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In 1940, during the cuarto-centennial of the Coronado expedition, New Mexico celebrated with publications of narratives and papers relating to the expedition, and in the process Francisco Vázquez de Coronado became a full-blown conquistador, a statús he had not earned. In the first full-length biography of him, A. Grove Day called him "the last of the great conquistadores" and characterized him fairly as a genuine hero who suffered the misfortune of not finding gold.[1] Herbert E. Bolton's biography gilded Coronado with a veneer of glory that wore thin in spite of Bolton's firm assertions in his favor. Bolton writes that Coronado's entrada was analogous to those of "Pizarro, Almagro, Belalcázar, or Quesada . . . Balboa, Alvarado, or Cortés," but he does not call Coronado a conquistador, for he knew better.[2]

Coronado was indeed not a great conquistador, but rather was a

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1. A. Grove Day, *Coronado's Quest: The Discovery of the Southwestern States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1940), xv.

2. Herbert E. Bolton, *Coronado on the Turquoise Trail: Knight of Pueblos and Plains* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1949), 395.

great discoverer. The difference is more than a semantic quibble. It involves a body of belief, assumptions, conditions, and ceremonials connected with New World conquest. The Spanish concept of conquest developed during the *Reconquista*, a centuries-long war between Christians and Moors over control of the Iberian peninsula. The concept was carried to the West Indies in the fifteenth century, and brought to glorious fulfillment in Hernán Cortés' brilliant, bloody conquest of Mexico in 1519–1520. The concept served to justify war and conquest, and to salve the conscience of the King and the mission of the Church. Christians who fought wars against non-Christians could justly destroy or enslave those who refused conversion, and acquire title to their lands and resources. If these non-Christians submitted to Christianity and to the monarch, however, they became free vassals of the king like other Spaniards, secure against slavery and seizure of lands.[3]

The procedure of conquest was first, to discover a land with many natives and copious resources; second, to subjugate the natives in order to use them as free laborers for the Spanish settlers; and third, to create a colony and a government for administering donation of lands and allotments of Indian labor (*repartamientos*) to settlers. Only in this way could the benefits of conquest last longer than the time it took the conquistadors to fight their way in, kill off the natives, grab the booty and leave with it. Cortés, in his wisdom, quickly imposed Christianity and a Spanish framework of government on the Aztecs, creating a Spanish colony that lasted three hundred years. An example of the dangers of failing to develop a labor force was the devastation of the Caribbean islands following the hit-and-run visits of Spaniards. Twenty years after Spanish occupation of Hispaniola the native population was wiped out by disease, greed, war, and mistreatment, rendering the land undeveloped and of little value.[4]

The concept of conquest demanded that native land and the native labor force provide wealth for the crown and souls for the church. Men of the Coronado expedition were looking for gold, status, land, and perhaps adventure, and these personal motives must be distinguished from the goals of the crown and the church. Status and self-esteem were of the greatest importance to a Spaniard. Becoming a successful conquistador was nearly as effective as noble birth in acquiring status.

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3. Lyle N. McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World 1492–1700* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 51–52, 77–79.

4. J. H. Elliott, "The Spanish Conquest," Leslie Bethell, ed., *Colonial Spanish America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 16–17; McAlister, *Spain and Portugal*, 89–91; Franklin W. Knight, *The Caribbean: The Genesis of a Fragmented Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 25–30.

Francisco Pizarro, Nuño de Guzmán, and others were mostly of undistinguished or low birth, and gained not only riches but social standing by their conquests. Coronado's background was different; he was not only well-born (although a younger son) but well-married to the richest woman in Mexico, whose father was said to have been an illegitimate son of King Ferdinand. Coronado had more than his share of status before his expedition was launched, which perhaps reduced his motivation to become a successful conquistador. So Pedro de Castañeda, a member of the expedition, suggested when he wrote that Coronado's men "were unfortunate in having a captain who left in New Spain estates and a pretty wife, a noble and excellent lady, which were not the least causes for what was to happen."[5]

Francisco Vázquez de Coronado was thirty years old when he led his expedition north from Mexico. He had come to America because he was a younger son of a prosperous man and had low financial expectations. To achieve the wealth and prestige every Spaniard believed was his due, Francisco would need all the considerable charm and intelligence he possessed. Like his brother, whose portrait is extant, Francisco was probably handsome and perhaps blond (much admired in Spain). By the time he was twenty-five, he had already climbed high, to the very court of King Charles V, where he knew the high-born Don Antonio de Mendoza. In 1535 the king appointed Mendoza viceroy of New Spain, with power over that colony nearly equal to that of the monarch himself. When Mendoza sailed for Mexico, Coronado was of his entourage.[6]

During Mendoza's thirty-year reign as viceroy he extended and consolidated the structure of royal government in New Spain, and put down or negotiated the dangerous revolts of the growing colony. His goals for the viceroyalty of New Spain were to protect Indians and increase revenues, two aims that Mendoza himself recognized as mutually exclusive, and yet he was largely successful. Mendoza was a great viceroy, perhaps the greatest of New Spain.[7]

Coronado became Mendoza's best friend and protege. Through Mendoza's patronage and his own efforts, the young man rapidly

5. Pedro de Castañeda, "Narrative of the Expedition to Cíbola, Undertaken in 1540, in Which Are Described All Those Settlements, Ceremonies, and Customs. Written by Pedro de Castañeda of Naxera," in George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition 1540–1542* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), 1–3, 202.

6. Bolton, *Coronado*, 19–20.

7. Peggy Liss, *Mexico Under Spain, 1521–1556: Society and the Origins of Nationality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 58; "Introduction," Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*, 1–4; McAlister, *Spain and Portugal*, 188–89.

advanced from such minor positions as inspector of mines and roads to member of the town council of Mexico City in 1538. He married Doña Beatriz de Estrada, rich and beautiful daughter of the late treasurer of New Spain. From his mother-in-law he received a gift of half the Indian labor of Tlapa, south of Mexico City. From Juan de Burgos, who wished to return to Spain, he obtained the Indians of two more villages, increasing his personal fortune.[8]

Late in 1538 the viceroy appointed Coronado governor of the western coastal province of New Galicia. His predecessor as governor was Nuño de Guzmán, conquistador of New Galicia and founder of the frontier town of Culiacán. Guzmán's barbaric treatment of the native Indians had caused them to flee to the mountains. Coronado had persuaded the Indians to return to their homes and plant maize, and he wrote the king that he hoped to win over all the Indians still in revolt. Mendoza therefore had reason to expect that Coronado would treat all Indians well, and he began evaluating Coronado as a leader for a new expedition to the north, should Mendoza himself choose not to reap this potential glory.[9]

Among Coronado's duties as governor was to outfit an expedition led by the Franciscan friar, Marcos de Niza, investigating stories of wonders and riches to the north. The story that interested the viceroy was that of Seven Cities of Gold, a legend that floated from country to country, century after century, until it paused for a time in New Spain. Its source in New Spain was Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, who had landed with Pánfilo de Narváez's expedition on the Florida coast and journeyed through much of the southern part of North America, ending up a few years later as one of four survivors of Narváez's force in Culiacán and Mexico City. Cabeza de Vaca did not mention the Seven Cities in his narrative, but his reports of fine lands and large cities to the north suggested the ancient legend to imaginative minds.[10]

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8. "Introduction," Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*, 2–3; Day, *Coronado's Quest*, 23–26.

9. "Letter Written by His Excellency, Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of New Spain, to His Majesty, the Emperor. 1539," Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*, 50–53. Arthur S. Aiton, Mendoza's biographer, writes that Coronado's report of his first years as governor shows the limitations of the young man's capabilities: His performance as governor lacked energy and imagination, he failed to manage the levy of Indian tribute, and allowed abuses that caused his political downfall and instigated a later investigation. Arthur S. Aiton, ed., "Coronado's First Report on the Government of New Galicia (Original in Seville AGI Audiencia de Guadalajara Leg. 5)," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 19 (August 1939), 307, 309.

10. Cyclone Covey, ed., *Cabeza de Vaca's Adventures in the Unknown Interior of America* (New York: Collier Books, 1961), 12.

Fray Marcos de Niza, as depicted in a drawing by José Cisneros in Cleve Hallenbeck, *The Journey of Fray Marcos de Niza* (1949). Courtesy of Southern Methodist University Press.

Viceroy Mendoza's instructions to Fray Marcos were to go north to unknown lands, observe the people and the nature of the country. Take possession of the land, ordered Mendoza; draw up documents and set up markers for that purpose, and explain to the natives that there is only one God in heaven and one emperor on earth to whom they must all submit. Mendoza's instructions mentioned neither gold nor the Seven Cities of Cíbola.[11]

The barefoot friar and his party went north, but how far north has been disputed—many historians insist that Fray Marcos never got within hundreds of miles of Cíbola. Nevertheless, his report describes Cíbola as a city of multi-storied houses and many people, whose "riches" consisted of strings of turquoises, bright-colored feathers, and well-tanned hides, which is reasonably accurate.[12]

When Fray Marcos first arrived at Culiacán and told Coronado about Cíbola and reports of gold at other cities he heard about, Coronado sent Captain Melchior Díaz and Juan de Zaldivar with a dozen good men to look for these places. Then Coronado and Fray Marcos went to Mexico City to tell the viceroy about Cíbola, and Mendoza decided to send an expedition there. In the meantime Díaz and Zaldivar returned with the bad news that they had gone as far as the ruin of Chichilticale, 220 leagues to the north, and had found nothing worth mentioning.[13]

The bad news began to spread and men were reluctant to sign up for Mendoza's expedition to Cíbola. To counteract the bad news ("clear the clouds," said Fray Marcos) and promote recruitment, the friar began to spread good news, "assuring them that what they would see would be fine and that he had been there and would lead the army to a land where they could fill their hands with wealth."[14]

Fray Marcos' "good news" about Cíbola spread rapidly in Mexico, and came to encompass a large walled city with temples of idols, and walls covered inside and out with precious stones such as emeralds, where men wore girdles of gold, and camels and elephants abounded. Recruitment soared. The number of men clamoring to be chosen for Coronado's expedition was so great that Mendoza had to answer charges that the expedition would dangerously depopulate New Spain. Several

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11. "Instructions of the Viceroy to Fray Marcos de Niza, November, 1538," Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*, 58–62.

12. "Report of Fray Marcos de Niza," Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*, 63–82; David J. Weber's introduction in Cleve Hallenbeck, *The Journey of Fray Marcos de Niza* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1987), xx–xxvii, 21, 33–34.

13. Castañeda, "Narrative," 204–5.

14. *Ibid.*, 205.

hundred of the men who rushed to sign up were new immigrants, landless, unemployed, unmarried young aristocrats of the city of Mexico whom Mendoza's report identified as "the people who are going to settle New Galicia with Francisco Vázquez Coronado, its Governor."[15]

For his "good news" about Cíbola, Fray Marcos has suffered centuries of martyrdom at the hands of journalists and historians who have (with justification) called him a liar, but his intentions may have been nothing more than to make Coronado's expedition possible by increasing recruitment of men. Nevertheless, when Coronado saw Cíbola he wrote Mendoza that Fray Marcos "has not told the truth in a single thing that he said" (which was not the truth, either). Castañeda wrote that the curses the men hurled at Marcos "were such that God forbid they may befall him," and that he was obliged to return to Mexico for his own safety.[16]

Like all Spanish expeditions of conquest, Coronado's was mounted with private funds. Coronado himself invested fifty thousand ducats and Mendoza added another sixty thousand ducats besides what other wealthy men invested. Many recruits bought their own outfits costing as much as a thousand pesos each. To those who could not afford their own arms, provisions, and horses, Mendoza made loans.[17]

Mendoza chose Coronado as leader of this important expedition for several reasons. Coronado was Mendoza's best friend at court. Mendoza considered Coronado "clear-minded, able, and of good judgment, in addition to being the caballero [gentleman] that he was."[18] Furthermore, Coronado had exhibited daring and initiative in several assignments. He had put down a revolt of Negro slaves in Amatepeque; he had organized the journey of Fray Marcos de Niza to explore the Northern Mystery; and he had led an ambitious but unsuccessful expedition to Topira, a region northeast of Culiacán reputed to be defended by men in golden armor.[19] Moreover, as governor of New Galicia

15. "Report by the viceroy of New Spain, Don Antonio de Mendoza, Concerning the People Who Are Going to Settle New Galicia with Francisco Vázquez Coronado, Its Governor," February 21, 1540; and "Hearing on Charges of Depopulating New Spain," Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*, 109–16; Castañeda, "Narrative," 201–2.

16. Castañeda, "Narrative," 208; letter of Coronado to Mendoza, August 3, 1540, Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*, 170.

17. Elliott, "The Spanish Conquest," 29–30; McAlister, *Spain and Portugal*, 99–100. Coronado's salary as governor was only fifteen hundred ducats a year, but his lucrative marriage probably made his investment possible. See Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*, 56.

18. Castañeda, "Narrative," 200.

19. *Ibid.*, 199–200.

Coronado had saved San Miguel de Culiacán, the province's frontier settlement, from abandonment because of Indian hostility after Guzmán's ravages.[20]

Mendoza's instructions to Coronado as commander of the expedition to Cíbola ordered him to protect and defend the lands and natives he discovered, to see to it that his people follow and accept him as their captain general, to obey him, to respond to and perform his commands, and to come when they were called, or face whatever penalties Coronado stipulated. Mendoza also granted Coronado the power to appoint or dismiss his captains; to hear civil and criminal cases among Spaniards, or natives, or both; and ordered him to comply to the letter with instructions concerning good treatment of the natives incumbent on "persons who go to discover and pacify new lands, as you are doing."[21]

Mendoza's instructions to Coronado seem to be describing a young commander who had not yet won the respect of his men. Mendoza seems to doubt that Coronado could fill the role of a tough, ruthless, cunning conquistador. Coronado was popular with his men—"the most beloved and best obeyed leader who has ever ventured forth in the Indies," wrote Castañeda, a member of the expedition and a sharp critic of many of Coronado's decisions.[22] But having written that, Castañeda's narration shows incidents when Coronado was not obeyed, culpably unaware of what his men were doing, or giving orders that led to bad treatment of Indians. These lapses in leadership and discipline noted by Castañeda also formed the charges of which Coronado was later accused and finally acquitted. Mendoza was taking a big chance on this essentially untried commander.

As in his instructions to Fray Marcos, Mendoza's instructions to Coronado said nothing about gold. The viceroy's heavy investment in the expedition would indicate that he expected a profit, but his instructions suggest that the profit was to come not from easy riches but from the land and its development.[23]

Coronado's "army" was a straggling column of 225 men on horseback and 62 afoot, with a few wives and children. The "soldiers" were not trained or uniformed military men but volunteers; there were no

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20. Letter of Coronado to the Emperor, July 15, 1539, Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*, 48.

21. Appointment of Coronado as Commander of the Expedition to Cibola, January 6, 1540, *ibid.*, 84.

22. Castañeda, "Narrative," 265.

23. Appointment of Coronado as commander of the expedition to Cíbola, January 6, 1540, Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*, 85–86.

ranks or files, no military formations or maneuvers. Their clothing and equipment was motley. Some men went to battle in a suit of plate armor—Coronado, at least, wore gilded armor that made him a target at a battle at Cíbola. Others had chain mail or pieces of it to protect their arms or vital parts; many wore cuirasses (breastplates) to battle. The infantry wore coats of tightly-quilted cotton as armor, an Aztec idea copied by Cortés for his own men. All wore buckskin coats except the Indian allies, whose scanty clothing would become an important issue in the expedition. The men were armed with crossbows and harquebuses, swords and daggers, bows and arrows, lances, pikes, and clubs; there were a few small cannon.[24]

Indian volunteers, perhaps as many as 1,300 including some women and children, accompanied the expedition as hostlers, herdsmen, messengers, and fighters. These "allies" were specifically exempted from service to the Spaniards, and free to leave whenever they wished. Four friars who are identified accompanied the expedition, and others who are unidentified, as well as 2 Indian oblates. The expedition had 1,500 animals, including 559 horses mentioned in the muster roll, and about twice that number according to men of the expedition. Besides horses there were a few dogs, and a walking commissary of cattle, swine, and sheep.[25]

In the meantime preparations were made for a fleet of two ships and a sea-going sloop under Captain Hernando de Alarcón to sail up the Gulf of California to the mouth of the Buena Guía (Colorado River), and as far up that river as he could, contacting Coronado at all points to deliver provisions, gear, trade goods, iron, and other supplies, apparently for settlement. Alarcón never did manage to contact Coronado, but he befriended the Cocopas by passing himself off as the son of the sun, and wrote a fine cultural description of these Yuman people.[26]

Emphasizing the importance of the Cíbola expedition, Viceroy Mendoza himself traveled with his entourage 110 leagues north from Mexico to Compostela to review the army. He addressed the men of the expedition, reminding them of the allegiance they owed Coronado

24. Muster Roll of the Expedition, *ibid.*, 87–108; F. S. Curtis, Jr., "Spanish Arms and Armor in the Southwest," *New Mexico Historical Review,* 2 (April 1927), 107–33.

25. "Introduction," Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition,* 8–12; Arthur S. Aiton and Agapito Rey, "Coronado's Testimony in the Viceroy Mendoza *Residencia*," *New Mexico Historical Review,* 12 (July 1937), 314.

26. "Relation of the Navigation and Discovery Undertaken by Captain Hernando de Alarcón by Order of His Excellency, Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of New Spain, Given at Colima, a Harbor of New Spain," Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition,* 124–55.

and the benefits of conversion of the natives and conquest of the land (but he apparently did not mention gold). The next day the army set out for Culiacán where citizens greeted the men with a mock battle and other joyful demonstrations. There the main body of the army would remain until May. On April 22, 1540, Coronado left for Cíbola, 350 leagues north, with a vanguard of seventy-five horsemen, thirty footmen, the four friars, and provisions for eighty days.[27]

Seventy-seven days later they came within sight of the multi-storied houses of one of the towns of Cíbola (Zuñi). Without taking a day to determine the nature or customs of the Indians, Coronado became involved in war with them. Coronado's impatience worked against the success of the expedition, and many of his subsequent problems were caused by his ignorance of Indian character. In contrast, Cortés' success depended on his careful investigation of "whether [a country] is inhabited, and if so by what kind of peoples, and what religion or rite they have, and upon what they live, and what there is in the land. . . ."[28]

Without hesitation, Coronado sent a notary to read the *Requerimiento* to those assembled. The Requerimiento was a document drawn up in 1514 by the Royal Jurist to be read to natives through a translator and in presence of a royal official. It was an essential tool in the early Spanish conquests, meant to prove to the Indians that Spain had a legal right to their land and to their obedience as vassals, in return for which they were entitled to justice and good government.[29]

By 1540 the Requerimiento was considered an absurd piece of red tape and was abolished in 1542, too late to avoid its application at Cíbola. Coronado ordered it to be read to the Indians, and translated. Beginning with God's creation of the world, the Requerimiento related how the power of Christianity had proceeded from Jesus Christ to Saint Peter, thence to the present pope who had donated America to the Spanish Crown. If the Indians accepted this document as true, Spaniards could not enslave them; if not, "we shall do all the harm and damage that we can as to vassals who do not obey and refuse to receive their lord."[30] The historian Oviedo, a notary who had read the document to other natives, drolly commented, "it appears to me that these Indians will not listen to the theology of this Requirement . . ."

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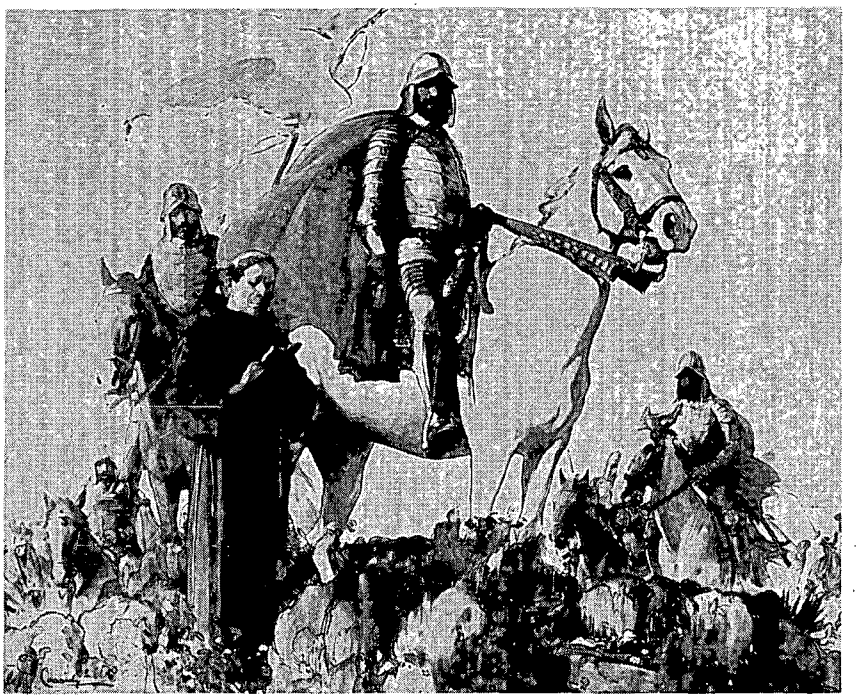
27. Castañeda, "Narrative," 202–8.

28. Letter of Cortés to King Charles V, 1537, in Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, translated by Richard Howard (New York: Harper and Row, 1984), 175.

29. McAlister, *Spain and Portugal*, 78–79, 90.

30. *Ibid.*, 90, 103; Todorov, *Conquest of America*, 146–49.



Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, as shown in a detail from the mural by Gerald Cassidy in the Federal Building, Santa Fe. Courtesy of Museum of New Mexico, negative number 20206.

and Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas wrote that he did not know whether to laugh or cry after he had seen it.[31]

Naturally, the Indians "paid little attention to it." Coronado's explanation for their indifference was "since we were few in number, they would have no difficulty in killing us."[32] Doubtless the Indians of Cíbola understood enough to see that their choice was peace or war, and they chose war. As they began to shoot arrows at the Spaniards, Coronado forbade an attack upon them. But when the arrows landed almost at the heels of the horses, Coronado ordered the battle cry, "Santiago!" The Spaniards charged, putting the Indians to flight and taking possession of the pueblo.[33]

Inside the pueblo the Spaniards "found something we prized more

31. Todorov, *Conquest of America*, 148–49.

32. Coronado's letter to Mendoza, August 3, 1540, Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*, 168.

33. Castañeda, "Narrative," 208.

than gold or silver, namely, maize, beans, chickens [turkeys], and salt."[34] From that time on, the Indians supplied the Spaniards with food and other necessities, willingly or not. In a few days some Indians returned, bearing gifts and professing interest in Christianity, or so the Spaniards read their signs. The next day, to the Spaniards' surprise, the Indians packed up their goods and took refuge in the cliffs.[35] One writer's theory for this mysterious and inconsistent behavior is that the arrival of the strangers had interrupted summer solstice ceremonies carried on both in the nearby mountains and at the Pueblo of Hawikuh, where the Indians had first fought the Spaniards.[36]

Coronado had been instructed to explore the region, and he sent out one exploring party after another. In mid-July Don Pedro de Tovar left for the Hopi villages; from there he sent Don García López de Cárdenas, his right-hand man, to explore the Tizón (Colorado) River. Cárdenas and his men reached the rim of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado before returning. Parties were sent north, south, and east to investigate other pueblos, but except for Alarcón's report, "Relación del Suceso" and "Jaramillo's Narrative," no other daily accounts of participants of Coronado's expedition have come to light. We are dependent upon Castañeda's account of twenty years later and various short reports, testimony, and letters for details of the expedition.[37]

In September a young war captain whom the Spaniards called Bigotes ("moustaches") came with gifts from Cicuyé (Pecos), the pueblo east of the mountains on the Pecos River. With Bigotes as guide, Captain Hernando de Alvarado visited Acuco (Ácoma), Tiguex (the Tiwa villages on the Rio Grande near Albuquerque), and Cicuyé where he was greeted with joy and presented with gifts of clothing and turquoises.[38]

While Alvarado was on his journey, López de Cárdenas went to Tíguex to prepare winter quarters for the army, now enroute to Cíbola. Indians of the Tiguex pueblo of Alcanfor (or Coofor) gave up their village to the Spaniards, willingly according to Coronado and Cardenas, but compelled to do so according to Castañeda.[39]

34. "Traslado de las Nuevas," August 3, 1540, Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*, 181.

35. Letter of Coronado to Mendoza, *ibid.*, 174.

36. J. Wesley Huff, "A Coronado Episode," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 26 (April 1951), 119–27.

37. Castañeda, "Narrative," 214–19; for Alarcón's report, "Relación del Suceso" and "Jaramillo's Narrative," in Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*. See Day, *Coronado's Quest*, 381–83 for a discussion of Coronado sources.

38. Castañeda, "Narrative," 217–20.

39. "Testimony of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado on the Management of the Ex-

In November, 1540, the main army under Captain Tristan de Arellano arrived from Culiacán at Cíbola and then proceeded to Tiguex where they occupied the pueblo of Alcanfor. The winter was cold, the Rio Grande was frozen solid, and the Indian allies were suffering for lack of clothing. Coronado ordered the Indian cacique to provide three hundred or more blankets, feather cloaks, quilts, and skins from the Tiguex pueblos. Despite the chief's objection that this was a matter for all the chiefs to discuss, Coronado would not wait, but sent out his men to the twelve pueblos to collect the blankets, even off the Indians' backs. Coronado later testified that the garments were purchased with trade goods but López de Cárdenas said that some Indians gave freely and others against their will.[40]

During the collection of winter clothing one of the Spaniards left his horse with a Pueblo Indian while he entered the pueblo and raped, or threatened to rape, the man's wife. The outraged husband could not identify the Spaniard later, but he recognized the horse he had held. The owner of the horse denied everything, and the matter was dropped. López de Cárdenas testified that he could not find proof that the soldier had raped the woman, or he would have punished him; Coronado said he never heard of this incident until he returned from Quivira.[41]

The Spaniards' offenses against Tiguex incited the Indians to revolt. After killing one herder and wounding another, they drove off many of the horses. Coronado, his captains, and men surrounded the pueblo where the woman had been outraged and besieged it until the natives came out of the Pueblo and laid down their arms. López de Cárdenas then ordered two hundred stakes driven into the ground onto which thirty-five or so Indians were tied and burned alive. The remaining Indians rushed out to defend themselves, and were all lanced or stabbed to death by the Spaniards, who then set the pueblo afire and destroyed it.[42]

Later testimony of both Coronado and López de Cárdenas about

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pedition," September 3, 1554, Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*, 329; "His Majesty's Fiscal vs. Don García Ramírez de Cárdenas, Resident of Madrid, Concerning Charges Brought Against Him for the Excesses He Committed While He Was Maestre de Campo of the Expedition to Cibola, an Expedition That Was Made in New Spain," *ibid.*, 347; Castañeda, "Narrative," 219–20.

40. Castañeda, "Narrative," 224; "Testimony of Coronado," 330; "Testimony of López de Cárdenas," 351.

41. *Ibid.*, 224, 330, 351.

42. Castañeda, "Narrative," 225–31; "Testimony of Coronado," 335; "Testimony of López de Cárdenas," 354–56.

the "Tiguex war" was ambiguous and contradictory. López de Cárdenas testified that he was unaware that the Indians had desired peace when they surrendered their arms, and that Coronado had ordered him to take no rebels alive. Coronado testified that "he had never heard that Don García López [de Cárdenas] had burned any Indians at the said siege, nor had any such information ever reached him that he remembers." López de Cárdenas testified that his soldiers had lanced, burned, and killed the Indians but that he himself had not ordered it, nor taken any part in it, and was not responsible for what was done in the heat of battle.[43]

The Indian survivors took refuge in another pueblo named Mohi, and the Spaniards besieged it for fifty days. For lack of water the Indians were forced to deliver about a hundred women and children to the Spaniards, who enslaved them. Still the people in the pueblo refused to make peace. One night they abandoned their pueblo and tried to escape, but the Spaniards followed and killed over two hundred of them. So ended the siege, the "Battle of Tiguex" as the Spaniards called it. The Indian survivors did not return to their town as long as the Spaniards remained in the country. At the end of the siege of Tiguex Coronado sent his captains upriver to the seven pueblos at Quirix (the Queres pueblos) and to the Jemez Valley pueblo of Zia, and as far north as the pueblo of Taos. According to the Spaniards, the Indians were gradually "reassured," but the Indian side of the story is mute.[44]

Principal perpetrator of the great and unnecessary cruelty to the people of Tiguex was López de Cárdenas, who was later indicted, sent to Spain, and jailed. Coronado was also tried for these and other failings, and exonerated. During his trial Coronado pleaded ignorance of some of these events, and asserted that others were justified. Asked whether any cruelties, offenses, or abuses were perpetrated on the persons or properties of the Indians, and whether he punished those who committed them, Coronado answered that "he did not know that any person in said army had committed any cruelty, ill treatment, or harm to the natives of the said pueblos or their properties. . . ." Either Coronado was lying, or entirely out of touch with his men, or as Bolton says, suffering from loss of memory at the trial due to a severe blow on the head he received at Cíbola near the end of his sojourn there.[45]

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43. "Testimony of Coronado," 335; "Testimony of López de Cárdenas," 355.

44. Castañeda, "Narrative," 227–31; William Swagerty discusses the possible Indian reaction to Coronado in "Beyond Bimini: Indian Responses to European Incursions in the Spanish Borderlands 1513–1600" (doctoral dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1981).

45. "Testimony of Coronado," 321; Bolton, *Coronado*, 379–80.

Spanish encounters with Indians, such as the dreadful "war" at Tiguex, seem distorted in the telling. Spanish responses to the Indians' refusal to submit to them seem diabolical and pointlessly cruel. The Europeans disregarded the needs of the Indians, misconstrued their motives, misread their signs, and misinterpreted their responses. As described in Spanish accounts, Indians were not entirely human, although humanly irrational and stubborn in their resistance. To the modern reader, it is the Spaniards who often seem irrational, unwilling to try to understand the Indians, or to read their signs. Signs were the only means of communication between Spaniards and most of the Pueblos and Plains Indians that Coronado met. It is possible that he had an interpreter at their first meeting at Hawikuh (Zuñi) who knew both languages, but the rest of the Pueblo Indians and Plains Indians spoke different languages. If Coronado had only had Cortés' Doña Marina to interpret for him, his expedition might have been very different.

All Indian encounters with men of the Coronado expedition have an air of unreality except that of Alarcón, visiting the Yumas at the mouth of the Colorado River. Alarcón was curious enough about Indians to communicate directly with them, to read Indian signs with patience and interest, and to treat them as fellow creatures (although inferior). Indians responded to Alarcón with human emotions that he recognized as joy, resignation, or anger.[46]

Alarcón conceded to Indians their humanity, as Coronado and his other captains did not. Coronado and his men considered the Pueblo Indians inferior and bestial. After admiring the construction of the houses at Cíbola, one member of the expedition wrote, "[their] houses are too good, especially for these people, who are like animals and have no order at all except in their houses."[47] López de Cárdenas testified:

> On account of the base intentions he discovered in the Indians, and because they have no leader to follow, it would profit little to pacify them and convert them to our holy Catholic faith. And what some do, others undo, like disorderly people.[48]

Coronado himself doubted that the Indians could have built their houses, because they did not wear clothing:

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46. "Report of Alarcón's Expedition," Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*, 126–28, 131–32.

47. "Relación de Suceso," *ibid.*, 286.

48. "Testimony of López de Cárdenas," 364–65.

> The people of these towns seem to me to be fairly large, and intelligent, although I do not think that they have the judgment and intelligence needed to be able to build these houses in the way in which they are built, for most of them are entirely naked except for the covering of their privy parts.[49]

People who go naked in the summer are incapable of building good houses for the winter, Coronado concluded. Nevertheless, Coronado and others described them as clean and moral people, and praised them for cultural traits they had in common with the people of Mexico and Spain. Coronado described the men as "valiant." Their women had the best method of grinding corn that Coronado had ever seen, and made the best tortillas in kitchens that they kept extremely clean. They dressed skins well and decorated them, as they did the walls of their houses. At Coronado's request they quickly drew pictures of their animals, birds, and fish, which he sent to Mendoza. They wove their own garments and produced "very well made" blankets of cotton, and of the fur of "wooly animals resembling large Castilian hounds," which they kept in their houses. They also kept turkeys for their feathers. These people danced and sang to the music of flutes and were "pious and in no way cruel . . . they keep their word and are loyal to their friends," wrote Castañeda. They cultivated land and ate from little flat bowls as people did in Mexico. Women covered themselves modestly and wore earrings, as did the women of Spain. Still, they were considered inferior, and like beasts.[50]

In resisting Christianity "wickedly and intentionally" (the words of the *Requerimiento*) the Indians subjected themselves to "harm and damage." It was essential to the Spaniards that the Indians be regarded as beasts, otherwise Spanish treatment of them would be seen as bestial. In fact, the Spanish made good use of beasts—the horse and the dog especially—against their native foe. Dogs were a powerful weapon in the hands of the Spaniards, "for, against the Indians, one dog is the equal of ten men."[51] The Indians were described as disorganized, without leaders or a rigid stratified society like Spain's. Furthermore, their

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49. Letter of Coronado to Mendoza, August 3, 1540, Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*, 171.

50. *Ibid.*, 167, 172–73, 176–77; Castañeda, "Narrative," 271; letter of Mendoza to the King, April 17, 1540, Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*, 157–60. Coronado and his men were only following the lead of Columbus and other explorers in considering the Indians bestial. See Todorov, *Conquest of America*, 44–45, 139, 141.

51. Todorov, *Conquest of America*, 40.

land was sterile, testified López de Cárdenas, and there was no gold or silver there.[52]

The hope of gold and silver had not entirely died. When Alvarado went to Cicuyé, he met a captive from the Mississippi region called the Turk (because he looked like one), who guided his party to the plains to observe the cattle (bison). After they had gone eighty or a hundred leagues, the Turk told Alvarado of large towns with great riches of gold and silver, to be found in his own country "in the farthest interior of the land extending from there to Florida." The Spaniards immediately turned back to report the news of gold to their general.[53]

Coronado watched as the Turk told his story in signs:

> . . . the Turk claimed that in his land there was a river, flowing through plains, which was two leagues wide, with fish as large as horses and a great number of very large canoes with sails, carrying more than twenty oarsmen on each side. The nobles, he said, traveled in the stern, seated under canopies, and at the prow there was a large golden eagle. He stated further that the lord of that land took his siesta under a large tree from which hung numerous golden jingle bells, and he was pleased as they played in the wind. He added that the common table service of all was generally of wrought silver, and that the pitchers, dishes, and bowls were made of gold. He called gold *acochis*.[54]

If the Turk were lying, he lied very well. One of his listeners said, "he expressed himself so well that it seemed as if what he was saying were true and that he had seen it."[55]

The Turk also told Coronado about one or more gold bracelets that Bigotes had taken from him—his proof that his country did contain gold. Coronado sent Alvarado back to Cicuyé to demand the bracelets of Bigotes. At Cicuyé the people received Alvarado well, but denied "in all possible ways" that the bracelets were there. When Bigotes and the cacique of Cicuyé said that the Turk was lying about the gold bracelets, Alvarado "saw that there was no other recourse" but to arrest Bigotes and the cacique. The people of Cicuyé "came out to fight, shooting arrows and berating Alvarado, saying he had broken his word and friendship."[56] Adamant, Alvarado took the prisoners in chains and iron collars to Tiguex where they were imprisoned for more than six

52. "Testimony of López de Cárdenas," 364–65.
53. Castañeda, "Narrative," 219, 221.
54. *Ibid.*, 221.
55. "Relación del Suceso," Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*, 290.
56. Castañeda, "Narrative," 221.

months. Since Bigotes would not "confess," Alvarado set a dog upon him that bit him badly on the arm.[57]

The Spaniards' capture and mistreatment of Bigotes and the cacique are nearly incomprehensible except in the context of other conquests. It was the style of conquistadors to seize leaders and govern through them until conquest was complete. Cortés captured Montezuma and kept him prisoner until his death; Pizarro did the same, collecting an enormous ransom for the Peruvian ruler Atahualpa, and then murdering him.[58] Alvarado captured Bigotes to gain control of his pueblo, but the Pueblo Indians were not ruled by leaders but by a council of representatives, which made it difficult to control them. Nevertheless, Alvarado followed the accepted conquistador pattern by seizing Bigotes and the cacique. When asked if any of the captains and soldiers committed any cruelties, killings, or abuses on the Indian men and women, Coronado later testified that they did not. On the contrary, said Coronado, he ordered that all of them be well treated. When asked in his trial about the treatment of Bigotes, Coronado testified that Alvarado had told him that he had chained Bigotes because he thought he was trying to help the Turk to escape. Asked if Coronado had set the dogs on Bigotes to force him to tell about the bracelet, Coronado said Pedro de Tovar had done so, since Bigotes would not confess, and so the dog bit him.[59] In Coronado's mind, and in the code of the conquistador, this was no abuse.

Coronado decided that the Turk was telling the truth. He wrote Mendoza that Indians from a different land had told him that in their land there were "much larger pueblos, and better houses than those in this land, that they had lords who governed them, and that they used gold vessels together with other magnificent things." But Coronado no longer trusted signs:

> As I wrote to your Majesty, however, since these accounts were given by Indians and, furthermore, had been obtained by signs, I did not give them credence until I could verify them with my own eyes . . . I decided to go with the men I have here and to see it for myself.[60]

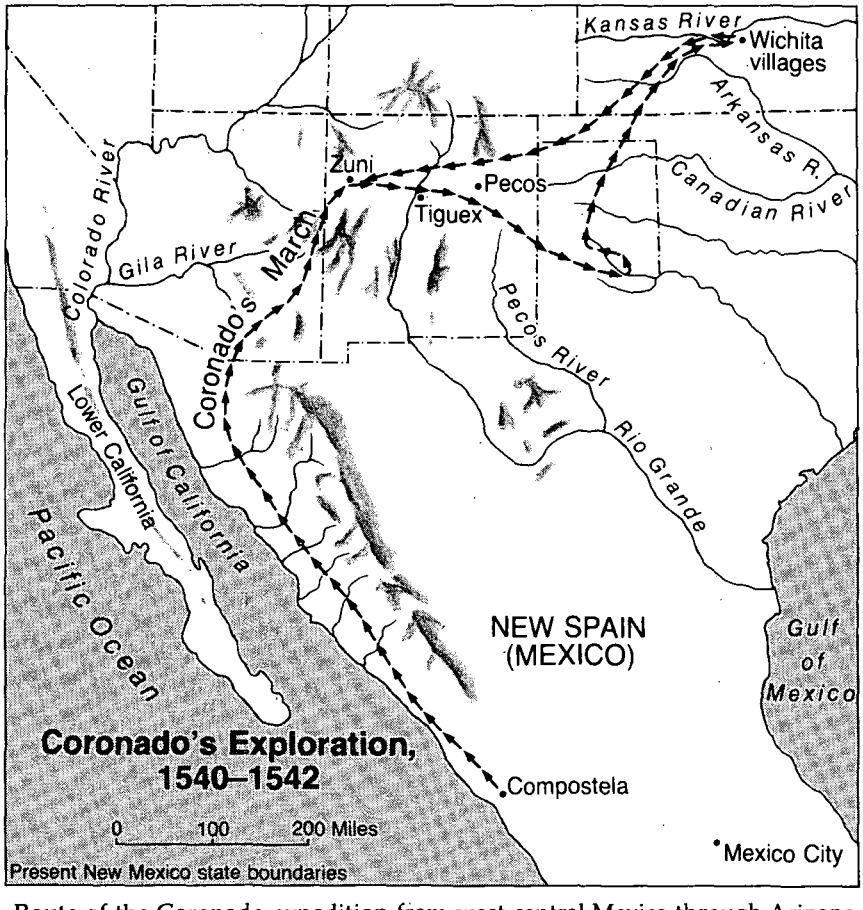
In the spring of 1541 Coronado saw to it that the natives of Tiguex

57. *Ibid.*, "Testimony of Coronado," 326–27.

58. Elliott, "The Spanish Conquest," 33–36.

59. "Testimony of Coronado," 326–27.

60. Letter of Coronado to the King, October 20, 1541, Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*, 185; "Testimony of Coronado," 326–27.



Route of the Coronado expedition from west central Mexico through Arizona and New Mexico and into south central Kansas, 1540–1542. From Susan A. Roberts and Calvin A. Roberts, *A History of New Mexico* (1986) and courtesy of University of New Mexico Press.

were pacified. Then he returned Bigotes and the cacique to Cicuyé where he was met with "much affection and rejoicing."[61] With the entire army he set off northeastward across the plains, meeting traveling villages of Texas Indians who followed with their packs of dogs, women, and children. At this point the Turk guided them directly east, making a "deviation towards Florida." He led them into a great barranca which Bolton has identified as Palo Duro Canyon in the Texas Panhandle.

61. Castañeda, "Narrative," 233.

Suspicious now that the Turk had been deceiving him, Coronado put him in chains.[62]

Coronado realized that the army lacked provisions and was too slow for a long journey, so he sent it back to Tiguex under Captain Arrellano. With thirty mounted men, half a dozen footmen, and some Teyas guides, Coronado set off for Quivira through the buffalo plains to the Great Bend of the Arkansas in central Kansas. Quivira turned out to be a village of grass huts of the friendly Wichita Indians, in what Captain Juan Jaramillo described as a fine country for Spanish settlement:

> This country has a fine appearance, the like of which I have never seen anywhere in our Spain, Italy, or part of France, nor indeed in other lands where I have traveled in the service of his Majesty. It is not a hilly country, but one with mesas, plains, and charming rivers with fine waters, and it pleased me, indeed. I am of the belief that it will be very productive for all sorts of commodities . . . Thus surely, if your Lordship can reach Quivira and Arahe from your present place, I believe you will be able to bring many people from New Spain to settle it without any hesitance, in view of the fine appearance and reports of the appearance of the land.[63]

There was no gold in Quivira. The only metal the Spaniards saw was a piece of copper around the chief's neck, and "a small amount of metal which resembles gold, but I could not find out where it was obtained." In a last burst of optimism, Coronado and his men believed that gold would be found "inland," because although the natives said there was no gold, they knew what it was and called it *acochis*. Such was Castañeda's word for it. A linguist told anthropologist Mildred Mott Wedel that this is probably *ha:kwicis*, the Wichita word for "metal."[64]

Coronado and his men remained twenty-five days in Quivira to investigate the possibilities of the land. Then he held a council and decided to return to Cicuyé because of the coming of autumn, the scantiness of provisions, and the uncertainty of the welfare of the army. Wrote Jaramillo: "we all concluded that his Lordship should turn back in search of them [the men of the army], and, upon finding them,

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62. Castañeda, "Narrative," 241; Bolton, *Coronado*, 266–67.

63. "Jaramillo's Narrative," Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*, 305, 307.

64. Castañeda, "Narrative," 246; Mildred Mott Wedel, "The Indian They Called *Turco*," in Mildred Mott Wedel, *The Wichita Indians 1541–1750* [Reprints in Anthropology, Vol. 38] (Lincoln: J.L. Reprint Co., 1988), 43; Day, *Coronado's Quest*, 353, n.7.

learn of their situation, spend the winter there, and, at the beginning of summer, return to that land [Quivira] to explore and cultivate it."[65]

Before Coronado left Quivira, his guides obtained from the Turk a confession that he had led the expedition astray on the plains hoping that the men and horses would starve to death. He also tried to influence the Quivira people to withhold corn from the Spaniards, or to fall upon them and kill them.[66] Coronado ordered the Turk to be secretly garroted.

The execution of the Turk may have been not only a mistake but a misunderstanding of what he was trying to tell the Spaniards. Mota Padilla, an eighteenth-century Mexican historian who claimed to have access to papers of Coronado's captain, Pedro de Tovar, said that the Spaniards should not have garroted the Turk if Coronado intended to return to Quivira and explore "other pueblos of New Mexico or Florida" ("Florida" was the Mississippi Valley and the southeast). Wrote Mota:

> In this province there is certain to be much copper, so that the poor Indian might thus have deceived himself, or he might have mistaken the road in going to find the quantities of gold with which he had promised to load the horses and even carts. It must have been the punishment of God that they did not find these riches on this expedition, because this ought to have been the secondary object of that journey and the first the conversion of all those heathen. . . .[67]

According to Mildred Mott Wedel the Turk may have been telling the truth, unrecognized and distorted through the usual misunderstanding with signs. Wedel proposes that the whole fantastic story of the boats with canopies, huge fish, and other marvels may have related not to Quivira but to the lower Mississippi River, the only river that could be described as two leagues (five or six miles) wide. The chronicler of the De Soto expedition wrote that the Quapaw Indians who lived on the lower Mississippi crossed the river in large canoes with sails and canopies. The huge fish of the Turk's description might have

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65. Castañeda, "Narrative," 233–40; "Jaramillo's Narrative," Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*, 304.

66. Letter of Coronado to the King, October 20, 1541, Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*, 189; Castañeda, "Narrative," 241–42; "Jaramillo's Narrative," 304; "Testimony of Coronado," 336; "Charges Against Coronado," Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*, 395.

67. A. Grove Day, trans. and ed., "Mota Padilla on the Coronado Expedition," from *Historia de la conquista de la provincia de la Nueva Galicia*, chapters 22, 32, 33, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 20 (February 1940), 105.

been the ten-foot-long alligators that still swim in the lower part of the river. The similarities between the Turk's supposed fantasies and the sober description of De Soto's chronicler, the Gentleman of Elvas, makes it likely that when the Turk made a "deviation towards Florida" he was trying to guide Coronado to the Mississippi and the rich civilization of the mound builders. The Wichita Indians had no word for gold, but their word for "metal" was the very word that the Turk gave—*acochis*.[68]

Like Coronado, Hernando De Soto had been led by Indians to a province where they said there was gold. Garcilaso de la Vega wrote that at the stockaded settlement of Cofachiqui (Cofitachequi), De Soto found a great quantity of very golden and resplendent copper which was so superior to the brass found thereabouts that the Indians

> were unable to distinguish between brass and gold. Instead of silver, these people fetched great slabs of pyrites . . . [that] looked white and shone like silver, and that although a yard in length and another in width, they did not weigh anything, and when taken in the hand crumbled like a clod of dry earth.[69]

At the settlement of Cofachiqui, the mistress of the town and eight of her ladies embarked in one of these canoes, which had been covered with a great canopy and adorned with ornaments, towed by the second one which bore the six principal Indians and many oarsmen.[70]

Coronado marched his little band back to Tiguex to spend the winter. His description of Quivira, as reported by Castañeda, mentioned not only the excellence of the country, but also that the discovery of gold was still a possibility:

> He said he had reports of large settlements and mighty rivers, and that the country was very much like Spain in fruits, vegetation, and climate. They were not satisfied to think that there was no gold: on the contrary, they were of the belief that it was to be found inland, although the natives said there was none, they knew what it was and they had a name for it, calling it *acochis*.[71]

Coronado never did return to Quivira. Years later Castañeda wrote

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68. Wedel, "The Indian They Called *Turco*," 43.

69. *The Florida of the Inca: A history of the Adelantado, Hernando de Soto, Governor and Captain General of the kingdom of Florida, and of other heroic Spanish and Indian cavaliers, written by The Inca, Garcilaso de la Vega, an officer of His Majesty, and a native of the great city of Cuzco, capital of the realms and provinces of Peru*, trans. and ed. by John Grier Varner and Jeannette Johnson Varner (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1951), 31.

70. *Ibid.*, 299.

71. Castañeda, "Narrative," 246.

of his own disappointment that Coronado had returned to New Spain without attempting to settle Quivira. It was, he said, a fine, extensive land, well-populated with intelligent natives whose lives were orderly, clean, and moral. In hindsight, Castañeda concluded that there was little justification for Coronado to abandon this country:

> May it please the Almighty God to determine everything. For it is plain that had it been His will neither Francisco Vazquez would have returned to New Spain without cause or justification, nor would Don Fernando de Soto's men have failed to settle such a fine land as they had found, so extensive and so well populated. . . .[72]

Other accounts agreed. Wrote Juan de Jaramillo:

> Thus, surely, if your Lordship can reach Quivira and Arahe [Harahey] from your present place I believe you will be able to bring many people from New Spain to settle it without any hesitance, in view of the fine appearance and reports of the land.[73]

On returning from Quivira, Coronado ordered that winter quarters be prepared at Tiguex, for he intended to return in the spring with all his army, to discover "large settlements and mighty rivers" reported to be beyond Quivira. During the winter Coronado's men chafed under the cold and an invasion of lice, and they grumbled with ill-will toward their captains. They resented the discomforts of labor and sentry duty, and were angry at their captains for taking the best of the winter clothing collected from the Indians.[74]

In the spring, Coronado ordered preparations for the return to Quivira, but fate intervened. During a horse race Coronado fell from his horse and was kicked in the head by another horse as it galloped past. It was reported that the general nearly died and was very ill for a long time afterward. The Spanish historian Gómara wrote that Coronado "took leave of his senses and raved, which some took as an affliction and others as feigned, as they were at odds with him because he did not make a settlement."[75]

Coronado sank into despair over reports of the Mixton War in his province of New Galicia, over an old prediction that he would achieve

72. *Ibid.*, 264.

73. "Jaramillo's Narrative," 307.

74. Castañeda, "Narrative," 265.

75. *Ibid.*, 266; A. Grove Day, "Gómara on the Coronado Expedition," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 43 (January 1940), 352.

great power, then suffer a fall in strange lands and die there, and over longing for his wife and children. His men believed that these incidents contributed to his decision to abandon the expedition. Most of his men were willing to return, and he tricked those that were not into signing a statement that they were in favor of returning "since they had not found any wealth nor had any settled area been discovered where repartimientos [Indian labor allotments] could be provided for the whole army."[76]

Coronado malingered, surrounding himself with guards to hide his "double-dealing" (as Castañeda called it), and his men became increasingly disgruntled. Many of the captains wished to stay, either because they believed the cities of gold existed beyond Quivira, or because they wanted to settle and receive repartamientos. They asked Coronado to provide them with sixty chosen men to hold the land until the viceroy sent reinforcements, or to leave the army at Cíbola and pick sixty men to escort Coronado home. But Coronado rejected all alternatives, and back they went.[77]

The friar Juan de Padilla and a few others were the only ones who returned to Quivira. The friar was martyred there, but a Portuguese-Spaniard named Andres do Campo and others managed to escape and reach New Spain. A lay brother, Fray Luís, remained at Cicuyé, but his fate is not known.[78]

At Mexico Coronado reported to Viceroy Mendoza "and was not well received by him . . . from then on Francisco Vázquez lost reputation and retained only for a short time the governorship of New Galicia," wrote Castañeda.[79] The anonymous author of "Relación del Suceso" also testified that the viceroy "did not rejoice at his return, although at first he dissimulated. . . . He was glad that Father Fray Juan de Padilla had remained there."[80]

Coronado was not governor of New Galicia for a short time, but for over two years, until September 1544. His *residencia*, a routine investigation of a retiring public servant, charged incompetence and

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76. Castañeda, "Narrative," 267.

77. *Ibid.*, 266–68; "Jaramillo's Narrative," 306, says of Coronado's condition that he "showed a mean disposition and plotted the return"; the "Relación del Suceso" says that Coronado "fell from a horse while racing and was very sick for many days. When the winter was over he was determined, regardless of any statement to the contrary, to turn back, and he did so. He longed for this more than anything else." Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*, 293.

78. Castañeda, "Narrative," 263; "Jaramillo's Narrative," 306–7.

79. Castañeda, "Narrative," 275.

80. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Expedition*, 293–94.

dereliction of duty. In 1545 charges were brought against him by the Royal Fiscal on various grounds including misdemeanors during the expedition—for waging war on Hawikuh, for setting dogs on Bigotes and other Indians, for causing the rebellion at Tiguex, for the secret execution of the Turk, for the failure to colonize Quivira or allow others to do so, and for abandoning the lands he had discovered after having used up all his supplies, causing great loss to the royal treasury. The charges against him were not proved by the fiscal, and he was absolved of all charges by the audiencia before which he testified.[81]

Coronado lived another ten years, dividing his time between his country estates and Mexico City, serving only in minor city offices but apparently remaining on friendly terms with the viceroy. He died after a long illness in November 1554, and his passing was noted in the minutes of the town council.[82]

Coronado's principal captain, López de Cárdenas, was tried in Spain and convicted for "robberies, burnings, cruelties and many other offenses against the natives of the lands through which they passed, killing many of them, taking their women by force and against their will and that of their husbands and parents, and lying with them carnally." He spent six years in jail before he died.[83]

Coronado's expedition was regarded as a failure in his own time, not because he failed to find gold but because he failed to conquer and settle the lands he discovered. His failure was in not subduing and evangelizing the Indians and making them Spanish subjects. Without conquest he could not have appropriated any gold he had found, nor rewarded himself and his men with repartamientos of Indians to do the work of the colony. In retrospect, of course, the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and the Plains Indians of Quivira would not have easily given up their freedom to the white men. The Indians of Cíbola had no leaders except a council of representatives, and would submit to no masters, as their desperate opposition showed. But Coronado failed to leave even a base for future exploration and conquest at Cíbola and Quivira.

Coronado's failure left Cíbola discredited as the site of a possible colony, and his expedition was all but forgotten. Its mention in sixteenth-century works was fleeting and inaccurate, and the next explorers into present New Mexico, forty years later, did not even know

81. "Charges Against Coronado Resulting from the Investigation into the Management of the Expedition, September 3, 1544," *ibid.*, 393–98.

82. Arthur S. Aiton and Agapito Rey, "Coronado's testimony in the viceroy Mendoza's *residencia*," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 12 (July 1937), 290.

83. Bolton, *Coronado*, 383.

the name of the leader of the elaborate expedition that had preceded them.

Coronado's expedition left nothing truly substantial behind, save a healthy hatred for the Spaniards among the Pueblo Indians. When Juan de Oñate arrived in 1598 to establish a colony in New Mexico, as Coronado might have done in 1541, he found Coronado's bitter legacy of hatred still festering among the Pueblo peoples. Finally, in 1680, the Indians drove all the whites from New Mexico. When the Spaniards returned in a few years, they treated their Pueblo neighbors with more respect. Pueblos, of course, are among the few Native Americans still living where the white men first found them. Perhaps that fact, ironically, is one of Coronado's greatest legacies to the Southwest. Another is the unending controversy surrounding the accomplishments of this would-be conquistador whose bold adventures form the first chapter of the Spanish colonial era in New Mexico.