with no means of repaying loans from Lavezariis or anyone else. Rather than resplendent Oriental cities brimming with high-value exotic goods, the expeditionaries had encountered stone and adobe pueblos of the Middle Río Grande Valley and even less satisfactory nomadic peoples of the neighboring plains. In Tierra Nueva expeditionaries saw abundant crops, cotton cloth, robes of bison hide and turkey feathers, and strings of shell and turquoise beads, but these items did not promise lives of wealth and ease. Nor were the regions' Native peoples generally pleased by the foreign intrusion; any worthwhile gain for the expeditionaries would have entailed a protracted, violent, and uncertain struggle. Thus, the expeditionaries returned empty-handed to the south after little more than two years.[13]

Time did little to ease the dismal financial situation for many of the expeditionaries. Even some of the well-to-do members of the expedition

extinguished their debts only after many years. More than a decade after the loans were made, Lavezariis "had not been repaid for much of what he had loaned." Both Tovar and Vázquez de Coronado, for example, still owed money to Lavezariis in 1550.[14] One might expect, therefore, that at the frustrated end of the Coronado Expedition in fall 1542, Lavezariis would have been strapped for cash and wary of investment in similar undertakings. Instead, Lavezariis was spending liberally to outfit and underwrite a new venture, an attempt to cross the Mar del Sur (Pacific Ocean) and establish a Spanish foothold in the Islas del Poniente (Philippines). This new mission, the Villalobos Expedition, was led by Ruy López de Villalobos, nephew of Viceroy Mendoza. Lavezariis later said that he spent in this undertaking "more than 4,000 ducados [about 6,000 pesos] . . . in provisions and accoutrements . . . and in assistance to individual persons."[15]

Some of those whom Lavezariis likely helped with money and supplies had just returned from the Coronado Expedition. They included don Alonso Manrique, Juan Pérez, Martín Sánchez, Diego Sánchez de Cíbola, Pero González, Francisco de Simancas, Juan Gómez, Pedro Martín de la Bermeja, Hernán Pérez, Juan de Morales, and Pedro de Ramos.[16] Given their sad financial state in fall 1542, Lavezariis urged a contingent of recent Tierra Nueva expeditionaries to embark, without a break of more than a month or two, on this fresh enterprise. These veterans took with them what they had learned in Cíbola, Tiguex, and Quivira. On the whole, they may have been less optimistic of success than they had been three years earlier. Some bore physical wounds from their encounters with Pueblos and other North American Natives. Undoubtedly, many were bitter over the failed venture into Tierra Nueva. Some may have been pressured into joining the ocean voyage in order to extricate themselves from indebtedness. Others simply had nothing else ahead of them or followed the crowd to the next gamble.

This time, on the Villalobos Expedition, Lavezariis went along, rather than simply sending a criado. The mission was to cross the Pacific Ocean to the Philippine Islands and take control of them in the name of Carlos I of Spain. Mendoza appointed Lavezariis to be contador and serve as one of the king's watchdogs on the expedition. Late in October 1542, Lavezariis, the recruits fresh from Cíbola, and hundreds of others departed from the port of La Navidad, in the province of Colima, Mexico. They sailed in four *navíos* (large ships), a *galeota*, a *galera*, and a *fusta* (three smaller lateen-rigged, oared vessels).[17] They totaled "396 Spaniards" and "400 Blacks and Indian servants, both men and women." The ships carried an inventory very similar to that of the Coronado Expedition, including arquebuses, crossbows, and trade and gift items consisting of colored fabrics of various kinds, mirrors,

knives, scissors, rumbler bells, glass beads, and small, glazed earthenware bowls.[18] Lavezariis probably purchased some of this stock.

Our understanding of the significance of Lavezariis's role in the Villalobos voyage, which lasted seven years, shifts with the various reporters of the events. In Lavezariis's own account, he is a central figure and his contributions to the voyage stand out, as does his service to the viceroy and the king. Other reporters have a different focus and rarely mention the contador. Given the very high mortality rate among those who embarked on the voyage, it is likely that Lavezariis was, as he later wrote, "many times on the brink of death."[19] Of the nearly 400 men-at-arms who departed from La Navidad in 1542, only 144 survived to reach Lisbon, Portugal, in August 1548.[20] Most deaths were from injury in battle, which was frequent once the expedition reached the islands between the Moluccas and the Philippines. Fifty-six men-at-arms, for example, died in a single ambush on the island of Mindanao in late April 1543.[21] The Villalobos mission, plagued by constant violence, closely resembled other enterprises of reconnaissance and conquest in the sixteenth century. Disease and shipwreck also contributed to the death toll.

While surviving in the hostile environment of the far western Pacific islands, Lavezariis provided Villalobos with funds to purchase foodstuff, which was repeatedly in short supply. Presumably, Lavezariis, as a merchant-banker, had on hand a large sum of cash and intended to purchase Oriental goods for resale in Spain and New Spain. He offered that bankroll, or a portion of it, to Captain General Villalobos during the expedition's extremity of hunger.

Evidence suggests that Lavezariis's principal mission on the voyage was to open trade with China and the islands of Southeast Asia. In this effort he was successful, although not immediately. A feasible sailing route from the Philippines needed to be determined in order to establish trade in high-value Asian goods with Spain by way of New Spain. The westward trip from New Spain was relatively easy, aided as it was by the westward-blowing North Equatorial Trade Winds. But the return was blocked, in a wide band on either side of the equator, by those same prevailing air currents. Two attempts were made by members of the Villalobos Expedition to sail from Mindanao in the Philippines to New Spain, the first between May 1543 and October 1544, and the second during spring and early summer 1545.[22] Both times the mission was launched in the *nao* (ship) *San Juan de Letrán*. Lavezariis appears not to have been aboard during either attempt. Neither voyage was successful.

In fact a roundtrip route between New Spain and the East Indies was not successfully navigated for another seventeen years. When it finally was, however, it followed in part one of the routes Lavezariis outlined in the *derroteros* (pilots' logs) he managed to carry around the world. Lavezariis, according

to his own account, was instrumental in delineating the route by which the first successful roundtrip would later be made. When he finally returned to New Spain in 1549, by way of India, Africa, and Spain, the derroteros he kept contained all "the western islands, the islands of Japan and Lequios, and the coast of China," and also the outbound course and partial return route from the Philippines to New Spain.[23] He may have sent agents of his own on the two attempted return voyages mentioned earlier and must have copied the original logs and interviewed the pilots. Thus, Lavezariis's claim that his work was key to the eventual establishment of the Manila Galleon trade was apparently accurate.[24]

In keeping with the entrepreneurial drive of a merchant-banker, Lavezariis also acquired goods during the Villalobos voyage. He managed incredibly to bring back "samples and information" that would be useful and marketable in Spain and New Spain. He returned, for example, with an improved cotton ginning device (*torno*) which, by his own estimate, could produce "ten times as much" clean cotton as other methods. Somehow he also brought a wooden shipboard water reservoir back. The shipboard water reservoir, unlike the traditional ceramic amphoras (*pipas*), promised a safer way to carry a large quantity of water. And he carried with him examples of trade items in common currency in eastern Asia and the Pacific islands.[25] Among those trade items were the first ginger roots to be imported into the Americas. They thrived and multiplied to become a commercial crop on several of the West Indian islands.[26] Lavezariis even transported from the East Indies a quantity of tar that was especially good for caulking ships' planking. Furthermore, he stowed a special kind of shipboard oven (*horno de tabazón*). And he transported human cargo; several slaves were to be trained as interpreters and would eventually facilitate communication and trade. All of this was accomplished "at great cost and risk to his person."[27]

Lavezariis's commercial activities on the dangerous islands of the western Pacific reveal an aspect of the Villalobos Expedition that was usually overlooked, even by the expeditionaries themselves. Some members were evidently not occupied in the process of "pacification" of local populations and procurement of food and other supplies necessary for simple survival. Instead, they engaged in commercial scouting. Lavezariis, along with retainers, servants, and other assistants, shuttled between islands, talked with traders, bought sample goods, and arranged for their packing and stowing aboard the expedition's most seaworthy vessels. Surely these mercantile labors expressed a dogged and all but irrepressible optimism, even while other members of the expedition were being killed and wounded in battle and dying of starvation and disease. Perhaps the Villalobos group as a whole recognized that

Lavezariis's activities, and those of other unknown entrepreneurs, were the raison d'être for the entire enterprise. Everyone's future prosperity hinged upon such scouting.

Lavezariis and other survivors of the voyage barely touched land in Portugal after their seven-year ordeal before re-embarking for New Spain. He reached Mexico City in 1549.[28] No sooner had he reported on the Villalobos voyage to the viceroy than Mendoza directed him to return to Spain to deliver this same information to the king's council.[29] So he sailed from Veracruz, Mexico, for Sevilla, where he evidently reported to the Casa de la Contratación (Board of Trade) and the Consejo de Indias (Council of the Indies), and visited family.

Once again he did not dally, but turned around, by order of the king, according to his own telling, and sailed for New Spain. In 1550 he reached New Spain and then married Inés Alvarez de Gibraleón, the widow of a man named Francisco Rodríguez, a vecino of Mexico City who was a "first conqueror" of New Spain, by virtue of having fought in the siege of Tenochtitlan. It is possible, even likely, though we cannot yet prove it, that this Francisco Rodríguez was also a member of the Coronado Expedition.[30] In that event, Lavezariis may have loaned him money or goods to make that trip. Rodríguez died in 1545, leaving Inés with a young son, many debts, and four small encomiendas in Zacatula.[31] We do not yet know the location or circumstances of his death.[32]

Before he died, Rodríguez renounced his encomiendas in favor of his young son Pedro Sánchez.[33] But when Pedro soon died at age eight, the Audiencia de México (the high court) assumed royal administration of the encomiendas in place of Inés. By 1549 she had initiated a suit seeking return of her former husband's encomiendas. In 1550 Lavezariis, her new spouse, joined the suit, urging that both his wife and he deserved the income from the Indian tribute that Rodríguez had received. A number of former members of the Coronado Expedition, including don Alonso Manrique, Rodrigo de Frías, and Vázquez de Coronado, supported the suit by testifying as witnesses for the couple. The case was still pending in 1559.[34]

By that time, Lavezariis was being called on regularly by Viceroy Luis de Velasco, who had succeeded Mendoza in 1550, to perform important tasks related to navigation and trade. Unlike the Coronado Expedition and the Villalobos voyage, the projects Lavezariis was now engaged in were initiated from the royal court in Spain. For one thing, the king's counselors were now determined to establish a Spanish political, ecclesiastical, and mercantile presence in the Philippines, which would challenge the Portuguese monopoly on trade with the Orient. Under the terms of the Treaty of Zaragoza of 1529, the monarchs of Spain and Portugal had agreed on a demarcation line between their territories of influence and control in the Pacific. That boundary

mirrored the better known Tordesillas Treaty line in the Atlantic. According to the treaty, Spain was allowed free access to the Pacific islands excluding those closest to the Asian mainland, and Spanish ships were not permitted to travel to those islands except by crossing the Pacific from the Americas.[35]

Therefore, the Consejo de Indias set about to provide for two elements that were necessary before regular Spanish commerce with the Orient could begin. The first was ocean-going ships on New Spain's Pacific coast. The second was delineation of a practical roundtrip sailing route across the Mar del Sur. Late in 1557, Viceroy Velasco received a *real provisión*, or royal directive, charging him to make preparations for a reconnaissance of the Pacific islands.[36] In December of that same year, Velasco tapped Lavezariis and former Coronado expeditionary Hernando Botello to take charge of the construction and outfitting of the required vessels at the shipyards at the port of La Navidad on the coast of what is now the Mexican state of Colima.[37] Many difficulties, including outbreaks of disease and flight of Indian laborers, delayed construction.[38]

Then, in 1558, the viceroy pulled Lavezariis from that job to sail "with some pilots, mariners, and other seamen to reconnoiter the ports and bays that exist along the coast of La Florida." Lavezariis undertook this voyage as an advance scout for an expedition that would be sent to settle "La Florida and Santa Elena Point," in what is now South Carolina.[39] Lavezariis's typically detailed report of that reconnaissance recorded the types of trees, the fisheries, the springs and rivers, and other natural features that he had seen. From the coves and inlets along the northern Gulf of Mexico coast, he singled out the Bahía Filipina, what we now know as Mobile Bay, as the "best and most spacious" bay on the coast of La Florida. He recommended it for the site of the planned settlement. His oral report, evidently read from a written original, describes Bahía Filipina:

> The mouth of [the bay] is at a latitude of 29.5 degrees. . . . An entrance is formed between the point of an island that is seven leagues long and runs east to west and on the other shore is a point of the mainland. It is half a league from the one side to the other. From the entrance to as far as they [Lavezariis and his men] went . . . it is a total of 15 leagues long and 4 leagues wide and the bottom is good and smooth. . . . In this bay and its environs there are many fishing grounds and shellfish, too. . . . [T]here are many stands of pine of the sort that is [readily] worked and also the sort that makes masts and lateen yards. There are oaks with sweet acorns and ones with bitter acorns, hazelnuts, cedars, junipers, laurels, and small trees that yield a fruit like chestnuts.

> . . . There are high red cliffs on the east side [of the bay], from which bricks can be made, and near them is stone for construction. On the western shore there are yellow and gray clays for making pottery. . . . There are many birds, eagles, geese, ducks, partridges, and turtledoves. And [there are] deer in great numbers. . . . Indians were seen, and large canoes . . . and fishing weirs, and in their shelters there were corn, beans, and pumpkins.[40]

In the actual event, don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, leader of the enterprise and a former captain on the Coronado Expedition, chose the Puerto de Ochuse (Pensacola Bay) instead of Bahía Filipina for his colony. The results were disastrous. A hurricane struck the port five days after the prospective colonists landed there. The storm destroyed much of the expedition's stock of food and other supplies. The group, which included a number of the Coronado Expedition's former members, among them Alonso Pérez and Juan Jaramillo, struggled for almost two years with hunger and without support from local Natives.[41]

Lavezariis did not return to La Florida. He went back to building and equipping ships at La Navidad. In June 1560, Juan Pablo de Carrión replaced Botello as manager of the shipyard. Lavezariis, as a salaried royal official, the alcalde mayor of Tuxpan and Zapotlán, was probably instrumental in persuading the Indian community of Tuxpan to supply labor to the port, an arrangement that evidently eased a labor shortage. Sickness, however, continued, and a strong earthquake struck La Navidad in May 1563, collapsing most of the buildings including the *casa real* (royal warehouse) where Lavezariis had been storing most of the supplies stockpiled for the upcoming voyage.[42] But Lavezariis was undeterred; he brought another shipload of stores and munitions from Tehuantepeque, Mexico, to La Navidad later in the year. In November 1563, he transported masts for the new ships.[43]

A year later, the five ships were launched, manned by more than four hundred persons. Lavezariis was among the expeditionaries, holding the appointment as royal treasurer. Miguel López de Legazpí and Andrés de Urdaneta, the two leaders of the enterprise, welcomed Lavezariis's knowledge of the western islands. Urdaneta, an Augustinian friar and the expedition's chief pilot, had also been to the Orient between 1525 and 1536 as a teenaged member of the Segunda Armada de Molucca under Francisco García Jofre de Loaysa. They departed from La Navidad in November 1564. Late the following April, the fleet reached Cebu in the central Philippines, which, after some fighting with the local population, was transformed into the Spanish capital of the islands.[44]

The royal instructions to Legazpí and Urdaneta, which governed the voyage, stated that the expeditionaries were supposed to initiate trade with China and the so-called Spice Islands. Furthermore, the instructions specified, "Everything that may be traded or purchased is to be purchased or traded by authority of the royal officials [the treasurer (Lavezariis), the contador (Andrés de la Rochela), and the *factor/veedor* (Andrés Mirandola)]." And they were to keep account of all such transactions.[45] Lavezariis, as treasurer, the first among equals of the officials, was responsible for collecting taxes and other income due the king and paying salaries and other disbursements from the royal funds.[46] Thus, Lavezariis controlled the trade.

The first order of business was to acquire a shipment of spices for transport back to New Spain, as the viceroy had ordered. As it developed, cinnamon was the only easily marketable spice native to the Philippines. So, a cargo of that bark was assembled and one of the fleet's five ships, the *San Pablo*, was cleaned, repaired, and made ready for the return trip. After little over a month in the islands, the ship sailed with Urdaneta as pilot, heading north and then east. The *San Pablo* started along the route first attempted by the *San Juan de Letrán* of the Villalobos Expedition twenty years before. For the first several hundred miles the *San Pablo* followed the course Lavezariis had spelled out in his report of 1550. Then, catching the persistent westerlies between 30 and 40 degrees north latitude, Urdaneta guided the ship for nearly three months without sighting even a single island. On 1 October 1565, the single ship sailed into La Navidad after crossing the north Pacific. The route followed was to be used almost without adjustment for the next 250 years. The Spanish Philippines trade had begun.[47]

For the first years, "the Spaniards displayed considerable activity in investigating the trading possibilities of the archipelago, but with disappointing results."[48] Naturally, most members of the Legazpí Expedition spent their time surviving the elements and wresting control of portions of the Philippines from Native residents. This process required a mix of warfare and negotiation. Many Filipinos and Europeans died as a result of these hostilities. As Lavezariis wrote in 1573, for the first eight years of the colony, migration of Europeans to the islands, an estimated seven hundred persons, only replaced those who had died.[49]

Things changed, however, when Legazpí died in 1572. Among the deceased governor's possessions was a locked box, which contained a sealed document. The document spelled out the order of succession to the governorship in the event of Legazpí's demise. First on the list was Mateo de Saz, who had previously died; second was Lavezariis. He became interim governor. As Lavezariis told the story, after Legazpí's death he moved the

bulk of the colonists to the newly founded settlement of Manila on the northern island of Luzon, which, as Lavezariis evidently knew, was much better situated to lure trade from China. The move from Cebu to Manila cut the distance of Spanish traders to China approximately in half. Lavezariis wrote, "The continent is [now] very close, less than 200 leagues [about 520 miles]."[50] Equally important Manila was adjacent to the customary trade routes through the South China Sea plied by fleets of junks. And its bay was, and still is, considered to be the best in the Far East for accommodating and sheltering ships.

Lavezariis described the situation at the new capital in a letter to the viceroy in these very optimistic terms: "Chinese ships come to trade at many ports on this island . . . In the two years that we have been on this island [the number of] ships has been increasing, with more ships each year . . . They say they will bring as much silk as we want . . . If merchants from New Spain were to come here, they would grow wealthy and increase the royal sales tax [*almojarifazgo*]."[51] Chinese traffic at Manila increased rapidly from only six junks in 1574 to twelve or fifteen the following year.[52] As Lavezariis had anticipated, the move to Manila, combined with active recruitment of Chinese traders by him and others, firmly established a lucrative trade in silks and porcelains that lasted more than two hundred years. Finally, the dream of Columbus—direct Spanish trade with the Far East in high-value goods, without intermediaries—had been realized. A flow of silver from New Spain to the Orient in exchange for luxury goods, including fabrics, high-fired ceramics, and a multitude of spices, enriched generations of traders and fed the appetites of the Spanish Empire.

Governor Lavezariis continued his efforts to expand trade. For example he sent an embassy to China in 1575 to establish a Spanish foothold on the Chinese mainland. The overture was rejected.[53] Lavezariis feared, even as he wrote to the viceroy about the emerging bonanza, that the play of Spanish politics would push him aside and that he would be replaced as governor. Other men in New Spain were seeking the governorship and disparaging Lavezariis's abilities.[54] And indeed those efforts prevailed. By the time his embassy returned from China later in 1575, doctor Francisco de Sande had replaced Lavezariis as governor. In 1578 Lavezariis published an account of his activities in La Florida and the Philippines. He died in 1580 in Manila, where he was still a local official.[55] He was survived by his wife, now known as "doña" Inés Alvarez de Gibraleón. She was taken before the Inquisition in Manila on charges of being a witch in 1580. Her principal infraction seems to have been cutting the head off a chicken. She was absolved of the charges, and with that disappeared from our view.[56]

Significance of the Memorial of Guido de Lavezariis

Since November 2007, when we first became aware of the "Memorial de Guido de Labazares," we have been following the various documentary leads linking Lavezariis and his Coronado Expedition associates with what was then the expanding empire of Spain. The resulting daisy chain of documents has opened new vistas on sixteenth-century enterprises of conquest and reconnaissance and the people who undertook them.

First and most obviously, Lavezariis's recent emergence from historical obscurity, as far as the American Southwest and northwest Mexico are concerned, confirms the crucial role of nonparticipant investors in the Coronado Expedition and similar enterprises. Lavezariis's business is an example of a small- to medium-sized merchant bank investing in enterprises of conquest and reconnaissance. Given the size of Lavezariis's investment, in the twenty thousand peso range, he was operating far below the level of the great banks of the day, the German firms of the Fuggers and Welsers. Those large banks underwrote entire expeditions, even recruiting and hiring their own personnel. Smaller financial entities, like that of Lavezariis, however, allowed many individual conquistadors to participate in "publicly" funded undertakings, such as the Coronado Expedition. Without Lavezariis's loans or similar advances of hundreds and even thousands of pesos, captains like don Pedro de Tovar would have been poorly equipped. Other expeditionaries would have been barred from participation altogether.

The Lavezariis documents also reveal the linkages among expeditionary events throughout the Spanish Empire. Those connections were made possible by the extraordinary worldwide mobility of people from many cultures during the sixteenth century. People traveled thousands of miles with relative ease and nonchalance in surprising numbers and with surprising frequency. For example during a span of less than thirty years, Lavezariis traveled from Spain to the Americas, circumnavigated the globe with Mexico City as his starting and end point, reconnoitered the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, and made at least two more crossings of the Atlantic Ocean and one more of the Pacific. He was not a mere tourist, but rather an actor in many locales around the world.

Nor was Lavezariis alone. The breadth of his experience was certainly above average for Spaniards of his day. But many others, including a fair share of those who participated in the Coronado Expedition, traveled extensively and carried their experiences of Cíbola, Tiguex, and Quivira to far-flung places. To begin with, former Coronado expeditionaries joined Lavezariis on the Villalobos voyage to the Philippines in the 1540s. Some went to La

Florida in the late 1550s, following Lavezariis's scouting trip. Yet others pursued their careers in Peru and Guatemala. Some returned to their original homes in Spain, while a majority settled in various towns in New Spain, from Culiacán to Oaxaca, from Puebla de los Angeles to Colima, and from Guadalajara to Mexico City. Many relocated more than once, traveling and moving belongings with seeming ease over long distances.

This movement diffused knowledge, opinions, judgments, and attitudes, gained in the course of the sojourn in Tierra Nueva, across much of the Spanish world. Veterans' reactions and behavior toward Zapotecs, Quechuas, or Tagalogs were conditioned by their experiences with Tiwas, Teyas, Hopis, Opatas, and Quivirans while on the Coronado Expedition. If, as seems to have been the case, suspicion and mistrust of Native people of Tierra Nueva was the norm for Coronado expeditionaries, then Spaniards likely transferred these attitudes to Natives wherever they went thereafter.

The transience of former Coronado expeditionaries and a corresponding general fluidity of early Spanish colonial populations helped reinforce and perpetuate the broad similarity of Spanish actions throughout the world in the sixteenth century. Patterns that originated in Spain were confirmed or refined in Tierra Nueva and blended with similarly revised practices from other regions. Except for the added complication of sea travel, the confrontations between the Villalobos expeditionaries and the Native people of Mindanao seem familiar to anyone acquainted with the Coronado entrada. Both expeditions encountered a shortage of supplies, sought a quick recourse to purchase provisions from local Natives, commandeered what the expeditionaries lacked, encountered violent retaliation by Native peoples, and finally engaged in full-fledged conquest.

The Tierra Nueva experience must have confirmed the value of Native allies. Certainly, the two derivative expeditions, those of Villalobos and Tristán de Luna y Arellano, adopted similar procedures. They even used Indians from central Mexico as their auxiliaries, as had the Coronado expeditionaries. Employing Indians represented only a slight modification of a centuries-old Iberian tradition of recruiting recently conquered populations to subjugate their neighbors. Nevertheless, the Tierra Nueva experience recommended certain groups of central Mexican Indian warriors as the most advantageous allies.

Furthermore, the documents related to Lavezariis show that mercantile activities, which were generally not reported in the documentary record, occupied the time and energy of specific expeditionaries, especially the officials and traders dispatched by royal or viceregal mandate.[57] While most members of the Villalobos Expedition were fighting and dying in the western islands,

Lavezariis evidently made contacts and purchased samples of goods wherever he could. He was personally untouched by the fighting, although certainly not unaffected. His job was not direct conquest, but extension of trade. Hints of similar mercantile activities as an adjunct to attempted conquest are also present in the Coronado entrada. Vázquez de Coronado's dispatch of typical Zuni trade items to the viceroy in Mexico City is an analog of Lavezariis's later acquisition of goods in the Far East.

Trade is one of the many expeditionary activities that is obscured by most expedition narratives, which mainly focus on taking political control of Native peoples. The expeditionaries' observations of Native peoples and places seem also to have escaped record in participant narratives of the Coronado Expedition. Viceroy Mendoza sent two painters on the Coronado Expedition "to paint the things of the land."[58] Yet their artistic endeavors, even their very presence on the expedition, are not recorded in any of the surviving narratives. Also, there were evidently persons on the expedition whose job was to record at least rudimentary geographical data, analogous to the rich records Lavezariis made of his reconnaissance of the Gulf Coast and that he assiduously preserved from the Villalobos voyage. Since only a tiny minority of the expeditionaries engaged in such activities, which may have been viewed as frivolous by some of their companions, these endeavors have gone unrecorded and therefore can only be guessed at by historians.

Similar to the small and medium investors who funded the expedition, the efforts of licensed traders, artists, and cartographers escaped broad notice and record in part because they did their work away from the fray of conquest and the hubbub of keeping the expedition alive and functioning. Presumably, this lack of information is why until now, we have had no inkling of the existence and role of Guido de Lavezariis. Lavezariis, although he may have enjoyed unusual success, represents a whole segment of expeditionary support and activity that was broadly typical of the sixteenth-century Spanish enterprise of conquest. His personal story links Tiguex with Manila, Cíbola with La Florida, and Quivira with China. His life is emblematic of the general, unplanned integration of the Spanish Indies.

Notes

1. Shirley Cushing Flint, "The Financing and Provisioning of the Coronado Expedition," in *The Coronado Expedition from the Distance of 460 Years*, ed. Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 42–56. In addition to funding by major investors, almost all individual men-at-arms had to underwrite their own participation. It has been estimated that rank-and-file members of the expedition spent an average of at least one thousand pesos each.

2. Guido's surname is spelled several different ways in the documentary record since Spanish scribes tried to record a name that was foreign to them. Those variants include Lavezariis (which we use throughout this article), Lavezares, Labazares, and Lavezaris. His signature reads "Lavezariis." See Carta de Guido de Lavezares, 1573, Archivo General de Indias [hereafter AGI], Filipinas, 29, N. 13, Sevilla, Spain.
3. Marciano R. de Borja, *Basques in the Philippines*, The Basque Series (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2005), 32. Although Thomas Hillerkuss provisionally accepts a Basque origin for Guido, he explains for another individual of the same surname, "Lavezares es corrupción de Lavezzari, familia de origen genovés." Thomas Hillerkuss, *Diccionario Biográfico del Occidente Novohispano, Siglo XVI*, vol. 4 (Zacatecas, Mexico: Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, 2009), s.v. "Lavezaris, Guido de."
4. A Genoese man who appears to be Lavezariis's grandfather or uncle, also named Guido de Labazaris, was present as a merchant and bookseller in Sevilla, Spain, in 1495 and 1496. José Bono and Carmen Ungueti-Bono, *Los protocolos sevillanos de la época del descubrimiento* (Sevilla, Spain: Colegio Notarial de Sevilla, 1986), 91, 94. For information on Lavezariis's voyage to New Spain, see Carta de Labazares al Rey, Manila, July 1573, AGI, Filipinas, 29, N. 13. Lavezariis's travel to the New World had apparently been planned for several years before he actually made the trip. In 1531, for instance, he received permission to take two black slaves with him when he went to the Indies. Real cédula a Guido de Labazares, 11 March 1531, AGI, Indiferente, 422, L. 15, fol. 18r.
5. The Pánfilo Narváez Expedition survivors' earliest formal report, commonly known as the "Joint Report," was made to Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza during the summer or fall of 1536. For an English translation of the version of the "Joint Report" recorded by sixteenth-century historian Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, see Basil C. Hedrick and Carroll L. Riley, *The Journey of the Vaca Party: The Account of the Narváez Expedition, 1528–1536, as Related by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés*, University Museum Studies, no. 2 (Carbondale: University Museum, Southern Illinois University, 1974).
6. Luis de Lavezaris, 4 July 1536, AGI, Pasajeros a Indias, 2, E. 2781; and Informes de los conquistadores y pobladores de México y otros lugares en Nueva España, ca. 1550, AGI, México, 1064, L. 1.
7. Hillerkuss, *Diccionario Biográfico*, 4:s.v. "Lavezaris, Guido de"; and Información de Guido de Lavezariis in El fiscal contra Guido de Labazares y su esposa Inés Álvarez de Gibraleón, viuda de Francisco Rodríguez, vecinos de México, sobre el derecho a las encomiendas de Yetecomac y Taimeo, 1551–1560, AGI, Justicia, 202, N. 1, R. 1, pieza 3.
8. Historian Ruth Pike writes, "Explorers and conquerors looked to the Genoese [bankers] for personal loans. Among the better-known figures who received funds from the Genoese at various times were Hernando de Soto, Ponce de León, Martín Fernández de Enciso, and Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo. As for the lesser adventurers—soldiers who took part in the conquests, early settlers, and royal functionaries—who obtained financial aid from the Genoese, the list is so long that it defies presentation here." Ruth Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure: The Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966), 102, 117–26, 192 n. 1.
9. Francisco A. de Icaza, *Conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España: diccionario autobiográfico sacado de los textos originales*, 2 vols. (Madrid: [Imprenta de "El Adelantado de Segovia"], 1923), 2:1156. An encomienda was the royal grant of the right to collect

tribute, labor, or both from an indigenous community, usually made by the king as a reward for service.

10. Información de Guido de Lavezariis, AGI, Justicia, 202, N. 1, R. 1, pieza 3. *Gineta* saddles are light, Arab-style saddles with short stirrups for riding with the knees radically bent. A *castellano* is a monetary unit equivalent to the *peso de oro*.
11. Ibid.
12. "Muster Roll of the Expedition, Compostela, February 22, 1540," in *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539–1542: "They Were Not Familiar with His Majesty, nor Did They Wish to Be His Subjects,"* ed. and trans. Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint (Dallas, Tex.: Southern Methodist University Press, 2005), 148, 160.
13. The members of the expedition judged that Tierra Nueva offered nothing of value. There were many instances of impoverishment and indebtedness among the expeditionaries when they returned south in 1542. For some examples, see Richard Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest: A History of the Coronado Entrada* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 196–99.
14. Información de Guido de Lavezariis, AGI, Justicia, 202, N. 1, R. 1, pieza 3.
15. Ibid.
16. Perhaps Diego Sánchez adopted the "de Cíbola" toponymic annex to his surname to distinguish himself from another man of the same name, or it may have been a proud flourish. In either case, this was not an unusual Spanish practice at the time. The list of survivors from the Villalobos Expedition includes an unnamed Benavente and an unnamed Torres who were also possibly veterans of the Coronado Expedition. Memoria de los Castellanos que son vivos, Lisboa, 1 August 1548, AGI, Patronato, 23, R. 10, fols. 18v–19r. Approximately 396 men started the Villalobos voyage. If the former Coronado expeditionaries survived the voyage at about the same rate as the other men, the total number of veterans of the Coronado Expedition who embarked with Ruy López de Villalobos was probably 30 or more. Información de Guido de Lavezariis, AGI, Justicia, 202, N. 1, R. 1, pieza 3; and Consuelo Varela, ed., *El viaje de don Ruy López de Villalobos a las islas del poniente, 1542–1548* (Milano: Instituto Editoriale Cisalpino La Goliardica, 1983), 19, 29.
17. These vessels all appear to be from the fleet of nine to thirteen craft that Pedro de Alvarado had constructed and contributed to a company he formed with Viceroy Mendoza in 1540. "Formation of a Company between Mendoza and Pedro de Alvarado, Tiripitío, November 29, 1540," in *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, Flint and Flint, 271–84. See also Harry Kelsey, *Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo* (1986; repr., San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1998), 75–77.
18. Varela, *El viaje*, 38–39.
19. Información de Guido de Lavezariis, AGI, Justicia, 202, N. 1, R. 1, pieza 3.
20. Memoria de los Castellanos que son vivos, AGI, Patronato, 23, R. 10, fols. 18v–19r.
21. Varela, *El viaje*, 88–89.
22. Ibid., 132–45.
23. Carta de Labazares al Rey, AGI, Filipinas, 29, N. 13.
24. In his classic book on the Manila trade, historian William L. Schurz wrote, "[M]uch useful information had been gained, particularly on the voyages of the *Trinidad* [Magellan] and the *San Juan de Letran* [Villalobos]." Both voyages penetrated into the northern latitudes and came very close to locating the successful return route.

William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1959), 218.

25. Información de Guido de Lavezariis, AGI, Justicia, 202, N. 1, R. 1, pieza 3.
26. Carta de Guido de Lavezaris dando cuenta de sus servicios, 1573, AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 2, N. 15.
27. Información de Guido de Lavezariis, AGI, Justicia, 202, N. 1, R. 1, pieza 3.
28. "Sin se detener ny ocupar en otra cosa sino en seguimiento de la dicha jornada." Ibid.
29. Carta de Guido de Lavezaris, AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 2, N. 15.
30. Highly suggestive of Francisco Rodríguez's participation in the Coronado Expedition is that, during the lawsuit to recover encomiendas, the witnesses for Inés Alvarez de Gibraleón were former expeditionaries Domingo Martín, Pedro Hernández de Albornoz, Francisco de Vargas, and Francisco Gómez. Información de Guido de Lavezariis, AGI, Justicia, 202, N. 1, R. 1, pieza 3.
31. The pueblos, all in the *provincia* of Zacatula, were Petatán, Xalxocoticlán, Ystecomal, and Taymeo. Información de Guido de Lavezariis, AGI, Justicia, 202, N. 1, R. 1, pieza 3.
32. It is tempting to imagine that, in debt as Rodríguez was after the Coronado Expedition, he joined Lavezariis on the Villalobos voyage and died in the Philippines. But this is little more than conjecture.
33. Why Pedro had the surname Sánchez is unclear. The practice of children bearing surnames different from those of both their parents was common in sixteenth-century Spain.
34. Información de Guido de Lavezariis, AGI, Justicia, 202, N. 1, R. 1, pieza 3.
35. Tratado de Zaragoza, April 1529, AGI, Patronato, 49, R. 9.
36. Luis Muro, *La expedición Legazpí-Urdaneta a las Filipinas, 1557–1564* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1975), 132–35.
37. Lavezariis claimed that from as early as 1549 or 1550, he was under orders from the king to begin construction of ships for a return to the Orient. Carta de Labazares al Rey, AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 2, N. 15.
38. Muro, *La expedición Legazpí-Urdaneta*, 31–34.
39. Declaración de Guido de Labazares y otros pilotos, México, 1559, AGI, Patronato, 19, R. 8.
40. Ibid. The latitude measurement given by Lavezariis is surprisingly accurate for the time. According to modern calculations, the mouth of Mobile Bay lies at about 30 degrees north. Lavezariis refers to one of the two water passages into Mobile Bay from the Gulf of Mexico. It is the one traversed by the modern Intercoastal Waterway between east–west running Dauphin Island (which is about 14.5 miles, or roughly 6 *leguas legales*, long) and Cedar Point. (The legua legal of Burgos was the geographical measure of distance most commonly used by Spaniards in the Americas during the middle part of the sixteenth century. It is equivalent to about 2.63 miles.) The passage is about 1.9 miles wide, rather than 1.3 as stated by Lavezariis. The dimensions of the bay, as recorded by Lavezariis, are 15 leagues (40 miles), north to south, by 4 leagues (11 miles), east to west. The modern figures are 32 miles by 11.5 miles at Mullet Point. The original report is in Spanish and we have provided the English translation.

41. Alonso Pérez was the *contador* on the expedition to La Florida. The Florida Expedition included, for example, men named Bermúdez and Gutiérrez, whose given names are not known, as well as a Francisco Rodríguez, clearly not Inés Alvarez's husband.
42. Muro, *La expedición Legazpí-Urdaneta*, 53.
43. Mandamiento, November 1563, Archivo General de la Nación [hereafter AGN], Mercedes, 7, fols. 158r–159v, Mexico City, Mexico; and Carta de Luis de Velasco a Juan de la Isla, November 1563, AGI, Patronato, 52, R. 4.
44. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America*, vol. 2, *The Southern Voyages, 1492–1616* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 474–95; and Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, 20–25.
45. *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españoles de ultramar*, Segunda Serie, Tomo 2, De las islas Filipinas (Madrid, Spain: Real Academia de la Historia, 1886), 180–81. For the names of the officials, see *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento*, 2:365, 375.
46. For a full description of the duties of treasurer, in this case the treasurer of the Hernando de Soto Expedition to La Florida, see Asientos de armada, 1527–1621, AGI, Contratación, 3309.
47. Morison, *European Discovery of America*, 2:494–95.
48. Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, 23.
49. Carta de Guido de Lavezaris, AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 2, N. 15.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.
52. Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, 27.
53. Ibid., 68.
54. Carta de Labazares al Rey, AGI, Filipinas, 29, N. 13. With a certain amount of irony, among those who had sought to assume leadership in the Philippines was Juan de Zaldívar, a former captain on the Coronado Expedition and one of the wealthiest people in New Spain. Before his death in about 1570, Zaldívar had been seeking the position of adelantado of the islands. Proof of service of Juan de Zaldívar, Guadalajara, February 1566, AGI, Patronato, 60, N. 5, R. 4.
55. *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana*, 70 vols. (Barcelona: Hijos de J. Espasa, 1907–1930), 29:s.v. "Labazares [sic.], Guido de."
56. Case against Inés Álvarez, 1580, AGN, Inquisición, vol. 131, exp. 11.
57. Included among specially detailed traders on the Coronado Expedition was Francisco Pilo, who was supposed to make the second voyage north with Hernando Alarcón in 1541. "The Viceroy's Instructions to Hernando Alarcón, May 31, 1541," in *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, Flint and Flint, 228, 231–32 (fols. 2v–3r).
58. Informes de los conquistadores y pobladores de México, f01.270r., AGI, México, 1064, L. 1\1.

Juan Jaramillo's "Relación"

A PHILOLOGICAL REASSESSMENT OF THE HISTORICAL APPROACHES TO A DOCUMENT OF THE CORONADO EXPEDITION

Israel Sanz Sánchez

Introduction

Juan Jaramillo's "Relación" is one of the documents that chronicles Francisco Vázquez de Coronado's ill-fated expedition to the lands of Cíbola and Quivira—in present-day Arizona, New Mexico, and Kansas—between late winter 1540 and late spring 1542. Despite being a relatively short document, Jaramillo's "Relación" provides information that is absent from other accounts concerning the course of the Coronado Expedition. Scholars have acknowledged the importance of the "Relación" as a historical witness to this momentous trek in the past. Historians have also transcribed and published several versions of the "Relación" over the last two hundred years, but we still lack a philologically rigorous edition of the document. Consequently, a series of inaccuracies and mistranslations continue to obscure the information provided by the manuscript and compromise its historical, anthropological, and linguistic utility.

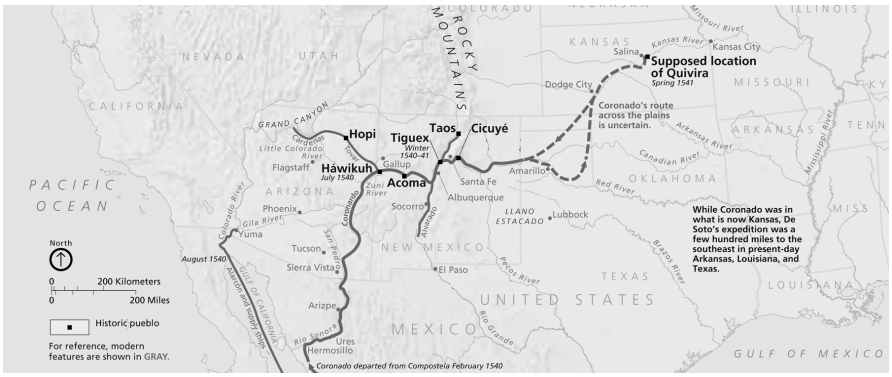
Israel Sanz Sánchez was born in Valladolid, Spain. He obtained his MA in Spanish Linguistics from San Diego State University before moving to the University of California, Berkeley, to complete his PhD in Hispanic Language and Literature. Currently an assistant professor of Spanish at West Chester University of Pennsylvania, Sanz Sánchez focuses his research on the history of Spanish in the Americas, particularly New Mexican Spanish, and on the study of the documentary sources of the colonial period in the U.S. Southwest. This article has greatly benefited from Jerry Craddock's (University of California, Berkeley) comments regarding its content, as well as Wendy Decker's editorial revision. The author would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers of the *NMHR* for their useful suggestions, as well as Robin Walden for his outstanding contribution to the final editing process. All errors and inaccuracies remain the responsibility of the author.

The purpose of this article is to remedy these problems by presenting a philological edition of the "Relación." A philological approach to a documentary source relies on the oldest preserved written witnesses, rather than on secondary renditions. Philology explores the possible meanings of preserved texts by analyzing them historically, paleographically, and linguistically. This approach aims to produce an edition of texts that allows present-day readers to understand its content while remaining as faithful as possible to the original documentary sources. In a philologically-based edition it is critically important to provide sufficient information to distinguish what is being taken from the original source and what is being supplied or modified by the editor. By retranscribing this document, I hope to illustrate the inaccuracies that occurred in past transcriptions of the "Relación," and the wider need to reassess other original sources on the history of the Southwest in light of more recent documentary, historical, and linguistic evidence.

This article will present the historical context of Jaramillo's narrative; describe the original documents that chronicle the Coronado Expedition; assess the secondary texts that have examined Jaramillo's narrative; detail Jaramillo's original manuscript; examine previous transcriptions and translations of the document; present an edition of the original manuscript, in Spanish; provide an in-depth commentary on my decisions and justifications in my transcription and translation; and, finally, present an English translation of Jaramillo's "Relación." The article will include direct references to the folio and line numbers of the text. The folio number indicates the leaf, or page number, as well as whether these appear on side one (recto, r) or side two (verso, v) of the manuscript. The subsequent line number indicates where the passage appears within a certain folio. A reference may appear, for example, "3v24."

Juan Jaramillo and the Expedition to Tierra Nueva

The Coronado Expedition of 1540–1542 was the first full-scale European expedition into what later became the American Southwest. Due to its historical significance, scholars and the general public alike have examined Vázquez de Coronado's enterprise for almost five centuries.[1] There are several reasons for this sustained enthusiasm. First, Vázquez de Coronado organized the expedition largely on the basis of rumors and dubious reports that suggested fabulously rich civilizations to the north of New Spain. Many Spanish colonists were willing to risk their estates and even their lives in the pursuit of potential wealth during the Coronado Expedition, which affirms the most romantic interpretations of the Spanish presence in the Americas. Second, although Vázquez de Coronado's people failed to find the wealthy



MAP 1. THE CORONADO EXPEDITION, 1540–1542

The map depicts the approximate route followed by the Coronado Expedition, according to the traditional consensus. The map does not show the first stages of the route south of the Sonora River, including Culiacán and Compostela. The map also includes secondary expeditions by Hernando de Alarcón, García López de Cárdenas, Pedro de Tovar, and Hernando de Alvarado. (Map courtesy National Park Service)

polities that they were looking for, their enterprise uncovered invaluable information on the geography of North America. Together with Hernando de Soto's coetaneous expedition into today's southeastern United States, the Cíbola-Quivira expedition, or jornada, allowed Europeans to approximately locate the main topographical units between Florida and the Colorado River. These expeditions also helped topographers refine the understood distance between the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. Finally, as the first direct encounter between Europeans and the Pueblos and western Plains Indians, this expedition inaugurated a series of contacts that profoundly changed the natural and cultural environments of these groups.

Most historians of the Coronado Expedition agree on the general geographical and chronological details of its route. Some geographical details remain controversial, such as the location of the Chichilticale mountain pass (somewhere in the area close to the Arizona-Sonora border), and the *barranca grande* (large ravine) of the Texas Llano Estacado. The expedition took Vázquez de Coronado's people from Compostela, in present-day Nayarit, Mexico, to the Quivira area along the Arkansas River in present-day Kansas. After departing Compostela on 23 February 1540, the expedition traveled to Quivira via Culiacán, Sinaloa; the Sonora River Valley; Zuni (Cíbola); and the upper Rio Grande pueblos. From Quivira the members of the expedition returned to Tiguex, near present-day Bernalillo, New Mexico, and finally withdrew from the Pueblo area back toward New Spain in April 1542. Subordinate expeditions explored the coast of the Gulf of California,

the middle and lower Colorado River, and the Hopi villages. The classic geographical account of the expedition's route was provided by historian Herbert Eugene Bolton in *Coronado: Knight of Pueblos and Plains* (1949). Some modern examples, however, have attempted to refine some of Bolton's claims, including studies by Vázquez de Coronado scholars Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, and Vázquez de Coronado researcher Nugent Brasher.[2]

In the context of the expedition, Juan Jaramillo first appears in the historical record as one of the members listed in the document of the *alarde* (muster) that took place in Compostela, Spain, on 22 February 1540, immediately before Vázquez de Coronado's men set out for the alluring Tierra Nueva. His entry reads as follows: "Juan Xaramj*ll*o, tres cauallos, armas dela t*ie*rra, vn coselete."[3] In an anonymous text entitled "Relación de conquistadores de Nueva España," written sometime after 1542, he is listed as "Joan Xaramjllo el Moço."[4] Here, Jaramillo is described as the son of Gómez Méndez and Ana de Toro, and a native of Villanueva de Valcarrota, present-day Barcarrota, Badajoz, Spain. Villanueva de Valcarrota was situated in an area of southern Extremadura, Spain, which experienced substantial rates of immigration to the Americas in the early decades of the Spanish conquest. Another Juan Jaramillo, aid to conquistador Hernán Cortés and the first husband of Aztec slave Malintzin, was also from Villanueva de Valcarrota.[5] In "Relación de conquistadores" our Jaramillo presents himself as a veteran of King Charles I's campaigns in France, Italy, and Tunis. This fact is the only part of his past that Jaramillo also mentions in his own "Relación," which implies that he must have left Europe sometime between the capture of Tunis in 1535, and the beginning of 1540.[6] Jaramillo also mentions the Cíbola expedition in "Relación de conquistadores," where he says he spent "mas de tress mjl p*esos*." He also refers to his wife, Ana de Andrada, and two uncles, one of whom "descubrio las primeras mjnas de Çunpango," a clear reference to Diego García Jaramillo.[7] Our captain reappears on 5 January 1579, when he testified as a witness to the services provided by his old Cíbola comrade García Rodríguez.[8] At this time, Jaramillo was still living in the capital of New Spain, and declared his age to be "mas de sesenta y ocho a[ñ]os," which suggests he was probably born in or around 1510.[9]

Documents of the Coronado Expedition and Jaramillo's "Relación"

A variety of original accounts survive that provide researchers with abundant information about the general course of the Coronado Expedition and the different geographical and human realities the explorers encountered.

Among these records, the writings produced by members of the expedition are of special interest. At least six documents have been preserved that were plausibly written by direct witnesses and deal primarily with the advance of the expedition. These documents are Vázquez de Coronado's letter to King Charles I on 20 October 1541; a fragment of a report on Hernando de Alvarado's scouting trip into the Rio Grande area during the early fall of 1540; Pedro Castañeda de Nájera's lengthy "Relación de la jornada de Cíbola compuesta por Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera, donde se trata de todos aquellos poblados, y ritos, y costumbres, la qual fue el año de 1540," by far the most thorough single source of information about the expedition; and an interesting group of three documents, preserved collectively in a single *legajo* (bundle) at the Archivo General de Indias (AGI) in Sevilla, Spain. This bundle contains the anonymous "Traslado de las Nuevas" on the arrival of the expedition at Cíbola; the also anonymous "Relación del Suceso," which covers the whole course of the trip; and the only extant copy of Jaramillo's "Relación."[10] To these six documents must be added Fray Toribio de Benavente's "Relación Postrera de Cíbola," a document seemingly based on primary accounts of the expedition that the friar had access to; an Italian rendition of a 3 August 1540 letter from Vázquez de Coronado to Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, printed as part of the third volume of Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Navigationi et viaggi* (1565); and an adaptation of the account of Hernando de Alarcón's exploration of the Gulf of California and the lower course of the Colorado River in August and September 1540, also in Ramusio's work.[11] Apart from these textual sources, a sizable amount of documents survive that shed light on more particular aspects pertaining to the preparation of the expedition or its outcome, including various letters, affidavits, and petitions.

The conditions that surrounded the production of Jaramillo's text and of the manuscript where it is preserved are not clear. Only Flint and Flint have attempted to explain these circumstances in *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539–1542: "They Were Not Familiar with His Majesty, nor Did They Wish to Be His Subjects"* (2005).[12] According to them, the texts containing the accounts by Jaramillo and Castañeda de Nájera were written in response to a request for information about the lands explored by Vázquez de Coronado's men. Flint and Flint trace this request back to Alonso de Zorita, a member of the Real Audiencia in New Spain, who appears to have been "extremely interested" in the Coronado Expedition, and who was apparently busy gathering information from old members of the expedition "during the late 1550s and early 1560s."[13] Zorita would therefore be the "Vuestra Se[ñ]oria" addressed by Jaramillo in his "Relación."[14] Jaramillo's "Relación" includes very little information that may help refine this claim, although he mentions that

the *señoría* was obeying a royal mandate in collecting accounts of the expedition and that he provided at least two other people with the same information.[15] Flint and Flint also state that the manuscript containing Jaramillo's "Relación" is a copy, which was commissioned by Juan Páez de Castro, a royal chronicler appointed in 1555. He may also have been responsible for copying other Vázquez de Coronado documents, including the anonymously written "Traslado de las Nuevas" and "Relación del Suceso."[16] If Flint and Flint's hypotheses regarding the roles of Zorita and Páez de Castro are correct, once we consider that Páez died in 1570, only a few years can have passed between Jaramillo writing, or dictating, his account in Mexico and it being copied by one of Páez de Castro's scribes in Spain.[17]

Jaramillo's "Relación" details the entirety of the expedition. The author is primarily concerned with describing the route followed by Vázquez de Coronado's main party and leaves many critical aspects of the expedition unmentioned. He also appears to be more interested in describing Quivira than Cíbola and the Rio Grande pueblos, probably because he perceived the former to have greater economic appeal. He finishes his account by assuring his addressee that the settling of Quivira will prove to be advantageous.

Although Jaramillo says little about some of the main stages of the expedition, his testimony is particularly interesting for two reasons. First, as a member of the avant-garde party, he describes the advance of the expedition from the Sonora River to Zuni and across the plains of eastern New Mexico, western Texas, western Oklahoma, and Kansas in much better detail than any other account. Second, by advertising the economic potential of the colonization of Tierra Nueva, Jaramillo's "Relación," together with Castañeda de Nájera's account, constitutes an eloquent witness to how, years after the expedition was completed, Vázquez de Coronado's veterans were still reluctant to accept the idea that no profit would be obtained from their investment. Bolton accurately summarized the historical importance of Jaramillo's "Relación," which he regarded as presenting "similar interest" to Castañeda de Nájera's chronicle, by stating "Juan Jaramillo['s] brief narrative is indispensable, especially for its exact record of distance and for his detailed description of Quivira."[18] Since Jaramillo was a witness providing such key historical information, one would expect that commentators would have been extremely cautious when approaching his document. As I shall make clear, however, this practice has very frequently not been the case.

The Manuscript of the "Relación"

As stated above, the manuscript containing Jaramillo's "Relación" is part of a group of three documents collectively preserved at the AGI. Each of

the documents, however, appears to have been independently written by different scribes and collated at a later date. Jaramillo's "Relación" is the first of these documents, followed by the "Relación del Suceso" and the "Traslado de las Nuevas," respectively. The manuscript containing Jaramillo's account is in a fairly good state of preservation. It occupies six paper folios, with an additional cover leaf that does not appear to be contemporary with the rest of the document. Folio 6v appears to have been the original cover, as it displays two brief descriptions of the content of the document and two notations that read, respectively, "De Ju*an* Paez" and "Ju*an* Paez 46." Flint and Flint suggest that the number 46 may be an indication of the order of the document within the chronicler's private collection.[19] Indicating the order of documents may also have been the function, in a later collection, of the notation that reads "N*umer*o 130." The back cover also contains several notations ("Lo" / "Los muj" / "Los muj Jlles," probably standing for "Los muj Jll*ustr*es") that appear to be a scribe's pen scribbles. The number "1537," which appears on the upper left corner of 1r, seems to have been written by the same hand that wrote "1531" on the first folio of the "Traslado de las Nuevas." If they are intended as dates for the events described in each of these two documents, they are obviously mistakes.

The beginning of the main text on 1r is preceded by a rubric that reads "Relaçion que dio el capitan Jhoan Jaramillo de la hornada que hizo a la Tierra Nueva de la qual fue general Franc*is*co Vazquez de Coronado." ("Account given by Captain Juan Jaramillo about the expedition that he made to Tierra Nueva, of which Francisco Vazquez de Coronado was [the] general.") The fact that this rubric exists suggests that the text is a copy. Having said this, we cannot be sure that the scribe was using the original written copy or a version of events dictated by Jaramillo himself as the scribe's source.[20] The document also presents a series of marginal notations in a different hand from that of the main text. The notations across the head of 1r reproduce some of the information found in the back cover: "1537" / "De Ju*an* Paez" / "Quibira y Çibola." Throughout the document, at least one scribe who did not pen the main text has made annotations on the left margin, signaling certain elements of the text, such as proper names or place names, or briefly summarizing the content of certain passages. Curiously enough no marginal notes were added in 5r–6v. Together with the underlining of some sections of the text, these notes suggest that a careful reader was interested in highlighting specific pieces of information so that they may be more easily accessed, and understood, at a later time. If Flint and Flint's suggestion that these documents were owned by King Charles's personal historian is correct, it is possible that the anonymous reader who so carefully perused this document was Juan Páez himself. Perhaps he annotated the text to help facilitate using this document

in his unfinished chronicle.[21] In any event, this document is a non-notarized, or unsigned, copy intended only for private use.

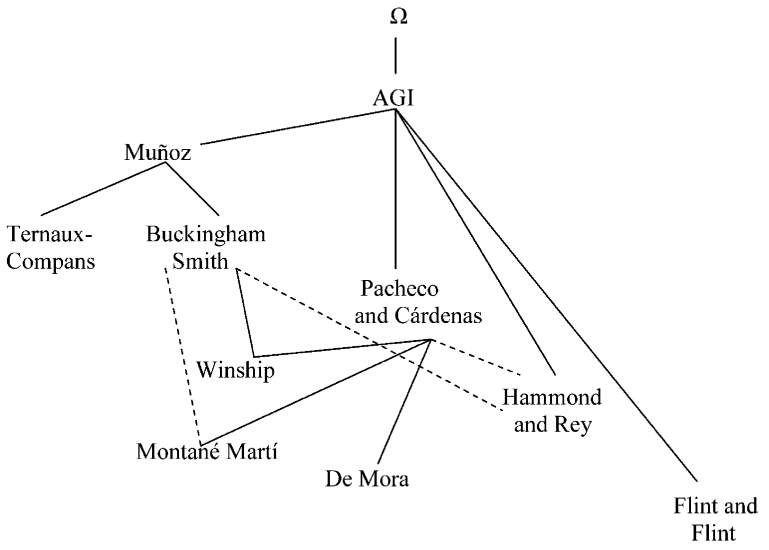
The scribe of the main text in the original manuscript displays a fairly careful hand. He did not, however, organize the text into paragraphs or reproduce any original divisions present in his source. As a result, the text runs in a single, uninterrupted column from beginning to end. Only in 1r–2r do we find any trace of division, with paragraph marks on 1r4 and 20; 1v25; and 2r13, 38 and 41. While the remainder of the text does not contain these marks, the aforesaid marginal notes partially compensate for this lack of internal organization. The document also lacks any sort of foliation. Other ambiguous marks exist within the text, such as a small cross-like sign (+) to the left of 1v14, and two short parallel pen strokes on the left margin of 2v. In all probability, these marks are just pen scribbles.

Prior Editions and Translations: The Risks in Trusting Secondary Sources

Jaramillo's "Relación" is well known to historians of Spanish explorations in North America. The Spanish text has been published on at least five previous occasions: in Thomas Buckingham Smith's *Colección de varios documentos para la historia de la Florida y tierras adyacentes* (1857); in volume 14 of Joaquín Pacheco and Francisco de Cárdenas's *Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía* (1870); in Carmen de Mora Valcárcel's *Las siete ciudades de Cíbola: Textos y testimonios sobre la expedición de Vázquez Coronado* (1992), which is merely a reprint of Pacheco and Cárdenas's transcription; in Julio César Montané Martí's *Francisco Vázquez Coronado: Sueño y decepción* (2002), which mixes the work of Pacheco and Cárdenas and Buckingham Smith; and in Flint and Flint's *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*.[22]

The "Relación" has also been translated into English by George Parker Winship in the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology: To the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1892–93* (1896); by George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey in *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540–1542* (1940); and by Flint and Flint in *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*. A French translation appeared as early as 1838, in Henri Ternaux-Compans's *Voyages, relations et mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique* (1838).[23]

Not all these renditions of the "Relación" are directly based on the manuscript found at the AGI. Ternaux-Compans, for example, does not



STEMMA OF THE TEXTUAL TRADITION OF JUAN JARAMILLO'S "RELACIÓN"
The dash lines indicate secondary influences.
(Diagram courtesy Israel Sanz Sánchez)

specify the source text he used in his translation. He reproduces some readings, however, that were originally presented by historian Juan Bautista Muñoz in his eighteenth-century collection of transcriptions of historical documents.[24] Given this fact, Ternaux-Compans must have relied exclusively on that same transcription. Later, Smith also reproduced Muñoz's text. He even replicated the notes on the readings that Muñoz was not certain about, and included all of Muñoz's original misreadings.[25] In all fairness, however, the Muñoz-Smith version of the "Relación" contains far fewer mistakes than most later reproductions, like the Pacheco and Cárdenas transcription. While the Pacheco and Cárdenas version is a direct transcription of the manuscript found at the AGI, their text contains a significant number of misreadings. Winship's translation, on the other hand, was not based on the AGI manuscript, yet he must be credited with at least trying to eliminate the margin of error by collating the Muñoz-Smith version and the Pacheco and Cárdenas text.[26]

Hammond and Rey claim that their translation of Jaramillo's "Relación" is based on "a photostatic copy of the original," and their text largely appears to confirm this assertion. However, readings such as the toponym "Capotean," which reproduces Smith's version, and the sentence division in 3v24–26, which coincides only with Pacheco and Cárdenas's transcription, suggest that Hammond and Rey used at least these two prior transcriptions to produce their own version of the "Relación."[27] In other notable translations of

Jaramillo's "Relación," Carmen de Mora reproduced Pacheco and Cárdenas's transcription, complete with its numerous mistakes. Montané Martí, on the other hand, realized that Pacheco and Cárdenas's text contained numerous errors, yet eliminated only those that were obvious to him after he compared their version with Smith's text.[28] Finally, Flint and Flint—by including a transcription and an edition of Jaramillo's "Relación"—have produced the most minute and carefully documented version of the narrative to date. Their palaeographic approach to the Spanish text of the "Relación," however, constitutes a problematic issue in their edition, as I shall explain later.

Given the proliferation of translations and transcriptions of the "Relación," historians of the Coronado Expedition are well aware of the existence of this document. The multiplicity of readings and interpretations present in these various renditions, however, may be confusing to those wishing to use the "Relación" as a primary source. Readers may encounter difficulty, for example, interpreting the various toponym forms employed by different scholars: the first river that Jaramillo mentions after Culiacán was noted as "Petatlan" by Ternaux-Compans, as "Peteatlan" by Smith, as "Pateatlan" by Pacheco and Cárdenas, and as "Petlatlan" by Hammond and Rey and Flint and Flint.[29] Similarly, there are conflicting interpretations of sentence division between the authors already mentioned. Lines 24–25 on folio 3v in Smith's transcription, for example, read: "porque le reñia i le iva a la mano en todo lo que en nuestro pro queria: prometioselo el general."[30] The same lines in Pachecho and Cárdenas are organized quite differently: "porque le reñía y le iba á la mano. [New paragraph] En todo lo que en nuestro provecho queria, prometióselo el general."[31] In their translations, Ternaux-Compans, Winship, and Flint and Flint concur with Smith.[32] Hammond and Rey, on the other hand, follow Pacheco and Cárdenas's seemingly incorrect interpretation.[33]

Many of these transcribers have also confused verbal tenses and misidentified subjects and objects, resulting in divergent readings of the original text. In interpreting 5v1, for example, which reads "aprenderia presto la lengua de allj con que le ayudasen," Ternaux-Compans identifies Jaramillo's young slave, Cristóbal, as the subject of both the main verb, "aprenderia," and the subordinate verb, "ayudasen." Winship, however, presents fray Luis de Escalona as the subject of the first verb and Cristóbal as the implied subject of the second. Hammond and Rey single out Cristóbal as the subject of the first verb, and "the natives" as the subject of the subordinate clause. And Flint and Flint consider "the people" as the subject of the second verb, with an ambiguous "he" for the first verb, which may refer either to the friar or to the slave.[34] Other mistakes abound in these transcriptions. These mistakes

include reading figures incorrectly, missing entire sentences, and providing inaccurate translations for lack of understanding of the document's language.

All these particular transmission factors pose serious risks for those wishing to use the aforementioned approaches to Jaramillo's text as a basis for the study of the Coronado Expedition. Historians who wish to consult and compare several of these prior renderings will likely be puzzled by the abundance of different and sometimes conflicting readings of the narrative. This confusion is exactly what happened to Charles Di Peso, John Rinaldo, and Gloria Fenner when they prepared their monumental study of the archaeology of the Casas Grandes trading center. Comparing the available sources, they realized that Winship's version states that Vázquez de Coronado's army spent two days in the Corazones settlement, while Hammond and Rey interpret these two days as the distance to the settlement from the previous stream or arroyo.[35] Had Di Peso and his collaborators known that this instance was one where Winship was following the highly unreliable Pacheco and Cárdenas transcription, they may have thought twice before rejecting Hammond and Rey's reading.[36] Their preference for Winship's rendition was extremely important because Winship's work was one of the elements that Di Peso, Rinaldo, and Fenner invoked to justify their rejection of the historical tradition defended by Bolton and others whereby Vázquez de Coronado and his men must have approached Zuni via the Sonora River Valley. Consequently, Di Peso, Rinaldo, and Fenner propose an altogether different route: up the Bavispe River in eastern Sonora and along the Arizona–New Mexico state line.[37] This example demonstrates that even when scholars are aware of the pitfalls in using secondary sources, they may not be able to avoid flawed conclusions when there is no detailed analysis of the primary source.

Historians have tended to base their conclusions on a single transcription or translation of the "Relación," especially Pacheco and Cárdenas's transcription and Hammond and Rey's translation. Given this fact, it is perhaps surprising that scholars have exerted little effort to filter out the errors included in these versions. Some of these errors have been perpetuated in spite of what is revealed by a close analysis of the AGI manuscript. One good example is provided by the toponym *Ispa*, which historians have not hesitated to reproduce and is present in every single translation or transcription of the "Relación." Bolton: "they arrived at the settlement called Ispa by Jaramillo"; Joseph P. Sánchez: "the expedition came to the Indian village of Guisamopa, known to Vázquez de Coronado as Ispa"; William A. Duffen and William K. Hartmann: "[t]he route . . . was said by Juan Jaramillo . . . to proceed along a 'Señora' valley through 'Ispa.'"[38] The original manuscript, however, reads "Arixpa," with later scribal correction as "Arispa."[39] Other examples of

the iteration of systematic misreading of the "Relación" by secondary sources include the transcription or translation of the adjective *ralo* or the indirect pronoun *nos*, which will be analyzed later.[40] It goes without saying that even the most careful readers may never be aware of the inaccuracy of these renderings if they are not able to compare them with the original manuscript, a very time-consuming task that not everybody may be willing, or able, to undertake.

Historians' all-too-frequent dependence on secondary, and often unreliable, renditions of original documents is not new in the field of Spanish colonial studies.[41] In light of the evidence provided by Jaramillo's "Relación," one cannot help wondering how the proliferation of mistaken interpretations and translations may have changed our overall understanding of both the Coronado Expedition and our current vision of the history of the Southwest. In accordance with this need to reassess Spanish colonial documents, the following edition of Jaramillo's "Relación" is intended as a contribution to the Cíbola Project, which strives to produce philologically reliable editions of Spanish texts that bear witness to the colonial history of the Southwest.[42]

Retranscribing Jaramillo

Another conspicuous absentee from the textual tradition derived from Jaramillo's "Relación" has been, surprisingly enough, the Spanish text itself. To date only three published original transcriptions of the AGI manuscript exist. Of these Smith merely reproduced Muñoz's transcription, and it is hardly an accessible edition. The second version by Pacheco and Cárdenas is, as noted, plagued with errors. Flint and Flint's profusely annotated version does follow a more careful approach to the manuscript. The unorthodox system that the authors employed in transcribing the sources included in *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, however, presents several pitfalls. First, while Flint and Flint pay great attention to the reproduction of the visual, nontextual elements of the manuscript—which speaks highly of their aim for faithfulness—it results in a text that is hard to read. They anachronically mix current typographical conventions, such as the use of upper-case and lower-case letters, with the original readings (e.g.,"Valle de culiacan," "quiVira").[43] Second, Flint and Flint use italics both for solving abbreviations ("descubrimy*en*to") and for modernizing spellings ("*h*abra"), which betrays distinction between the paleographic and the editorial.[44] Third, the authors modernize and standardize every item they deem too archaic, too dialectal, or too opaquely spelled to the eye of the modern reader (e.g., "l(a)*e*ntisco," "de(s)truxo," "ma(h)iz").[45] Their criterion for these decisions is unclear, leaving many other items unmodified (e.g., "rresçibio," "dispusiçion").[46] Fourth, the transcription is left

unpunctuated. As my text commentary will show, sentence division is critical in order to understand a document such as the "Relación," since different division alternatives produce divergent meanings. By not attempting to locate sentence boundaries in the transcription, the authors are forcing readers to access the meaning of the original text through the English translation. This decision makes it hard for readers to use the Spanish text as their primary source. Finally, Flint and Flint's transcription still presents several misreadings, which unavoidably permeate the accompanying translation.

The problems I have highlighted above clearly justify producing a new edition of this important text according to philological criteria, an enterprise that has yet to be accomplished. My primary task is to present a transcription of the AGI manuscript that eliminates the errors present in earlier transcriptions but respects the original readings, while avoiding any sort of modernization that may render the transcription unsuitable as a representation of the language of the document. Additionally, I also provide a series of notes that refer to obscure or ambiguous passages in the text, or that help disentangle previous conflicting readings and translations. My comments particularly address Hammond and Rey's and Flint and Flint's versions of the "Relación," since these are, respectively, the most influential and most recent renderings. For the sake of concision, I only address other authors' numerous misreadings when they are relevant to the understanding of subsequent approaches to the text. Minor transcription or interpretation discrepancies between this edition and others are not addressed. The notes contain primarily textual and linguistic information, and only when warranted do they refer to other historical or ethnographic elements. For such text-external information, I strongly encourage readers to consult the many valuable notes provided in Flint and Flint's *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, which, in spite of the aforementioned issues, must still be regarded as an indispensable reference in the study of Vázquez de Coronado's journey. In the final section, I include a translation of the text. I hope that this edition and translation will prove a useful tool for historians and linguists alike, while contributing toward an even more accurate understanding of the place of Jaramillo's account within the group of documents detailing the Coronado Expedition and reiterating the need to keep primary textual witnesses at hand when using secondary sources.

Edition of the Document

Editorial Criteria

Since only one textual witness containing Jaramillo's "Relación" has been preserved, this edition is essentially a transcription of that manuscript.[47] The transcription criteria follows a very simplified version of David MacKenzie's

A Manual of Manuscript Transcription for the Dictionary of the Old Spanish Language (1997) and is roughly analogous to those employed in other editions of the Cíbola Project.[48] Original spellings are maintained in order for this text to be fully useful to philologists and historians alike, provided that they have at least some familiarity with early modern Spanish. I have edited the spelling of an item only in cases where scribal spelling may induce confusion as regards to its phonological identity, as happens sometimes when the diacritics of *ñ* and *ç* are omitted (e.g., "compa[ñ]ero" for "companero" or "a[ç]otea" for "acotea"). Word separation has been regularized according to current conventions, except for the cases of *de* + pronoun (e.g., "dello" 'de ello,' "dellas" 'de ellas,' or "deste" 'de éste') and *de* + demonstrative adjective (e.g., "deste arroyo" 'de este arroyo,' or "destos yndios" 'de estos yndios'), to reflect the fairly regular sixteenth-century convention.[49] Capitalization and punctuation have also been modernized. Consequently, scribal word-initial *R*, not a capital letter but one of the possible spellings for the multiple vibrant of present-day Spanish "río" or "ruta," has been replaced with *rr*, the most common convention at this time (and elsewhere in the manuscript) to represent the aforementioned phoneme in word-initial position. Abbreviated segments are fully spelled in cursive (e.g., "q*ue*," "Fran*cis*co").

Aside from the said cases of possible misidentification of phonemes, I have edited the original readings only when it can be reasonably assumed that a reading is a scribal mistake, as in "ne[g]ras" for "nedras."[50] Other phenomena such as a lack of grammatical agreement or spellings reflecting plausible dialectal uses are preserved. Square brackets indicate editorial additions, whereas parentheses indicate editorial deletions. Scribal additions and deletions are indicated with a caret sign ^ in square brackets or parentheses. Finally, the text has been divided into paragraphs that roughly correspond to the main narrative units of the "Relación," in order to make it easier to read. Superscript numbers in the edited text represent line numbers. Footnotes are represented by symbols and correspond to written elements in the manuscript outside the limits of the main text, such as side notes or scribbled words.[51]

Edited Text

[f. 1r]* Relaçion que dio el capitan Jhoan Jaramillo de la hornada que | hizo a la Tierra Nueva, de la qual fue general Fran*cis*co Vazquez | de Coronado.

Salimos de Mex*i*co derechos a Conpostela, camino todo poblado y de paz, |[5] y su dereçera es como al ponjente y es distançia de çiento y doze | leguas. Dende

*[upper margin] 1537 [/] De Juan Paez [/] Quibira y Çibola

allj fu(^e)[^j]mos a Culjacan, seran como ochenta leguas. | Es camino muy sabido y vsado porque esta en el dicho valle de | Culjacan vna villa poblada de espa[ñ]oles con rrepartimiento | de Conpostela. A esta villa se buelue y va como al norrueste. |[10] De aqui los sesenta de a cauallo que fuimos con el general por | tener notiçia ser el camino despoblado y sin comidas casi todo | el, dexo su exerçito y fue el con los dichos en descubrimjento del | dicho camjno y para dexar luz a los que atras venjan. Llevase | esta derrota avnque con algunas torçeduras hasta que |[15] atrauesamos vna cordillera de sierras que la conosci dende | aca de la Nueva España, de mas de trezientas leguas, a la qual | pusimos nonbre en este paso Chichilte Callj porque ansi | tubimos notiçia que se llamaua de algunos yndios que atras | dexamos.

|[20] Salido del dicho valle de Culiacan vase a vn rrio que se dize Pe|tlatlan, que avra como quatro hornadas. Estos yndios halla|mos de paz y nos dieron algunas cosillas de comida. Dende aqui | fuimos a otro rrio que se dize Çinaloa, que avra del vno al | otro como tres hornadas. Dende aqui nos mando el general |[25] a diez honbres de caballo que doblasemos las hornadas a la ligera | hasta llegar al Arroyo de los Çedros, y de alli entrasemos por vna | abra que las sierras hazian a mano derecha del camino y viesemos | lo que por ellas y detras dellas auia, y que si fuese menester | mas dias de los que nosotros vbiesemos cobrado, nos esperaria en el |[30] dicho Arroyo de los Çedros. Fue ansi, y todo lo que por allj vimos fue | vnos yndiezuelos en algunos valles poblados como en rancheria, | tierra esteril. Avra dende el rrio a este arroyo como otras çinco | hornadas.

De aqui fuimos al rrio que se dize Yaquemi, que avra | como tres hornadas. Deste(s) se va por vn arroyo seco y salimos |[35] en otros tres dias de camino, avnque el arro[yo] seco no durara | sino como vna legua, y llegamos a otro arroyo adonde estauan | vnos yndios poblados que tenian rranchos de paja y sementeras | de mahiz y frisoles y calabaças. Salidos de aqui fuimos al arroyo | y pueblo que se dize los Coraçones, el qual nonbre le pusieron Dorantes y* |[40] Cabeça de Vaca y Castillo y Esteuanillo el Negro, y pusieronle este | nombre por le[^s] dar a comer y comun presente coraçones de animales y de | aves. | [f. 1v] Avra como dos hornadas. En este pueblo de los Coraçones es vn arroyo de | rriego y de tierra caliente, y tienen sus vibiendas de vnos rranchos que | despues de armados los palos, casi a manera de hornos avnque muy | mayores, los cubren con vnos petates. Tienen mahiz y frisoles y ca|[5]labaças para su comer, que creo que no le falta. Vistense cueros | de venados. Y aqui, por ser este puesto al paresçer cosa dicente, se mando | poblar aqui vna villa de los españoles que yvan traseros, donde | bibieron hasta casi que la hornada

* [*left*] Dorantes

peresçio. Aqui ay yerua | y segund lo que della se vio y la operaçion que hacia es la mas* |[10] mala que se puede hallar, y de lo que tubimos entendido ser | hera de la leche de vn arbol peque[ñ]o a manera de lantisco | e nasçi en piçarrilla y tierra esteril. Fuimos de aquj, pasando | vna manera de portezuelo y casi çerca deste arroyo, a otro valle | que el mjsmo arroyo haze, que se dize de Señora, que *e*s tanbien |[15] de rriego y de mas yndios que *e*sotros y dela mjsma manera de | poblacion y comida. Turara este valle como seis v siete leguas | poco mas o menos. Estos yndios estubieron a los principios de paz | y despues no, sino antes muy enemigos, ellos y los que mas pu|dieron por allj apellidar. Tienen yerva con la qual mataron |[20] algunos chr*ist*ianos. Tienen sierras de vna vanda y de otra | y poco frutiferas. De aqui vamos por junto a este d*ic*ho arroyo, | atrabesandole por bueltas que haze, a otra poblacion | de yndios que se dize (^Arixpa)[^Arispa], que avra de lo prostero desto|tro a este vna hornada. Tienen la mesma manera de los pasados.

|[25] Dende aqui se va como en quatro jornadas de despoblado | a otro arroyo donde entendimos llamarse Nexpa y salieron | vnos yndizuelos a ver al general y con presente de poca estima, | con vnas pencas de maguey asadas y pitahayas. Por este arroyo | abaxo fuimos dos hornadas y, dexado el arroyo, fuimos a la |[30] mano derecha al pie de la cordillera en dos dias de camino, | donde tubimos notiçia que se llamaua Chichiltic Callj. Pasada | la cordillera fuimos a vn arroyo hondo y ca[ñ]ada donde ha|llamos agua y yerua para los cauallos. Dende este arroyo | atras de Nexpa que tengo d*ic*ho bolbemos a mi paresçer |[35] casi al nordeste. De aqui por la mjsma derrota fuimos, creo | que en tres dias, a vn rrio que pusimos nonbre de San Ju*an* | por llegar este dia a el. Salidos de aqui fuimos a otro rrio | por tierra algo doblada y mas hazia el norte, al rrio que lla|mamos de las Balsas por lo pasar en ellas a causa de yr creçido. |[40] Paresceme que tardamos dos dias del vn rrio al otro, y esto digo por | auer tanto tienpo que a que lo pasamos, que podria ser en|ga[ñ]arme en alguna hornada, que en lo demas no. Dende |[f. 2r] aqui fuimos a otro arroyo que llamamos de la Barranca. | Ay dos peque[ñ]as hornadas de vno a otro y la derrota casi | al nordeste. De aqui fuimos a otro rrio que pusimos el Rio | Frio por el agua venirlo ansi en vn dia de camino. Y despues |[5] de aqui fuimos por vn monte de pinar, donde hallamos casi al | cabo d*e* el vn agua e arroyuelo fresco donde abra otro dia | de camino. Y en este arroyo y puesto murio vn español† | que se dezia Espinossa y otras dos personas de yeruas que | comieron por la grande nesçesidad que lleuauan. De aqui |[10] fuimos a otro arroyo que pusimos Bermejo en dos dias de camino | y la misma derrota menos

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* [*left*] yerba

† [*left*] mueren de yer|bas q*ue* comieron

q*ue* al nordeste. Aqui vimos vn yndio | o dos que paresçieron ser despues de la primera poblaçion de Çibola.*

| De aqui fuimos en dos dias de camjno al d*ic*ho pueblo y primero de | Çibola. Son casas de açotea y las paredes de piedra y barro. Y aqui |[15] mataron a Estebanillo el Negro que avia venjdo con Dorantes† | de la Florida y bolbia con fray Marcos de Niça. Ay en esta p*r*obin|çia de Çibola çinco pueblezuelos con este, todos de açotea y piedra | y barro como digo. Es tierra fria y ansi en las casas y estufas | que tienen se demuestra. Tienen comjda harta para ellos de |[20] mahiz y frisoles y calabaças. Estan estos pueblos aparta|dos el vno del otro como a legua y a mas, que vendran a ser | como en çercuyto de seis leguas. Es la tierra algo arenjsca | y no muy solada de yerua, y los montes que por allj ay es la‡ | mayor parte de sabinas. El vestido de los yndios es de cueros |[25] de benados, estremadisimo el adobo, alcançan ya algunos | cueros de baca adobados con que se cobixan que son a ma|nera de bernjas y de mucho abrigo. Tienen mantas de algodon | cuadradas, vnas mayores que otras, como de vara y m*edi*a en largo. | Las yndias las traen puestas por el honbro a manera de xitanas |[30] y çe[ñ]jdas vna buelta sobre otra por su centura con vna | çinta del mismo algodon. Estando en este pueblo primero de Çibola, | el rrostro al nordeste o vn poqujto menos, esta a la mano yrqui|erda del çinco hornadas vna p*r*obinçia que se dize Tuçayan, | que tiene siete pueblos de acoteas y con comjdas tan |[35] buenas y mejores que estotros, y avn de mejor poblaçion. | Y tanbien tienen los cueros de vaca y de venados, y las man|tas de algodon que digo. | Todas quantas aguas hallamos y rrios e arroyos hasta | esto de Çibola, y avn no se si vna hornada v dos mas, corren |[40] a la Mar del Sur, y los dende aqui adelante a la Mar del Norte.

| Dende este primer pueblo de Çibola, como tengo d*ic*ho, fuimos a otro dellos | mjsmos, que abra como vna hornada peque[ñ]a y camino de Tihuec. |[f. 2v] Ay nueue hornadas de las que nosotros haziamos dende *e*sta pobla|çion de Çibola hasta el rrio de Tihuex. Esta en el medio, | no se si vna hornada mas v menos, vn pueblo en vn puesto muy | fuerte de tierra y peña taxada que se dize Tutahaco. Todos |[5] estos yndios, sino fueron los primeros [^del primer pu*eblo*] de Çibola, nos rresçibieron | bien. Llegado al rrio de Tihuex ay por el, en distançia como veynte | leguas, quinze pueblos, todos de casas de a[ç]otea de tierra y no piedra | a manera de tapias. Ay fuera del en otros arroyos que se | juntan con este otros pueblos y los tres dellos para entre |[10] yndios muy de ver, en espeçial vno que se dize Chia y otro | Vraba [^Uraba]

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* [*left*] aqui mataron | a Estebanico

† [*left*] la pr*ovinc*ja de | Çiuola y | lo q*ue* en ella | ay

‡ [*left*] Como es la | tierra de | Cibola, | su vestido

y otro Çicuyque. Este Vraba y Çicuyque tienen* | casas hartas de a dos altos. Todos los demas y estos tienen | mahiz y frisoles y calabaças, cueros, vnos pellones de pluma† | que la tuerçen acompa[ñ]ando la pluma con vnos hilos, |15 y despues las hazen a manera de texido rralo con que hazen | las mantas con que se abrigan. Tienen todos estufas deba|xo de tierra, avnque no muy pulidas, muy abrigadas. | Tienen y coxen algun poquillo de algodon del qual hazen | las mantas que atras tengo *dic*ho. Este rrio biene como del |20 norueste corriendo como al sueste, dando muestra como | es çierto que entra en la Mar del Norte. Dexada esta | poblaçion y rrio d*ic*ho bamos por otros dos pueblos que no se | como se llaman en quatro hornadas a Çicuyque, que | ya he nonbrado. Es la derrota de esto al nordeste.

Dende aqui |25 vamos a otro rrio que llamamos los espa[ñ]oles de Çicuyque | en tres hornadas, si bien me acuerdo. Paresçeme que para | venjr hasta este rrio por donde lo pasamos fuimos algo mas | q*ue* al nordeste, y ansi pasado bolbimos mas a la mano yzquier|da, que hera mas hazia el nordeste, y començamos a entrar |30 por los llanos donde ay las bacas, avnque no las hallamos‡ | a mas de a quatro v çinco hornadas, despues de las quales | començamos a topar con toros, que ay mucha quantidad | dellos. Y con la misma derrota y abiendo andado dos v tres dias | topando toros, fuimos despues dellos a hallarnos entre gran|35disima quantidad de bacas, bezerros y toros, todo rrebuel|to. En estos prinçipios de las bacas hallamos yndios que les lla|mauan a estos los de las casas de açotea "querechos." Bibian | sin casas, sino con vnos palos arrimados que traen consigo | para hazer [^en] los puestos que se mudan vnas como cabañas |40 que les siruen de casas, los quales palos atan por arriba |[f. 3r] juntos y de abaxo los arriedran, çercandolo con vnos cueros de baca | que ellos traen (^de) que les sirue de casas como tengo d*ich*o. | Segund se entendio destos yndios, todo su menester humano | lo tienen de las vacas, porque dellas comen y bisten y cal|5çan. Son honbres que se mudan aqui y alli, donde mejor | les paresçe. En aquellas aguas que entre las vacas ay | andubimos como hasta ocho v diez dias por la derrota d*ic*ha.

| Y dende aqui, el yndio q*ue* nos guiaua, que hera el que nos a|via dado las nueuas de Quebira y Arahey ser tierra muy rrica |10 y de mucho oro y otras cosas, y este y otro heran de aquesta | tierra que digo y a que ybamos, los quales dos yndios se ha|llaron en los pueblos de açotea. Paresçe que, como el d*ic*ho | yndio deseaua yr a su tierra, alargose a dezir en lo que ha|llamos no ser uerdad, y no se si por esto, si por ser aconsejado |15 que nos lleuase por otras p*ar*tes

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* [*left*] Uraba

† [*left*] Casas de a/dos altos

‡ [*left*] Las bacas

torçiendo el camino, avnque | por todo esto no los ay si no son los de las vacas. Entendimos | tanbien que nos destruxo de la derrota que abiamos de lle|uar y nos metiese por aquellos llanos como nos metio, para | que gastasemos la comyda y por faltos della vinjesemos en* | flaqueza nosotros y los cauallos, porque si bolbiesemos con este | atras v adelante no tubieramos rresistençia a lo que quisie|ran hazer de nosotros. Finalmente, que dende los dias que | tengo d*ic*ho, entrados por los llanos, y dende esta rrancheria | de querechos nos destrae a mas que al este, hasta que venimos | en estrema nesçesidad de falta de comyda, y visto el otro | yndio, conpa[ñ]ero suyo y de su tierra, que no nos lleuaua | por donde aviamos de yr, que aviamos sienpre segujdo | no(^s) su paresçer sino el del Turco, que le llamauamos ansi, | dexose caer en el camino señalando que le cortasen la cabe|ça, que el no auia de yr por allj nj era aquel n*uest*ro camjno. | Creo que fuimos caminando esta derrota veynte dias v mas, | en cabo de los quales hallamos otra rrancheria de yndios de | la bi[vi]enda y manera de los de atras, entre los quales estaua | vno çiego y viejo y barbado, y nos dio a entender por se[ñ]as que | nos hazia que avia visto, muchos dias avia, otros quatro† | de nosotros que cerca de allj y mas hazia la Nueua España | señalo auer visto, y ansi lo entendimos y presumimos ser | Dorantes y Cabe[ç]a de Baca y aquellos que tengo d*ic*ho.

En esta | rrancheria y visto n*uest*ro trabajo nos mando juntar el general | [f. 3v] a los capitanes y personas de quien solia thomar paresçer, | para que se lo dixesemos juntam*en*te con el suyo, el qual | fue de todos que nos paresçia que todo aquel exerçito | se bolbiese atras a las p*a*rtes donde abiamos salido en | busca de comida para que guaresçiesen, y que treynta | de a cauallo, personas tales, fuesemos en demanda de lo | que el yndio avia d*ic*ho, en el qual paresçer nos rre|sumimos. Fuimos una hornada adelante todos a vn | arroyo que *e*staua metido entre vnas barrancas y de | buenas be(^x)[^g]as dentro, para de allj acordar los que a|vian de yr y como se abian de boluer los demas. Aquj se | le pregunto al yndio Ysopete que llamauamos, conpa|[ñ]ero del d*ic*ho Turco, que nos dixese la v*e*rdad y nos lleua|se a aquella tierra en cuya demanda yvamos, y el dixo | que si haria y que no hera como el Turco nos avia d*ic*ho, | porque çiertamente eran brabas cosas las que nos abia | d*ic*ho y dado a entender en Tihuex, ansi de oro y como se sa|caua, y de edificios y la manera dellos y las contrata|çiones, y otras muchas cosas que por prolixidad dexo, | por cuya causa nos aviamos movido en busca dello | con paresçer de todos los que lo dauan y rreligiosos, | de manera que pidio que, en premjo de nos guiar, queria que | lo dexasemos despues en aquella tierra por ser su

* [*left*] El enga[ñ]o | del yndio

† [*left*] El yndio ciego | con barbas

patria, | y tanbien que no fuese con el el Turco porque le rreñja | y le yba a la mano en todo lo que en n*uest*ro p*r*o queria. P*r*ome|tioselo el general, y dixo que queria ser de los treynta | el vno, y ansi fue. Y aderesçados para nos apartar y los | otros quedar seguimos n*uest*ro viaje, bolbiendo sienpre den|de aquj al norte mas de treynta dias v casi treynta dias de | camino, avnque no de (^h)[^j]ornadas grandes, sin que nos fal|tase agua en njnguna dellas y siempre por entre bacas,* | vnos dias mas cantidad que otros, conforme a las aguas en que | topauamos, de manera que benimos a dar dia de San P*edr*o y San | Pablo en vn rrio que allj lla[ma]mos ansi. Y abaxo de Qui|bira, llegado que fuimos al d*ic*ho rrio, lo conosçio el yndio† | y dixo ser aquel y estar abaxo las poblaçiones.

Pasa|moslo allj y por la otra banda del norte fuimos por el | abaxo, bolbiendo la derrota al nordeste, y despues de | tres hornadas andadas hallamos vnos yndios que anda|uan a caça matando de las vacas para lleuar carnes |[f. 4r] a su pueblo, que estaua como tres v quatro hornadas de | las n*uest*ras mas abaxo. Aqui donde hallamos los yndios | y nos vieron se començaron de alborotar con boçes y muestras | de huir, y avn tenian allj algunos sus mugeres consigo. | Començoles a llamar el yndio Ysopete en su lengua y an|si se binjeron a nosotros sin muestra de themor y, parados | que *e*stubimos nosotros y ellos, hizo muestra alli el general | del yndio Turco, el qual aviamos lleuado sienpre escon|didamente en rretraguardia, y, llegados a donde estaua el | aposento hecho, se hazia de manera por que no lo viese el otro | yndio que se dezia Ysopete, por dalle el contento que pidio. | Vista la buena aparençia de tierra, como çierto lo es esta | de entre las bacas y aquella y de allj adelante, rrescibio|se algun contento, y escribio aquj vna carta el general‡ | para el gouernador de Harahey y Quibira, teniendo entendido | que hera ch*rist*iano de las armadas de la Florida perdidas, | porque la manera del gouierno y polliçia que el yndio a|bia d*ic*ho que tenja nos lo auja hecho creer. Ansi que los yn|dios se fueron a sus cassas, que estauan a la distançia | d*ic*ha, y nosotros por n*uest*ras hornadas ansimjsmo, hasta lle|gar a la poblaçion, las quales hallamos en arroyos, avn|que no de mucha agua, buenos y de buenas rriberas, que§ | ban a entrar en estotro mayor que tengo d*ic*ho. Fueron | si bien me acuerdo seis v [siete] poblaçiones arredradas vnas | de otras, por las quales andubimos quatro v çinco dias, que | se entiende [^ser] despoblado entre el vn arroyo y el otro.

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* [*left*] 30 dias | por entre | bacas los | de a cauallo

† [*left*] Quibira

‡ [*left*] La p*roujnçi*a de | Quibira

§ [*left*] Los pue|blos q*ue* | hallaron

| Llegamos a lo prostero de Quibira que dixeron ser, a lo q*ua*l | nos lleuaron con nueuas de ser mucho, que dezian ellos para | significarnoslo "teucarea." Este hera vn rrio de mas agua (^que) |[30] y poblaçion que los demas. Preguntado que si abia adelante | otra cosa, dixeron que de Quibira no sino Arahej, y seria de la | misma manera y poblaçiones y tamaño que aquello. En|bio a llamar el general al señor destos y los otros yndios que | dixeron (^se) rresidia en lo de Arahey. Vino [^como] con dozientos honbres, |[35] y todos desnudos y arcos y no se que cosas en las cabeças y poco co|bixadas sus berguenças. Era vn yndiazo de gran cuerpo y mjen|bros y buena proporçion. Tomada la rrazon de lo que vno y lo otro, |[f. 4v] (^l)[^n]os pregunto el general que debiamos hazer, acordandonos de como | avia quedado el exerçito y [^q*ue*] estauamos nosotros allj. | Ansi que nos paresçio a todos que pues que hera ya casi la | boca del ynbierno, porque si me acuerdo bien hera media |[5] y mas de agosto, y por ser pocos para ynbernar allj y el poco | aparexo que para ello tenjamos y la duda del buen çucesso | del canpo que avia quedado, y porque el ynbierno no nos | çerrase los caminos de njeues y rrios que no nos dexasen | pasar, y ansimjsmo por auer visto el subçeso de la otra jente |[10] dexada, devia Su M*erçe*d boluer en busca dellos, y hallados y sa|bidos como estauan, ynbernar alla y boluer a la boca | del ver[a]no a aquella tierra, y sabella y aralla. Aquj, | que como digo fue lo prostero a lo que llegamos visto, el Turco,* | que nos avia mentido, apellido y muño toda esta poblaçion |[15] para que diesen en nosotros vna noche y nos matasen. Su|pimoslo y pusimonos en rrecaudo, y a el se le dio aquella | noche vn garrote con que no amanesçio. Con el acuerdo | d*ic*ho bolbimos atras, no se si dos v tres hornadas, donde hizimos | n*uest*ro matalotaxe de elotes desgranados y enxuto el mahiz |[20] para boluernos. En este puesto alço (^f) el general vna cruz | en el pie de la qual con vn escoplo se le hizieron vnas le|tras que dezian aver llegado allj Fran*cis*co Vazquez de Coronado,† | general de aquel exerçito.

Esta tierra tiene muy linda a|parençia, tal que no la he visto yo mejor en toda n*uest*ra España |[25] nj en Ytallja y parte de Françia, nj avn en otras tierras q*ue* | he andado en seruj*çio* de Su Mag*estad*, porque no es tierra muy doblada | sino de lomas y llanos y rrios de muy linda aparençia y aguas, | que çierto me contento, y tengo presunçion que sera muy | frutifera y de todos frutos. En los ganados ya esta la ynspiri|[30]ençia en la mano por la muchedunbre que ay, que es tanta | quanta quieran pensar. Hallamos çirguelas de Castilla,‡ | vn xenero dellas que nj son del todo coloradas sino entre | coloradas y algo ne[g]

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* [*left*] Guerra | en Quibira

† [*left*] Quibira | buena tierra

‡ [*left*] Ziruelas

ras y verdes. El arbol y el fruto es çierto | de Castill[a] de muy jentil sabor. Hallamos entre las bacas lino |[35] que p*r*oduze la tierra, hebrezitas arredradas vnas de otras,* | que como el ganado no lo come se queda por allj con sus ca|bezuelas y flor azul, y avnque pequeno muy perfecto çumaque,† |[f. 5r] natural del de n*uest*ra España, en algunos arroyos vbas de rra|zonable sabor para no benefiçiadas. Las casas que estos yn|dios tenian heran de paxa y muchas dellas rredondas, y la | paxa llegaua hasta el suelo como pared que no tenja |[5] la p*r*oporcion y manera de las de aca. Por de fuera y encima | desto tenja vna manera como capilla o garita con vna | entrada donde se asomauan los yndios sentados o echados.

| Aqui donde se alço la cruz se dexo el yndio Ysopete y se toma|ron destos pueblos çinco v seis yndios que nos truxesen |[10] y nos guiasen a las casas de açotea, y ansi fue que nos | boluieron por el mismo camino hasta donde dixe | antes que aviamos topado con el rrio que llamamos | de San P*edr*o y San Pablo, y dende aqui dexaron el por donde | aviamos ydo, y tomando a manderecha nos truxeron |[15] por aguas y entre bacas y buen camjno, avnque por vna | parte nj por otra no ay njnguno sino el de las bacas | como tengo d*ic*ho. Vinjmos a salir y a rreconoscer la tierra | adonde al prinçipio dixe que aviamos hallado la | rrancheria donde el Turco nos aparto el camjno que |[20] aviamos de lleuar. Ansi que, dexado lo demas ap*ar*te, | llegamos a Tihuex, donde hallamos el demas exerçito, | donde cayo el general corriendo vn cauallo, de que rresçibio | vna herida en la cabeça, con la qual dio muestras (^de no te|ner el) de rrujn dispusiçion y fabrico la buelta, que |[25] diez v doze de nosotros con rrequerirselo no fuimos p*ar*te | para estorbarselo.

Ansi que, hordenada esta buelta, | los frayles françiscos que estauan con nosotros, el vno | de missa y el otro lego, que se llamauan el de misa fray Jua*n* | de Padilla y el lego fray Luis d*e* Escalona, estauan aperçe|[30]bidos y tenjan ya licençia de su probinçial para se poder | quedar. Quiso el fray Luis quedarse en estas casas de | açotea, diziendo que con vn escoplo y a[ç] uela que le quedaua | alçar cruzes por aquellos pueblos y bauptizar algunas | criaturas que en articulo de la muerte hallase para en|[35]biallas al çielo, para lo qual no quiso otra conpanja sino vn | esclauito mjo que se dezia Chr*ist*obal para su consuelo, y diziendo |[f. 5v] aprenderia presto la lengua de allj con que le ayudasen, | y fueron tantas las cosas q*ue* para esto hizo que no pude | negarselo, y ansi no se a sabido mas del. Entiendo que la | quedada deste frayle por allj fue causa de que quedasemos |[5] algunos yndios de los de por aca y dos negros, vno mjo que | se dezia Sebastian y otro de Melchior Perez,

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* [*left*] Lino

† [*left*] Zuma|que

hijo del | lljcençiado Latorre, y este negro era casado con su muger | y hijos, y en lo de Quibira me acuerdo se quedaron tan|bien algunos yndios y vno de mj conpanja, tarasco, que |[10] se dezia Andres. El fray Juan de Padilla porfio de bol|uer a Quibira y procuro que se le diesen aquellos yndios | que dixe abiamos traydo por guias. Dieronsele y lle|uolos, y mas vn portugues y vn negro ladino e horro | que fue de terçero que se metio frayle franc*is*co, y vn mestizo |[15] y dos yndios, creo que de Çapotlan o de allj junto, los q*ua*les | avia criado y los traya en abito de frayles. Lleuo obejas | y mulas y vn cauallo y hornamentos y otras cosillas que | nj se si por ellas o por que causa paresçe que lo mataron. | Fueron mu[ñ]jdores o los que lo hizieron los mjsmos yndios que |[20] de Tihuex bolbio, en pago de las buenas obras que el a|via hecho. Ansi que, muerto, se huyo el portugues d*ic*ho | y vn yndio de los que dixe traya bestidos en abito de frayle | v creo que entranbos.

Digo esto [por]que ellos vinjieron | a esta tierra de la Nueua España por otro camjno y de|[25]rrota mas çercana que la que yo tengo d*ich*a y vinieron | a salir a los valles de Panjco. E dado aviso desto a Gonçalo | Solis de Meras y a Ysidro de Solis por me paresçer cosa ynportan|te para lo que me dize y tengo entendido que (^lo q*ue*) Su Mage*stad* | mando a V*uestra* Se[ñ]oria supiese v descubriese camjno para |[30] juntar aquesa tierra con esta, para q*ue* tanbien podria | ser que *e*ste yndio Sebastian entendiese en el t*iem*po que en | Quibira estubo la comarca y tierras de a la rredonda | della, y tanbien notiçia de la mar y el camino por donde vino, | y que ay en el y quantas jornadas hasta llegar aca. Ansi |[35] que, ciertamente, si V*uestra* Se[ñ]oria alcança dende ese puesto | lo de Qujbira y Arahe, tengo entendido que puede traer | mucha jente d*e* España a poblalla sin rresçelo segun la apa|[f. 6r]rençia y muestras la tierra tiene.

[f. 6v] [*letter cover*] Rrelaç*i*on del capitan | Ju*a*n Jaramjllo de la en|trada q*ue* hizo Fra*ncis*co Vazqu*ez* | Coronado a Çibola y a | Qujbira.

1537 | Rrelaçion de la entrada | q*ue* hizo Franc*is*co Bazq*uez* | Coronado a Çibola y | a Quebira.

N*umer*o 130 | De Ju*an* Paez | los muj | los muy jll*ustr*es | Ju*an* Paez 46

Commentary

ırı hornada. This recurring spelling seems to be an attempt to reflect the aspirated articulation [h] of the velar phoneme /x/ of *jornada*, a feature that is still widespread in many current varieties of Spanish. Historically, this [h] aspiration also developed as a reflex of the Latin word-initial /f/, which explains why the scribe of the "Relación" never failed to note the items corresponding to this etymological class, such as all the forms of *hacer* (< Lat. *facere*), with an initial *h*. In at least one occasion in the extant manuscript, an intervening

hand has replaced the original *h* spelling of *hornada* with a *j*. This person may have been more familiar with replacing *h* with *j* as a means to note /x/.[52]

1r8 villa. A population site or settlement in the Castilian medieval and early modern legislative system whose inhabitants enjoyed certain legal rights distinct from those of other categories, such as the *ciudad* or the *aldea*.

1r8 rrepartimiento. A common system of labor distribution in the Spanish colonies, where a certain number of Indians, and the lands that they lived on, were assigned to specific Spanish settlers in order for the indigenous inhabitants to perform forced labor and to produce revenue for the settlers and the crown.

1r9 A esta villa se buelue y va como al norrueste. Hammond and Rey offer a literal but oxymoronic translation of this passage: "the route to this town and back is to the northwest."[53] Flint and Flint render this sentence, "[a]t this villa [the route] turns and goes approximately to the northwest," and comment the following: "Although this statement may seem confusingly out of place, Jaramillo is evidently referring to the significant change in course at Compostela. The bearing of rhumb lines from Compostela to Culiacán and from Culiacán to Corazones/Ures is identical for practical purposes and is, as Jaramillo states, to the northwest. At any rate, there would have been no significant change of direction at Culiacán."[54] Although, unlike Hammond and Rey, Flint and Flint correctly take "se buelue" as a form of *volverse* (to turn), their translation still conflicts with the text in several respects. First, "esta villa" clearly refers the reader back to the immediately preceding "una villa poblada de espa[ñ]oles con repartimiento de Conpostela," that is, to the settlement of San Miguel de Culiacán and not to Compostela.[55] Second, the preposition *a* clearly rules out the possibility that "a esta villa se buelue" means "at this *villa* the route turns." Since *a* encodes direction and not location this becomes: "toward this *villa* the route turns," or, "to get to this villa, the route turns." This interpretation does not conflict with geographical evidence, since Jaramillo is not making any statement about the place at which the route turns. Instead, Jaramillo refers to the place, Culiacán, northwest of Compostela, toward which the route turns and proceeds "se buelve y va" after turning.[56]

1r10 los sesenta de a cauallo. Winship incorrectly translates this phrase as "[t]he 70 horsemen."[57]

1r13 para dexar luz. Flint and Flint transcribe "para dexarlas" with a feminine third-person direct-object pronoun that would anaphorically refer back to "comidas."[58] Thus, they translate this passage as "he [Coronado] left his armed force and traveled with those aforesaid on reconnaissance of that route and in order to leave [food] for those who were coming behind."[59] A close look at the manuscript, however, seems to be enough to reject this reading.

Also, the use of the verbal phrase *dejar luz* seems to reflect the meaning of *luz* included in the *Diccionario de autoridades* (1734) as "noticia, aviso, ò inspiracion."[60] This meaning is reminiscent of the following documented uses of *dejar luz*: "como fueron tan cortos nuestros antepasados en *dexar luz* destas materias," and "[l]o que le suplicaba era que . . . no se partiese de Córdoba sin *dejar*le *luz* della."[61] As a matter of fact, cross-documentary evidence shows that there was plenty of food at Culiacán, where the expedition was split in two.[62] Vázquez de Coronado's concerns were rooted in the lack of food supplies on the path from Culiacán to Cíbola, which is why he decided to take only a small party of men who could travel as fast as possible carrying their own supplies.[63] Vázquez de Coronado must, therefore, have been well aware that the rearguard party could not count on any food supplies from the first group. The *dejar luz* reading is also wholly justified by the fact that Vázquez de Coronado instructed Tristán de Arellano, who was left in charge of the rearguard party, not to pass Corazones/Ures unless prompted to do so by the general himself upon his arrival to Cíbola. The party had to wait lest Vázquez de Coronado decided that the enterprise was not to be pursued: "esperase allj su carta que serja despues de llegado a Cibola e visto lo que era."[64] Consequently, in using the phrase *para dejar luz*, Jaramillo was most likely referring to the report and instructions that Vázquez de Coronado sent to Arellano from Cíbola. I therefore concur with Hammond and Rey's translation of this passage as "He . . . went to explore the route and to provide information for those who were following."[65]

1113–14 Llevose esta derrota. Flint and Flint transcribe this phrase as "llevase esta derrota."[66] They appear to have interpreted the verb erroneously as an imperfect subjunctive, *llevase*, with an epistemic meaning referring to Vázquez de Coronado. This interpretation leads them to translate this passage as "he [Coronado] must have taken that course."[67] The scribe's handwriting is not totally clear, because the letter in question ("llev?se") could be read either as "o" or as "a." If the letter is indeed *o*, we would have a narrative third-person singular simple preterite with impersonal *se*, *llevose esta derrota* (this route was taken). The letter *a*, however, would have a third-person singular present indicative with an impersonal *se* to describe the route to Cíbola, *llévase esta derrota* (one follows this route), a use that abounds throughout the text. However, the preterite in the subordinate clause "hasta que *atravesamos*," (my emphasis) suggests that the preterite reading, *llevose*, is the correct one. In any event, this form is clearly a main-clause verb in the indicative and not a subordinate-clause subjunctive, as Flint and Flint seem to have interpreted. Pacheco and Cárdenas transcribe "llevase," although the Muñoz-Smith transcription shows the preterite "llevose," as does Hammond and Rey's

translation, where the verb is personalized: "we continued on this route."[68]

1115 una cordillera de sierras que la conosci dende aca de la Nueva España, de mas de trezientas leguas. According to Flint and Flint, Jaramillo used the *legua común* throughout his account.[69] One *legua* amounted to 3.4627 miles.[70] This distance produces an estimate of over one thousand miles for "mas de" three hundred *leguas*, a valid approximate estimate for the total distance between Mexico City and the area along the southern stretch of the current Arizona–New Mexico state line, where Chichiltecale is usually located.[71] Quite inexplicably Winship translates this passage as "a mountain chain, where they knew about New Spain, more than 300 leagues distant."[72]

1120 vase a vn rrio. A combination of the first-person singular present indicative of *ir* with the impersonal clitic *se* ("one comes to a river," "the route comes to a river"). Hammond and Rey personalize the verb, "we came to a river."[73] Flint and Flint make the same mistake here as in the aforementioned case in 1113–14, personalizing the action as Vázquez de Coronado's: "he [went] to a river."[74] They do note, however, that "the document uses the present tense here."[75] They appear to have misinterpreted the impersonal *se* as "se 'de matización,'" as in *irse*, (to go away, to leave) with Vázquez de Coronado as the subject.[76]

1133–34 De aqui fuimos al rrio que se dize Yaquemi, que avra como tres hornadas. Deste se va por vn arroyo seco y salimos en otros tres dias de camino. Hammond and Rey translate this passage as follows: "[f]rom here we proceeded to the river Yaquemí, which must be distant about three days' travel more. From here we marched by a dry arroyo."[77] Flint and Flint offer the following rendition: "[f]rom here we went to the river called Yaquimí, which is probably approximately three days' travel from this [stream]. [The route was] by way of a dry arroyo, traveling on the route about another three days."[78] As elsewhere sentence division is the key issue. Flint and Flint interpret "deste" as part of the prior sentence ("from this [stream]"), while Hammond and Rey take it as the first element of the following sentence ("[f]rom here we marched"). Flint and Flint's option makes the pronoun *este* refer back to the *arroyo* that had appeared earlier in line 32. This long-scope anaphor seems unlikely, given that it must obviate a much closer candidate, (i.e., "[el] rrio que se dize Yaquemí," "the river called Yaquimí"). On the other hand, considering the river as the antecedent of the pronoun, while leaving "deste" in the same sentence, would give rise to an oxymoronic sequence. Fortunately for us, this instance is one of the few where the manuscript is punctuated: a diagonal slash followed by a dot, which also appears in other places throughout the document, separates "tres hornadas" from "deste," marking the beginning of a new sentence and confirming the Yaquimí River as the antecedent of the

pronoun. The correct reading, therefore, corresponds much more closely to Hammond and Rey's translation, in spite of their rendition of "se va" as a narrative event ("we marched") instead of the intended descriptive statement ("one goes," "the route goes").

1r41 comun presente. Flint and Flint concur with Pacheco and Cárdenas in transcribing this phrase as "como *u*n presente," and translating it "as a gift."[79] This seems reasonable, but the reading in the manuscript appears to be "comun." This reading is indeed in the Muñoz-Smith version and is followed by Hammond and Rey ("as a customary present").[80]

1v1–2 Avra como dos hornadas. En este pueblo de los Coraçones es vn arroyo de rriego y de tierra caliente. As stated in the introduction, this passage has been the subject of conflicting interpretations causing historical confusion. Pacheco and Cárdenas divide the text as follows: "Habrá como dos jornadas en este pueblo de los Corazones. Es un arroyo de riego y tierra caliente."[81] This interpretation is clearly unsatisfactory for two reasons. First, the use of the future indicative, *habrá*, can only be justified in this context if its meaning is that of implied probability in the present. This use is indeed applied by Jaramillo elsewhere when describing the route that must be followed to get to Cíbola and Quivira, for instance, "seran como ochenta leguas," and "vendran a ser como en çercuyto de seis leguas."[82] Therefore, it is certainly possible to see how the sentence "avra como dos hornadas" may apply to the description of the route to get to Corazones/Ures, but not to the time that Vázquez de Coronado's army actually spent there, as Pachecho and Cárdenas suggest through their sentence division. Further, the use of the verb *ser* with a locative meaning is still well attested around Jaramillo's time, equivalent, depending on the case, to present-day *estar* or impersonal *haber*. Thus, "es un arroyo" becomes "hay un arroyo," as shown by the following examples: "E dize que allí *será* grand lloro e tremor de los dientes"; and "Aquí estava el Rey Faraón, e aquí *son* los graneros que hizo Joseph para guardar el trigo."[83] Therefore, "en este pueblo de los Coraçones" is clearly a prepositional phrase with a locative meaning describing the landscape around the Corazones/Ures settlement, and not an indication of the length of the stay of the Coronado Expedition at that location.

1v10 de lo que tubimos entendido ser hera. Flint and Flint place the infinitive *ser* between parentheses, thus suggesting that it is somehow redundant or agrammatical. The infinitive is, in fact, justified as the head of a subordinate verbal phrase functioning as the direct object of *tuvimos*, even though the immediate co-occurrence of yet another form of the verb *era* (to be) might, at first, appear to justify the sort of editorial intervention practiced by Flint and Flint. Some other sixteenth-century documented uses of *tener entendido*

+ infinitive include the following: "El visorrey, como era crédulo, *tuvo entendido ser* así lo que le decían"; and "Aquí fué el miedo muy grande, que todos *tuvieron entendido ser* presos o muertos."[84]

1v12 nasçi. A puzzling form, either a scribal mistake for *nasçe* or an imperfect *nasçié* (instead of the current–*ía* form) with its final–*e* "masked" under the following vowel (*nasçie en* > *nasçi en*). Coordination with the preceding main verb ("hera [. . .] e nasci[e]") appears to justify an imperfect, and–*ié* imperfects were indeed used well into the sixteenth century, especially outside the northern Castilian area.[85] However, the text is consistent in presenting only–*ía* imperfects elsewhere: "hazia," "dezia," "avia," and "devia," which seems to contradict the *nascié* explanation.[86]

1v15 esotros. This form of double demonstrative, a combination of the demonstrative *es(e)* and the pronoun *otro*, is medieval in origin, but was still common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[87] The paradigm also included *estotro*, with all related plural and feminine forms, and which Jaramillo actually used in 2r35. Flint and Flint mistakenly read "*lo*s otros."[88]

1v16 turara. The meaning of time duration (*durar*) of *turar* is uncommon after the sixteenth century, and the *Diccionario de autoridades* (1726) already considered it archaic: "Perseverar en una cosa en su sér, ò durar, que es como oy se dice."[89]

1v23 Arispa. As stated above, scribal intervention at this point has rendered the original reading, most likely "Arixpa," unclear. Having said this, the correction did not substantially modify it, as it now reads "Arispa." All other prior renditions of this text present the reading "Ispa," but they do identify this location as modern-day Arizpe, Sonora. The source of the confusion seems to be the capital A inserted by the correcting hand, which other scholars seem to have taken as a deletion of *Ar-* in the original reading. No other document of the Coronado Expedition presents any attestation of an "Ispa" reading; Castañeda de Nájera's narrative already contains "Arispa."[90] Many historians have discussed the location of Jaramillo's *Ispa* and most have identified it as Arizpe. However, DiPeso identifies Guisamopa, Sonora, as its location while Carroll L. Riley points to Suya, Sonora.[91] In any event, the manuscript does not seem to present a form "Ispa."

1v33–35 Dende este arroyo atras de Nexpa que tengo dicho bolbemos a mi paresçer casi al nordeste. It is not clear whether the indication "este arroyo atras de Nexpa" is referring the reader back to the Nexpa arroyo or to the one before it—the Señora arroyo.[92] In any case, Flint and Flint's translation, "from this [or] from the Nexpa farther back," seems unwarranted.[93] The "arroyo atras de Nexpa" is evidently a single arroyo, and the phrase "atras de Nexpa," whatever its precise meaning, rules out the possibility of the arroyo in question

being the "arroyo hondo y ca[ñ]ada" that Jaramillo had just mentioned, since this stream comes after the Nexpa arroyo to the northeast.[94] The historical tradition has usually identified the Señora with the Sonora River in Sonora, the Nexpa with the San Pedro River on the Sonora-Arizona border, and the "arroyo hondo" with the Gila River in Arizona.[95] It is important to remember that Jaramillo says that the expedition took a northeasterly route at the "arroyo atras de Nexpa." If, in fact, he was referring to the Señora/Sonora River, and since he stated that the "pueblo de los Coraçones" is on the same stream as the one he later refers to as "De Señora" ("a otro valle que el mjsmo arroyo haze, que se dize De Señora"), the site of the "arroyo atras de Nexpa" would most likely be Corazones/Ures.[96] That is the point where the expedition turned right (first northeast, then north) after following a course roughly parallel to the Gulf of California coast, from Compostela to Corazones/Ures. If this account is correct, Jaramillo's memory would match the traditional version of Vázquez de Coronado's route very closely.[97]

1v41 por auer tanto tienpo que a que lo pasamos. This somewhat redundant structure may be rephrased in present-day Spanish as "por hacer tanto tiempo que hace que lo pasamos." The use of the third-person singular forms of the verb *haber* with *tiempo* to express "how long ago" was common until the eighteenth century, when it lost ground to its modern equivalent with *hacer*. Flint and Flint repeat Pacheco and Cárdenas's erroneous reading: "que aquello pasamos."[98] The reading was correct in the Muñoz-Smith version.[99]

1v42–2r1 que en lo demas no. Dende aqui fuimos. Flint and Flint transcribe this passage: "En lo demas no *ver* de aqui fuimos."[100] They have interpreted a pen flourish in the manuscript at this point as an abbreviation for *ver.* This is clearly the case later on in "verdad," but it is unclear what the meaning of their reading could be in the case at hand.[101] In a note to this passage, they criticize Pacheco and Cárdenas for transcribing this flourish as *y*, thus failing to decipher what they consider "the common scribal symbol for 'ver.'"[102] Their translation of this passage is equally puzzling: "which I did not discuss among the rest."[103] If not merely ornamental, which would render "que en lo demas no. De aqui fuimos," this flourish most probably stands for *den-*, as in "dende aquí," "from here." This reading is perfectly satisfactory, often occurring elsewhere in the document. This reading is indeed the one provided by Muñoz-Smith, and it seems to have been preserved in Hammond and Rey's translation: "[f]rom here we went to another arroyo."[104]

2r11 la misma derrota menos que al nordeste. While the literal meaning of this phrase is "the same route less than to the northeast," the compass indication is unclear. Hammond and Rey translate this phrase as "the same direction, but not so much to the northeast," while Flint and Flint write, "the same

[general] course, but rather to the north[west]."[105] Flint and Flint substitute "northeast" for "northwest" since, as they explain, "the similar ortography of *o* and *d* in some sixteenth-century Spanish scripts led not infrequently to copying errors" causing confusion between *noroeste* and *nordeste*.[106] Unless we find any piece of extratextual evidence to suggest that this compass indication is indeed mistaken, it does not seem justified to assume, as Flint and Flint do, that *nordeste* is a scribal mistake only because that happens to be the case in other documents.[107] As a matter of fact, Jaramillo appears to have been using an uncommon system of route description that combined compass points with quantitative assessments in terms of "less" and "more," and this happens elsewhere in the text: "el rrostro al nordeste o un poquito menos"; "fuimos algo mas que al nordeste"; "nos destrae mas que al este"; and possibly also "la derrota casi al nordeste."[108] One possible solution is that Jaramillo was in fact taking the north as his point of reference, so that "less than northeast" meant a point between north and northeast, and "more than northeast," meant a position between northeast and east, thus allowing Jaramillo to explicitly express cardinal points other than just those at 45-degree intervals. Flint and Flint consider this solution, although they reject it, saying, "this seems to push the bounds of interpretation."[109] In light of the information we have on the route traveled by the Coronado Expedition, however, the aforesaid compass-point references seem to be largely compatible with this proposal.

2r18–20 Es tierra fria y ansi en las casas y estufas que tienen se demuestra. Tienen comjda harta para ellos de mahiz y frisoles y calabaças. The *estufas* of the Cibolans are actually Zuni kivas. An *estufa* is defined in Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco's *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (2006) as "[a]posento recogido y abrigado, que artificialmente le dan calor." An almost identical definition is in the *Diccionario de autoridades* (1732).[110] The members of the Coronado Expedition seem not to have noticed or cared for the primary ritual function of these Pueblo structures. An inside firepit was among the typical components of Pueblo kivas, which may have led the members of the Coronado Expedition to think that they only served as heated rooms for the winter.[111] Even Castañeda de Nájera, who provided a much more detailed description of Pueblo *estufas* than Jaramillo and indeed mentioned the communal and institutional function of these structures, did not refer to their religious significance.[112] All other references to Pueblo kivas in the Coronado Expedition documents ignore this religious aspect as well: "certe stanze sotto terra assai buone e mattonate, le quali son fatte per lo inverno, e sono quasi alla maniera delle stufe"; "y dentro de sus patios y en ellos sus estufas de ynvierno."[113] Flint and Flint fail to recognize sentence division, eliminating the clear causal association between climate and kivas

established by Jaramillo. They translate this passage as: "[i]t is a cold land. So it is clear that they have plenty of food for themselves (corn, beans, squash) in the houses and *estufas* they have."[114] The translations by Winship and Hammond and Rey are much more accurate.[115]

2r23 no muy solada de yerba. The verb *solar* is included in *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* and *Diccionario de autoridades* (1739). *Solar* means "to pave a room" from which the noun *solado* (pavement) derives.[116] Jaramillo obviously extended this meaning to include vegetation cover, or maybe metaphorically as "to pave with grass." The Muñoz-Smith transcription is "salada" (salty), which is obviously a misreading.[117] Winship, suspicious of Pacheco and Cárdenas's often mistaken readings, takes Muñoz-Smith's "salada" to be possibly justified by the "alkali soil" characteristic of the Zuni area.[118]

2r27 bernia. The *Diccionario de autoridades* (1726) defines *bernia*, "Texido de lana basto, como el de una frazada o manta, el cual se suele fabricar de uno u de varios colores." In English the definition reads, "Coarse woven wool blanket or cover, which is customarily made in one or several colors."[119]

2r28 vara. The *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* defines *vara*, "Medida de longitud que se usaba en distintas regiones de España con valores diferentes, que oscilaban entre 768 y 912 mm." In English the definition reads, "Unit of length that was used in various regions of Spain with different values, ranging between 768 and 912 millimeters."[120]

2r32–33 yrquierda. This nonstandard variant of "izquierda," which Flint and Flint edit as "y(r)*z*quierda," is in fact a poorly documented dialectal form which still survives today in some areas.[121] The assimilatory effect of *r* on a preceding consonant cluster, as in *fórforo* < *fósforo*, has been pointed out in New Mexican Spanish by Aurelio Macedonio Espinosa.[122]

2v3–4 vn pueblo en vn puesto muy fuerte de tierra y peña taxada que se dize Tutahaco. Hammond and Rey and Flint and Flint interpret the prepositional phrase "de tierra y peña taxada" as modifying "pueblo" rather than "puesto": "there is a pueblo of earth and cut rock in a very strong place. It is called Tutahaco"; and "[a] *pueblo* made of earth and cut stone and called Tutahaco is in a very strong position."[123] It is true that masonry in Zuni and Hopi settlements usually consisted of "sandstone blocks set in adobe mortar," a mixture of earth and stone.[124] In *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, *peña* is defined as "[p]iedra grande, viva y levantada en forma aguda," and the *Diccionario de autoridades* (1737) states: "piedra grande ò roca viva, que nace de la tierra."[125] These definitions evoke the idea of a big rock or a bolder rather than that of cut stone used in construction. Moreover, Jaramillo's definition of Tutahaco is very reminiscent of Castañeda de Nájera's description of Acuco/Acoma: "era fortissimo porque estaba sobre la entrada del peñol que por todas

partes era de peña tajada en tan grande altura que tuviera un arcabuz bien que hacer en hechar una pelota en lo alto."[126] Here, "peña tajada" clearly refers to the rocky mesa, "peñol," that Acoma stands on and not to the settlement itself, which also appears to be the case in Jaramillo's account.

2v11 Vraba. Flint and Flint's reading, "Brava," reflects one of the flaws of their idiosyncratic transcription method.[127] Assuming that "in the original manuscripts . . . the characters *b* and *v* are nearly indistinguishable," and given the interchangeability of *v* and *u* in the orthographic practices of the time, they adopt a phonetic criterion, using *b* and *v* for the consonant /b/, and *u* for the vowel /u/.[128] While in most cases it is possible to recognize the lexical item noted and, therefore, to reproduce it as containing a consonant or a vowel, the case of *brava—vraba* shows that this distinction is not always straightforward. In fact the scribe of this document makes an orthographic distinction between *b* and *v* that Flint and Flint have overlooked: *b* presents a loop over its left ascender, while *v* does not. The initial character of the reading in question does not present a loop and, therefore, it is best transcribed as *Vraba* (modernizable as *Uraba*). Flint and Flint's reading of *Brava*, however, notes a toponym that is not attested anywhere else.[129] The *v-* (that is, /u/) reading is confirmed by the later scribal annotations with the form *Uraba* on this same document, by the reference in the "Relación del Suceso" to *Yuraba*, and, above all, by the several occurrences of *Uraba* in Castañeda de Nájera's account.[130] Muñoz-Smith, Pacheco and Cárdenas, and Hammond and Rey all maintain the *v* reading, modernized to *u* to reflect the vocalic pronunciation.[131]

2v11 Este Vraba y Çicuyque tienen. Flint and Flint mistakenly read "este Brava y Çicuyque que tienen."[132]

2v12 casas hartas de a dos altos. The adjective *harto* has a variety of meanings, ranging from "sufficient" to "full," "abundant," and even "much."[133] With count nouns, the meaning is that of "many," a use that is widely attested at this time. Flint and Flint's translation, "houses fully two stories tall," fails to capture this meaning.[134] Hammond and Rey's translation, however, is accurate: "many tall houses two stories high."[135]

2v15 texido rralo. This apparently unproblematic reading has tenaciously challenged the eyes of previous transcribers. The Muñoz-Smith text reads "raso" as "satin," a reading preserved by Ternaux-Compans, "une étoffe satinée," and seemingly paraphrased by Hammond and Rey: "[a] smooth [weave]."[136] Pacheco and Cárdenas read "raro," meaning "strange, uncommon," or "outstanding, excellent."[137] Finally, Flint and Flint do read "ralo," but they provide a note in which they equate *ralo* to *raro*, and they translate it as "an excellent cloth."[138] As a matter of fact, both *raro* and *ralo*

share the same etymology, from the Latin *rarus*. Since the reading in the text is clearly *ralo*, however, and both *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* and *Diccionario de autoridades* (1737) only include the loose meaning for this item, it seems more reasonable to think that this meaning was also intended by Jaramillo.[139]

3r4 lo tienen. Muñoz-Smith transcribe "estreñen," which is clearly the result of a misreading.[140]

3r5–7 Son honbres que se mudan aqui y alli, donde mejor les paresçe. En aquellas aguas que entre las vacas ay andubimos como ocho v diez dias. Hammond and Rey consider the phrase "en aquellas aguas que entre las vacas ay" as part of the following sentence: "They are men who wander from place to place as it suits them. [New paragraph] We traveled in the said direction some eight or ten days along the waters found in the cattle country."[141] Flint and Flint include it as part of the prior sentence: "they are men who move here and there, to wherever it seems best to them, at the water sources that there are among the [bison]."[142] The manuscript offers no conclusive evidence as to which reading is the correct one.

3r33 bivienda. The original reads "bienda," most likely a scribal mistake.[143]

3v14 el dixo. Flint and Flint transcribe "le dixo" as "[he] told him," but it is probably only a typographical mistake, since their translation, "he said yes," is accurate.[144]

3v24–25 le yba a la mano en todo lo que en nuestro pro queria. Prometioselo el general. Hammond and Rey follow the sentence division in Pacheco and Cárdenas and mistakenly translate the phrase "en todo lo que en nuestro pro queria" as part of the following sentence: "[t]he general granted him all this, in so far as it was to our advantage."[145] Flint and Flint's translation is accurate: "because he . . . interfered with him in everything he tried on our behalf. The general promised him that."[146]

3v26–27 dixo que queria ser de los treynta el vno. Hammond and Rey incorrectly identify "el general," and not Isopete, as the subject of "queria ser": "The general . . . said that he wanted to be the first of the thirty."[147] Moreover, their translation, as well as Flint and Flint's, mistakenly renders "el vno" as an ordinal numeral: "the first of the thirty"; "the first one of the thirty."[148] They appear to have taken "el" as an article, as in *el uno* = "the [first] one," instead of as a subject pronoun, where *él uno* = "he [wanted to be] one [of the thirty]," referring to Isopete.

3v34 llamamos. Hammond and Rey concur with Ternaux-Compans, Muñoz-Smith, Pacheco and Cárdenas, and Winship in interpreting the reading in the manuscript, "llamos," as a scribal mistake for *hallamos* (we found).[149] This reading, however, results in a clearly redundant sequence: "we came upon

a river which we found there." The mistaken reading most likely stands for *llamamos* (we called). The Spaniards were obviously repeating the customary naming of geographical features according to the saint of the day, as they had already done with the "rrio de San Juan."[150] Flint and Flint include the correct reading, and translate it accordingly.[151]

3v34–35 Y abaxo de Quibira, llegado que fuimos al dicho rrio, lo conosçio el yndio. Flint and Flint's note to this passage explains that the phrase "y abaxo de Quibira" must be a mistake.[152] They reason convincingly that the expedition moved downstream after reaching the Arkansas River, and since Quivira must have been downstream from the point where they reached the river, and not upstream, as the phrase "abaxo de Quibira" implies, this passage must have been written in error.

4r1–2 como tres v quatro hornadas de las nuestras. Hammond and Rey incorrectly translate this as "about three or four days from us."[153] Flint and Flint are more accurate: "about three or four days of *our travel* farther downstream."[154] With the phrase "hornadas de las nuestras," Jaramillo is referring to the distance that they typically traveled in one day, which was about sixteen miles, according to Flint and Flint.[155] The same idea is more unequivocally expressed in 2v1–2: "Ay nueue hornadas *de las que nosotros haziamos* dende esta poblaçion de Çibola hasta el rrio de Tihuex."[156]

4r9 rretraguardia. Flint and Flint edit this form by modernizing it as "rret(r) aguardia" and isolate the epenthetic *r* according to the current standard form. The form *retraguardia* (rearguard), however, is well attested in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, together with alternative forms *retaguard(i)a* and *retroguard(i)a*.

4r11 dalle. This form reflects the assimilatory simplification of *rl* clusters (*darle*) in a palatal lateral phoneme /ʎ/, a very common feature of sixteenth-century Spanish that currently survives in a few nonstandard dialects.[157] This feature appears elsewhere in the text: "sabella y aralla"; "enbiallas"; "poblalla."[158]

4r13–14 rrescibiose algun contento. Hammond and Rey and Flint and Flint fail to identify this phrase as an impersonal (*pasiva refleja*) construction, and translate it respectively: "Isopete received some satisfaction," and "the general got some satisfaction."[159] Winship's translation is more to the point: "[s]ome satisfaction was experienced."[160] Jaramillo is clearly referring to the relief felt by all expedition members at the prospect of economic profit at Quivira after the disappointment they experienced at Cíbola and the Rio Grande pueblos.

4r24 seis v siete. The document presents the redundant reading "seis v seis poblaçiones," most likely a scribal mistake for "seis v siete."

4r29 teucarea. Flint and Flint present an interesting summary of the opinions regarding the identification of this toponym.[161] The original document,

however, does not make it clear whether "teucarea" is a toponym or a more general word, such as a noun or an adjective, used by the Quivirans to describe the area in question. Hammond and Rey were careful enough not to assume that it was a toponym.[162] All other prior commentators of this document have invariably transcribed this item as "teucarea," except for Pacheco and Cárdenas, who leave the whole sentence untranscribed. Given that *l* and *e* are often indistinguishable, the right transcription may be "teucarla."

4v1 nos pregunto el general. Flint and Flint transcribe this as "los pregunto el general," overlooking the scribal correction of "los" to "nos" in the manuscript.[163] They have accordingly interpreted this as the indirect object pronoun in the translation, which reads "the general asked *them* what we should do."[164] The antecedent of "them" in their translation is an edited "the men," which partially preserves the general meaning of the passage, with Vázquez de Coronado requesting advice from his captains. Hammond and Rey offer the same translation, with "various people" as the antecedent of "them."[165] The expected form for a third-person plural indirect object, however, would be *les*, and nowhere else in the document does Jaramillo show use of etymological direct object pronouns as indirect objects, or *loísmo*, a use present historically in a few varieties of Spanish.[166] The Muñoz-Smith transcription includes this grammatically comfortable *les*, but this reading is clearly unsupported by the manuscript.[167] Ternaux-Compans translates this passage as "[l]e général . . . voulut savoir ce qu'il y avait à faire," thus avoiding any compromise on the form of the indirect object.[168] The scribal correction, systematically ignored in all previous transcriptions and translations, and possibly practiced by the original scribe himself in order to amend his own mistake, opts for the first-person plural pronoun *nos*. Not only is this reading much easier to account for as an indirect object than *los*, but it also fits much better into the general referential frame of the passage, with Jaramillo presenting himself as part of the group of captains offering Vázquez de Coronado their opinion: "the general asked *us* what we should do." The sentences that follow, with the author explaining the opinion of the group from the first-person plural perspective, clearly confirm this interpretation.[169]

4v1 acordandonos. Hammond and Rey translate this verb as "remembering," according to its most common meaning in present-day Spanish, and they identify "the general" as its subject.[170] Flint and Flint render this passage "all of us, who were in agreement," reflecting one of the historically possible meanings for *acordar(se)*: "Concordar, convenir, y ser de un mismo dictamen, conformandose los unos con los otros."[171] This meaning, however, does not justify the prepositional object, "de como avia quedado el exerçito y que estauamos nosotros allj," which expresses facts rather than issues on which any

agreement may be reached.[172] Flint and Flint's reading seems to be another case of failure to locate sentence boundaries in the text. The phrase that starts "acordandonos" is subordinate to the main sentence, the subject of which is "el general." The meaning of the verb *acordar* appears to be "to remind (someone of something)," "hacer memoria á otro de alguna cosa."[173] Thus, the sentence in 4v1–2 should be translated as "the general asked us what we should do, reminding us of the situation in which the rearguard had been left and of the fact that we were there." This rendering is important because it shows that Jaramillo is placing the responsibility for the idea of returning to Tiguex on Vázquez de Coronado and not just on his captains.[174]

4v12 verano. The manuscript reads "vereno," which is most likely a scribal mistake.[175]

4v12–14 Aquj, que como digo fue lo prostero a lo que llegamos visto, el Turco, que nos avia mentido, apellido y muño toda esta poblaçion. All other prior commentators of this text have assumed that the participle *visto* operates here as head of a participial phrase with a causal function as it does in 3r25–27, "visto el otro yndio . . . que no nos lleuaua por donde aviamos de yr." This usage can be translated as "realizing that." This translation creates a nonsensical reading, which Hammond and Rey did not modify: "The Turk, realizing that he [himself] had lied to us."[176] Ternaux-Compans molded the reading into "[o]n a vu que le Turc nous avait trompés," while Flint and Flint opt for "having realized that [we knew] that he had lied to us."[177] It is possible that *visto* is dependent on *llegamos*, which, unlike the case in 3r25–27, would act as a quasi-auxiliary verb, with the meaning "[the last part/place of what] we got to see." As with so many other passages in the text, sentence division is the key issue.

4v13 prostero. The etymological form is *postrero*, but the metathesis of *r* into the first syllable is not surprising given the learned and, therefore, uncommon nature of this item.

4v28 sera. Flint and Flint have translated this verb as "I expect that [the land] is very productive."[178] Although the future indicative in Spanish may be used as an indicator of implied probability in the present, rather than as a marker of future tense, as happens in some other places in the text, this usage does not seem to be the case here.[179] Jaramillo is clearly referring to the quality of the land once the Spaniards settle upon it in the future, a meaning captured by Hammond and Rey: "I am of the belief that *it will be* very productive."[180] This distinction is important because Jaramillo wrote the letter to inform his addressee about his belief that the colonization of Quivira would prove to be a profitable endeavor.

4v29 frutifera. The etymological form is *fructífera*, but the simplification of consonant clusters in certain learned words was common even in formal

registers at this time (e.g., *digno* / *dino*, *exento* / *esento*, *secta* / *seta*). The vacillation between full and simplified forms was not solved in the standard language until the academic reforms of the eighteenth century. These reforms were usually, but not always, in favor of the full form.[181]

4v29–30 En los ganados ya esta la ynspiriençia en la mano por la muchedunbre que ay. The phrases *estar en la mano* or *tener (algo) en la mano* were common at this time and meant "to be easy," or "to be available," as shown in the following examples from the *Real Academia Española Corpus diacrónico del español* (*CORDE*): "y con las traças propuestas de la euacuacion, la preseruatiua de otros males *esta en la mano*"; and "Ahora *tenemos la experiencia en la mano* . . . y pues Dios nos ha librado de esta, conviene poner remedio."[182] The form *ynspiriençia* represents an unlearned alternative to the learned *experiencia*, and it is attested in other sources from the same time.

4v31 cirguelas. The addition of a voiced velar consonant /g/ before the /we/ diphthong (*ciruela* > *cirguela*) is common in many varieties of Spanish even today (*hueso* > *gueso*; *huevo* > *guevo*).

4v33 negras. The document reads "nedras," which appears to be a scribal mistake.

4v34 Castilla. The document reads "castillo," which also appears to be a scribal mistake.

5r23–24 dio muestras de rrujn dispusiçion y fabrico la vuelta. As with so many other events of the expedition, Castañeda de Nájera elaborates much more than Jaramillo on how Vázquez de Coronado's decision to return to New Spain came into being, against the wish of many of his soldiers, after being injured in the head by the hoof of Rodrigo de Maldonado's horse.[183] The phrase "de ruin disposición" is problematic, since *ruin* was a usual equivalent at this time for "bad," and *disposición* meant both "attitude, disposition, behavior" and "health."[184] Hammond and Rey translate this sentence as "he showed a mean disposition and plotted the return," while Flint and Flint translate it as "[h]e showed signs of poor health. And he concocted our return." Flint and Flint reject Hammond and Rey's translation, believing it puts a "negative slant on the phrase."[185] Castañeda de Nájera's account seems to coincide with Flint and Flint's interpretation more closely than Hammond and Rey's, but Jaramillo's subsequent reference to Vázquez de Coronado's stubbornness, "que diez v doze de nosotros con rrequerirselo no fuimos parte para estorbarselo," also seems to partially confirm Hammond and Rey's translation.[186]

5r33–34 algunas criaturas que en articulo de la muerte hallase. Ternaux-Compans, Hammond and Rey, and Flint and Flint all interpret *criaturas* as

"little children" ("enfants"; "children"; "infants").[187] Although this meaning is common for this term, *criatura* could also refer to any living being and, as such, may be designating unbaptized people, regardless of their age. This usage is the case in the following examples from *CORDE*: "[m]uy gran beneficio es del Criador querer emendar y corregir las obras de las *criaturas*"; and "son más de cinco mil *criaturas* entre caballeros y escuderos y homes buenos y homes malos."[188]

5r36–5v1 aprenderia presto la lengua de allj con que le ayudasen. As discussed in the introduction, this sentence has received a wide variety of interpretations. The source of the confusion is the ambiguous subject indexing of each verb, which leaves the reader unsure as to who is going to learn the language of Quivira and who is supposed to help in that task. Cristóbal may have been a slave taken from the Arkansas River tribes by Vázquez de Coronado's men; or one of those Quivirans already made prisoners by the Pueblo Indians who accompanied the expedition in its northeast route, like el Turco, Isopete, and Xabe; or even one of those five or six Quivirans who the Spaniards took with them as guides back to Tiguex.[189] If it was the latter, Cristóbal could have helped Fray Juan learn the language that he would use in his preaching. We do know that the friar took those Quiviran guides back with him.[190] If, on the contrary, Cristóbal was a slave from New Spain or an African slave, he cannot have been expected to help the friar, although he may have been counted on to learn the language with the help of the Quivirans.[191] In any event, as is the case in present-day Spanish, the third-person plural in "ayudasen" does not necessarily imply a plural subject pragmatically.

5v4 quedasemos. Flint and Flint edit this form as "quedase*n*(mos)," thus preferring the third-person plural form over the first-person plural and making it agree with the phrase "algunos yndios de los de por aca y dos negros," which they take to be the subject.[192] They translate this passage: "the reason some Indians from here and two Blacks remained [behind]."[193] This is another instance of biased editing according to the rules of standard Spanish. The use of some intransitive verbs, especially *caer* (to fall) and *quedar* (to stay) as transitive, that is, "to knock down" and "to leave," in the speech of some western Iberian areas, is still common today.[194] This dialectal fact explains the form "quedasemos" ("we left behind" + direct object), with Jaramillo and his peers as the subject, and the "indios" and "negros" as the direct object rather than the subject. In other words, those who stayed did not do so voluntarily. Flint and Flint's rendition suggests that this transitive use of *quedar* is a scribal mistake rather than a common dialectal use, not surprising in the speech of a native from Extremadura, such as Jaramillo. Hammond and Rey's translation,

"the cause for the staying of some Indians . . . and two negroes," also fails to capture the transitivity of the action.[195]

5v7 lljcençiado. The *Diccionario de autoridades* (1734) defines *lljcençiado*, "se toma por el que ha sido graduado en alguna facultád, dándole licéncia y permiso para poder enseñarla." In English the definition reads, "it is used for a person who has graduated in a college discipline, thereby being granted the license or permission to teach it."[196]

5v15 o de alli junto. Flint and Flint transcribe "e de ally junto."[197]

5v19–20 fueron muñjdores o los que lo hizieron. Derived from the verb *muñir* "to call, to announce" but also "to plot," the noun *muñidor* presents two basic meanings, namely "messenger" and "plotter." Although both *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* and the *Diccionario de autoridades* (1734) only include a meaning derived from the former, the latter meaning was also common in the sixteenth century, as can be seen in these examples from *CORDE*: "confesó luego sin tormento que él había sido el *muñidor* de la liga y conjuración"; and "[e]ste fue después el atizador de aquel fuego y *muñidor* de aquella persecución tan grande."[198] The translations by Hammond and Rey and Flint and Flint both render this item as "messengers," which does not reflect Jaramillo's complementary distribution of ideas, that is, "the Indians whom he took back from Tiguex were either the ones who plotted [his killing] or the ones who actually killed him."[199]

5v23 porque ellos vinjieron. The manuscript reads "para que," which, in all likelihood, is a scribal mistake, given the general sense of this sentence and the use of an indicative form, "vinjeron."

5v24–25 E dado aviso desto a Gonçalo Solis de Meras y a Ysidro de Solis. To date these individuals have not been properly identified. It is tantalizing to think, however, that Gonzalo Solís de Merás is the same person as the brother-in-law and nephew to Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, the leader of the expedition to Florida in 1565. Solís de Merás wrote an account of Menéndez's feats in Florida. This account, generally referred to as the *Memorial*, was first published in full as part of Eugenio Ruidíaz y Caravia's *La Florida: Su conquista y colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés* (1893). A short fragment had already been reproduced by Andrés González de Barcia in his *Ensayo chronológico para la historia general de la Florida* (1723).[200] According to Jeannette Thurber Connor, Merás's *Memorial* was probably written in 1567.[201] Both González de Barcia and Ruidíaz assert that Solís de Merás was a member of Menéndez's expedition in Florida.[202] He may have also been the same person as the Gonzalo de Solís who covered the costs of transporting Menéndez's remains from Llanes to Avilés in 1591.[203] Little else is known about Solís de Merás. As a historian of the Florida expedition, he may have been

interested in collecting information about the Spanish exploration of other areas of North America, although his *Memorial* does not mention Vázquez de Coronado's enterprise. I have not been able to confirm the identity of Isidro de Solís, although the coincidence in names suggests a family connection between him and Solís de Merás.

Translation

In this translation, square brackets identify text that is supplied as a paraphrase of the material in the manuscript of the "Relación," or information that can be safely inferred from the text and is necessary to its understanding. Some terms which have no direct equivalence in English have been left in their Spanish form and identified in italics. Their meaning has been explained in the previous commentary.

[f. 1r] Account given by Captain Juan Jaramillo about the expedition that he made to Tierra Nueva, of which Francisco Vazquez de Coronado was [the] general.

We left Mexico City straight for Compostela, this route being fully populated and peaceful. Its general direction is approximately to the west, and the distance is one hundred and twenty leagues. From there we went to Culiacán, which is about 80 leagues [from Compostela]. This route is well known and frequently used because, in the said valley of Culiacán, there is a *villa* populated by Spaniards which belongs to the *repartimiento* of Compostela. To get to this *villa*, the route turns and continues approximately to the northeast. From here, [only] 60 of us, mounted men, continued with the general because we learned that the route [that lay ahead] was uninhabited and most of it [had] no provisions. Therefore, the general left his army [behind] and he pressed on with the said [men] to reconnoiter that route and to forward news to those who were coming behind. We continued on the same direction with only a few meanderings, until we crossed a mountain chain which I had already heard of from here in New Spain more than three hundred leagues away. At this pass, we named this mountain chain Chichilte Calli, since we had heard from some Indians that we had left behind that that was its name.

After leaving the said valley of Culiacán, the route continues to a river called Petlatlán, which must be about four days' journey away. We found the Indians [who lived here] to be peaceful and they gave us a few things to eat. From here, we went to another river called Sinaloa, which must be about a three days' journey from the other river [of Petlatlán]. From here, the general ordered ten of us mounted men to double our speed by traveling light until

we got to the Arroyo de los Cedros, and, once there, to enter an opening in the mountains that was to the right of the route and to see what was in and behind those mountains. [He added] that, if we needed more days than we had gained, he would wait for us at the said Arroyo de los Cedros. It was done just like that. All we saw in that area were a few Indians living in what appeared to be temporary settlements in some valleys [that seemed to be] unproductive land. From the river [of Petatlán] to this Arroyo [de los Cedros] there must be about five days of travel.

From here, we went to the river that is called Yaquemi, which must be at three days' distance. From this [river], the route continues by way of a dry stream. We traveled for another three days, although the dry stream must be no longer than one league. [After these three days], we arrived at a different stream where some Indians were settled. They had thatched dwellings and [they grew] corn and beans and squash. After leaving this place, we continued to the stream and the settlement called Los Corazones. This name was given by Dorantes, Cabeza de Vaca, Castillo, and Estebanillo the Black, and they chose this name because [the people who lived in this place] gave them the hearts of animals and birds to eat and as their customary present. [f. 1v] [This place of Los Corazones] must be about two days away from the previous stream. At this settlement of Los Corazones, there is an irrigation stream. The weather [in this region] is hot. Their dwellings take the shape of huts [that they build by] setting up poles almost as if they were ovens but much larger, and covering them up with mats. They grow corn and beans and squash to eat, and I believe that they have enough [of these things]. They wear deerskins. And because this place seemed to be well disposed, it was ordered that a *villa* should be settled here by the Spaniards who were coming behind, where they ended up living almost until the end of the expedition. There is [a type of] poison in this area and, according to what was seen that it could do and its effects, it is the most dangerous kind to be found anywhere. As we found out, it came from the sap of a small bush similar to the mastic tree, which grows among slate and on barren soil. From here, we continued to another valley through what seemed like a small pass very near the aforementioned stream. This valley is formed by the same stream, which is called Señora, and it is also irrigated, and populated by more Indians than the previous valleys, and with the same type of settlements and crops. This valley must be about six or seven leagues long, more or less. At the beginning, the Indians here were peaceful, but afterwards they were not. On the contrary, they were very hostile, together with those that they managed to call together from around the area. They have [a type of] poison which they killed several Christians with. Their valley is flanked by mountain ranges on both sides, but they are

not very productive. From here, we followed the course of this said stream, crossing it at some of its meanders, to another settlement of Indians called Arispa. From the previous [settlement] to this one there must be about a day of journey. These Indians have the same mode of life as the previous ones.

From here, the route continues for about four days through uninhabited territory to another stream which, as we found out, was called Nexpa. Here, a few Indians came out to see the general and [to offer] some gifts of little value, as well as some roasted maguey stalks and [some] pitahaya cactus fruits. We went downstream for two more days and, leaving the arroyo behind, we turned right until we got to the foot of the mountain range, where we were informed that it was called Chichiltic Calli. Once we crossed the mountains, we arrived at a canyon with a deep stream, where we found water and pasture for the horses. From the stream back at Nexpa that I mentioned earlier, I believe that the general direction that we had followed was almost toward the northeast. From this [canyon, and] continuing in the same direction, I think it took us another three days to arrive at a river which we named San Juan, because it was this [festivity] when we arrived there. After leaving this river, we went to another river, crossing somewhat hilly territory [but bearing] more toward the north. We called [this] river De las Balsas, because we used rafts to cross it, since it was swollen. I think that it took us two days to get from one river to the other, and I say this [only] because it has been such a long time since we crossed it, that I may be mistaken about the number of days, but not about anything else. From [f. 2r] here, we went to another stream which we called De la Barranca. There are two short days of journey from the previous stream to this one, and the general direction is almost to the northeast. From here, in a day of journey, we went to another river which we named Río Frío, because its waters were cold. And after this, we went through a pine forest, almost at the end of which we found a spring and a stream of fresh water, which must be at about another day of travel. And at this place of the stream, a Spaniard named Espinosa and two other people died from [the poison of] some herbs that they ate because of the great hunger that they were in. From here, after two days of travel and [continuing in the] same general direction, although not as much toward the northeast, we went to another stream which we named Bermejo. Here we saw one or two Indians which later on turned out to be from the first pueblo of Cíbola.

From here after two days of travel we arrived at the said first settlement of Cíbola. The houses are flat-roofed, and the walls are made of stone and mud. And this [is where] they had killed Estebanillo, the Black, who had come with Dorantes from Florida and was returning [to Cíbola] with fray Marcos de Niza. In this province of Cíbola there are five small settlements including

this one, [and they] all have flat-roofed houses [made of] stone and mud, as I just mentioned. It is a cold region, as proved by the [kind of] houses and *estufas* that they have. They have plenty of food for themselves, [including] corn and beans and squash. These pueblos are about a league or a little farther away from each other, so that the route through all of them comes to about six leagues. The land is somewhat sandy and not much covered with grass, and the woods in the area are mostly of sabine trees. The Indians' clothing is made of extremely well-tanned deerskins. They also obtain some tanned buffalo skins which they use to cover themselves. They are similar to *bernias* and they provide much protection against the cold. They have square cotton blankets, some bigger than others, [but generally] about a *vara* and a half long. The women wear them on their shoulders as Gypsy women do, wrapped twice around the waist with a sash also made of the same [kind of] cotton. From this first pueblo of Cíbola, facing the northwest or a little less than that [and] at a distance of five days of travel toward the left, one finds a province called Tusayán, which has seven pueblos of flat-roofed houses and provisions as good as these other ones [of Cíbola] or even better, and a larger population. And they also have the [same] deerskins and buffalo skins, and the cotton blankets that I just mentioned. All the watercourses that we found, [including] rivers and streams, up to this [region] of Cíbola, and possibly up to one or two days of journey farther ahead, flow toward the Southern Sea, and the ones after that [flow] toward the Northern Sea.

After this pueblo, [which was the] first one in Cíbola, as I already mentioned, we went to another one of the same group, [situated] on the way to Tihuex. [f. 2v] There are nine days of travel, [counting] by the distance that we used to cover [in one day], from this [other] pueblo of Cíbola to the river of Tihuex. A pueblo called Tutahaco, which stands on a cliffy mountain of earth and rock that [appears] hard to attack, is located between [this other pueblo of Cíbola and the river of Tihuex]. I do not know if it is situated one day of travel after or before the midpoint of this route. All of these Indians welcomed us well, except the ones at the first pueblo of Cíbola. Once one gets to the river of Tihuex, there are fifteen pueblos alongside it within a distance of twenty leagues. They all have flat-roofed houses made of mud but no stone, the same as mud walls [are usually made]. There are other pueblos on other streams that flow into this [larger] one, and three of [these pueblos] are very much worth seeing for being Indian settlements, especially one that is called Chia, and another one [called] Uraba and another one [called] Cicuique. These [pueblos of] Uraba and Cicuique have a lot of two-story houses. All the other pueblos, as well as these ones, have corn and beans and squash, hides, and some feather capes that they make by twisting together the feathers and

some threads, and then they weave them into a [type of] thin, loose cloth of which they make the blankets with which they protect themselves from the cold. All [these pueblos] have underground *estufas*, and even though [they are not] very finely built, [they are a] very good shelter from the cold. They have a little bit of cotton that they gather from which they make the blankets that I have mentioned. This river [of Tihuex] comes from about the northwest and flows more or less toward the southeast, which proves, as happens to be the case, that it flows into the Northern Sea. After leaving this said group of pueblos and the river, we traveled by way of two other pueblos, the name of which I cannot remember, to the aforementioned [pueblo of] Cicuique in about four days of journey. The general direction of this [stretch of the route] is toward the northeast.

From here, we continued on to another river which we Spaniards call [river] of Cicuique in three days of travel, if my memory serves me well. In order to get to this river at the point where we crossed it, I think that we [followed a route] a little bit past the northeast. And once we crossed it, we turned more toward the left, which was more [toward] the northeast proper, and we began to enter the plains where the buffalos roam, even though we did not find them until we had traveled for more than four or five days. After that, we started to come across male buffalos, of which there is a large amount. And staying in the same general direction, after marching for another two or three days finding bulls, we later came to find ourselves among a huge amount of female, young and male buffalo, all mixed. In this region where we started to come across the buffalo, we found Indians that the ones from the flat-roofed houses called "querechos." They did not live in houses. Instead, they build a sort of huts at the spots where they migrate which they use as houses, which [they build] with some poles that they bring with them. They put [these poles] together, they tie them up on the top [f. 3r] and they spread them around on a circle on the bottom, covering it all with some buffalo hides that they bring, and they use [this type of dwelling] as their houses, as I already mentioned. According to what we learned about these Indians, they obtain all their living supplies from the buffalo, because they eat and make their clothes and shoes from them. They are people who migrate here and there, wherever they see fit. We traveled up to another eight or ten days in the said direction among the streams to be found in the area where the buffalo live.

After this point, the Indian who was guiding us started to say things which we later found to be untrue. This Indian was the one who had given us the information about Quivira and Arahey being very rich region[s], with a lot of gold and other things, and [both] this one and another one were from this area that I have just mentioned, and we had found them in the pueblos

of the flat-roofed houses. It appears that [he did that] because he wanted to go to his native land, and I am not sure if it was because of this, or because he had been advised to take us by way of other places, modifying our route, even though there are no other paths in this whole region other than the buffalo trails. We also found out that he had led us away from the route that we were supposed to follow and that he had taken us into those plains the way he had in hopes that we would exhaust our food and that, for lack of it, we and our horses would become weak. As a result, by following him back and forth, we would not be able to resist whatever they may want to do to us. Finally, after all of these days of journey, having entered the plains after leaving the said settlement of querechos, he led us in the direction beyond the east, until we found ourselves in extreme distress for lack of food. The other Indian, who was his companion and from the same land, seeing that he was not leading us by the way that we were supposed to go, and that we had never heeded his opinion but the Turk's—which was the name [that we gave the first Indian]—threw himself on the ground across the path, indicating that we may as well cut his head because he was not going to go that way and that it was not our route, either. I think we kept marching in that direction for another twenty days or more, after which we found another settlement of Indians with the same dwellings and mode of life than the previous ones, among whom was one blind, old and bearded Indian who, through signs that he made to us, made us understand that he had seen another four of us, indicating that he had seen [them] a long time ago somewhere nearby, [but] closer to New Spain. And we understood and assumed that they must have been Dorantes and Cabeza de Vaca and those that I have already mentioned.

At this settlement, and given our distressful situation, the general summoned us [f. 3v] captains and individuals whose opinion he used to consult, so that we would give him [our opinion,] adding it to his own. And everybody said that we thought that the whole expedition should return to the region that we had departed from to obtain provisions, and that thirty should be chosen among us to go in search of what the Indian had talked about. We ended up agreeing on this resolution. We all continued for another day of travel up to a stream that flowed between some cliffs and with good meadows between [them], in order to decide who was to press forward from there and how the rest were to turn around. Here we asked the Indian Isopete, as we called him, who was the Turk's companion, to tell us the truth and to lead us to that land which we were in search of. And he said that he would do it and that [that region] was not as the Turk had told us, because those things that he had said and suggested to us were certainly an exaggeration, including [his stories about] the gold and how it was extracted, and about the buildings

and their mode of construction, and the trade, and many other things which I omit for lack of space. And it was because of these things that we had gone in search of them, with the approval of everybody who expressed it, including the religious. Consequently, [Isopete] asked that, as a reward for guiding us, he wanted us to let him stay in that land because it was his homeland. And he also asked that the Turk not travel with him because he would always quarrel with him and he would give him a hard time about everything that he was trying [to do] on our behalf. The general promised him [all] this, and [Isopete] also said that he wanted to be one of the thirty, and it was done like that. And, once we had prepared ourselves to leave and the others had prepared themselves to stay, we continued our journey, turning always from this place toward the north for more than thirty days or almost thirty days of travel, although not by long distances each day. We never lacked water during any of them, and we always [marched] among the buffalo, which some days [were] more abundant than others, depending on the [location of] the streams that we would find. Thus, on the day of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, we came to a river to which we gave that name. And once we had arrived to that river below Quivira, the Indian recognized it and he said that that was the one and that the settlements were downstream.

We crossed it at this point and followed its course downstream on the northern bank, turning toward the northeast, and after three days of travel we found some Indians who were out hunting buffalo to bring meat [f. 4r] to their settlement, which was even farther downstream at the distance that we would normally cover in three or four days. At this place where we found these Indians and they saw us, they became alarmed, yelling and showing that they wanted to run away. Some of them even had their women there with them. The Indian Isopete started to call them in their language, and that is how they came to us with no signs of fear. Once we and they came to a stop, the general revealed the Indian Turk, whom we had always brought hidden in the rearguard, and every time we would arrive to where we were to camp, we would make sure that the other Indian whom we called Isopete would not see him, to respect his request. Once we saw the good appearance of this land, as indeed it was a fine land between the buffalo and that one and also from there on, we experienced some relief, and here the general wrote a letter for the governor of Arahey and Quivira, assuming that he was a Christian from the shipwrecked fleets of Florida, as we had surmised from the type of government and social order that the Indian had told us that he had. Once the Indians left for their dwellings, which were at the said distance, we continued our route on our own, until we came to their settlement, which we found among streams, with not much water, but nevertheless good and

with fine meadows, flowing into the larger river [of Saint Peter and Saint Paul] that I have mentioned. If my memory serves me well, there were six or seven settlements at some distance from one another. We journeyed among them for four or five days, by which it is to be understood that the territory between streams is uninhabited.

We arrived to what they said was the end of Quivira, where they led us with reports that is was something worth seeing, which they signified to us by saying [the word] "teucarea." Here was a river with more water and population than the previous ones. When we asked them if there was anything after that, they said that it was not Quivira [anymore], but Arahey, and that it would be of the same type of mode of life, settlement and population size as that [which we had already seen]. The general sent notice to invite the lord of these Indians and the other ones [that lived farther on]. They said [that this lord] lived in Arahey. He came with about 200 men, all of them naked [carrying] bows and I do not know what things on their heads and barely covering their private parts. He was a big and well-proportioned Indian with a large trunk and limbs. Having heard the opinion of the [various members of the expedition] [f. 4v], the general asked us what we should do, reminding us of the situation in which the rearguard had been left and of the fact that we were there. Therefore, we all agreed that, since it was almost the beginning of winter already—because, if I remember well, it was past mid-August—and given that there were too few of us to spend the winter there, and the little equipment that we had for that, and the uncertainty of the success of the expedition that we had left behind, and because we did not want the winter [weather] to close our route with snow and [swollen] rivers that would prevent us from crossing, and also because we wanted to see how the people whom we had left behind were faring, His Grace should go back in search of them, and once [we] had found them and known how they were doing, [we] should spend the winter there and return to that land at the beginning of the summer, to explore it and to plow it. Here, which as I have mentioned was the last part of what we got to see, the Turk, who had lied to us, called and summoned all of that people, so that they would fall upon us one night and kill us. We found out about it and it put us on guard, and that [same] night we garroted him, so that he did not wake up the next day. Under the said agreement, we went back, I do not remember whether two or three days, [to a place] where we arranged our supply of grains of green corn and dry corn for the way back. At this site, the general erected a cross, at the foot of which some letters were carved with a chisel, which said that Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, the general of that armed expedition, had reached that place.

This land is very fine looking, so much that I have not seen a better one all over our [country of] Spain, or in Italy or part of France, or even in other lands that I have traveled while serving His Majesty, because it is not a mountainous land, but with hills and plains and rivers of fine appearance and waters, all of which certainly satisfied me. And I expect that it will be a very productive and fructiferous land. In regards to cattle, it has already been proved because of the large amounts of it that there are, which is as much as anybody may want to think. We found a type of Castilian plums which are not completely red but in between red and somewhat black and green. The tree and the fruit are clearly [the same as in] Castile, with a very pleasant flavor. Among the buffalo we found flax that grows in that land in small clumps separated from each other, which is left [growing] there, with its little heads and blue flowers, because the cattle does not eat it, as well as small but excellent sumac, [f. 5r] [the same as the one] native of Spain. [We also found] along some streams grapes with decent flavor for not being cultivated. The houses that these Indians had were made of thatch and many of them were round, and the thatch reached down to the ground as a wall, [but they] did not have the size and the shape of the ones here [in New Spain]. On the outside and in addition to this, they had a sort of chapel or sentry box with an entrance, from where the Indians would look out either sitting or laying down.

The Indian Isopete was left at this site where the cross was erected, and five or six Indians were taken from the settlements around that area so that they would lead us and guide us to the [pueblos of the] flat-roofed houses. That is how they brought us back on the same route [as before] up to where I said earlier that we had found the river that we named San Pedro and San Pablo, and after that they took [a different route from] the one that we had been following, and turning right they led us along streams and among the buffalo. [It was] a good path, even though there is none around other than those [used by] the buffalo, as I already mentioned. We ended up coming to a land which we recognized as the one where I said earlier that we had found the settlement where the Turk led us astray from the route that we were supposed to follow. So [it was that], leaving out other details, we arrived at Tihuex, where we found the rest of the expedition. Here the general fell while racing his horse and got his head wounded, because of which he showed a mean disposition and concocted our return, which ten or twelve of us were unable to dissuade him about, even though we pleaded with him.

Thus, once the return [of the expedition] was ordered, the Franciscan friars who were with us were prepared to stay and already had a permit from their provincial [to do so]. One [was] ordained and the other one [was] a lay brother, the ordained one's name being fray Juan de Padilla, and the lay one's

[being] fray Luis de Escalona. Fray Luis wanted to stay in the said [pueblos of the] flat-roofed houses, saying that he would erect crosses throughout those pueblos with a chisel and an adze that he still had, and that he would baptize some souls that he would find on the verge of death to send them to heaven. For this [task] he wanted no other companion for his consolation than a young slave of mine named Cristóbal [f. 5v], adding that he would learn the local language fast if he only got some help, and he insisted so much upon this that I could not deny it to him, and that was the last that we heard from him. As far as I know, the fact that this friar stayed in that area was the reason why we left some of the Indians that we had brought from here [in New Spain] and two Black [slaves], one [of whom] was mine and whose name was Sebastián and the other was Melchor Pérez's, who is *licenciado* La Torre's son. And this Black [slave of his] was married, with his wife and children. And I remember that several Indians also stayed in Quivira, including one from my company, a Tarascan whose name was Andrés. Fray Juan de Padilla insisted on returning to Quivira and he sought to have those Indians that I said we had brought as guides given to him. They were given to him and he took them, as well as a Portuguese and a Spanish-speaking freed Black who went as a tertiary and became a Franciscan friar, and a mestizo and two Indians who I think were from Zapotlán or somewhere nearby, whom he had raised and was bringing along wearing friar habits. He [also] took sheep and mules and a horse and church ornaments and other trifles, [and] I do not know whether it was because of these [things] or for which reason, but it seems that he was killed. The same Indians that he had brought back from Tihuex were the ones who plotted [his killing] or the ones who actually killed him, in payment for the good deeds that he had done. And so, once he was dead, the said Portuguese and one of the Indians that, as I mentioned, he brought with him in friar's habits ran away, or maybe both [of those Indians did].

I mention this because they made it back to this land of New Spain by way of another route with a different direction than the one that I have referred to, and they ended up reaching the valleys of Pánuco. I have informed Gonzalo Solís de Merás and Isidro de Solís about this, because I thought that it was something important, in view of what you have told me and since I have understood that His Majesty instructed Your Lordship to find or locate a route to link that land [of Quivira] with this one [of New Spain]. And also because this said Indian Sebastian may have formed a clear idea during the time he spent in Quivira about that region and the lands around it, as well as about the sea and the route that he followed, and what is to be found along this route and how many days of travel it takes to get here [to New Spain]. Thus, if Your Lordship finds a route from here to Quivira and Arahey, I am certain

that you will be able to bring a lot of people from Spain to settle in it with no chance of failure, in view of the appearance [f. 6r] and the indications that the land shows.
Account by Captain Juan Jaramillo of the expedition led by Francisco Vazquez de Coronado to Cibola and Quivira.

Notes

1. The memory of the Coronado Expedition is kept alive in the most unexpected ways. In a recent Hollywood blockbuster entitled *National Treasure 2: Book of Secrets* (2008), starring Nicholas Cage and Helen Mirren, the protagonists search for the secret ancient city of Cíbola by following the clues provided by a confidential book kept at the Library of Congress. Their story, which somehow manages to bring together Spanish conqueror Pánfilo de Narváez, Spanish explorer Cabeza de Vaca, Pres. Abraham Lincoln, and lots of free-masonry paraphernalia, ends when the characters find Cíbola in a cave located beneath Mount Rushmore! *National Treasure 2: Book of Secrets*, DVD, directed by Jon Turteltaub (Burbank, Calif.: Walt Disney Home Entertainment, 2008).
2. Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Coronado: Knight of Pueblos and Plains* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1949); Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, eds., *The Coronado Expedition to Tierra Nueva: The 1540–1542 Route Across the Southwest* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1997); Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, eds., *The Coronado Expedition: From the Distance of 460 Years* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003); and Nugent Brasher, "The Chichilticale Camp of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado: The Search for the Red House," *New Mexico Historical Review* 82 (fall 2007): 433–68.
3. Testimonio del alarde que se hizo en Compostela de la gente que Antonio de Mendoza, virrey de México envió a la tierra descubierta por Fray Marcos de Niza, Archivo General de Indias [hereafter AGI], Guadalajara, 5, R. 1, N. 7, fol. 5r, line 10, Sevilla, Spain.
4. "Relación de conquistadores de Nueva España," AGI, México, 1064, L. 1, fol. 213v, lines 24–37.
5. Ibid., fol. 60r, lines 14–25. Archivo General de Indias (AGI) documents also include a reference to a Juan Jaramillo from Salvatierra, present-day Salvatierra de los Barros, a town only thirteen miles east of Barcarrota, Badajoz, Spain. Información sobre descubrimientos, conquistas, etc.: Cortés, AGI, Patronato, 15, R. 17. According to Guillermo Porras Muñoz, Salvatierra Jaramillo and Hernán Cortes's aid are the same person, and the Juan Jaramillo who accompanied Vázquez de Coronado to Cíbola was his nephew. He adds, "[T]o this Juan Jaramillo [el Mozo], viceroy [Luis de] Velasco granted a cattle ranch (*estancia de ganado menor*) and also provided him with authority over several municipalities (*corregimientos*), apparently thanks to doña Beatriz's [de Andrada, his uncle's second wife, after Malintzin, and cousin to Jaramillo's wife Ana de Andrada] influence. He conscripted a chivalry unit for don Tristán de Arellano's expedition to Florida." Guillermo Porras Muñoz, *El gobierno de la ciudad de México en el siglo XVI* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1982), 324, 329–30.

6. Juan Jaramillo, "Relación," AGI, Patronato, 20, R. 8, N. 5, fol. 4v, line 25.
7. *Zumpango del Río* (Chilpancingo, Guerrero: Gobierno del Estado de Guerrero, 1998), 26.
8. "Méritos y servicios: García Rodríguez y biznieto," AGI, Patronato, 87, N. 1, R. 5, fols. 14v–15v.
9. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 15r, line 9.
10. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado to King Charles I, 20 October 1541, AGI, Patronato, 184, R. 34; "Relación de lo que Hernando de Alvarado y Fray Juan de Padilla descubrieron en demanda de la Mar del Sur," 1540, AGI, Patronato, 26, R. 23; Pedro Castañeda de Nájera, "Relación de la jornada de Cíbola compuesta por Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera, donde se trata de todos aquellos poblados, y ritos, y costumbres, la qual fue el año de 1540" [copy, 1596], Rich Collection, no. 63, New York Public Library; and "Traslado de las Nuevas," "Relación del Suceso," and Jaramillo, "Relación," AGI, Patronato, 20, N. 5, R. 8.
11. Fray Toribio de Benavente, "Relación Postrera de Cíbola," fols. 123v–124v, Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, MS JGI 31, The General Libraries, University of Texas, Austin; Francisco Vázquez de Coronado to Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, 3 August 1540, in *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi raccolto gia da m. Gio. Battista Ramusio nel quale si contengono le navigationi al mondo nuovo*, Giovanni Battista Ramusio (Venice, Italy: Stamperia de Giunti, 1565), fols. 359v–363r; and "Relatione della navigatione & scoperta che feche il capitano Fernando Alarcone," in *Navigationi et viaggi*, Ramusio, fols. 363r–370v.
12. Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, eds. and trans., *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539–1542: "They Were Not Familiar with His Majesty, nor Did They Wish to Be His Subjects"* (Dallas, Tex.: Southern Methodist University Press, 2005), 379–80, 508.
13. Ibid., 379.
14. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 5v, line 29.
15. Ibid., lines 28–29. These two men were Gonçalo Solis de Meras and Ysidro de Solis. Ibid., lines 26–27.
16. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 511, 694 n. 38.
17. Gregorio de Andrés, "31 Cartas inéditas de Juan Páez de Castro, cronista de Carlos V. Edición, prólogo y notas," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 168 (1971): 515.
18. Bolton, *Knight of Pueblos and Plains*, 72.
19. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 699 n. 179.
20. According to the customary designation in textual criticism, the dictated version of events would be labeled the archetype.
21. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 694 n. 38. See also Andrés, "31 Cartas inéditas de Juan Páez de Castro," 515.
22. Thomas Buckingham Smith, *Colección de varios documentos para la historia de la Florida y tierras adyacentes* (London: Trubner and Co., 1857), 154–63; Joaquín Pacheco and Francisco de Cárdenas, eds., *Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía*, 42 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta de José María Pérez, 1870), 14:304–17; Carmen de Mora Valcárcel, *Las siete ciudades de Cíbola: Textos y testimonios sobre la expedición de Vázquez Coronado* (Sevilla: Ediciones Alfar, 1992), 189–96; Julio César Montané Martí, *Francisco Vázquez Coronado: Sueño y decepción* (Zapopan, Jalisco:

Colegio de Jalisco, 2002), 251–60; and Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 508–24. Jaramillo's "Relación," as presented by Thomas Buckingham Smith, merely reproduces Juan Bautista Muñoz's transcription of the same document. This Muñoz version is referenced as "Incidencias de la expedición de Joan Jaramillo a la provincia de Cibola y Quivira, 1542," in *Catálogo de la colección de don Juan Bautista Muñoz*, with an introduction by Antonio Ballesteros Beretta, 3 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1954–1955), 2:72. According to Antonio Ballesteros Beretta, this transcription of Jaramillo's "Relación" was written in August 1782, during one of Muñoz's stays at the Archivo General de Simancas in Simancas, Spain, where the *legajo* in question was then curated. Antonio Ballesteros Beretta, introduction to *Catálogo de la colección de don Juan Bautista Muñoz*, 1:xxv. I have not been able to consult Muñoz's text, housed at the Academia de la Historia in Madrid, Spain, and my reference to this transcription reproduces the information included in the *Catálogo de la colección de don Juan Bautista Muñoz*. The archival version of Muñoz's transcription is located thus: "Incidencias de la expedición de Joan Jaramillo a la provincia de Cibola y Quivira, 1542," pp. 13–19, doc. 1107, vol. 65, Colección de Juan Bautista Muñoz, 9/4779-4856, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, Spain.

23. George Parker Winship, ed. and trans., "The Coronado Expedition, 1540–1542," in *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology: To the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1892–93*, part 1 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1896), 584–93; George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds. and trans., *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540–1542* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), 295–307; Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 508–24; and Henri Ternaux-Compans, ed., "*Relation du voyage de Cibola, enterpris en* 1540," in *Voyages, relations et mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique: publiés pour la premiére fois en français, par H. Ternaux-Compans* (Paris: Bertrand, 1838), 364–82.
24. For a full explanation of the Muñoz edition, see note 22 and the appendix.
25. As Smith and Muñoz essentially present the same version of Jaramillo's "Relación," their work will hereby be referred to as Muñoz-Smith.
26. George Parker Winship's intuition did not always serve him well, as exemplified by his failing to translate the words "que dezian ellos para significarnoslo 'teucarea.'" Winship clearly followed Pacheco and Cárdenas's transcription, which also misses these same words. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 4r, lines 28–29.
27. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 295; and Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 5v, line 15.
28. Montané Martí seems unaware of most of the textual tradition derived from the "Relación," and mistakenly refers to this text as being curated at the Archivo de Simancas, obviously following Smith's description of the manuscript. Montané Martí, *Francisco Vázquez Coronado*, 251; and Smith, *Colección de varios documentos*, 154. Smith's text was a reproduction of Muñoz's notes, and the title of Pacheco and Cárdenas's collection already makes it clear that, by the second half of the nineteenth century, most of the documents that they reproduced were already curated at the AGI. Montané Martí's exclusive use of secondary sources is surprising, given that he claims to reject such a practice as an invalid approach to the study of history. Montané Martí, *Francisco Vázquez Coronado*, 297.

29. Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, relations et mémoires*, 365; Smith, *Colección de varios documentos*, 155; Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 305; Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 296; and Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 519.
30. Smith, *Colección de varios documentos*, 159.
31. Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 312.
32. Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, relations et mémoires*, 375; Winship, "The Coronado Expedition," 589; and Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 515.
33. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 302.
34. Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, relations et mémoires*, 380; Winship, "The Coronado Expedition," 592; Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 306; and Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 517.
35. "About two days were spent in this village of the Hearts." Winship, "The Coronado Expedition," 585. "The distance to this pueblo of Corazones must be about two days." Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 296.
36. For an explanation of why Pacheco and Cárdenas's text is the source of the problem, see the commentary section in this article, fol. 1v, lines 1–2. In spite of their belief that Hammond and Rey's text was inaccurate in this case, Charles Di Peso and his collaborators do not appear to have had any problem quoting their translation extensively elsewhere.
37. Charles Di Peso, John Rinaldo, and Gloria Fenner, *Casas Grandes: A Fallen Trading Center of the Gran Chichimeca*, 8 vols. (Dragoon, Ariz.: Amerind Foundation, 1974), 4:89–103, especially 94.
38. Bolton, *Knight of Pueblos and Plains*, 104; Joseph P. Sánchez, "A Historiography of the Route of the Expedition of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado: Compostela to Cíbola," in *The Coronado Expedition to Tierra Nueva*, Flint and Flint, 140; and William A. Duffen and William K. Hartmann, "The 76 Ranch Ruin and the Location of Chichilticale," in *The Coronado Expedition to Tierra Nueva*, Flint and Flint, 204. Joseph P. Sánchez was paraphrasing from DiPeso, Rinaldo, and Fenner, *Casas Grandes*, 4:96, fig. 29.4, and 103.
39. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 1v, line 23. See also the commentary section corresponding to this item.
40. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 2v, line 15; fol. 4v, line 1. See also the commentary section corresponding to these items.
41. Jerry Craddock, "Juan de Oñate in Quivira," *Journal of the Southwest* 40 (winter 1998): 481–82.
42. A programmatic statement of the rationale and the goals of the Cíbola Project can be found in Jerry Craddock, "The Cíbola Project: Editing the Documents of the Hispanic Southwest in the 16th and 17th Centuries," 1 November 2008, http://repositories.cdlib.org/rcrs_ias_ucb/cibola/mission1/.
43. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 519 (fol. 1r, line 20); 523 (fol. 4r, line 27).
44. Ibid., 519 (fol. 1r, line 12); 519 (fol. 1v, line 20).
45. Ibid., 520 (fol. 1v, line 11); 521 (fol. 3r, line 17); 523 (fol. 4v, line 19).
46. Ibid., 524 (fol. 5r, line 22); 524 (fol. 5r, line 23).
47. Along with many other documents curated in Spanish public archives, the scanned images of this manuscript have recently been included in the PARES database,

http://pares.mcu.es/. The reader is encouraged to consult this electronic reproduction and to compare it with the present edition.

48. David MacKenzie, *A Manual of Manuscript Transcription for the Dictionary of the Old Spanish Language*, ed. Ray Harris-Northall, 5th ed. (Madison, Wisc.: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1997).
49. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 1v, line 13; fol. 3r, line 33.
50. Ibid., fol. 4v, line 33.
51. Some of these criteria, such as the use of modern punctuation, constitute types of intervention in the text, which may be deemed too invasive by some readers. However, an edition is always a proposal of presentation of a text that necessarily implies a certain degree of intervention according to the needs of its potential readers. The anachronic use of certain modern typographic conventions is a well-established compromise between the philologist's wish to be faithful to the original textual witnesses and the readers' need to navigate and understand the edited text that they are being offered.
52. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 3v, line 30.
53. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 295.
54. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 512, 694 n. 44.
55. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 1r, lines 8–9. As a matter of fact, contemporary documentation consistently refers to Compostela as *ciudad*. For instance the *alarde* (review of soldiers) was performed "en la çiudad de Compostella dela Nueba Galizia" on 22 February 1540. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 1r, lines 2–3. Culiacán, on the other hand, was not a ciudad, but a *villa*: "llegaron a dos leguas de la villa de Culiacan." Castañeda de Nájera, "Relación de la jornada de Cíbola," fol. 25r, lines 14–15. As Flint and Flint are aware, these two designations were hierarchical and not interchangeable in the Spanish colonial system. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 12–13.
56. Henri Ternaux-Compans interpreted this sentence in terms very similar to Flint and Flint, although he incorrectly took "norrueste" to mean northeast: "Pour se rendre à cette ville la route fait un détour vers le nord-est." Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, relations et mémoires*, 364. Winship, on the other hand, misinterpreted the sentence division. He took the indication about the geographical layout of the route to be a comment on the path followed by the horsemen mentioned in the following sentence: "The 70 horsemen who went with the general went in a northwesterly direction from this town." Winship, "The Coronado Expedition," 584.
57. Winship, "The Coronado Expedition," 584.
58. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 519 (fol. 1r, line 11).
59. Ibid., 512.
60. *Diccionario de autoridades* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1734), 4:s.v. "luz."
61. Juan de Mena, *Memoria de algunos linajes* (1448), p. 414, in *Real Academia Española Corpus diacrónico del español* [hereafter *CORDE*], s.v. "dexar luz"; and Alonso de Castillo, *La garduña de Sevilla* (1642), p. 119, in *CORDE*, s.v. "dexar luz." *CORDE* is an online corpus with text samples from the history of Spanish. They are published sources (novels, poems, treatises, etc.) that have been scanned, tagged, and included in the corpus. In all references from *CORDE* I will indicate the historical source as well as the search term. Any emphasis, indicated by italics, is my own. See http://corpus.rae.es/cordenet.html.

62. Castañeda de Nájera, "Relación de la jornada de Cíbola," fols. 27r–v.
63. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado to Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, fol. 359v, lines 10–20; "Traslado de las Nuevas," fol. 1r, lines 7–10; and "Relación del Suceso," fol. 1r, lines 2–3.
64. "Relación del Suceso," fol. 1r. See also "Relación del Suceso," fol. 2r; and Castañeda de Nájera, "Relación de la jornada de Cíbola," fol. 34r–v.
65. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 295.
66. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 519 (fol. 1r, lines 13–14).
67. Ibid., 512.
68. Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 305; Smith, *Colección de varios documentos*, 155; and Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 295–96.
69. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 694 n. 41.
70. Roland Chardon, "The Linear League in North America," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 70 (June 1980): 145.
71. The estimate of "just over 300 *leguas*" between New Spain (arguably, Tenochtitlan, Mexico) and Chichiltecale is accurate only if the distance is a straight line. Therefore this total cannot be the distance of the route followed by Vázquez de Coronado's people, who traveled via Compostela and Culiacán. According to Flint and Flint, *Chichiltecalli* comes from the Nahuatl words *chichiltic calli*, "red house," but Bolton says it is Yaqui, with the same meaning. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 683 n. 415; and Bolton, *Knight of Pueblos and Plains*, 106. The toponym appears in several other documents of the Coronado Expedition, but Jaramillo is the only one that specifies that the name was provided by the local inhabitants of the area: "fuimos a la mano derecha al pie de la cordillera en dos dias de camino, donde tubimos notiçia que se llamaua Chichiltic Callj." Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 1v, line 31. This statement appears to call into question the Nahuatl hypothesis. For some recent proposals about the exact location of Chichiltecale, see Duffen and Hartmann, "The 76 Ranch Ruin and the Location of Chichilticale"; Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 695 n. 59; William K. Hartmann and Betty G. Lee, "Chichilticalli: A Survey of Candidate Ruins in Southeastern Arizona," in *The Coronado Expedition from the Distance of 460 Years*, Flint and Flint, 81–108; and Brasher, "The Chichilticale Camp of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado."
72. Winship, "The Coronado Expedition," 584.
73. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 296.
74. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 512.
75. Ibid., 698 n. 135.
76. For more on the use of "*se 'de matización*,'" see Antonia Moreira Rodríguez and John Butt, *Se de Matización and the Semantics of Spanish Pronominal Verbs* (London: King's College, Department of Spanish and Spanish-American Studies, 1996).
77. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 296.
78. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 512.
79. Ibid., 519, 512.
80. Smith, *Colección de varios documentos*, 155; and Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 296.
81. Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 306.

82. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 1r, line 6; fol. 2r, lines 21–22.
83. *Sermones de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León* (ca. 1500), p. 200, in *CORDE*, s.v. "será"; and Martín de Enciso, *Suma de geografía* (1519), par. 64, in *CORDE*, s.v. "son."
84. Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Quinquenarios o Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú* (ca. 1549–1603), p. 198, in *CORDE*, s.v. "tuvo entendido ser"; and Ibid., p. 249, in *CORDE*, s.v. "tuvieron entendido ser."
85. Rafael Lapesa, "Morfosintaxis histórica del verbo español," in *Estudios de morfosintaxis histórica del español*, ed. Rafael Cano Aguilar and María Teresa Echenique Elizondo (Madrid: Gredos, 2000), 2:765–76.
86. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 1v, line 9; fol. 2r, line 8; fol. 3r, line 9; fol. 4v, line 10.
87. Rafael Lapesa, *Historia de la lengua española*, 9th ed. (Madrid: Gredos, 2005), 380.
88. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 520.
89. *Diccionario de autoridades* (1726), 1:s.v. "turar."
90. Castañeda de Nájera, "Relación de la jornada de Cíbola," fol. 102r.
91. DiPeso, Rinaldo, and Fenner, *Casas Grandes*, 4:103; and Carroll L. Riley, *The Frontier People: The Greater Southwest in the Protohistoric Period* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 53.
92. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 1v, line 26; fol. 1v, line 14.
93. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 513.
94. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 1v, line 32.
95. Bolton, *Knight of Pueblos and Plains*, 105, 108–9; Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 16; and Duffen and Hartmann, "The 76 Ranch Ruin and the Location of Chichilticale," 205. However, using the topographical information provided by Jaramillo, Flint and Flint point to Apache Pass, Arizona, near the current Fort Bowie site, as a more likely candidate for the "arroyo hondo": "the Gila River . . . being in a wide, flat valley, utterly fails to match Jaramillo's description." Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 695 n. 60. As seen above, Di Peso, Rinaldo, and Fenner propose an altogether different route for this section of the expedition.
96. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 1v, line 1; fol. 1v, line 14.
97. The whole sentence "[d]ende este arroyo atras de Nexpa . . . bolbemos a mi paresçer casi al nordeste" seems to be a resumptive statement summarizing the route covered from the Señora arroyo in 1v1–33. Jaramillo first referred to this route in 1r38–39 as "arroyo . . . que se dize Los Coraçones." As stated, however, most commentators and Jaramillo himself identify this path as the same waterway as the Señora/Sonora River. Thus, the following sentence, "De aqui por la mjsma derrota fuimos . . . a vn rrio que pusimos nonbre de San Juan," places the reader not at the "arroyo atras de Nexpa," but at the "arroyo hondo y cañada," and the text goes on toward Zuni/Cíbola from there. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 1v, lines 35–37.
98. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 520.
99. Smith, *Colección de varios documentos*, 156.
100. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 520.
101. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 3v, line 13.
102. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 698 n. 146.
103. Ibid., 513.

104. Smith, *Colección de varios documentos*, 156; and Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 298.
105. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 298; and Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 513.
106. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 696 n. 67.
107. It is also unclear how Flint and Flint's proposal that Jaramillo meant northwest instead of northeast may be reconciled with all extant evidence about the course of the Coronado Expedition, since the party would have approached Zuni/Cíbola from the southeast (New Mexico), instead of the southwest (Arizona).
108. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 2r, line 32; fol. 2v, lines 27–28; fol. 3r, line 24; fol. 2r, lines 2–3.
109. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 694 n. 28.
110. Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, ed. Ignacio Arellano and Rafael Zafra (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 2006), 857; and *Diccionario de autoridades* (1732), 3:s.v. "estufa."
111. For a complete description of Zuni kivas, see John C. McGregor, *Southwestern Archaeology*, 2d ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 409.
112. Castañeda de Nájera, "Relación de la jornada de Cíbola," fols. 92r, 105r, especially 108r–v.
113. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado to Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, fol. 361r, lines 45–46; and "Relación del Suceso," fol. 1v, lines 20–21.
114. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 513.
115. Winship, "The Coronado Expedition," 586; and Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 298–99.
116. Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, 1447; and *Diccionario de autoridades* (1739), 6:s.v. "solar."
117. Smith, *Colección de varios documentos*, 157.
118. Winship, "The Coronado Expedition," 586.
119. *Diccionario de autoridades* (1726), 1:s.v. "bernia."
120. *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*, 22d ed., s.v. "vara," http://buscon.rae.es/draeI/.
121. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 520.
122. Aurelio Macedonio Espinosa, *Estudios sobre el español de Nuevo México*, ed. Amado Alonso and Angel Rosenblat, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Filología, 1930), 1:179.
123. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 299; and Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 514.
124. McGregor, *Southwestern Archaeology*, 408.
125. Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, 1354; and *Diccionario de autoridades* (1737), 5:s.v. "peña."
126. Castañeda de Nájera, "Relación de la jornada de Cíbola," fols. 49r–v.
127. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 514.
128. Ibid., 14.
129. Bolton, *Knight of Pueblos and Plains*, 185. Bolton also mentions "Braba," following Winship's transcription of Castañeda de Nájera's account. Winship, "The Coronado Expedition," 430–31.
130. "Relación del Suceso," fol. 3r, line 18; and Castañeda de Nájera, "Relación de la jornada de Cíbola."

131. Smith, *Colección de varios documentos*, 157; Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 309; and Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 300.
132. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 521.
133. Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, 1028; and *Diccionario de autoridades* (1734), 4:s.v. "harto."
134. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 514.
135. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 300.
136. Smith, *Colección de varios documentos*, 158; Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, relations et mémoires*, 371; and Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 300.
137. Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 309.
138. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 521, 698 n. 152, 514.
139. Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*; and *Diccionario de autoridades* (1737), 5:s.v. "ralo." It is also worth noting that the online *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* has a second meaning for *ralo*, which is indeed "raro," marked as an old or nearly obsolete meaning, but only with the sense of "strange, uncommon," and not "excellent," as Flint and Flint present it.
140. Smith, *Colección de varios documentos*, 158.
141. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 301.
142. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 514.
143. See note on "llamamos," which presents a similar case. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 3v, line 34.
144. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 522, 515.
145. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 312, 302.
146. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 515.
147. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 302.
148. Ibid.; and Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 515.
149. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 303; Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, relations et mémoires*, 375; Smith, *Colección de varios documentos*, 159; Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 312; and Winship, "The Coronado Expedition," 589.
150. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 1v, lines 36–37.
151. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 522.
152. Ibid., 697 n. 103.
153. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 303.
154. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 516. The italics are my emphasis.
155. Ibid., 695 n. 50.
156. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 2v, lines 1–2. The italics are my emphasis.
157. Lapesa, *Historia de la lengua española*, 374–75, 483.
158. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 4v, line 11; fol. 5r, lines 34–35; fol. 5v, line 37.
159. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 303; and Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 516.
160. Winship, "The Coronado Expedition," 590.
161. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 697 n. 107.
162. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 304.
163. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 523.

164. Ibid., 516. Italics are my emphasis.
165. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 304.
166. Lapesa, "Sobre los orígenes y evolución del leísmo, laísmo y loísmo," in *Estudios de morfosintaxis histórica*, Aguilar and Elizondo, 305–7.
167. Smith, *Colección de varios documentos*, 160.
168. Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, relations et mémoires*, 377.
169. New Mexican Spanish is still characterized by the use of *los* for *nos*, a feature that is also present in other dialects of Spanish. Garland D. Bills and Neddy A. Vigil, *The Spanish Language of New Mexico and Southern Colorado: A Linguistic Atlas* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 145. It is possible that the *los* reading is an instance of this highly idiosyncratic use already present in the scribe's antigraph, although this can only be a hypothesis. In any event, the corrected reading in the manuscript is clearly *nos*.
170. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 304.
171. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 516; and *Diccionario de autoridades* (1726), 1:s.v. "acordar."
172. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 4v, lines 1–2.
173. *Diccionario de la lengua castellana compuesto por la Real Academia Española: Segunda impresión corregida y aumentada*, ed. Joachín Ibarra (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1770), 1:s.v. "acordar."
174. One of the anonymous readers notes that a few lines later, in fol. 4v, line 16, Jaramillo uses the phrase "Con el acuerdo dicho," "with the said agreement," and that this usage may indicate that the meaning of *acordandonos* may in fact be "agreement," as noted by Flint and Flint. The reference to an agreement, however, seems to be connected to the phrase "Ansi que nos paresçio a todos que," "so we all thought that," which unequivocally indicates that the agreement was reached after Vázquez de Coronado's consultation with his men. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 4v, line 3.
175. Curiously enough both *CORDE* and the *Corpus del español* (www.corpusdelespanol.org) include one attestation of *vereno* each, but I have not been able to confirm this reading in the original sources used by these corpora.
176. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 304.
177. Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, relations et mémoires*, 377; and Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 516.
178. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 517.
179. See the commentary section in this article, fol. 1v, lines 1–2.
180. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 305. Italics are my emphasis.
181. Lapesa, *Historia de la lengua española*, 402.
182. Juan Cornejo, *Discurso y despertador preservativo de enfermedades* (1594), fol. 29v, in *CORDE*, s.v. "esta en la mano"; and Fray Antonio Tello, *Fragmentos de una historia de la Nueva Galicia* (ca. 1650), par. 1, in *CORDE*, s.v. "tenemos la experiencia en la mano."
183. Castañeda de Nájera, "Relación de la jornada de Cíbola," fols. 128v–132r.
184. *Diccionario de autoridades* (1732), 3:s.v. "disposición." Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco includes only the first meaning, and *indisposición* for "bad health," but both meanings are widely attested in the sixteenth century. Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, 720.

185. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 306; and Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 517, 698 n. 120.
186. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 5r, lines 24–26. According to Castañeda de Nájera, the immediate trigger for Vázquez de Coronado's plan to go back to New Spain was his fear that his injury may cause him to die away from his family: "con esta imaginacion de su muerte le dio deseo de volver a morir adonde tenia muger y hijos." Castañeda de Nájera, "Relación de la jornada de Cíbola," fol. 129v, lines 15–18. Curiously enough this place is the only one in Jaramillo's text where the scribe seems to have replaced the initial reading for a radically different one, crossing out the phrase "de no tener el" and replacing it with "de rrujn dispusiçion." The motivations for manipulating the text at this point, where Vázquez de Coronado's behavior is assessed, are open to speculation, but it is likely that the form of this negative comment in the AGI document may not correspond to the form of Jaramillo's original account.
187. Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, relations et mémoires*, 380; Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 306; and Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 517.
188. Fray Antonio de Guevara, *Espejo de príncipes* (1529–1531), par. 1, in *CORDE*, s.v. "criaturas"; and Juan de Arce, *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano* (ca. 1550), p. 679, in *CORDE*, s.v. "criaturas."
189. Castañeda de Nájera, "Relación de la jornada de Cíbola," fol. 93v; and Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 5r, lines 8–9.
190. Jaramillo, "Relación," fol. 5v, lines 11–12; and Castañeda de Nájera, "Relación de la jornada de Cíbola," fol. 136v.
191. For an analysis of the role played by non-Spanish members of the Coronado Expedition, see Richard Flint, "What's Missing from this Picture?: The *Alarde*, or Muster Roll, of the Coronado Expedition," in *The Coronado Expedition from the Distance of 460 Years*, Flint and Flint, 57–80.
192. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 524.
193. Ibid., 517.
194. See Manuel Alvar, *Manual de dialectología española: El español de España* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1996), 156, 180, 206–7.
195. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 306.
196. *Diccionario de autoridades* (1734), 4:s.v. "licenciado."
197. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 524.
198. Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*; *Diccionario de autoridades* (1734), 4:s.v. "muñidor"; Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *Crónica de la Nueva España* (1560), p. II 119, in *CORDE*, s.v. "muñidor"; and Pedro de Ribadeneira, *Vida de San Ignacio de Loyola* (1583), p. 768, in *CORDE*, s.v. "muñidor."
199. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 307; and Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 517–18.
200. Eugenio Ruidíaz y Caravia, *La Florida: Su conquista y colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés* (Madrid: Hijos de J. A. García, 1893); and Andrés González de Barcia, *Ensayo chronológico para la historia general de la Florida* (Madrid: Oficina Real, 1723), 85–90.
201. Eugenio Ruidíaz y Caravia, *Pedro Menédez de Avilés, Adelantado, Governor and Captain-General of Florida, Memorial by Gonzalo Solís de Merás*, trans. Jeannette Thurber Conner (Deland: Florida State Historical Society, 1923), 9.

202. González, *Ensayo chronológico para la historia general de la Florida*; Ruidíaz, *Pedro Menédez de Avilés*, 85; and Ruidíaz, *La Florida*, ccxxxv.
203. Ruidíaz, *La Florida*, ccxxxvii.

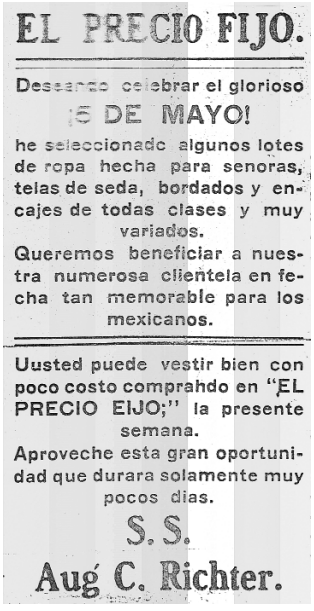
"Los Precios Mas Baratos"

THE ROLE OF SPANISH-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENTS AND THE BICULTURALIZATION OF TEJANOS IN SAN ANTONIO AND LAREDO, TEXAS

Ana Luisa Martinez-Catsam

On 30 April 1910, August C. Richter, proprietor of El Precio Fijo, a fixed-price department store in Laredo, Texas, advertised a grand sale honoring Cinco de Mayo, a patriotic festival that celebrates Mexican heritage and commemorates Mexico's victory over French forces in 1862 (ill. 1). The ad appeared in the Spanish-language weekly, *La Cronica*, and featured women's ready-made clothing, as well as an assortment of laces and fabrics. Richter referred to the sale as an opportunity for customers to benefit from and honor "a memorable date for all Mexicans."[1] Richter's use of Cinco de Mayo reflects one of several advertising techniques Anglo merchants utilized in their attempts to attract Tejano consumers.

Since Hispanics represent the largest minority group in the United States, industries often employ marketing techniques and advertising campaigns that target this ethnic population, especially Mexicans.


EL PRECIO FIJO.

Deseando celebrar el glorioso

¡5 DE MAYO!

he seleccionado algunos lotes de ropa hecha para senoras, telas de seda, bordados y encajes de todas clases y muy variados.

Queremos beneficiar a nuestra numerosa clientela en fecha tan memorable para los mexicanos.

Uusted puede vestir bien con poco costo comprahdo en "EL PRECIO EIJO;" la presente semana.

Aproveche esta gran oportunidad que durara solamente muy pocos dias.

S. S.

Aug C. Richter.

ILL. 1. EL PRECIO FIJO ADVERTISEMENT
Advertisement from Laredo (Tex.) La Cronica, *30 April 1910.*

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Scholars believe this practice is a late-twentieth-century trend that developed because of expanding media outlets and a growing Hispanic populace.[2] In reality, however, merchants such as Richter have viewed individuals of Mexican heritage as potential patrons since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At the turn of the twentieth century, advertisements filled Spanish-language newspapers, a principal medium of information for Mexicans and Mexican Americans during this era. When examined these ads reveal the role of newspaper proprietors as merchants and the process and degree of the Tejano community's biculturalization—the transformation of a Mexican identity to a Mexican American identity that reflects the incorporation of both Mexican and American values and cultural characteristics.

Scholars who use early Spanish-language newspapers to study biculturalization have often focused their analysis on news coverage, editorials, and literary sections. Advertisements, however, have not received the attention they merit.[3] Historian Roberto R. Treviño asserts that advertisements in Spanish-language newspapers "often transmitted stereotypic middle-class Anglo-American imagery," and thus further reflected the biculturalism of the Tejano community.[4] Although Treviño does not focus on advertisements, his brief observation provides a springboard for the examination of advertising in the process of biculturalism.

This article explores the biculturalization of Tejanos and the significance of the merchant class to the Tejano ethnic community by examining advertisements from 1910 that appeared in San Antonio's *El Regidor* and Laredo's *La Cronica*.[5] Both Spanish-language weeklies began publication in the 1890s and survived into the early twentieth century. Their relative longevity demonstrates the weeklies' importance to the community and their proprietors' resilience. The duration of *El Regidor* and *La Cronica* was a remarkable feat since the majority of early Spanish-language newspapers rarely lasted two decades.[6] Both weeklies charged two dollars for a one-year subscription. They also contained ads published by Anglo and Tejano merchants, reflecting the loyalty of their clientele. The selection of *El Regidor* and *La Cronica* allows for a brief comparison of San Antonio and Laredo's economies, as well as an assessment of Anglo-to-Tejano advertisement.[7]

During the late nineteenth century, San Antonio started to shift from a mid-sized town to a burgeoning urban center. Railroads, including the Sunset Limited and the International–Great Northern Railroad, connected San Antonio to eastern and western markets. In addition the number of banking institutions in San Antonio doubled by the turn of the century. New buildings, such as the five-story Alamo National Bank; the Bexar County Courthouse,

which cost $600,000; and the Grand Opera House, created a new skyline for San Antonio. The economic and physical transformation of San Antonio continued into the twentieth century as developers erected new multistory structures, existing businesses grew, and new industries emerged. The city's population also increased from 37,673 residents in 1890 to 96,614 in 1910. Despite this surge, Tejanos remained a minority in 1910, comprising 30.5 percent of the city's overall population.[8]

The railroad also stimulated growth in Laredo. On 5 December 1881, the International–Great Northern Railroad "left San Antonio at 7:00 a.m., and the stage used on the last lap of the trip arrived in Laredo at 9:00 p.m. of the same day," and opened Laredo to northeastern markets.[9] That same year, the Texas Mexican Railway linked Laredo to Monterrey, Mexico, and the Mexican National Railway later connected the south Texas town to Mexico City. The railroads led Laredo's emergence as an export and import center, while the chamber of commerce promoted the south Texas town as the gateway to Mexico. Further symbolizing the modernization of Laredo, city officials constructed a two-story county courthouse and a new city hall, both made of brick. In addition residents witnessed the installation of water mains and the pavement of streets.[10]

The improvements in transportation also encouraged migration to Laredo. The city's population growth, however, occurred more slowly than in San Antonio. In 1890, 11,319 individuals resided in Laredo. That number increased to 14,855 by 1910. Tejanos had comprised the majority of Laredo's population since the town's founding. In 1910, for example, Tejanos constituted 90 percent of the town's demographic makeup. As a result of the Mexican Revolution, the Tejano populations of both San Antonio and Laredo continued to increase after 1910. Although Tejanos remained the majority in Laredo, they did not comprise 50 percent of San Antonio's overall population until the late twentieth century.[11]

El Regidor and *La Cronica* were established in this climate of growth and change. Twenty-two-year-old Pablo Cruz opened the office of *El Regidor* in 1888. Despite his young age, Cruz was not a novice in the newspaper industry. Prior to founding *El Regidor*, Cruz served as editor of *El Heraldo*, a family enterprise established by Cruz's father Abraham Cruz Valdez in 1886. Pablo Cruz edited the publication while his younger brother Victor Cruz managed the business. By 1892 Victor had founded *El Correo Mexicano* but continued to help his father and brother in the publication of their newspapers. The Cruz family often assisted each other in their publication ventures. During its first year, for example, *El Correo Mexicano* was printed in *El Regidor*'s office. After Cruz Valdez ceased publishing *El Heraldo*, his sons continued

to print their newspapers. After Pablo Cruz's death on 4 August 1910, his wife Zulema Polanco Cruz served as proprietor of *El Regidor* while Victor, who continued to publish *El Correo Mexicano*, managed the weekly. The Cruz family published *El Regidor* until 1916.[12]

Like *El Regidor*, Laredo's *La Cronica* represented a family endeavor. Established in the mid-1890s, *La Cronica* became an outspoken forum against the segregation and discrimination of Tejanos by 1910, when Nicasio Idar and his family took control of the paper. Nicasio, the patriarch of the Idar clan, entered the publishing business sometime around 1895, but did not start editing *La Cronica* until the early twentieth century. By 1910 Nicasio's daughter Jovita Idar and his sons Eduardo Idar and Clemente Idar had joined their fifty-five-year-old father at the Spanish-language weekly. While Nicasio contributed editorials to the paper, his children produced a significant number of the weekly's articles. The Idars used *La Cronica* as a vehicle to attack the oppression of Tejanos. Clemente, for example, wrote several pieces condemning the segregation of Tejano children in schools. Utilizing its newspaper, the Idar clan called for a convention to address the problems facing Tejanos. By September 1911, they had organized El Primer Congreso Mexicanista in Laredo. *La Cronica* published the convention's manifesto, which called for Tejano unity against oppression, demanded an end to the segregation of Tejano children, and denounced the lynching of Tejanos. After Nicasio's death on 7 April 1914, his children continued to publish *La Cronica*. While the exact date the Idars stopped publishing *La Cronica* remains unknown, an issue published days after Nicasio's death survives.[13]

The classifieds of *El Regidor* and *La Cronica* reflected biculturalization in three ways. First, Anglo merchants and businesses placed ads that targeted Tejanos or demonstrated the incorporation of the ethnic community into American consumer culture. Second, the classified ads illustrated the role and vitality of the Tejano merchant class in South Texas. Third, the operation of Pablo Cruz and Nicasio Idar's enterprises demonstrated the process of biculturalization in the region's Tejano community. Like other Spanish-language newspapers, *El Regidor* and *La Cronica* offered Anglo and Tejano merchants a medium with which to reach Tejano consumers. For Anglo businessmen, advertisements in these newspapers also suggested endorsement by the paper's proprietors who were leaders in both the Tejano and Anglo communities. Cruz, for example, served as a trustee of the San Antonio Independent School Board and was active in local politics, while Idar served as assistant city marshal and justice of the peace. Both families were also active in various fraternal organizations. The Anglo-to-Tejano advertisement ratio found in *El Regidor* and *La Cronica* reflected the

city's population makeup, as well as the degree to which Anglo merchants attempted to attract Tejano consumers.[14]

Given that Anglos dominated San Antonio's constituency, Anglo merchants comprised the majority of *El Regidor*'s advertisers (table 1). Ads for Anglo-owned and -operated banks, lumber companies, real estate agents, hotels, and dry-good stores appeared throughout 1910. Banking institutions represented the most prominent Anglo businesses showcased in *El Regidor* (table 2). Institutions advertising in the Spanish-language weekly included Frost National Bank, D. and A. Oppenheimer Bank, American Bank and Trust Company, National Bank of Commerce, Lookwood National Bank, and State Bank and Trust Company. While notices for D. and A. Oppenheimer Bank, American Bank and Trust Company, National Bank of Commerce, Lookwood National Bank, and State Bank and Trust Company first appeared during the summer of 1910, Frost National Bank consistently ran an ad on the

Table 1. *El Regidor* and *La Cronica* Advertisements

1910 Advertisements	*El Regidor*	*La Cronica*
Local Anglo merchant ads	42	18
Out-of-state Anglo merchant ads	14	1
Tejano merchant ads	14	44

Note 1: The numbers reflect the identification of the individual merchant or service rather than the quantity of ads reflecting multiple advertisements by the same merchants. The majority of the merchants for both newspapers were loyal clients who advertised in every edition. Announcements for services or products offered by Pablo Cruz and Nicasio Idar were not included in the calculation.

Note 2: Notices for businesses in Mexico were not included in the chart. While Mexican merchants advertised in *La Cronica* and *El Regidor* the numbers for 1910 were not substantial. In *El Regidor*, nonlocal Anglo merchant ads outnumbered Mexican merchant ads significantly. In *La Cronica*, Mexican merchant notices were only slightly higher than nonlocal Anglo ads. Both papers relied primarily on Anglo and Tejano merchants for advertisements.

Table 2. Anglo Advertisers

Types of Anglo owned or operated businesses	*El Regidor*	*La Cronica*
Banks	6	0
Lumber Companies	5	1
Real estate companies or agents	5	1
Dry goods/clothing/furniture/brewery	8	11
Other	18	5

[a] The Other category includes undertaking companies, water/gas/electric companies, optometrists, attorneys, and dentists.

front page of *El Regidor* throughout the year. Bank announcements provided a great deal of detail, including capital held by the institution and a list of directors. Frost National Bank, National Bank of Commerce, D. and A. Oppenheimer Bank, and Lookwood National Bank all specifically solicited Tejano transactions. Frost National Bank, for instance, asked for "deposits from the Mexicans of Texas" and encouraged Tejanos to "bring your money to the Bank or send it by mail."[15] Banks also advertised their capacity to buy and sell Mexican currency (ill. 2). This service acknowledged commerce with

National Bank of Commerce

BANCO NACIONAL DE COMERCIO.

San Antonio se siente satisfecho del National Bank of Commerce, el cual es una de las más poderosas instituciones bancarias del Estado. Este banco tiene un capital saneado de $300,000.00; sobrante y utilidades sin dividir alcanzan á $337,803.72; depósitos de más de dos millones y fondo total de más de tres millones. Se hacen toda clase de transacciones bancarias, y el banco hace una especialidad de los negocios mexicanos. Se compra y se vende moneda mexicana, y se expiden giros directos, pagaderos en moneda corriente en México, y en cualquiera ciudad de aquella República. Se le invita cortésmente á negociar con este banco, y su cuenta, sea grande ó pequeña, merecerá nuestra estimación, haciendo á Ud. partícipe en todo tiempo de todas las ventajas que proporciona un seguro y prudente servicio de banco. Los directores de este banco figuran entre los más liberales y progresistas ciudadanos de San Antonio. Son las personas siguientes: Robt. L. Ball, presidente; A. L. C. Magruder, cajero; Robert D. Barclay, ayudante del cajero.

ILL. 2. NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE ADVERTISEMENT
Advertisement from San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor.

Mexican merchants and travel to Mexico; personal notices published in *El Regidor* announced Tejanos' travel plans to various regions in Mexico.[16]

Lawyers Samuel Belden Jr. and J. D. Childs also courted Tejano consumers through their ads. While both men highlighted their ability to speak Spanish, Belden claimed to be the attorney most Mexicans hired and Childs specialized in personal damage cases involving Mexicans. Similar to Belden's and Childs's ads, the ads for San Antonio Gas and Electric Company assured Tejanos that their representative spoke Spanish. Further demonstrating Anglo interest in attracting Tejano clients, Alamo City Commercial and Business College, which offered classes in shorthand, typing, telegraphy, and languages, emphasized that "Mexican students receive special care."[17]

In addition to the burgeoning financial institutions and the construction of rail lines that supported development, the physical expansion of existing neighborhoods and the creation of new residential areas also signaled San

Antonio's urbanization. While subdivisions, such as Madeline Terrace and Montclair, attracted Anglos, real estate companies with notices in *El Regidor* advertised lands located in the barrio. The real estate companies sold lots in neighborhoods referred to as "Colonia Tampico," "Colonia Santiago," and "Colonia Vera Cruz." Although it remains unclear whether the real estate companies named the neighborhoods or whether they already existed, the designations reflected an ongoing connection with regions in Mexico and emphasized the Mexicanidad of Tejanos. The Richey-Casey Realty Company advertised lots in Colonia Tampico two blocks west of San Fernando Cemetery, the city's oldest cemetery located in the barrio that residents sometimes referred to as the "cemetery of the poor." The notice stressed that more than $50,000 worth of property had been sold to Tejanos. Like Colonia Tampico, Colonia Vera Cruz was also situated near San Fernando Cemetery. On the opposite end of the barrio, J. K. McCoy and Company marketed land ranging from $40 to $100 along Zarzamora Street. Since Tejanos served as the target clientele for these real estate companies, the Spanish-language weekly served as an ideal advertising medium. The lack of notices from real estate companies that sold lands in broader San Antonio was not surprising. Anglo merchants attempted to attract Tejano consumers, illustrating a racial coexistence, but San Antonio residential areas remained segregated. Even prominent Tejanos, such as the Cruz family, resided in the barrio.[18]

Some merchants tried to attract Tejanos by offering services in Spanish, while others established businesses specifically aimed at Tejanos. Schwartz and William Cohen, proprietors of La Tienda Mexicana, a dry-goods store that loyally advertised in *El Regidor*, offered numerous products from Mexico, including *frijoles mexicano* (Mexican beans). Throughout 1910 La Tienda Mexicana, unlike other companies, occasionally changed the content of its ads. Since notices listed products and prices that allowed for comparative shopping, Schwartz and Cohen modified their ads to showcase as many goods as possible. In addition to listing its products, La Tienda Mexicana announced that it sold some items in bulk (ill. 3). Frank Pizzini's store, another dry-goods business, also sold Mexican products, but his offerings proved more extensive than those of La Tienda Mexicana. Pizzini advertised pots, candies, candles, mortars, chilies, fruits, Mexican chocolate, and healing herbs.[19] Pizzini, who also carried bulk items and listed products and prices in his ads, organized his ad content by region, including goods from Guadalajara, Aguascalientes, and San Felipe. He claimed that his "Mexican products are received directly . . . from all major [Mexican] cities."[20]

Although local Anglo merchants comprised the majority of advertising clients for *El Regidor*, the newspaper also included advertisements for out-of-


La Tienda Mexicana
SCHWARTZ Y COHEN
PROPIETARIOS
104 S. Santa Rosa Av. San Antonio, Texas

Café Arbuckes, paquete,.....15 ,,
Pan,.....3 piezas por.....10 ,,
Tabaco,.....6 saquitos.....25 ,,
Jabón marca Imp. .....5 piezas.....10 ,,
Harina superior,.....un saco.....75 ,,
,, de segunda,..... ,, ,, ...50 ,,
Piloncillo,..... uno .. .. 6 ,,
Té de la Abuela..... ..... paquete..... 25 ,,
Leche de á 10 cts bote, 3 por..... ..... 25 ,,
Leche, marca "Eagle,"..... uno ..... 15 ,,

DEPOSITO DE TODA CLASE DE PRODUCTOS MEXICANOS
Velas elegantemente decoradas á precios especiales al por mayor. — SE DEDICA ATENCION ESPECIAL EN SERVIR ORDENES POR CORREO

ILL. 3. LA TIENDA MEXICANA ADVERTISEMENT *Advertisement from* San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor.

state Anglo businesses. Similar to mail-order catalogs, which gained popularity during this era, these ads required consumers to purchase goods through the postal system. The out-of-state advertisements promoted various products and services, including medical books and remedies. Both Murray Hill Publishing Company of New York and Collins New York Medical Institute offered medical encyclopedias containing sections on the treatment of various ailments. Dr. H. P. Rank of Philadelphia peddled his book on how to cure eye ailments.[21] Dr. Joseph Lister and Company of Chicago advertised a book aimed toward men suffering from syphilis, stomach illnesses, kidney and liver problems, impotence, and other diseases. The Lister ad made reference to patients in Mexico in an attempt to attract customers of Mexican heritage: "In Mexico we have patients by the hundred [*sic*] that we can refer you to. If you are discouraged, [if you] can not [*sic*] work or enjoy life, if you want to be immediately and radically cured, if you want to have . . . pure and rich [blood] running through your veins, if you want to have a healthy body and mind, if you want . . . to be a strong and robust man, fill out the coupon below and send it by mail today."[22] Twelve of the fourteen out-of-state notices printed in *El Regidor* advertised health and medical products. In addition to books of remedies, Cruz also published ads for tonics.

Although *El Regidor* did not generally endorse out-of-state advertisements, it encouraged readers to sample Swamp-Root, a tonic manufactured in New York that supposedly cured kidney problems and associated illnesses. The manufacturer of Swamp-Root offered a trial bottle to potential consumers. *El Regidor* told its readers that "the success of Swamp-Root is well known" and advised them to "send for a free bottle . . . and do not forget to say that you read of this offer in *El Regidor*. It guarantees the sincerity of this offer."[23] Herba Laboratory of New York frequently advertised their various medications,

including antirheumatic tablets and Mami, an antidandruff product, in *El Regidor*. Owing to an increase in demand from Spanish-speaking customers or individuals with Spanish surnames, Herba Laboratory ads announced the establishment of a Spanish department, responsible for all Spanish-language correspondence. These out-of-state mail-order advertisements significantly contributed to *El Regidor*'s layout and its revenues. The out-of-state notices further indicated attempts to cultivate Tejanos as steady consumers and to incorporate them directly into the broader American consumer culture.[24]

Whereas the majority of *El Regidor*'s advertising clients were Anglo, *La Cronica*'s advertisers were mostly Tejano. Unlike the Anglo ads in *El Regidor* that primarily dealt with banking, real estate, and lumber industries, *La Cronica*'s Anglo advertisers were principally involved in businesses that sold dry goods and ready-made clothing. August C. Richter, I. Alexander, and A. Saft were among *La Cronica*'s loyal advertisers. Except for Richter's and Saft's ads, which occasionally varied in content, the substance of other notices did not change throughout 1910. For instance Saft alternated between advertising clothing, hats, and footwear, as well as his unbeatable prices. Richter, unlike his fellow competitors, attempted to attract Tejanos by acknowledging cultural celebrations. El Precio Fijo, Richter's store, celebrated Cinco de Mayo and Diez y Sies de Septiembre (16 September) with large sales. He also advertised "a huge sale from now until the end of the grand centennial celebration" to honor the one hundredth anniversary of Mexico's independence.[25] In contrast Richter's May and September advertisements in the *Laredo Weekly Times*, the city's leading English-language newspaper, made absolutely no reference to Tejano celebrations or the centennial celebration. The different ad content demonstrated that Richter utilized the Spanish-language newspaper specifically to target Tejanos. The absence of any reference to Tejano celebrations in Richter's ad in the *Laredo Weekly Times* suggests a disassociation between the Anglo minority and the Tejano majority.[26]

Despite a cultural divide, Laredo's Anglo merchants competed directly with Tejano entrepreneurs for Tejano consumers. Comprising 90 percent of the city's population, Tejanos in Laredo were a target audience for some Anglo advertisers. A few Anglo ads in *La Cronica*, similar to those in *El Regidor*, boasted either the staff's ability to speak Spanish or offered Mexican products. The City Drug Store, known as Botica de la Ciudad to Tejanos, advertised a complete inventory of Mexican pharmaceuticals. F. H. Lithgow and Isacc Hirsch, proprietors of City Drug Store, claimed that Tejanos preferred their pharmacy to all others. In February City Drug Store offered women free facial massages performed by a specialist from Dallas, Texas. Women could request an in-home visit by contacting the store. To attract Tejanos, the ad highlighted

the specialist's ability to speak Spanish. Not surprisingly City Drug Store's advertisements in the *Laredo Weekly Times* differed significantly from its ads in *La Cronica*. The English-language ads trumpeted the sale of MacDonald's chocolates, Huyler's candies, and Colgate toiletries but made no mention of Mexican products. Although the English-language ads varied in content, Lithgow and Hirsch occasionally referred to City Drug Store as Botica de la Ciudad in the *Laredo Weekly Times* notice. This reference acknowledged the business's dealing with the Tejano community or the newspaper's Tejano readership.[27]

Dr. William E. Dodge and dentist A. Hodges also advertised to the Tejano community. Dodge, whose office sat above the Tejano-owned pharmacy Botica del Pueblo, advertised as a Spanish-speaking physician trained in New York. Like Dodge, Hodges, a registered dentist in the United States and Mexico, also advertised his Spanish skills along with his expertise in extracting teeth and fitting dentures. Similar to Dodge and Hodges, the owners of the California Restaurant, an establishment that prepared made-to-order American cuisine, advertised service in all languages. While Dodge and Hodges advertised their knowledge of Spanish, T. A. Austin and Company competed with Tejano merchants, such as Lucio Coronado, by selling produce imported from Mexico. T. A. Austin and Company, which had an affiliate business in San Antonio, sold Mexican peanuts, cheeses, and candies.[28]

La Cronica's out-of-state advertisements, posted by Anglo merchants, numbered only a few when compared to *El Regidor*. A notice for the Beebe Ear Drum Company of New York, for example, appeared in the Laredo newspaper on a few occasions. The ad, which offered a cure for ear-related illnesses and deafness, welcomed correspondence in both English and Spanish and promised free instruction on self-healing to customers who mentioned the name of the newspaper that published Beebe Ear Drum's advertisement. Unlike *El Regidor*'s endorsement of Swamp-Root, this notice was a general advertisement, not an endorsement by *La Cronica* of Beebe Ear Drum. The lack of out-of-state mail-order advertisements in *La Cronica*, a leading Spanish-language newspaper in Laredo, suggests that the Tejano community in Laredo was more insulated than that in San Antonio.[29]

Providing an ad forum for Anglo merchants, *El Regidor* and *La Cronica* promoted the biculturalization of Tejanos, although in varying degrees, by facilitating Tejanos' incorporation into the mainstream of American consumerism. Anglo advertisers, whose goods or services targeted Tejanos, not only acknowledged the significance of the ethnic population but also celebrated or reinforced elements of Mexican culture, such as the Spanish language, foods, and holidays.

When scholars study the biculturalization of individuals possessing Mexican ancestry, they have often focused on the interaction between this ethnic group and Anglo society. Historians must explore the role of Tejano merchants in the economies of San Antonio and Laredo, however, since biculturalization refers to both the incorporation of American culture as well as the retention of the Mexican way of life. In general *El Regidor*'s local Anglo advertisers reflected the urbanization of San Antonio. Banking, lumber, and real estate notices served as principle examples of industries often associated with the town's economic and physical transformation. Tejano merchants engaged in enterprises different from their Anglo counterparts. These different ventures emphasized the distinct role these merchants played in San Antonio's development, especially in the Tejano community.

Unlike their Anglo counterparts, the majority of Tejano businesses that advertised in *El Regidor* fell into two categories: dry-goods stores and professional services (table 3). Throughout 1910 Donaciano R. Davila, Domingo Fernandez, and T. Puente and Son repeatedly advertised their general dry-goods stores, which specialized in Mexican products, in *El Regidor*. While Davila emphasized his twenty-five years of experience as a commercial merchant and Fernandez highlighted his stock of equipment used in *molinos* (mills used specifically for nixtamal, the process of turning corn into masa used to make tamales and tortillas), Puente advertised in great detail the merchandise sold in his store. The Puente ad was divided into four categories: *frutas y legumbres* (fruits and vegetables), *barajas de Mexico* (cards from Mexico, but based on the listing, this category referred to both cards and items sold in bulk such as popcorn and candies), *productos Mexicanos* (Mexican products), and *yerbas medicinales* (medicinal herbs). The products

Table 3. Tejano Advertisers

Types of Tejano owned or operated businesses	*El Regidor*	*La Cronica*
Dry goods/clothing/furniture/equipment	4	19
Professional	4	6
Restaurant/bakery/saloon	2	7
Repair	1	7
Other	3	5

[a] The Professional category includes doctors, lawyers, pharmacists, notary publics, and teachers/academics.

[b] Repair businesses include those that mend, rent, and sell new goods or services such as clothing, shoes, bikes, homes, and watches.

[c] The Other category includes undertaking companies, lumberyards, theatres, and barbershops.

listed under each category included items commonly found in Anglo and Tejano stores, such as apples, lettuce, and chocolate candies. Puente and Son, like Frank Pizzini, sold *metates* (grinding stones), *molcajetes* (mortars), and *chile colorado* (red chile) imported from Mexico. Extensive offerings specifically geared toward the Tejano community distinguished Puente's ads from other notices. Puente and Son sold Mexican candies made from sweet potato and pumpkin (still a special treat in Mexico and South Texas); molinos; and *yerba buena*, an herb used by Mexicans and Tejanos to alleviate stomach pains.[30]

Tejano professionals also advertised in *El Regidor*, offering their services to barrio residents. Antonio S. Flores, the only notary public to advertise in *El Regidor*, drew up and certified deeds, contracts, and testaments. Two physicians specializing in chronic illnesses associated with the urinary tract, intestines, lungs, and joints offered their medical services to Tejanos. Dr. Pedro Batista, a graduate of the University of San Carlos in Madrid, Spain, and a close friend of the Cruz family, advertised in *El Regidor* from the 1890s until the end of the newspaper's run. Like Batista, who served as a witness at Victor Cruz's marriage ceremony, Francisco A. Chapa had also advertised his pharmacy, Botica del Leon, in *El Regidor* since the 1890s. Chapa, probably one of the most recognized Tejano leaders in San Antonio, served as president of the San Antonio Pharmaceutical Association, worked as a San Antonio Independent School Board trustee, and participated in the Democratic Party.[31]

Unlike other Tejano enterprises that advertised in *El Regidor*, Botica del Leon's importance extended beyond the barrio. In 1901 the city council awarded Chapa a contract to provide the San Antonio Health Department with medications. In his advertisements from 1910, Chapa offered medications by mail. This service was not new since the pharmacy conducted business with citizens of New Mexico and other states. He also honored mail requests from residents in Mexico. Chapa's service mirrored those offered by companies in New York that sold remedies. Botica del Leon, however, was Tejano-owned and -operated and sold familiar items, such as *drogas mexicanas* (Mexican drugs), to Mexicans and Tejanos.[32]

When compared to Anglo advertisers, the business ventures of Tejano merchants as a whole represented the needs and constituency of the Tejano community. Anglo businesses in San Antonio that advertised in *El Regidor* represented outside enterprises hoping to attract Tejanos. This ethnic group, however, did not represent the primary customers at these businesses, with the possible exception of La Tienda Mexicana and Frank Pizzini's store. *El Regidor* helped Anglo merchants reach its Tejano readers, facilitating a limited incorporation into the American consumer market. In contrast

Tejano entrepreneurs specifically serviced the Tejano community. Although the Shelley-Loring Undertaking Company welcomed the population bearing Spanish surnames, Tejano-owned Guerra Undertaking Company only conducted business with "*clientela Mexicana*" (Mexican clientele). Like Batista, who offered a clinic for the poor at a neighborhood pharmacy, and other Tejano-owned businesses, the Guerra Undertaking Company serviced the needs of people of Mexican descent living in the barrio. Tejano entrepreneurs shared with their customers a language and culture that created ease and familiarity.[33]

The content of advertisements in both *El Regidor* and *La Cronica* reflected the demographic differences between San Antonio and Laredo in 1910. In San Antonio, *El Regidor*'s ads were predominately Anglo and represented industries associated with modern urbanization. The weekly's Tejano advertisements, however, addressed the Mexican American community needs. *La Cronica*'s advertisements also reflected Laredo's demographic profile since Tejanos in Laredo outnumbered Anglos, unlike San Antonio, where Tejanos were the minority. Tejano businesses advertising in *La Cronica* were comparable in number to the weekly's Anglo advertisers. The dry-goods, clothing, and furniture stores owned by both Anglos and Tejanos dominated *La Cronica*'s pages (see tables 2 and 3).

Anglo dry-goods and clothing stores, such as Richter's El Precio Fijo and A. Saft's store, competed with Francisco Guerra and Francisco Izaguirre's El Palacio de Hierro and other Tejano-owned and -operated stores, such as Los Dos Laredos. Unlike some Tejano ads in *El Regidor* that stressed Tejanos as the target clientele, the Tejano dry-goods and clothing ads in *La Cronica* vied for customers not based on ethnicity but on price and quality of merchandise. To compete with Richter and Saft, whose ads emphasized bargain prices, Tejano merchants stressed quality of merchandise as well as price. In advertising their men's and women's departments, Guerra and Izaguirre highlighted that El Palacio de Hierro carried suits and accessories from renowned designers and companies. Women could buy the latest Irving Drew Company footwear and men could find an extensive collection of John B. Stetson Company hats.[34]

While the ads for El Palacio de Hierro focused on a diverse assortment, the notices for La Primavera and Julian M. Trevino's store underlined prices. Trevino claimed his store's low prices made him a "friend of the poor and the rich and the most popular [merchant]."[35] La Primavera, located across from Richter's store, advertised that "people with good taste come directly to our establishment because they know we have a vast and magnificent selection of merchandise from which to choose. . . . We sell at moderate prices."[36] The

ad for Aurelio Flores's clothing store used bold print to bring attention to its price reductions. El Peso Mexicano, which had been in business since 1881, and La Tienda Mixta advertised inexpensive clothing for the whole family, setting them apart from other advertisers.[37]

Although the majority of merchants advertising in *La Cronica* were males, female merchants did place notices in the weekly. Women operated two out of the three local Tejano restaurants advertising in *La Cronica*. Angelita Diaz ran Restaurant Mexicano and Angela Viuda de Bravo operated American Restaurant, which prepared American and Mexican dishes. Viuda de Bravo also managed a catering business from the American Restaurant, while Diaz rented rooms and beds in addition to serving food at Restaurant Mexicano. Women also ran other businesses in Laredo. Pilar Garcia operated a dry-goods store while Señora B. M. Montemayor sold dresses, hats, ribbons, and flowers. In the realm of education, Maria de Jesus de Leon served as director of La Luz Academy, a school that cultivated the intellectual and moral character of its students. Although few in number compared to the overall quantity of ads published in *La Cronica*, notices from Tejana-owned or -operated businesses demonstrate that women were active and recognized entrepreneurs in the Laredo economy. The examination of *El Regidor*'s local advertisements for 1910 turned up no identifiable Tejana business owners, besides Zulema Cruz, who assumed ownership of *El Regidor* after her husband's death. Tejanas in San Antonio, similar to their counterparts in Laredo, ran businesses or offered services. The absences of ads for Tejana-owned or -operated businesses in *El Regidor* is most likely the result of limited advertising space due to the paper's loyal Anglo and Tejano clients. In addition *El Regidor* published general ads that contained little information regarding proprietors and their services or products. It is plausible that some of those ads belonged to Tejanas.[38]

Some Tejano merchants in Laredo advertised in the *Laredo Weekly Times* in addition to placing notices in *La Cronica*. Guerra and Izaguirre attempted to reach Anglos by publicizing El Palacio de Hierro in the *Laredo Weekly Times*. While El Palacio de Hierro's ads in the *Times* were less extensive or visually appealing than those placed in *La Cronica*, the business advertised regularly with the English-language newspaper during 1910. Guerra and Izaguirre referred to their store as "reputable." Tomas Nieto, owner of El Puerto de Mazatlan Panaderia, also advertised in the *Laredo Weekly Times*. Nieto made a direct appeal to Anglos: "I especially solicit a trial from American families."[39] As part of his effort to solicit Anglo customers, the ad referred to Nieto's business as the Tomas Nieto Bakery rather than El Puerto de Mazatlan Panaderia.[40]

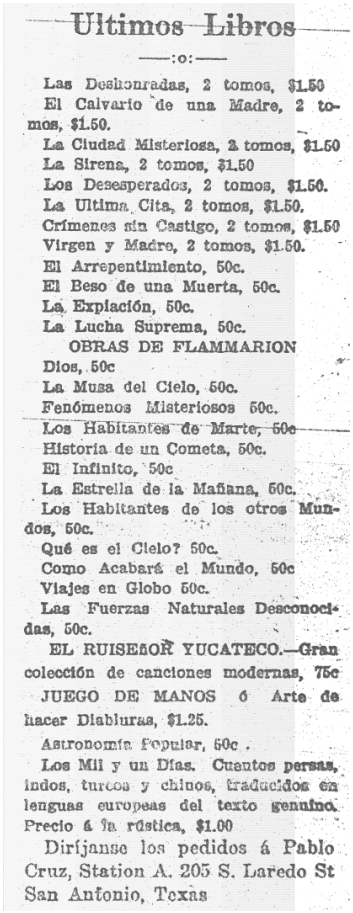
The Spanish-language press provided merchants, Anglo and Tejano alike, an instrument for reaching the Tejano consumer. Like their advertising clients,

newspaper proprietors utilized their publications to promote their other business ventures. While the newspaper was a principal business for Nicasio Idar and Pablo Cruz, these two entrepreneurs also developed secondary enterprises. Both proprietors founded printing houses that they operated out of their newspapers' offices. Idar established Idar e Hijos, an independent printing house that sold stationary, biographical profiles of Mexican Independence heroes, and books, and that welcomed all types of printing jobs. In addition to running the newspaper and the printing house, Idar sold and bought land through *Agencia de Terrenos* (Land Agency), which he operated out of the Idar e Hijos office at 1020 Matamoros Street. Furthermore, Idar owned the Gran Fabrica de Cigarro de Hoja, a cigar business.

Idar used *La Cronica* to advertise his other ventures. The services he advertised strengthened the Mexican culture or catered specifically to Tejanos. The production and sale of Spanish-language books and other printed materials that celebrated Mexico's history reinforced the retention of the Spanish language and culture. In addition, in the ad for Agencia de Terrenos, Idar declared that his real estate services were intended specifically for individuals of Mexican heritage: "I sell and buy land. I have ten years of experience which I offer to Mexican land buyers and sellers. Write me today if you wish to utilize my services. My transactions are between Mexicans."[41] While Idar advertised his other business dealings in *La Cronica*, he did not publish in every edition.[42]

Cruz also used his newspaper, *El Regidor*, to advertise his other business activities. Unlike Idar's ads, which were general and simple in content, Cruz's notices were descriptive and often persuasive in nature. Employing his own printing press, Cruz printed and sold books, dictionaries, poems, and monograph stationary. Every newspaper edition contained an advertisement for one or several of his ventures.[43]

When advertising books, Cruz provided a detailed list of his inventory, and subsequent editions of *El Regidor* carried a "*Nuevos Libros*" (New Books) or "*Ultimos Libros*" (Latest Books) column (ill. 4). Among the translated novels advertised in *El Regidor* were *Les Miserables* (1862) by Victor Hugo, *Germinal* (1885) and *Nana* (1880) by French writer Émile Zola, and *Maria* (1867) by Columbian writer Jorge Isaacs. Aside from translated novels, Cruz sold works that explored the history of Mexico and the life of Mexican leaders, such as Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, who served as minister of foreign affairs and president of the Supreme Court before being elected president; and Maximilian I, Emperor of Mexico, whose execution signaled the triumph of a republican form of government for Mexico. For three dollars, readers could purchase the memoir of Mexican intellectual Juan de Dios Peza.



Ultimos Libros

—:o:—

Las Deshonradas, 2 tomos, $1.50
El Calvario de una Madre, 2 tomos, $1.50.
La Ciudad Misteriosa, 2 tomos, $1.50
La Sirena, 2 tomos, $1.50
Los Desesperados, 2 tomos, $1.50.
La Ultima Cita, 2 tomos, $1.50.
Crímenes sin Castigo, 2 tomos, $1.50
Virgen y Madre, 2 tomos, $1.50.
El Arrepentimiento, 50c.
El Beso de una Muerta, 50c.
La Expiación, 50c.
La Lucha Suprema, 50c.
OBRAS DE FLAMMARION
Dios, 50c
La Musa del Cielo, 50c.
Fenómenos Misteriosos 50c.
Los Habitantes de Marte, 50c
Historia de un Cometa, 50c.
El Infinito, 50c
La Estrella de la Mañana, 50c.
Los Habitantes de los otros Mundos, 50c.
Qué es el Cielo? 50c.
Como Acabará el Mundo, 50c
Viajes en Globo 50c.
Las Fuerzas Naturales Desconocidas, 50c.
EL RUISEÑOR YUCATECO.—Gran colección de canciones modernas, 75c
JUEGO DE MANOS ó Arte de hacer Diabluras, $1.25.
Astronomía Popular, 50c.
Los Mil y un Días. Cuentos persas, indos, turcos y chinos, traducidos en lenguas europeas del texto genuino. Precio á la rústica, $1.00
Diríjanse los pedidos á Pablo Cruz, Station A. 205 S. Laredo St San Antonio, Texas

ILL. 4. ULTIMOS LIBROS ADVERTISEMENT

Advertisement from San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor.

The 274-page account, according to *El Regidor*, traced the history of Mexico from the rise of Pres. Benito Juarez to the French intervention, which placed Maximilian as head of the nation, to the ultimate triumph of the republic. Cruz's book inventory showed the wide range of selections available to the Tejano community. In addition the availability of works by diverse authors and on assorted topics reflected the biculturalization of the San Antonio community, particularly the literate Tejano population.[44]

Furthermore, the advertisement of English-Spanish and Spanish-English dictionaries also indicated biculturalization among Tejanos. The works advertised in *El Regidor* reflected Cruz's support of bilingualism, which he considered essential to the advancement of Tejanos. Cruz ran several articles that called for the mastering of the English language by Tejanos, without sacrificing their ancestral language. As a school-board trustee, Cruz supported the acquisition of knowledge for the purpose of socioeconomic advancement. While Cruz promoted education among Tejanos in San Antonio, his paper ran columns on proper language usage, the history of Mexico, and original and translated literary works, all of which emphasized his support of public education.[45]

Biculturalization also manifested itself in Cruz's other ventures. Aside from the newspaper and the printing house, Cruz also sold goods that celebrated or catered to the Mexican culture. Throughout the year, Cruz advertised centennial buttons that depicted Fr. Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, who initiated Mexico's rebellion against Spain in 1810, and Gen. Porfirio Díaz, the Mexican president who resigned in 1911 after various anti-Díaz rebellions erupted in Mexico during 1910.[46] In March Cruz sold Juarez buttons that were described as essential memorabilia: "This button is a beautiful jewel and should be worn without exception by all Mexicans who see in JUAREZ the living and glorious incarnation of Mexico and [they] should keep it as a souvenir of the Centennial."[47] In *La Cronica*'s advertisements, however, the only mention of the centennial celebration of

Mexico's independence was Richter's ad highlighting a sale in conjunction with Laredo's festivities.

Readers also found advertisements for Mexican saints in *El Regidor*. Catholic saints were an important aspect of spirituality and folk healing among Mexican peoples. Whether in photos or statues, saints were prominently displayed in the homes of Tejanos. Cruz offered over forty porcelain statues of saints including that of the Virgen de Guadalupe, the most revered patron saint among individuals of Mexican heritage. Also available were authentic photographs, mounted in onyx marble, of don Pedrito Jaramillo, a *curandero* (folk healer) who purportedly had exceptional healing powers. A shrine to don Pedrito, well known and respected in South Texas, was erected in Falfurrias, Texas, after his death in 1907. The shrine is still the site of pilgrimages.[48]

Perhaps the most extensive advertising of Cruz's additional endeavors involved the Cruz Eléctrica (Electric Cross), a pendant engraved with a cross that when worn around the neck or close to the stomach promised relief from physical and mental illnesses. According to testimonials published in advertisements, the Cruz Eléctrica eased rheumatism and other body aches. All requests for the Cruz Eléctrica, which sold for one dollar, were mailed to *El Regidor*'s office. Cruz published testimonial letters from individuals in California, Texas, and Mexico hailing the benefits of the Cruz Eléctrica. In one ad, Esteran Gonzalez of Braketville, Texas, wrote that his wife, Jesusa, suffered from rheumatism for over a year, but that her pains had completely disappeared when she began using the Cruz Eléctrica. In another letter, Cesario V. Mendieta from Durango, Mexico, expressed his gratitude for the Cruz Eléctrica: "Well, after two months . . . of having received the cruz eléctrica . . . I felt some strong sensations of electricity that I insisted that they take it off of me, but my daughter begged me [to keep it on] that I decided leave it. After about forty-five minutes my illnesses began disappearing. . . . Today I feel so well as if I had never suffered any rheumatism."[49] Advertisements for the Cruz Eléctrica appeared multiple times in single editions. Some ads provided instruction on use while others celebrated the product. The Cruz Eléctrica combined the spiritual faith of Tejanos and the popularity of mail-order remedies as indicated by the numerous notices published in *El Regidor*.[50]

Conclusion

The portrait of San Antonio and Laredo that emerges from an analysis of advertisements in *El Regidor* and *La Cronica* shows two distinct economic environments in which Anglo and Tejano merchants played similar roles.

The pages of *El Regidor* portray San Antonio as an urban center with a well-established banking industry and real estate and lumber companies that facilitated physical growth. In this city, residents could find dentists, attorneys, and doctors, as well as dry-goods stores that carried an assortment of products from fruits to the latest fashions. Through its mail-order ads, the Spanish-language weekly connected its readers to businesses outside the state, further drawing Tejanos into American consumerism. Anglo merchants who advertised in *El Regidor* highlighted special services that included the ability to communicate with Spanish-speaking Tejanos.

Yet, despite the presence of Anglo proprietors in *El Regidor*, Anglo advertisements reflected only a small portion of the city's Anglo-owned enterprises. Missing from the pages of the Spanish-language weekly were advertisements for the Carnegie Library; hotels, such as the Menger and the St. Anthony; automobile companies; and the city's leading department stores like Frank Brothers, Washer Brothers Company, and the Joske Brothers Company. These businesses loyally advertised in the *San Antonio Light and Gazette* and the *Daily Express*. Banks that advertised in *El Regidor* also represented a limited segment of the financial industry. While Frost National Bank routinely advertised in *El Regidor* throughout 1910, other banking institutions, such as Alamo National Bank, City National Bank, Emmet Bank, and D. Sullivan Company Bank, only advertised in the English-language press.[51]

In general Anglo advertisers in *El Regidor* reflected the urbanization of San Antonio, but Tejano advertisers, although smaller in number, addressed the needs of the ethnic community, providing repair shops, funeral homes, and dry-goods stores that catered specifically to the Spanish-speaking population. Even Cruz marketed his merchandise, such as the electric cross, to those consumers of Mexican heritage. Cruz and other Tejano merchants did not advertise in the *San Antonio Light and Gazette* or the *Daily Express* because their services or products were not for general use but rather for residents of the barrio.[52]

The pages of *La Cronica* depicted Laredo, unlike San Antonio, as a town in which Tejano businesses outnumbered Anglo enterprises and where dry-goods stores dominated the local economy. Ads for banks and electric companies were largely absent from the pages of *La Cronica*. Only two lumber companies, one Anglo owned and the other Tejano operated, advertised in *La Cronica*. Although smaller in number than those in San Antonio, banks, lumber companies, car companies, and real estate businesses did operate in Laredo. The Laredo National Bank and the First State Bank and Trust Company contributed to the growth of Laredo, while the Laredo Electric

and Railway Company provided heaters and electric lamps to customers. These businesses were dominated by Anglos whose medium of advertisement was not *La Cronica* but the *Laredo Weekly Times*. The Anglo ads in *La Cronica* represented the limited inclusion of Tejanos into the Anglo consumer market.[53]

Tejano merchants in Laredo, like those in San Antonio, specifically addressed the ethnic community's needs. Tejano ads in *La Cronica* outnumbered Anglo notices, the proportion reflecting Laredo's demographic profile. Tejano merchants provided the community with a multitude of goods and services. Restaurants, dry-goods stores, saloons, barbershops, and furniture stores operated in the Laredo barrio. These ethnic merchants cultivated and provided an environment of cultural familiarity. Although a few Tejano merchants, such as Nieto, advertised in the English-language newspaper, the overall clientele of Tejano entrepreneurs were fellow Tejanos. Idar's real estate agency, which only dealt with Tejano clients, was a prime example of Tejano merchants' crucial role in serving and bringing people of Mexican descent into the South Texas economy.

Although complete opposites in the Anglo-to-Tejano ad ratio, the advertisements in both Spanish-language weeklies reflected characteristics of biculturalism. Anglo ads sought to incorporate Tejanos into American consumer culture and into the economy of the politically and economically dominant group. At the same time, Tejano merchants reinforced Mexican culture by providing Mexican goods; celebrating Mexican heritage, as *El Regidor* did with Father Hidalgo buttons; and conducting transactions in Spanish.

One particular ad for a cantina on West Commerce Street in San Antonio symbolizes the biculturalization of Tejanos. Patricio Vallejo owned the saloon whose name, El 5 De Mayo, celebrated the Mexican army's victory over French invasion forces in 1862. In the Southwest, Cinco de Mayo had become a celebration of Mexico's culture and history. The name of Vallejo's cantina paid homage to his and all Tejanos' Mexican heritage. El 5 De Mayo stocked Mexican tequilas alongside American malt whiskies, and advertised as much to *El Regidor*'s readers as to its Anglo patrons.[54]

Notes

1. *Laredo (Tex.) La Cronica*, 30 April 1910.
2. For works that focus on marketing techniques among Hispanics, see Felipe Korzenny and Betty Ann Korzenny, *Hispanic Marketing: A Cultural Perspective* (Burlington, Mass.: Elsevier, Butterworth-Heinemann, 2005); Elena del Valle, ed., *Hispanic Marketing and Public Relations: Understanding and Targeting America's Largest Minority* (Boca Raton, Fla.: Poyeen Publishing, 2005); and Arlene M.

Dávila, *Latinos, Inc.: The Marketing and Making of a People* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

3. For studies on Spanish-language newspapers, see Robert F. Brand, "Survey of the Spanish Language Press in the United States," *The Modern Language Journal* 31 (November 1947): 431–38; Porter A. Stratton, *The Territorial Press of New Mexico, 1834–1912* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969); Richard Griswold del Castillo, "The Mexican Revolution and the Spanish-Language Press in the Borderlands," *Journalism History* 4 (summer 1977): 42–47; Ramon D. Chacón, "The Chicano Immigrant Press in Los Angeles: The Case of 'El Heraldo de Mexico,' 1916–1920," *Journalism History* 4 (summer 1977): 48–50, 62–63; Annabelle M. Oczon, "Bilingual and Spanish-Language Newspapers in Territorial New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* 54 (January 1979): 45–52; Francine Medeiros, "*La Opinion*, A Mexican Exile Newspaper: A Content Analysis of Its First Years, 1926–1929," *Aztlan* 11 (spring 1980): 65–87; Carlos E. Cortes, "The Mexican-American Press," in *The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook*, ed. Sally M. Miller (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 247–60; Luis Leal, "The Spanish-Language Press: Function and Use," *The Americas Review* 17, nos. 3–4 (1989): 157–62; Roberto R. Treviño, "Prensa y patria: The Spanish-Language Press and the Biculturation of the Tejano Middle Class, 1920–1940," *Western Historical Quarterly* 22 (November 1991): 451–72; Nicolas Kanellos, "A Socio-Historic Study of Hispanic Newspapers in the United States," in *Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage*, vol. 1, ed. Ramón Gutiérrez and Genaro Padilla (Houston, Tex.: Arte Público Press, 1993), 107–28; Doris Meyer, *Speaking for Themselves: Neomexicano Cultural Identity and the Spanish-Language Press, 1880–1920*, Pasó por aquí series (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996); Robert B. Kent and Maura E. Huntz, "Spanish-Language Newspapers in the United States," *Geographical Review* 86 (July 1996): 446–56; A. Gabriel Meléndez, "Spanish-Language Journalism in the Southwest: History and Discursive Practice," in *Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage*, vol. 2, ed. Erlinda Gonzales-Berry and Chuck Tatum (Houston, Tex.: Arte Público Press, 1996), 239–59; Laura Gutierrez-Witt, "Cultural Continuity in the Face of Change: Hispanic Printers in Texas," in *Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage*, 2:260–78; A. Gabriel Meléndez, *So All Is Not Lost: The Poetics of Print in Nuevomexicano Communities, 1834–1958*, Pasó por aquí series (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997); América Rodriguez, *Making Latino News: Race, Language, Class* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1999); Edward Lee Walraven, "Ambivalent Americans: Selected Spanish-Language Newspapers' Response to Anglo Domination in Texas, 1830–1910" (PhD diss., Texas A&M University, 1999); Louis Mendoza, "Confronting la Frontera, Identity and Gender: Poetry and Politics in *La Cronica* and *El Democrata Fronterizo*," in *Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage*, vol. 3, ed. Maria Herrera-Sobek and Virginia Sanchez-Korrel (Houston, Tex.: Arte Público Press, 2000), 103–23; Doris Meyer, "Reading Early Neomexicano Newspapers: Yesterday and Today," in *Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage*, 3:402–11; Ana Luisa Martinez, "The Voice of the People: Pablo Cruz, *El Regidor*, and Mexican American Identity in San Antonio, Texas, 1880–1910" (PhD diss., Texas Tech University, 2003); and Ana Luisa Martinez-Catsam, "Frontier of Dissent: *El Regidor*, the Regime of Porfirio Díaz, and the Transborder Community," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 112 (October 2009): 389–408.

4. Treviño, "Prensa y patria," 460.

5. In this article the term "Tejano" refers to all individuals of Mexican heritage residing in Texas, regardless of citizenship status.
6. The oldest surviving edition of *El Regidor* is dated 18 January 1890. Information from obituaries and biographical profiles, however, suggests the newspaper was established in 1888. Many scholars believe that *La Cronica* began publication in either 1895 or 1896, but surviving copies do not exist. For additional information, see Martinez, "The Voice of the People"; and Walraven, "Ambivalent Americans."
7. Since the ads from *El Regidor* and *La Cronica* used in this article appear throughout 1910, I have chosen select editions for citation when quoting, when I notice slight variations in the ads, or when I believe multiple editions are needed to reinforce a point.
8. *A Twentieth Century History of Southwest Texas*, vol. 1 (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1907), 320–439; John L. Davis, *San Antonio: A Historical Portrait* (Austin, Tex.: Encino Press, 1978), 29–35; Edward W. Heusinger, *A Chronology of Events in San Antonio: Being a Concise History of the City, Year by Year, from the Beginning of its Establishment to the End of the First Half of the Twentieth Century* (San Antonio, Tex.: Standard Printing Company, 1951), 32–59; Sam Woolford, ed., *San Antonio: A History for Tomorrow* (San Antonio, Tex.: Naylor Company, 1963), 110–14, 130–34, 139, 162–64; Martinez, "The Voice of the People," 31–41; and Daniel D. Arreola, *Tejano South Texas: A Mexican American Cultural Province*, Jack and Doris Smothers Series in Texas History, Life, and Culture, no. 5 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), 129–49.
9. Joseph B. Wilkinson, *Laredo and the Rio Grande Frontier: A Narrative* (Austin, Tex.: Jenkins Publishing Company, 1975), 366.
10. Arreola, *Tejano South Texas*, 149–60; Wilkinson, *Laredo and the Rio Grande Frontier*, 362–96; David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836–1986* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), 92–95; and Seb S. Wilcox, "The Laredo City Election and Riot of April, 1886," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 45 (July 1941): 1–23.
11. Arreola, *Tejano South Texas*, 145, 157.
12. *San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor*, 18 August 1910, 3 August 1911; *San Antonio (Tex.) El Heraldo*, 22 March 1893; *Morrison and Fourmy's General Directory of the City of San Antonio, 1887–1888* (Galveston, Tex.: Morrison and Fourmy's, 1887), 54; *Jules A. Appler's General Directory of the City of San Antonio, 1892–1893* (San Antonio, Tex.: Jules A. Appler, 1892), 244, 622; *Jules A. Appler's General Directory of the City of San Antonio, 1895–1896* (San Antonio, Tex.: Jules A. Appler, 1895), 223; *Jules A. Appler's General Directory and Blue Book of Greater San Antonio, 1912* (San Antonio, Tex.: Jules A. Appler, 1912), 516; and *Jules A. Appler's General Directory and Householder Directory of Greater San Antonio, 1916* (San Antonio, Tex.: Jules A. Appler, 1916), 668.
13. *Laredo (Tex.) La Cronica*, 19 November 1910, 17 December 1910, 24 December 1910, 26 January 1911, 2 February 1911, 13 April 1911, 21 September 1911, 28 September 1911, 5 October 1911; Walraven, "Ambivalent Americans," 199–200; José E. Limón, "El Primer Congreso Mexicanista de 1911: A Precursor to Contemporary Chicanismo," *Aztlan* 5, nos. 1–2 (1974): 86–96; and Gutierrez-Witt, "Cultural Continuity in the Face of Change," 270–73.
14. Ana Luisa Martinez, "Pablo Cruz and *El Regidor*: The Emergence of a Bicultural Identity in San Antonio, 1888–1910," *Journal of South Texas* 18, no. 2 (2005): 276–95; and Limón, "El Primer Congreso Mexicanista de 1911," 87.

15. *San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor*, 6 January 1910.
16. *San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor*, 17 February 1910, 2 June 1910, 28 July 1910, 4 August 1910, 1 September 1910; and Martinez, "The Voice of the People," 31–72.
17. *San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor*, 27 January 1910, 3 February 1910, 10 February 1910, 17 February 1910, 2 June 1910, 8 July 1910, 28 July 1910, 4 August 1910; and Martinez, "The Voice of the People," 31–72. Victor Cruz enrolled at Alamo City Commercial and Business College when he worked for his father.
18. *San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor*, 27 January 1910, 3 February 1910, 2 June 1910, 6 October 1910, 24 November 1910, 22 December 1910; Martinez, "The Voice of the People," 31–72; Heusinger, *A Chronology of Events in San Antonio*, 48–49; Charles Ramsdell, *San Antonio: A Historical and Pictorial Guide* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1959), 169; and Arnoldo de Leon, *The Tejano Community, 1836–1900* (1982; repr., Dallas, Tex.: Southern Methodist University Press, in cooperation with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, 1997), 141.
19. *San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor*, 3 February 1910, 2 June 1910, 28 July 1910, 6 October 1910, 22 December 1910.
20. *San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor*, 28 July 1910.
21. *San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor*, 27 January 1910, 3 February 1910, 29 December 1910.
22. *San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor*, 31 March 1910.
23. *San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor*, 10 February 1910.
24. *San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor*, 2 February 1910, 10 February 1910, 17 February 1910.
25. *Laredo (Tex.) La Cronica*, 24 September 1910.
26. *Laredo (Tex.) La Cronica*, 1 January 1910, 15 January 1910, 12 February 1910, 19 February 1910, 20 April 1910, 7 May 1910, 21 May 1910, 2 July 1910, 24 September 1910, 26 November 1910; and *Laredo (Tex.) Weekly Times*, 1 May 1910, 8 May 1910, 15 May 1910, 11 September 1910, 18 September 1910, 25 September 1910.
27. *Laredo (Tex.) La Cronica*, 8 January 1910, 12 February 1910, 23 February 1910, 2 July 1910; and *Laredo (Tex.) Weekly Times*, 23 January 1910, 13 February 1910, 20 February 1910, 27 February 1910.
28. *Laredo (Tex.) La Cronica*, 12 February 1910, 23 February 1910, 16 March 1910, 2 July 1910, 24 September 1910, 5 October 1910, 29 October 1910.
29. *Laredo (Tex.) La Cronica*, 5 February 1910.
30. *San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor*, 31 March 1910, 26 May 1910, 2 June 1910, 28 July 1910, 10 November 1910, 24 November 1910, 22 December 1910.
31. *San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor*, 11 July 1891, 26 May 1910, 11 August 1910, 1 September 1910, 10 November 1910, 24 November 1910, 22 December 1910; Bexar County Marriage Registers, roll 7, vol. n, license 14389, County Clerks Office, Bexar County, Texas; and Chas. G. Norton, ed., *Men of Affairs of San Antonio* (San Antonio, Tex.: San Antonio Newspaper Artists' Association, 1912), 145.
32. *San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor*, 27 January 1910, 10 February 1910, 11 August 1910; and *Annual Message of Marshall Hicks, Mayor of the City of San Antonio: And Review of Reports of City Officers, for Fiscal Year Ending June 1901* (San Antonio, Tex.: Guessaz and Ferlet, 1901), 196.
33. *San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor*, 14 May 1908, 26 May 1910, 6 October 1910, 24 November 1910; and Leon, *The Tejano Community*, 87–112.
34. *Laredo (Tex.) La Cronica*, 15 January 1910, 30 April 1910, 2 July 1910.
35. *Laredo (Tex.) La Cronica*, 1 January 1910.

36. *Laredo (Tex.) La Cronica*, 7 May 1910.
37. *Laredo (Tex.) La Cronica*, 8 January 1910, 7 May 1910, 20 October 1910.
38. *Laredo (Tex.) La Cronica*, 8 January 1910, 16 March 1910, 7 May 1910, 3 September 1910, 24 September 1910, 29 October 1910, 26 November 1910.
39. *Laredo (Tex.) Weekly Times*, 17 April 1910.
40. *Laredo (Tex.) Weekly Times*, 20 February 1910, 27 February 1910, 17 April 1910, 8 May 1910, 29 May 1910, 11 September 1910.
41. *Laredo (Tex.) La Cronica*, 29 October 1910.
42. *Laredo (Tex.) La Cronica*, 5 February 1910, 7 May 1910, 29 October 1910, 24 December 1910.
43. *San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor*, 27 January 1910, 3 February 1910, 10 February 1910, 17 February 1910, 24 March 1910, 28 July 1910, 25 August 1910, 10 November 1910.
44. *San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor*, 27 January 1910, 3 February 1910, 17 February 1910, 24 March 1910, 28 July 1910, 10 November 1910.
45. *San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor*, 10 February 1910, 25 August 1910; and Martinez, "Pablo Cruz and *El Regidor*," 286–88.
46. *San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor*, 10 March 1910, 1 September 1910.
47. *San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor*, 10 March 1910.
48. *San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor*, 25 August 1910, 22 December 1910.
49. *San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor*, 17 February 1910.
50. *San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor*, 27 January 1910, 10 February 1910, 17 February 1910, 24 March 1910, 28 July 1910, 18 August 1910.
51. *San Antonio (Tex.) Light and Gazette*, 4 January 1910, 17 February 1910, 28 February 1910, 4 March 1910, 25 April 1910, 28 June 1910, 14 August 1910, 6 September 1910; and *San Antonio (Tex.) Daily Express*, 1 January 1910, 23 January 1910, 26 February 1910, 12 March 1910, 13 April 1910, 8 June 1910, 12 November 1910.
52. Reviewing various editions of the *San Antonio Light and Gazette* and the *Daily Express* for the year 1910 turned up no advertisements for Tejano businesses.
53. *Laredo (Tex.) Weekly Times*, 13 February 1910, 27 February 1910, 13 March 1910, 14 August 1910, 28 August 1910, 18 September 1910, 9 October 1910, 20 November 1910, 4 December 1910, 18 December 1910.
54. *San Antonio (Tex.) El Regidor*, 28 July 1910, 6 October 1910.

In Memoriam

DAVID J. WEBER (1940–2010)

John L. Kessell

On 20 August 2010, internationally acclaimed historian David J. Weber died in a Gallup, New Mexico, hospital, not far from his summer home, his *querencia* (the place where one's soul is most at peace), in the Zuni Mountains. Carol, his wife of forty-eight years, son Scott, and daughter Amy were with him. Together, the family had fought his multiple myeloma for nearly three years, never giving up hope of a remission. Even during the last days of his life, he continued dictating e-mails to Carol, ever sharing with colleagues and encouraging students.

Born in Buffalo, New York, on 20 December 1940, Weber graduated from the State University of New York, College at Fredonia, where he had changed his focus from music (he and Carol played the clarinet) to Latin American history. He earned both his MA (1964) and PhD (1967) in history from the University of New Mexico, the latter under the guidance of Prof. Donald C. Cutter. Weber's dissertation appeared in book form as *The Taos Trappers: The Fur Trade in the Far Southwest, 1540–1846* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1971). Between 1967 and 1976, he taught at San Diego State University, moving in fall 1976 to Southern Methodist University (SMU), his academic home for the next thirty-four years. There, Weber became Robert and Nancy Dedman Professor of History in 1986 and founding director of the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies in 1995.

Weber specialized in the Spanish Borderlands, Mexico, and colonial Latin America. More than any other scholar, he revitalized historical study of the Borderlands and led the field into the twenty-first century with style and grace. Comparisons with Herbert E. Bolton (1870–1953), pioneer promoter

of the Spanish Borderlands and the epic of Greater America, are inevitable. I entitled a 1993 review essay of Weber's masterful *Spanish Frontier in North America* "A Bolton for the Nineties."[1] Inspired teachers, keen mentors, and prolific writers, both men lent themselves unselfishly to their profession. Bolton served as president of the American Historical Association in 1932; Weber became vice president of the Association's Professional Division in 2008. Bolton presided over a hub of research at the University of California's Bancroft Library; and Weber founded SMU's Clements Center, fostering fellowships, scholarly conferences, and academic publishing. Bolton wrote or edited some twenty-four books; Weber was working on his twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth when he died.

And while his formal bibliography runs to 124 entries, the conspicuous centerpiece is by all measures *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (Yale University Press, 1992; and *The Brief Edition*, Yale University Press, 2009).[2] Weber inherited the field in its third generation, by then greatly expanded in scholarly production if not in geographical area. Geographically, in fact, post-Bolton scholars had split the Borderlands between Spanish Florida and the Southeast on the one hand and Spanish California and the Southwest on the other. At SMU in Dallas, with half the field to the east and half to the west, Weber was perfectly situated to reunite and resynthesize the Spanish colonial history of North America.

That monumental undertaking he accomplished as never before. Mastering computer technology, Weber achieved unprecedented control over the enormous body of secondary and published primary sources, extending his interdisciplinary reach to archaeology, ethnohistory, and beyond. He mediated skillfully between the so-called "Black Legend" of unique Spanish cruelty and the no less distorted "White Legend" of Spaniards as civilizing saviors. Despite the daunting diversity of Native American peoples, their physical worlds, and their varied responses to Spaniards—all of which Weber considered with fresh insight and clarity—the Spanish imprint on the continent proved indelible. "However much Spaniards might eat Indian foods, wear Indian footwear, take Indian wives or concubines, produce mestizo children, learn Indian languages, or live beyond the civility of Spanish urban life," Weber concluded, "the core of Hispanic frontier culture and society remained recognizably Hispanic and clearly intact."[3]

Like Bolton, Weber was drawn to comparative studies. In a 1986 essay, "Turner, the Boltonians, and the Borderlands," which appeared in *The American Historical Review*, Weber wrote admiringly of scholars who had "moved well beyond the simple notion of the frontier as a line between 'savagery and civilization' to remind us that a variety of indigenous societies can exist in a

frontier zone and that different host societies have different impacts on the cultures and institutions of intruders."[4] Already he was framing a challenge for himself, one he met grandly with *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (Yale University Press, 2005).

Toward the end of the colonial era, a notably more secular time than earlier centuries, Spaniards cared less about saving Comanche souls than about enlisting Comanche fighters. As Weber pointed out, independent (as opposed to incorporated) Indians still held sway over more than half the land mass claimed by Spain in the western hemisphere. *Bárbaros* relates in engaging detail the many ways self-interested Spanish administrators, captains, and traders got on with equally self-interested, unconverted Indian peoples across multiple frontiers, from the Great Plains of Texas to the pampas of South America. More often than not, on-the-ground pragmatism trumped the Spanish Crown's vacillating policies. Telling quotations, a Weber trademark, abound. On the point of death, an old Araucanian Mapuche in Chile told a missionary priest, "Padre, do not tire yourself, because it is an inviolable custom and law of my forefathers not to believe anything that Spaniards say."[5]

In 2006, with a profound sense of fulfillment, Weber read in *The New York Review of Books* the qualities assigned to him by world-renowned historian of the Spanish empire J. H. Elliott, who referred to both *The Spanish Frontier* and *Bárbaros* as: "a mastery of the literature and impressive erudition; a capacity for the patient teasing out of the truth from sources that are often incomplete and partisan; and a lucid narrative style that carries the reader along. . . . To have subsumed so much information into so clear and comprehensive a survey is a formidable achievement."[6]

Weber's many achievements were widely recognized. Spain and Mexico, along with his native United States, inducted him into elite societies: the Real Orden de Isabel la Católica in 2002, the Orden Mexicana del Águila Azteca in 2005 (in both cases the highest honor bestowed on a foreigner), and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2007. Fellows of the academy are recognized for "preeminent contributions to their disciplines and to society at large." Other inductees that year included former vice president Al Gore, Israeli biochemist and Nobel laureate Avram Hershko, former Supreme Court associate justice Sandra Day O'Connor, New York mayor Michael Bloomberg, and actor and producer Robert Redford.[7]

Yet none of this acclaim went to Weber's head. Always a thorough gentleman, David lent his soft-spoken assurance to all around him: students, colleagues, friends, and family. Less than a year before he died, he mailed me a copy of his latest book, *The Spanish Frontier in North America: The Brief Edition*. The generosity and warmth of his inscription celebrate the man:

"Inscribed for John Kessell, who has led me in the long journey to understand the Spanish frontiers in over 4 decades of friendship." Thanks, David, but you led us all.

Notes

1. John L. Kessell, "A Bolton for the Nineties—*The Spanish Frontier in North America:* A Review Essay," *New Mexico Historical Review* 68 (October 1993): 399–405.
2. David J. Weber, "Curriculum vitae academicae," http://faculty.smu.edu/dweber/CV.htm.
3. David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992), 333.
4. David J. Weber, "Turner, the Boltonians, and the Borderlands," *The American Historical Review* 91 (February 1986): 71–72.
5. David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005), 126.
6. J. H. Elliott, "Barbarians at the Gates; *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment*," *The New York Review of Books*, 23 February 2006, pp. 36–38.
7. "Historian David J. Weber Inducted into the American Academy of Arts and Sciences," http://smu.edu/newsinfo/releases/06159a.asp.

Book Reviews

Dreaming of Sheep in Navajo Country. By Marsha Weisiger, foreword by William Cronon. Weyerhaeuser Environmental Books. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009. xxvi + 391 pp. 29 halftones, maps, glossary, notes, bibliography, index. $35.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-295-98881-8.)

In 1934 Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) officials shot thousands of goats and sheep on the Navajo Reservation, leaving the carcasses to decompose. This callous action solidified Diné opinion against Comr. Ind. Affs. John Collier, turned the tide against the Navajo livestock reduction program, and led to a stunning defeat of the Indian Reorganization Act. In *Dreaming of Sheep in Navajo Country*, environmental historian Marsha Weisiger revisits an oft-told story of federal power run amuck, emphasizing the powerful roles played by women and sheep. She concludes that federal Indian policy failed to improve range conditions, and ironically, contributed to the long-term decline of the land.

Mindful of large historical forces, Weisiger adopts a geological framework to arrange the work thematically in four parts. Part 1, "Fault Lines," explores the fundamental issues at stake in the reduction program, beginning with an overview of the ecological setting. This section also discusses the perceptions of Western science, which saw overgrazing as the problem, and Navajo metaphysics, which highlighted drought and natural fluctuations as a temporary imbalance. Stressing that neither federal officials nor Diné sheepherders understood the natural world completely, Weisiger faults the BIA for failing to treat Diné beliefs as important to the livestock reduction program.

The second section, "Bedrock," examines the central place of sheep in Blessingway stories and the ways that the Navajos' matricentered culture allocated livestock ownership. In the process, it becomes clear that BIA attempts at rationally reducing livestock density resulted in a frontal assault on Diné culture. Coming fast on the heels of the Navajos' forced relocation to Bosque Redondo (*Hwéeldi* to Diné) in the 1860s, the livestock reduction program amounted to a second cultural genocide.

In part 3, "Terra Firma," Weisiger traces the long history of Navajo pastoralism from its origins in the seventeenth century and the emergence of transhumance, the practice of mobile grazing that shifted locations with the seasons. By the 1930s, growing populations of Navajos and their flocks, combined with restricted mobility, had exacerbated a delicate environmental situation. BIA officials and many Navajos agreed that something had to be done about the deteriorating range conditions.

Part 4, "Erosion," tackles the actual stock reduction program and the cavalcade of bureaucratic hardheadedness and unfortunate convergences conforming to the catastrophic outcome predestined under Murphy's Law. Under Weisiger's careful retelling, however, there is nothing preordained or inevitable in the outcome. Throughout the work, fine-scale resolution reveals the disparities among Navajos—wealthy and impoverished, men and women. The author also presents a spectrum of federal officials and scientific experts, from the well-intentioned but ultimately reviled Collier to the unheeded but prescient Robert Marshall, who advised the BIA to grant the Diné full cultural and political autonomy.

Dreaming of Sheep joins a growing list of environmental histories that take the intersections of human culture and nonhuman imperatives seriously, updating Elinor G. K. Melville's A *Plague of Sheep: Environmental Consequences of the Conquest of Mexico* (1994) for the twenty-first century. What emerges is a compelling story, complicated in detail but clear in explication. The work is suited to both the uninitiated and knowledgeable reader, offering important insights on the cultural challenges of ecological restoration.

David A. Nesheim
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A *History of the Ancient Southwest*. By Stephen H. Lekson. (Santa Fe, N.Mex.: School for Advanced Research Press, 2009. xi + 439 pp. 22 halftones, 42 line drawings, 20 maps, tables, notes, references, index. $39.95 paper, ISBN 978-1-934691-10-6.)

Overviews of Southwest archaeology come in two kinds. Most linger over fundamentals, reflect consensus, and are written so correctly as to

cure insomnia. About once in a generation, a writer instead seeks to overturn established notions, and Stephen H. Lekson is this generation's heretic laureate. Pueblo Bonito was a palace! Chaco had kings! (His exclamation points, not mine.) In this book, Lekson channels the young Tom Wolfe. To improve literary flow, archaeology's beloved in-text citations are banished, to be found (with many details and fascinating digressions) in the endnotes. Archaeologists tend to be characters, and Lekson drags them on stage as needed to spice things up. The result is a book that is both provocative and fun.

Having praised Caesar, I do need to throw a few shovels of dirt on him. Like most such books, *History of the Ancient Southwest* fast-forwards through the millennia before agriculture, and shudders to a halt once the Spanish arrive. And like most such books, this work fades out quickly as it heads south into Mexico, offering token sites in lieu of a systematic approach. These sins are collective, not individual, and Lekson denies that his goal is to write comprehensively. Still, a book-length exercise in questioning the conventional might be a good place to give slighted topics their due.

Other shortcomings are peculiar to the book. Lekson pairs each archaeological period with a period in the history of archaeological research (for example, AD 1150–1300 and 1975–1990). It does not work, but fortunately for his readers, Lekson ignores that structure repeatedly. A different innovation, looking at distant prehistoric centers such as Tula and Cahokia, might have succeeded with information about connections and intervening areas. Instead, those distant centers zoom disconnectedly into and out of the narrative, like asteroids in a science fiction film.

In a discussion of Southwest archaeologists, Lekson states, "We could not avoid telling stories" (p. 144). Actually, Lekson himself cannot avoid telling stories, and that tendency is both the strength and the curse of the book. Lekson turns Southwest archaeology into a series of tales, beguiling readers instead of lecturing them. Where details are lacking, he fills in with guesses. He states when he is guessing, yet I worry about readers whose first exposure to the region's prehistory is straight-up Lekson. After imagining kings and hegiras, they often tune out fusty notions like standards of evidence. But if you know something about the region's prehistory, and can exercise healthy skepticism, this one is worth picking up.

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Cowboy Park: Steer-Roping Contests on the Border. By John O. Baxter, foreword by Richard W. Slatta. Grover E. Murry Studies in the American Southwest series. (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2008. xxvii + 236 pp. 61 halftones, map, notes, bibliography, index. $24.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-89672-642-0.)

John O. Baxter's *Cowboy Park* is a well-documented and lively contribution to the growing body of rodeo scholarship. Resurrecting the lost history of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century steer roping, Baxter provides a detailed study of Cowboy Park in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico; its owners; the competitors; and the role they played in the developing sport of rodeo.

Baxter begins with the story of steer roping in the 1890s and connects U.S. and Mexican cowboy traditions on both sides of the border with the developing cattle industry. Steer roping is hard on animals. As cattle owners invested more heavily in pedigreed stock to improve their herds, the potential to injure or cripple expensive animals brought the practice of steer roping under increased scrutiny. In 1905, under the combined pressure of cattle owners and Progressive Era animal rights reformers, Texas banned steer-roping competitions. But steer roping continued to be popular among competitors and fans.

In 1907 El Paso businessmen Nat and Tom Greer, both steer-roping competitors, opened a venue for the sport across the border in Ciudad Juárez where it had remained a legal sport. Greer offered high purses to attract top competitors and carefully organized tournaments during fairs and conferences in El Paso to bring in large numbers of spectators. As a result, Cowboy Park became a mecca for steer ropers and enthusiasts in the Southwest and northern Mexico. By the time the park closed in 1912, due to revolutionary activity in Mexico that affected the city of Ciudad Juárez, the park had developed a core of top ropers. As Baxter writes, "Cowboy Park 'alumni' rode the rails, establishing a 'professional' rodeo circuit, and dominating the steer-roping events at major exhibitions nationwide" (p. 162).

Extensively researched and with outstanding images, the book situates the history of Cowboy Park within transnational political, cultural, and economic trends. Baxter's easy style of writing prevents the highly detailed accounts of each competition from getting in the way of the story. A minor criticism is that his attention to these details limits the amount of information devoted to rodeo people outside the Cowboy Park group. For example Eddie McCarty was more than just a good rider; he became one of the top rodeo stock suppliers in the country. Baxter does not mention Hugh Strickland's wife, Mabel, even though she earned a reputation as a steer roper equal to her husband. Regularly Baxter tosses out tidbits of information and then moves

on. For example Baxter references a person who "was deeply involved in the terrible crime wave that swept Osage country and shocked the entire nation" (p. 102). A sentence or two more would have been helpful. But these details do not detract from the overall merits of the book. *Cowboy Park* successfully brings to light an important piece of rodeo history that is virtually unknown to contemporary rodeo scholars, and in doing so adds to the growing richness of this subfield of western history.

Renee Laegreid
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War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War. By Brian DeLay. The Lamar Series in Western History. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2008. xxi + 473 pp. 31 halftones, maps, tables, graphs, notes, bibliography, index. $35.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-300-11932-9.)

In his outstanding book, Brian DeLay emphasizes the significance of Indian raids into northern Mexico in terms of how they facilitated the U.S. victory during the war with Mexico from 1846 to 1848. DeLay fashions this original topic into a highly readable, jargon-free, interpretive study. DeLay's exhaustive research is unusually instructive when he explains various policies undertaken in Mexico as well as in the United States. The work is also a rare combination of wit, intelligent insights, and a dash of cynicism that produces a sparkling narrative full of juicy anecdotes and profound conclusions.

The War of a Thousand Deserts provides many jewels of wisdom for those fortunate enough to read it. An amazing amount of attention is given to the significance of the horse, the large number that Comanches owned, and the need to maintain them. It is incredible to learn that Southern Plains raiders struck deep into Jalisco, Mexico. DeLay concludes that simple vengeance and the need for plunder motivated these assaults. National governments in Mexico City did not become concerned about these incursions until 1841. Despite Mexican suspicions that the United States encouraged these raids, DeLay believes that this is not the case, even though Pres. James K. Polk's government concluded a treaty with the Comanches in May 1846.

Although not primarily a scholar of Mexican history, DeLay understands and sympathizes with the Mexican position but also points out numerous mistakes made by state governments as well as various presidents. The Mexican regimes simply could not maintain the far more successful policies carried out by the Spanish colonial government. Perhaps their greatest error took place in 1831, when officials in Chihuahua and Sonora refused to

provide Apaches with food and other supplies. It is disturbing to learn that local Mexicans sometimes collaborated with Indian raiders by giving them information or even participating in attacks against northern communities.

Despite the author's deep research into U.S. and Mexican archives, there are a few areas that could be strengthened. How, for example, did Yaquis and other Mexican Indians react to raids from Plains Indians as well as invading U.S. troops? Further, the book's subtitle suggests a strong emphasis on the war from 1846 to 1848, but DeLay's discussion of the U.S.-Mexico conflict only begins on page 253. He also mentions Alexander William Doniphan's Navajo Treaty in New Mexico but says little about its impact. There is also the tantalizing claim that the U.S. invasion "probably encouraged" additional Indian raids but DeLay does not provide much detail about this point compared to his extensive discussion about the 1830s and 1840s (p. 270). Finally, the author abuses the term "Americans" despite knowing better.

In summary this book is a fascinating study that argues convincingly that indigenous raiders left enduring consequences concerning Mexico's tragic fate during its war with the United States. *The War of a Thousand Deserts* is a brilliant study and a magnificent contribution to the historiography of the U.S.-Mexico War and the Southwest.

Douglas W. Richmond
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Isolation and Social Change in Three Spanish-Speaking Villages of New Mexico. By Paul A. F. Walter, edited by Charles E. Woodhouse. Immigrant Communities and Ethnic Minorities in the United States and Canada series, no. 80. (New York: AMS Press, 2008. xxxvii + 281 pp. 10 halftones, maps, tables, appendixes, bibliography, index. $147.50 cloth, ISBN 978-0-404-19490-1.)

Charles E. Woodhouse edited this reprint of Paul A. F. Walter's doctoral dissertation from 1938, a work Woodhouse describes as "one of the earliest projects of sociological field research to be done in this state" (p. vii). Woodhouse puts Walter's book in a cultural and historical context and shows that, despite its outdated writing style, the book is an important tool for interdisciplinary studies on New Mexico and the Southwest. Although the focus of Walter's study is sociological, with an emphasis on isolation and social change, he uses an interdisciplinary model that takes into account familial, cultural, and historical forces, making his book relevant beyond the field of sociology. In a methodological note, Walter explains that he used a research method known as the "community survey," "a flexible technique

in which are combined a number of devices" (p. 221). He also notes that the interview was his main field device, an approach popular at the time; he wrote his dissertation during the Second New Deal and in the wake of the Federal Writers' Project.

There are two important contexts for understanding Walter's study, one historical and the other cultural. As a historical text, *Isolation and Social Change* reveals the sociological mentality of the times. Walter considers two variables, geographical distance and socio-psychological beliefs, to determine the level of isolation and social change in the three communities under study. He maintains that the most isolated village of Guadalupe (now a ghost town) retained its core beliefs and the institutional structures of church, family, and the patron-peon relation. At the same time, geographical isolation hindered the village's ability to change with the times. Walter's emphasis on social change and cultural tradition limits his conclusions, for as Woodhouse points out, Guadalupe experienced the most social change as it fell into rapid decline. Nevertheless, Walter's conclusions reveal the gradations of cultural change in New Mexico's Spanish-speaking communities with the emergence of an English-speaking majority.

Walter reveals that proximity to New Mexico's English-speaking communities led to stronger ethnic divisions and cultural pride in Spanish-speaking communities, like in Sandoval and Alameda where ethnic allegiance (and competition) formed alongside economic development. This shift is key to understanding the modern formation of ethnic communities and divisions in New Mexico and across the Southwest. While Walter spoke perhaps the flawed language of sociology, he also spoke Spanish well enough to communicate directly with his informants through the interview; thus he overcame a linguistic barrier most sociologists and other field workers encountered at the time. For this reason, *Isolation and Social Change* speaks to the sociological mind-set at the time, as well as to present cultural changes in southwestern Hispanic communities.

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San Juan Legacy: Life in the Mining Camps. By Duane A. Smith, photographs by John L. Ninnemann. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009. xvi + 163 pp. 81 halftones, line drawing, map, index. $24.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8263-4650-6.)

San Juan Legacy is a western history buff's book, a sentimentalized recounting of feel-good events in a bevy of mining camps throughout Colorado's San

Juan Mountains. As the author states, "The book is an attempt to turn back the clock to the nineteenth-century Victorian era . . . and the Edwardian years that followed, as the . . . San Juans slipped into longing for a past that would not come again" (p. xiii). In this effort, Duane A. Smith and photographer John L. Ninnemann have succeeded admirably. One might argue, in fact, that the mining camps they portray are ones that never existed.

Highly selective material from roughly 1870 to World War I has been organized thematically in chapters dealing with myriad subjects: banking; municipal government; newspapers; transportation; housewives and merchandizing (but no company stores); childhood; disease, medical care (but no midwives), and death; religion; fraternal lodges; sin; culture; and sport (especially baseball). Each chapter opens with a selected quote or quotes, chosen for content, not for ties to the period or area. Even within chapters, there has been no attempt to order the content chronologically to illustrate transitions from one era to another. Interpretation of any kind is missing. Photographs, mostly of museum artifacts, are usually captioned in a "joshing" manner. A few attempt to fill glaring factual lacunae. For example, in the chapter on newspapers, a full-page photograph of a poster from a vicious strike in 1903–1904 asks "Is Colorado in America?" The reader is told that the antagonists stood "eyeball to eyeball" but the power-wielding owners won (p. 37). Nowhere else are strikes mentioned. In the context of fraternal organizations, one learns, "The controversial Western Federation of Miners . . . [also] served a social function, hosting dinners, picnics, and dances" (p. 119). So much for unions. Immigrants are largely invisible, except for a photo of an Italian lodge membership application clearly dating from post-1930 (p. 118). The chapter on religion deals exclusively with Catholics and Protestants, although the section on sin relates, "red-haired Jewish women . . . were thought to be sexier" (p. 126). Company bosses and paternalistic policies get no ink, but we learn that the monopolistic American Smelting and Refining Company sponsored a baseball team (p. 154). The colorful, the sentimental, and the amusing all find mention here, including plenty of poetry and a Christian hymn (p. 108).

Most importantly, what, exactly, is the San Juan legacy the creators of this work hope to record? Despite a two-line appreciation for the help of specific historical societies and museums, those individuals who actually wrote the primary sources, or preserved the buildings and artifacts utilized, largely lack recognition (p. ix). The book has no citations. Sites of most photographs remain a mystery. Those in the know will spot the author on the right in the photo on page 147, sporting his old-time baseball uniform, while the caption simply quotes the "crusty Dave Day," an enduring local newspaper editor.

In short this book is recommended for all who enjoy reading their mining camp stories through rose-colored glasses.

Nancy J. Taniguchi
California State University, Stanislaus

The Mining Law of 1872: Past, Politics, and Prospects. By Gordon Morris Bakken. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008. xxx + 238 pp. 31 halftones, 11 maps, notes, index. $45.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8263-4356-7.)

This book has been needed for a long time. For anyone who has studied mining in the United States—especially the era of the great western gold rushes that began with the rush to California in 1849—basic questions of governance and authority almost instantly come to mind. When a miner staked a claim or began digging into a swath of the public domain, what federal statutes governed these actions? What were those rules and regulations, why were they fashioned the way they were, and how and why have they been amended or altered by succeeding generations? These questions lie at the heart of Gordon Morris Bakken's *The Mining Law of 1872*. He weaves them together in a thoughtfully constructed legal, cultural, and environmental analysis that illuminates the historical and contemporary significance of an old and often controversial federal statute: the General Mining Law of 1872.

Bakken's central thesis suggests that the General Mining Law has had far-reaching implications for the nation (particularly the American West), shaping land use and ecological communities as profoundly as it has shaped legal thought and culture. These ideas are interesting and Bakken, a historian and a lawyer who teaches history at California State University at Fullerton, develops and supports them across fifteen largely chrono-thematic chapters. The first four chapters focus on the provisions, precedents, and ideas behind the General Mining Law. These short, crisp chapters detail the mechanisms and reasoning Congress deployed to transfer public lands and minerals into private hands. The next six chapters examine the many dilemmas and disputes that the General Mining Law has precipitated. Here, Bakken gives attention to a number of thorny legal issues, including disputes over claim boundaries, land titles, pollution, and the all-important apex issue (determining if a claim held the highest point of a vein). In short Bakken makes the point that reconciling the abstract provisions of the General Mining Law with certain geographical and cultural realities has kept an army of lawyers busy for generations. The last five chapters treat the many direct and indirect attempts that have been undertaken to modify the General Mining Law since the

late 1960s. Throughout these final chapters, Bakken positions his analysis in relation to the rapidly expanding environmental movement and the way it has reshaped both the operation of the General Mining Law and the mining industry itself.

While Bakken has done yeoman's work on many fronts with this deeply researched book, among the most interesting aspects are the links he draws between the General Mining Law and changing environmental attitudes. Bakken argues that the rising crescendo of post-1960s environmental regulation has done more than anything else to alter the way the General Mining Law functions. This is an important, valuable insight for environmental historians. While I would have liked to see more attention given to certain areas, such as Progressive Era environmental concerns, and the period between 1849 and the passage of the first federal mining act in 1866, Bakken has still provided scholars with an indispensable guide to one of the key features and forces of western history.

George Vrtis
Carleton College

Joseph Bates Noble: Polygamy and the Temple Lot Case. By David Leigh Clark. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009. xiii + 210 pp. 35 halftones, notes, bibliography, index. $24.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-87480-937-4.)

The life story of Joseph Bates Noble, born in 1810, is of interest because it intersects with key events in nineteenth-century Mormon history, most notably the first polygamous marriage of Mormon prophet Joseph Smith Jr. to Louisa Beman (Noble's sister-in-law) in Nauvoo, Illinois, on 5 April 1841. This marriage, performed by none other than Noble, initiated the practice of Mormon polygamy, which caused enormous controversy and led to the death of Smith in 1844. In the 1890s, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) prohibited polygamy, but the institution continued to cause problems for the church.

Not all Mormons accepted polygamy, some rejected Smith as a "fallen prophet"; others, including Smith's widow Emma, insisted that conspirators, most prominently Brigham Young, had foisted polygamy upon credulous, leaderless followers. In 1860, under the guiding hand of Emma, her son Joseph Smith III accepted the leadership of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (RLDS), which had become a haven for many who rejected Young and polygamy. By this time, the faction of Mormons who accepted Young and polygamy had established their Zion on the shores

of the Great Salt Lake. Noble and his polygamous family were among these settlers.

Smith originally intended for the center of Zion to be in Missouri, where a temple would be built to receive Christ at his Second Coming. After Missouri had to be abandoned because of persecution, several Mormon groups competed for ownership of the temple site. The RLDS eventually obtained most of the sixty-three acres. In a case litigated in 1880 concerning ownership of the Kirtland Temple in Ohio, a court had ruled in favor of the RLDS claim vis-à-vis that of the LDS church of Utah on the grounds that the latter "had changed original church doctrine by accepting polygamy" (p. 2). When a plot of one and a half acres of the Missouri temple property came into the possession of a polygamous Mormon splinter group, the Church of Christ (Temple Lot), the RLDS leadership saw an opportunity to fortify its claim as sole legitimate heir of the church founded by Smith. To that end, Noble was called as a key witness in a lawsuit launched in 1892 against the Temple Lot church in an attempt to delegitimize all claims by Mormon groups practicing polygamy. For two days, the RLDS attorney attempted to impugn the core of Noble's testimony—that it was indeed Smith who had established polygamy—on grounds of faulty memory and/or mendacity. However, the eighty-two-year-old Noble stood his ground. Ironically, the Utah church had been forced to publicly renounce the practice, although not the doctrine, of plural marriage two years earlier.

The author, a descendant of Noble, deftly links the transcript of his ancestor's testimony to a narration of the major events of Mormon history as experienced by the deponent. This book is one of the few published life stories by second-tier Mormons, rebalancing a top-heavy historiography focusing on major leaders.

Klaus J. Hansen
Queen's University, Canada

The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke Volume 4: July 3, 1880–May 22, 1881. Edited and annotated by Charles M. Robinson III. (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2009. ix + 543 pp. 32 halftones, maps, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $55.00 cloth, ISBN 978-1-57441-263-5.)

Among firsthand recordings of military events on the post–Civil War frontier, the diaries of John Gregory Bourke occupy a preeminent place. Born in Philadelphia in 1846, Bourke received a thorough education in a Jesuit school. The Spartan-like discipline that the Jesuits instilled in the young man

is reflected in his remarkable diary, which consists of 124 volumes for the period 1872–1896. Ironically, Bourke believed his education was outmoded and failed to prepare him for the modern world. After service in the Union army, he attended the U.S. Military Academy and graduated in 1869. While Bourke served in various postings in the West, his most important assignment was as an aid to Gen. George Crook from 1871 to 1883. In addition to writing important accounts of Crook's campaigns, this inveterate diarist also gathered valuable ethnographic data about Native Americans. While his observations are invaluable for present-day scholars, Bourke's interests may have hindered his advancement in the army. He died as a brevet major (with actual rank of captain) in 1896.

This present volume—the fourth of a projected eight—reproduces Bourke's diaries from 3 July 1880 through 22 May 1881. Much of this volume deals with Crook's effort to help resolve the dispute concerning a permanent homeland for the Ponca Indians, as well as routine inspection trips to military installations within his military department. This volume, however, also reflects an important milestone in Bourke's career, as his ethnographic interests began to attract the attention of John Wesley Powell, director of the Bureau of American Ethnography of the Smithsonian Institution. With the approval of his superiors, Bourke agreed to begin recording the customs of several tribes.

While Bourke's diaries constitute an extremely important source for the development of the American frontier, the diarist was a product of his time. Not only do his entries reveal the cliquishness within the officers' corps—he was an accomplished gossip—but they also reflect the keen political and racial prejudices of his day. Lt. Gen. William T. Sherman, commanding general of the army, was "very garrulous" and lacked "greatness," according to Bourke, while Rutherford B. Hayes was "the most thoroughly despised and hated of all our presidents"—despite the fact that Hayes was the patron of George Crook (pp. 103, 301). When Bourke visited Santa Fe, New Mexico, he could not restrain a comment about the "motley crew of hook-nosed Jews" within the merchant community (p. 353). Bourke had an eye for the girls—even Mormon females—although he was contemptuous of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

As with any work of such proportions, some errors intrude. Editor Charles M. Robinson III is mistaken when he says Camp Carlin (Cheyenne Depot), Wyoming, was abandoned in 1890. This facility remained the Quartermaster Department's pack train headquarters for many years (p. 101 n. 19). In addition to an occasional spelling error in the text, *The Dictionary of American Biography* is listed twice in the bibliography. Some reproductions of Bourke's

drawings are very dim and tend to detract. Yet, Robinson continues to maintain solid editorial standards, and both he and the University of North Texas Press are to be congratulated for persevering with such a heroic task.

Larry D. Ball
Arkansas State University, emeritus

Mexican American Mojo: Popular Music, Dance, and Urban Culture in Los Angeles, 1935–1968. By Anthony F. Macias. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2008. xvi + 383 pp. 42 halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $89.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8223-4339-4, $24.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8223-4322-6.)

Anthony F. Macias provides us with a unique and innovative study in *Mexican American Mojo*. The book focuses on various artists, stylistic movements, and dance culture in urban Los Angeles from 1935 to 1968. As he explains, this period reflects a "political generation paradigm" related to the "urbanized, educated Mexican Americans who came of political ages during the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s" (p. 2). The book examines numerous social and political issues that directly affected Chicana/o musicians in this timeframe and focuses on a number of musical practices that have not been previously explored in great depth, including jazz, classical, rhythm and blues, Latin jazz, and mambo.

From rich interviews, Macias extracts socially insightful perspectives from musicians and the public spectators who came to hear them and dance to their music. Macias also makes note of the important and exciting style of music now known as "pachuco boogie woogie," created by Don Tosti and Lalo Guerrero individually with their own specific groups. This blending of pachuco slang, jump blues, jazz bebop, and swing began with Guerrero in the late 1940s on Olvera Street, and Macias sees the style as one "that expanded both the Mexican American generation's collective mojo and the city's urban civility" (p. 124). Macias also explores the influence that Mexican American car clubs, with their "lowrider" culture, had on the popularization of African American R&B among whites (pp. 152–53).

Chapter 4 focuses on the rock and roll era. Macias notes, "from the mid-1950s to the Chicano Movement [late 1960s–1970s], Mexican American Angelinos expanded their eclectic expressive culture, including their mutual affinities with, and borrowings from, African American style, language, and music" (p. 174). Macias proceeds to review the importance of centrifugal places such as the El Monte Legion Stadium, various eastside musicians, and the industry-changing emergence of Ritchie Valens. He also dedicates a good

portion of this chapter to Anthony Ortega, a saxophonist and jazz musician, who has been overlooked by both music historians and the music industry in general. That Macias has cited the important work of this virtuoso artist is to be commended.

With chapter 5, Macias highlights yet another area of overlooked musical history in Los Angeles, that of Latin jazz, the mambo, and Chico Sesma's "Latin Holidays" at the Hollywood Palladium. In this chapter, Macias makes an initial point that with the emergence of the mambo and cha-cha-cha movements, "Mexican Americans in the Latin music scene increased their recognition, improved their representation, asserted their right to first-class citizenship, and insisted on their own run of the city" (p. 230). He also points out that Mexican Americans expanded their expressive culture, challenging Anglo stereotypes, revealing a wider range of variation, yet still identifying as Mexican.

As a scholar and musician who has spent a major part of my life studying and living the expressive culture examined by Macias, I can say that his book has impressed me and inspired me. He has applied his first-rate research to produce an eloquent and honest text. *Mexican American Mojo* is a milestone. Thanks for the mojo, Anthony!

Steven Loza
University of California, Los Angeles

Constructing Lives at Mission San Francisco: Native Californians and Hispanic Colonists, 1776–1821. By Quincy D. Newell. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009. x + 267 pp. Halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $39.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8263-4706-0.)

Mission San Francisco was established in 1776, the sixth mission in an enterprise that ultimately comprised twenty-one such undertakings. While the purported purpose of the missions was to evangelize the Natives of Alta California, the Spanish Crown's real motive was to secure the California coast from Russian settlers. Ideally, the Franciscans would be at the mission for only ten years. After this time, secular clergy would assume spiritual authority over their now-Christian charges, and the land and other assets would be distributed among the Natives. The plan was never realized.

Each California mission typically claimed some one hundred thousand acres as its domain. Most missions were fairly complex establishments and included a grand church, residence for the friars, separate dormitories for single males and females, an orphanage, and adobe apartments for married

couples and their families. There were other structures for mission-related activities, satellite outposts with small churches in the hinterland, and most often a presidio that housed a small contingent of Spaniards. The mission and presidio were totally dependent on the Indians in their respective vicinities.

Alta California, which included San Francisco, was rich in natural resources and supported large populations of Native peoples. Mission San Francisco was built in the midst of Costanoan and Coastal Miwok speakers who enjoyed a trove of marine and inland resources. In this work, Quincy D. Newell focuses on these people to discuss Native Californian culture during Spanish missionary colonization.

Although a specialist in religious studies, Newell places her study within an ethnohistorical context. She juxtaposes the rigid, exclusive machinations of the Catholic missionaries with what appears to have been the adaptable and inclusive nature of the Indians at a locale that they had known, settled, and exploited for centuries. It took a while, but the Natives did begin to come to the mission for baptism, although we do not know why. The increase in baptisms could be attributed to the huge population loss following Spanish colonialism, an assured supply of food, or the friars and the promise of Christianity.

Newell meticulously lists indigenous personal names, family associations, tribal affiliation, and linguistic attributes. The author identifies patrilineal traditions, patronage networks, and what can be known of precontact marriage practices and the role of women in maintaining political stability. To the great dismay of the Franciscans, polygyny was not uncommon, and homosexuality and transgender behavior were acceptable.

The much-exalted Spanish institution of the nuclear family was imposed on the mission Indians with the sacraments of Catholic baptism and marriage intended to eliminate the neophytes' pagan ways. A regular supply of food was a major enticement for mission stalwarts. It seems that their conversion was incomplete, however, for many Natives spontaneously and periodically returned to their villages, went hunting, collected acorns, or participated in ritual ceremonies. Many also returned to their homes to die. The death rate was high, and most children born at the mission lived less than a year or two. Godparenting was readily accepted by the Natives as a secondary means to provide for families, but very often the godmother and godfather turned out to be from their still extant family and patronage alliances. Yet some mission Indians were faithful to the friars and their beliefs to the end. Their reward: a Mass, a Franciscan habit as a shroud, and a coffin.

Newell successfully demonstrates great continuity of indigenous lifeways in the midst of the horrific change brought by Spanish colonization. Things did

not improve with time. Nevertheless, as this important book brings to light, there was a resiliency of indigenous tradition and belief heretofore hardly known for the Alta California mission peoples. Newell is to be commended for her revisionist approach to a topic that seldom celebrates the remarkable agency and tenacity of indigenes despite so much hardship.

Susan Schroeder
Tulane University

Indian Alliances and the Spanish in the Southwest, 750–1750. By William B. Carter. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009. xx + 308 pp. Maps, notes, bibliography, index. $34.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-4009-4.)

William B. Carter, painting in broad strokes, attempts to synthesize nine centuries of southwestern prehistory and history in only 216 pages. Adopting an ethnohistorical approach that incorporates environmental, anthropological, and historical perspectives, Carter argues that "ideology, kinship, and environmental conditions were primary factors influencing economic activity and alliance formation between Pueblo Indians and their neighbors, particularly the Southern Athapaskans" that began centuries before Spaniards arrived in the region (p. ix). His thesis challenges the timeworn stereotype of Athapaskans as marauders; however, as Carter acknowledges, the idea that Apaches and Pueblos got along is not new. Scholars in multiple disciplines, from historians Alfred Barnaby Thomas and David J. Weber to anthropologists Albert H. Schroeder and Katherine A. Spielmann, have adopted this view.

What this book does offer is the most comprehensive look at the origins and changing dynamics of southwestern indigenous trade networks from the twelfth century through the Spanish Reconquest of New Mexico in 1706. Adopting a chronological approach, Carter traces cycles of ethnogenesis and mutual incorporation as Puebloans, Jumanos, and Apacheans moved into the region, adapted to climate change, and shifted their central trade centers from Casas Grandes southward to Mesoamerica and then northward to the Southern Plains. This portion of the book, especially the section covering the period prior to 1580, neatly complements Gary Clayton Anderson's *The Indian Southwest, 1580–1830: Ethnogenesis and Reinvention* (1999) chronologically, while stretching beyond its narrow Southern Plains focus. Carter goes on to show that Apaches and Navajos continued to exchange goods with Pueblos in the seventeenth century and played a vital role in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, which complicates but does not fundamentally alter scholarly understanding of that event.

Carter crosses geographical and disciplinary boundaries in this study. He discusses the spread of bison below the Rio Grande and reveals that Juan de Oñate arrived in New Mexico at the end of a ten-year period of extreme drought and cold caused in part by the Little Ice Age. Although Carter might have cited more Spanish-language sources, he succeeds in integrating early Southwestern and Mexican history and extracting important primary-source information on Athapaskan alliance formation and marriage practices in Nueva Vizcaya and Sonora from John Kessell's and Rick Hendricks's recent works. He also adeptly determines the locations of Pueblo-allied Athapaskan groups by correlating translated Spanish reports with modern archaeological ones.

That said Carter's book suffers from two major problems. First, because of limited archaeological evidence, the author fails to achieve balance among Athapaskan, Pueblo, and Spanish worldviews, social structures, and material cultures prior to 1600. This imbalance leads Carter to make vague generalizations that one could make about any culture, such as "Language not only communicated meanings but also influenced how people lived and got along with others" (p. 5). Second, he tends to minimize violence and trauma. Although these issues are not his focus, surely the six-month siege and conquest of Tenochtitlán and the effects of disease on the Native populations of the Southwest and northern New Spain warrant more than single sentences of coverage (pp. 85, 115, 130).

Matthew Babcock
Stephen F. Austin State University

Reflections in Place: Connected Lives of Navajo Women. By Donna Deyhle. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009. xxvi + 241 pp. Map, table, notes, bibliography, index. $50.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8165-2756-4, $24.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8165-2757-1.)

Navajo women have been analyzed and essentialized as early as 1853, when the *Santa Fe Gazette* wrote about them. Since the 1900s, anthropologists and even Navajos themselves have reinforced the Navajo woman archetype, which constructs them as an epistemology in and of itself. Unlike previous works, Donna Deyhle's *Reflections in Place* provides intriguing authentic portrayals of three Navajo women who live in and outside of their ancestral sacred land. Deyhle's qualitative study spanning more than twenty years depicts a poignant portrait of Navajo people. In this work, Navajos demonstrate the spirit of "survivance" in alien and hostile social environments. Survivance, unlike survival, is a positive resistant standpoint to assert and claim Navajo identity.

Reflections in Place is divided into four chapters along with an epilogue. The first chapter provides context on a specific Navajo community, which borders a Mormon town in Utah. The next three chapters are detailed case studies of each of the three women written in narrative style. The stance of Deyhle as researcher is significant. She is friend and sister to the women who include her in their families and share cherished details of their lives.

In the first chapter, Deyhle draws upon written documentation, Navajo views, and oral tradition to examine legal/political, socioeconomic, and educational forces impacting the small Navajo community. From the Posey War of 1923 to the pressures of the racist climate today, Navajo people continue to enact survivance—especially Navajo youth, who express themselves through their "breakdancing" culture and their experiences in school.

In the next three chapters, each woman is brilliantly described as both an outsider and insider to their own place. Jan Begay, Vangie Tsosie, and Mary Sam (all pseudonyms) encountered the challenges of schooling, having or not having Kinaaldá (Navajo puberty ceremony), starting their own families, working in jobs, moving in and out of their communities, and experiencing the death of loved ones. Each woman's unique personality and life story helps develop an understanding of Navajo people today. Throughout the book, beautifully interwoven poetry of Luci Tapahonso, Laura Tohi, Nia Francisco, and others sets the tone for themes that assert the realities of Navajo life.

This book describes real people who negotiate the intersections of unjust situations on a daily basis. As a Navajo professor, I easily saw the three women representing my relatives. I agree with Jan Begay, who states, "Life is hard. Learning the Navajo traditions and being around the white people is really hard" (p. 220). No euphemisms or rationalizations cushioned what and who is Navajo. This excellent study is an important step toward understanding schooling and its powerful influence on Navajo society today. I recommend this book for educators and all who seek justice.

Kathryn Manuelito
University of New Mexico

The Lipan Apaches: People of Wind and Lightning. By Thomas A. Britten. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009. xv + 336 pp. Halftones, line drawings, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $34.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8263-4586-8.)

Thomas A. Britten's book is the first monograph on the history of the Lipan Apaches published since the 1980s. It begins with a brief preface in

which the author rightly points out the disproportion existing between the enormous importance of the Lipans in the history of Texas (and, one should add, the Greater Southwest, including both sides of the Rio Grande) and the scant attention that they have traditionally received from historians. In a succinct introduction, Britten provides a concise but thorough overview of traditional Lipan culture and social organization, based largely on the field notes and publications of Morris Opler and other anthropologists. Much of this sociocultural synopsis refers to an ethnographic past whose exact chronology is not apparent.

In the first chapter, Britten discusses a number of archaeologically and linguistically informed theories about the genesis of the Lipan Apaches, and attempts to elucidate their exact identity vis-à-vis other southern Athapaskan groups that are also named in early Spanish sources. Five more chapters follow in which Britten provides a narrative account of two hundred years of Lipan history. These chapters trace the Lipans' first contacts with the Spanish in the early eighteenth century to the year 1905, when the last free-roving Lipans entered the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico. A laconic epilogue summarizes the recent history of the Lipans and their ongoing quest for federal recognition. Britten pays particular attention to the Lipans' interactions with other indigenous peoples, Hispanics, and Anglos. In the 1740s, after dominating much of the Southern Plains for over a century, the Lipans and other eastern Apache groups bore the brunt of the Comanche expansion into that region. Since then, steadily decimated by epidemics and warfare, the Lipans lost ascendancy at the hands of Native and European American interlopers.

This meritorious survey of Lipan history synthesizes much of the information available in an array of earlier works, many of which touch on the Lipans only in passing. Nevertheless, three shortcomings undermine the value of this book for the scholarly specialist. First, it draws almost exclusively, and sometimes uncritically, on secondary works and English translations of Spanish-language sources. It must be noted that there is a large, underutilized corpus of Spanish colonial documents on the Lipan Apaches available in repositories on both sides of the Atlantic. Second, while a few of the references that Britten cites are obsolete, his bibliography does not incorporate some recent works on the Indians of Texas in general and the Lipans in particular. Third, by focusing mainly on events that occurred in what is now the state of Texas, this book fails to provide a more thorough and balanced idea of the actual significance of the Lipans in the history of northeastern Mexico.

All in all, Britten's work is an informative introduction to the history of the Lipan Apaches, and a welcome addition to the literature on the Southwest.

Still, much remains to be done to situate the once powerful Lipans in the place that they truly deserve in the historiography of the Borderlands.

Joaquín Rivaya-Martínez
Texas State University – San Marcos

Juggling Identities: Identity and Authenticity among the Crypto-Jews. By Seth D. Kunin. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009. vii + 278 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. $45.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-231-14218-2.)

Seth D. Kunin explores the identities of the Crypto-Jewish population of the American Southwest, paying particular attention to questions of authenticity. He finds among the subjects of his study a wide variety of people subscribing to Crypto-Jewish identity, as well as diverse understandings of the meaning of that identity.

Kunin notes that many of his subjects were unaware of their family's Crypto-Jewish pasts, yet had a moment of discovery when they realized the meaning of certain traditions and rituals that had been passed down through the generations. For some families, the discovery inspired soul-searching and an exploration of their Crypto-Jewish identities. Other families, however, chose to look upon this Crypto-Jewish past as part of their family's history, with little bearing on their own lives.

In trying to disentangle the cultural, historical, and religious meanings of Crypto-Jewish identity and its accompanying claims of authenticity, Kunin provides a variety of primary and secondary research. Through both structuralist and postmodernist analyses, he provides interpretations of the accounts of individuals with diverse investments in Crypto-Jewish identity. He explores the identities first as part of a spectrum (from highest level of identification to lowest) and then uses the concept of "bricolage" (the selection of multiple cultural elements to make a particular whole) to explain the various ways Crypto-Jewish identities work. Kunin's book is an important contribution to the study of Crypto-Jews, particularly his theoretical sections. He also provides an exhaustive critical overview of the previous literature on Crypto-Jews in the Southwest and suggests new avenues of research. By focusing on a small population in New Mexico, Kunin is able to interrogate the claims of previous scholars and reach some new conclusions on authenticity.

While Kunin discusses theory and the work of other scholars, he misses the opportunity to do an in-depth view of his own research. He provides only one chapter in which he outlines the findings of his ethnography, not enough space to provide the evidence for his arguments. He seems to have conducted

a wide array of interviews, yet gives little room to discuss the broad differences in Crypto-Jewish identity that he encountered. He spends too much time critiquing the works of other scholars and creating models for the data and too little time on the data itself. Kunin makes claims of historical authenticity for the Crypto-Jews, yet readers are left with little sense of the group's history beyond its origins during the Inquisition period and the twentieth century.

Despite these weaknesses, Kunin's book offers new research and good theoretical material. Some sections of the work would be accessible to all readers with an interest in the subject, but others are theory heavy and accessible only to academics. His study will be useful to all those interested in Crypto-Jews as well as scholars dealing with questions of identity and authenticity.

Mollie Lewis Nouwen
University of South Alabama

Electrifying the Rural American West: Stories of Power, People, and Place. By Leah S. Glaser. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009. xi + 304 pp. 16 halftones, line drawings, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $55.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8032-2219-9.)

Leah S. Glaser's book aims to recover the agency of rural people in the electrification of the rural West. While rural people have generally been ignored within stories that emphasize incorporation of rural land into the private sector or by the federal government, Glaser shows that this demographic determined the organization of their own electrical systems. Taking aim at "models of technological determinism and tales of urban conquest," Glaser argues that rural people "ultimately initiated, defined, organized, and controlled" electricity's production and consumption to meet local needs (p. 212). From this claim, Glaser's book illustrates the continuing diversity of the rural West.

Three long case studies structure the book and demonstrate the diverse ends rural Arizonans wanted from electricity and the means they used to achieve them. Farmers in the Sulfur Springs Valley sought a cooperative funded by the Rural Electric Administration (REA) to transform ranchland into irrigated farmland. Blacks, Apaches, Mormons, and Mexican Americans in the White Mountains created the Navopache Electrical Cooperative to achieve a more regular service than previously provided by private companies and investor-owned utilities. Leaders of the Navajo Nation, desiring industrial modernity, created a tribal electrical utility. These case studies illustrate common features

of rural electrification. The wide distribution of rural customers led to high capital costs, causing utilities to promote electrical appliances to sometimes reluctant consumers. Focusing on American Indian consumption, Glaser reminds readers that Navajos and Apaches were rural people as well as Native Americans. A skilled oral historian, Glaser takes readers into the homes and hogans of electricity consumers, allowing them to explain the social changes that electricity did and did not create. While the case studies are organized into overly long chapters—the Navajo chapter alone runs almost eighty pages—which occasionally obscure the book's larger points, they succeed in demonstrating that rural Arizonans made their own electric networks.

Emphasizing local agency also limits the book. In stressing the self-determination of rural Arizonans, Glaser at times cloaks structural and ideological forces that framed agency. If "life in rural Arizona increasingly began to resemble that of cities," why does this not constitute urban conquest (p. 212)? Did rural Arizonans perceive their lives as becoming more "urban"? How and when did "urban" ideas about electricity use enter their homes? Similarly, why did Navajo leaders frame their desire for electricity in terms of industrialization even as consumption became increasingly important to American politics? How did they respond to the limited industrialization that resulted, almost all in the form of electrical infrastructure? While Glaser touches on these issues, they remain subordinate to the emphasis on local agency. Understanding rural agency is vital, especially at a moment when the majority of Americans rely more upon, and are less connected to, rural lands than ever before. But that very reliance has created new economic and material structures that limit the agency of rural people.

Despite these minor criticisms, Glaser's fine book should be read not only by western and Native American historians, but by any scholars interested in the responses of rural places and peoples to the forces of twentieth-century modernity.

Andrew Needham
New York University

Xerophilia: Ecocritical Explorations in Southwestern Literature. By Tom Lynch, foreword by Scott Slovic. (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2008. xviii + 264 pp. 12 halftones, map, notes, bibliography, index. $35.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-89672-638-3.)

Tom Lynch defines xerophilia as "the condition of being adapted to and expressing a fondness for dry, arid places" (p. 12). He uses this concept as a

framework to study how southwestern literature can create an effective, sustainable relationship between residents of the Southwest and the bioregions in which they live.

Lynch first analyzes conflicts over land and water in the Upper Rio Grande bioregion in the works of Frank Waters, John Nichols, and Jimmy Santiago Baca. From the perspective of environmental justice, Lynch argues that the defense of this "acequia culture" may also serve to protect the stability of the ecological community. In the next chapter, he examines the literature of the Borderlands and where the presence of the political border intersects with a more eco-centered identity derived from the Sonoron and Chihuahuan deserts. He shows how writers like Charles Bowden, grounded in a bioregional consciousness, might help us "transcend the geopolitically imposed national identities that inhibit environmental protection" (p. 104).

In chapter 3, Lynch discusses those animals often overlooked in environmental writing: invertebrates. The chapter analyzes Edward Abbey's unsympathetic portrayal of ants—his "ant slander"—despite the role they play in the places Abbey would protect. Lynch then contrasts these depictions with the more sensitive treatment ants receive from Leslie Silko. One goal of environmentally responsible writing, Lynch asserts, is to "awaken our intellectual and emotional awareness of . . . overlooked species and of the ecological processes they support" (p. 142).

Finally, Lynch urges for more than visual aesthetics in desert representation to promote how a fuller awareness of sensory experience invites a more intimate and responsive xerophilia. Such ecoaesthetics supplement abstract knowledge, fostering a greater environmental consciousness. Indeed, this interdisciplinary work draws out the smells, touch, even taste—the "gustatory xerophilia"—of the American Southwest. The book draws on cookbooks, anthropologists, and biologists as literary critics, yet it also shows the need for scientific studies and artistic expression as well.

Lynch has done well to survey the southwestern writers—Gary Nabhan, Susan Tweit, Ray Gonzalez, Janice Emily Bowers, Ann Zwinger—who pertain to his particular focus, and he admits that there are cherished writers he had to exclude. But his ecocritical and bioregional approach lays important groundwork for future studies of southwestern literature. A foreword by Scott Slovic provides a valuable preview to the book's methods and narrative scholarship, as Lynch frames his study with photographs and with his own journeys into southwestern landscapes. Every sentence of this fine book resonates with the presence of a writer whose attention to the particulars, nuances, and culture—whose own xerophilia—helps us to "get

over the color green," as Wallace Stegner once observed, and understand what about the desert Southwest is worth saving.

Rick Van Noy
Radford University

The Masterworks of Charles M. Russell: A Retrospective of Paintings and Sculpture. Edited by Joan Carpenter Troccoli, foreword by Lewis I. Sharp and Duane H. King. The Charles M. Russell Center Series on Art and Photography of the American West. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, in cooperation with the Denver Art Museum, 2009. xvii + 269 pp. 174 color plates, 40 halftones, map, exhibition checklist, bibliography, index. $39.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8061-4097-1.)

The Masterworks of Charles M. Russell is the accompanying text to an exhibition of the same title that traveled from the Denver Art Museum in Colorado to the Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa, Oklahoma, and the Museum of Fine Arts in Houston, Texas, between October 2009 and August 2010. In both the exhibition and the book, Charles M. Russell, an artist usually discussed in conjunction with that other western artist whose last name begins with R, has been thoroughly and justly moved into a category of his own.

While the title for this book suggests a monographic or *catalogue raisonné* approach to its topic, the publication is instead a vibrant collection of essays. Each chapter approaches the discussion of the life and work of Russell differently, and leaves the reader with a good sense not only of the life and work of one of the most renowned western painters, but also the state of scholarship in American western art history.

In this book, renowned scholars with vastly different methodological approaches present Russell and his work in a satisfyingly complex way; nine authors contributed nine very different essays. While they seem eclectic at first, the essays actually complement each other well. George Horse Capture Sr.'s "Memories of Charles M. Russell among My Indian Relatives" offers an insightful and important perspective. Other authors, however, discuss aspects of Russell's career, such as his preoccupation with the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and present a historical account of Russell's legacy in the state of Montana. The essays that include a more art-historical approach comprise a discussion of artistic medium, Russell's imagery sources, two different approaches to his development of pictorial narrative, an exploration of how art and history collide through the analysis of the artist's painting *Carson's Men* (1913), and even his unlikely encounter with European avant-garde art.

The essays also work seamlessly to provide an interdisciplinary voice for the book and exhibition, ranging from straightforward art-historical analysis to the best kind of cultural history in American West studies. In total the book demonstrates how vibrant and substantive scholarship continues to be on this western artist.

This publication achieves what all books of compiled essays should hope to aspire to: an effect that is greater than the sum total of its parts. Editor Joan Carpenter Troccoli states it well in the introduction when she writes, "these scholars made the artist more appealing to a new generation of researchers and more interesting in general without dispelling any of his magic" (p. 5). Indeed, they have.

Rachel Sailor
University of Texas at Tyler

Book Notes

The Whole Damned World: New Mexico Aggies at War, 1941–1945; World War II Correspondence of Dean Daniel B. Jett. Edited by Martha Shipman Andrews, with an introduction by Richard A. Melzer. (Los Ranchos de Albuquerque: New Mexico State University Library, in collaboration with Rio Grande Books, 2009. xii + 371 pp. 155 halftones, appendixes, index. $45.95 cloth, ISBN 978-1-890689-51-3, $35.95 paper, ISBN 978-1-890689-38-4.)

Visions Underground: Carlsbad Caverns through the Artist's Eye. By Lois Manno. (Los Ranchos de Albuquerque, N.Mex.: Rio Grande Books, in collaboration with the National Speleological Society, 2009. xii + 177 pp. 76 color plates, 66 halftones, notes, index. $19.99 paper, ISBN 978-1-890689-95-7.)

María of Ágreda: Mystical Lady in Blue. By Marilyn H. Fedewa. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009. xvi + 337 pp. 37 halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $39.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8263-4643-8, $22.76 paper, ISBN 978-0-8263-4644-5.)

Red Light Women of the Rocky Mountains. By Jan MacKell, foreword by Thomas J. Noel. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009. xxi + 458 pp. 81 halftones, appendixes, notes, index. $34.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8263-4610-0.)

Cherokee Thoughts, Honest and Uncensored. By Robert J. Conley. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008. vii + 200 pp. Notes, index. $19.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8061-3943-2.)

Old West Trivia Book. By Don Bullis. (Los Ranchos de Albuquerque, N.Mex.: Rio Grande Books, 2009. 219 pp. 32 halftones, bibliography, index. $17.95 paper, ISBN 978-1-890689-61-2.)

Histories of Infamy: Francisco López de Gómara and the Ethics of Spanish Imperialism. By Cristián A. Roa-de-la-Carrera, translated by Scott Sessions. (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2005. xvii + 264 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. $40.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-87081-813-4.)

Blazing Cane: Sugar Communities, Class, and State Formation in Cuba, 1868–1959. By Gillian McGillivray. American Encounters/Global Interactions series. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2009. xxiii + 386 pp. 25 halftones, line drawings, maps, tables, figure, appendix, glossary, notes, bibliography, index. $89.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8223-4524-4, $24.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8223-4542-8.)

A Place in Politics: São Paulo, Brazil, from Seigneurial Republicanism to Regionalist Revolt. By James P. Woodard. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2009. xi + 403 pp. Maps, glossary, notes, bibliography, index. $89.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8223-4346-2, $24.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8223-4329-5.)

Women Build the Welfare State: Performing Charity and Creating Rights in Argentina, 1880–1955. By Donna J. Guy. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2009. xi + 252 pp. 17 halftones, notes, bibliography, index. $79.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8223-4347-9, $22.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8223-4330-1.)

News Notes

Archives, Exhibits, and Historic (Web) Sites

The Museum of Spanish Colonial Art presents "New Mexico Collectors: Cady Wells." This exhibit will be on display until 27 September 2011. The Museum of Spanish Colonial Art is located at 750 Camino Lejo in Santa Fe. For more information, call 505-982-2226 or visit the website: www.spanishcolonial.org.

The Museum of International Folk Art presents "Folk Art of the Andes." The exhibit features over 850 works of art from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This diverse group of Andean folk arts includes weaving, embroidery, woodcarving, ceramics, painting, and metalwork, and reflects the interweaving of indigenous craft traditions with European art forms and techniques. This exhibit will run from 17 April 2011 to 15 April 2012. The Museum of International Folk Art is located at 706 Camino Lejo in Santa Fe. For more information, call 505-476-1200 or visit the website: www.moifa.org.

Calendar of Events

17–20 March The Organization of American Historians will have their 103d annual meeting in Houston, Texas, at the Hilton Americas. More information about the conference is available on the website: http://annualmeeting.oah.org.

6–9 April The 58th Annual Conference of the Rocky Mountain Council for Latin American Studies (RMCLAS) will be held in Santa Fe, New Mexico,

at the Hotel Santa Fe. The RMCLAS Annual Conference provides an opportunity for scholars and graduate students to share original research on Latin America. More information will be posted at the RMCLAS website: www.rmclas.org.

6–9 *April* The National Council on Public History announces its 2011 conference, "Crossing Borders/Building Communities—Real and Imagined." The conference will be held at the Crowne Plaza Pensacola Grand Hotel, Pensacola, Florida. For more information, visit the website: http://ncph.org/cms/.

7–9 *April* The Western Association of Women Historians will hold its 43d Annual Conference at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California. For more information, visit the website: www.wawh.org.

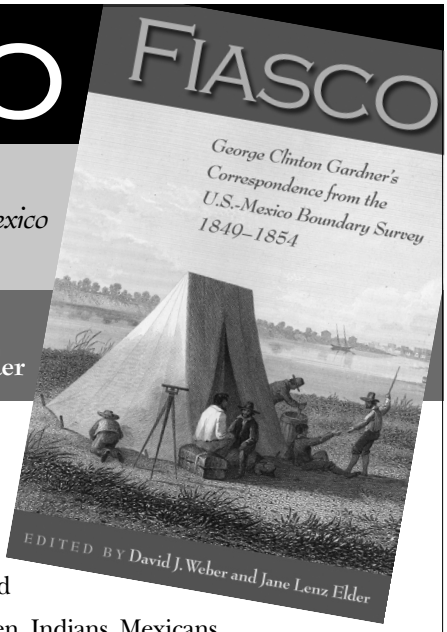
28–30 *April* The 52d annual Arizona History Convention will take place at the Hilton Garden Inn and Pivot Point Conference Center in Yuma. For more information, contact Bruce Dinges, 949 E. Second Street, Tucson, Arizona 85719, or visit the website: www.arizonahistory.org.

5–7 *May* The Historical Society of New Mexico will have its annual New Mexico State History Conference at the Ruidoso Convention Center. For more information, visit the website: www.hsnm.org.

FIASCO

George Clinton Gardner's Correspondence from the U.S.-Mexico Boundary Survey, 1849–1854

EDITED BY
David J. Weber and Jane Lenz Elder



"Masterfully edited and annotated, these personal letters of a young American surveyor paint a detailed and colorful portrait of the men and women, Indians, Mexicans, and Americans of the border region at the moment of its making."
—John Mack Faragher, co-author of *The American West: An Interpretive History*

"This is a gem; Gardner's lively letters will be a delight to anyone interested in the history of the Southwest."**—Joseph Werne**, author of *The Imaginary Line: A History of the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey, 1848–1857*

"This treasure trove of information about the people and places along the border is a valuable addition to the primary sources available to researchers who study early U.S.-Mexican border history."**—Richard Griswold del Castillo**, author of *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conquest*

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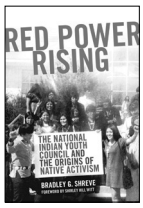


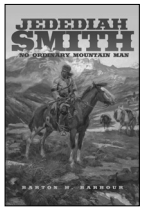
RED POWER RISING

The National Indian Youth Council and the Origins of Native Activism

By Bradley G. Shreve

$34.95 HARDCOVER · 272 PAGES · 20 B&W ILLUS.

During the 1960s, American Indian youth were swept up in a movement called Red Power—a civil rights struggle fueled by intertribal activism. The common assumption is that Red Power began with the Indian takeover of Alcatraz in 1969, but in this groundbreaking book, Bradley G. Shreve sets the record straight. Shreve traces the origins of Red Power further back in time to the student activism of the National Indian Youth Council.



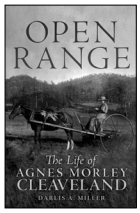
JEDEDIAH SMITH

No Ordinary Mountain Man

By Barton H. Barbour

$19.95 PAPERBACK · 228 PAGES · 16 B&W ILLUS.

Mountain man and fur trader Jedediah Smith casts a heroic shadow. He was the first Anglo-American to travel overland to California via the Southwest and roamed through more of the West than anyone of his era. His adventures quickly became the stuff of legend. Using new information and sifting fact from legend, Barton H. Barbour now offers a fresh look at this important figure.



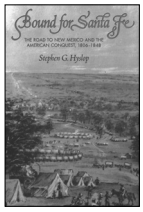
OPEN RANGE

The Life of Agnes Morley Cleaveland

By Darlis A. Miller

$24.95 HARDCOVER · 192 PAGES · 19 B&W ILLUS.

Agnes Morley Cleaveland found lasting fame after publishing her memoir, *No Life for a Lady*, in 1941. Her account of growing up on a cattle ranch in west-central New Mexico captivated readers from coast to coast. In her book, Cleaveland memorably portrayed herself and other ranch women as capable workers and independent thinkers. Her life, however, was not limited to the ranch. In *Open Range*, Miller shows how a young girl who was a fearless risk-taker grew up to be a prolific author and well-known social activist.



BOUND FOR SANTA FE

The Road to New Mexico and the American Conquest, 1806–1848

By Stephen G. Hyslop

$29.95 PAPERBACK · 532 PAGES · 37 B&W ILLUS.

For nearly half a century, the Santa Fe Trail served as an avenue of exchange, where transactions ranged from friendly give-and-take to guarded trade to lethal attempts to settle scores. In *Bound for Santa Fe*, Stephen G. Hyslop draws on eyewitness accounts to retrace the journey from Missouri to New Mexico, weaving together nearly one hundred accounts by scores of people who traveled the trail.

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