Results and Repercussions of the Coronado Expedition to Tierra Nueva from Documentary and Archaeological Sources

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From 1540 to 1542 Francisco Vázquez de Coronado led a large company of Europeans and Mexican Indians on a trek north from Nueva España in search of wealthy and populous places. In the course of more than two years, the expedition encountered numerous indigenous groups, sometimes peacefully, sometimes with acrimony and violence. Shortly after the expedition’s return to Mexico City its treatment of native peoples while in the north was denounced to Spanish king Carlos I. To investigate those allegations, the king appointed licenciado Lorenzo de Tejada, oidor (judge) of the Royal Audiencia (high court) of Nueva España. Tejada’s charge was to determine who, among the members of the expedition, had been responsible for mistreatment of Indians of the Tierra Nueva.

During spring and summer of 1544 Tejada examined fourteen witnesses in the case, both in Mexico City and in Guadalajara, the seat of Vázquez de Coronado’s government of Nueva Galicia. Only two of these witnesses were among the expedition’s leadership. All testimony was taken in the presence of...
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of and recorded by an esribano (scribe/notary/recorder) of the Audiencia of Nueva España.

The record of the testimony taken by Tejada was forwarded to the Audiencia's fiscal (prosecuting attorney) for assessment of whether and against whom formal charges should be lodged. Early in 1545, the fiscal filed criminal charges against Vázquez de Coronado for six alleged offenses that “he, and his captains and lieutenants by his command, committed.”

Vázquez de Coronado and his attorney filed comprehensive rebuttal testimony, though only a partial record is known to exist. Then, the Audiencia as a whole sat in judgment and delivered its decision in February 1546. According to the document the Audiencia issued at the time, “We find them [the fiscal’s charges] and pronounce them not proved; and also that the aforesaid Francisco Vázquez de Coronado proved his exceptions and defenses.”

That decision, however, was not the end of charges resulting from Tejada’s investigation. A copy of the testimony he had taken was forwarded to the Consejo de Indias (Council of the Indies) in Sevilla. As a result, the Council’s fiscal lodged charges of misconduct and abuse of Indians against the expedition’s maestre de campo (field commander), García López (later Ramírez) de Cárdenas, on 7 January 1546. After lengthy judicial machinations, a decision in the case, and appeals of that decision, the Consejo announced its final verdict seven years after the case began. That body affirmed its determination, delivered half year earlier, that the fiscal had “proved his accusation and complaint,” sentencing Ramírez de Cárdenas to one year’s military service, a fine of two hundred ducats, and banishment from the Indies for ten years. In total, López (Ramírez) de Cárdenas was the only member of the expedition punished for violence committed against Tierra Nueva Indians.

Throughout the various investigations, the allegations that violence had been committed went largely unchallenged. The main question was who was responsible. Together, the Audiencia of Nueva España and the Consejo de Indias traced only a few specific violent incidents, and they were attributed to the maestre de campo.

What has survived of the 1544 investigation record are documents authorizing the investigation, recording the activities of the investigating judge, providing the testimony of twenty-one witnesses (both de oficio and de parte), all of whom were members of the expedition, and announcing the decisions rendered in the case. The investigation record reveals, for instance, the taking of women in Sonora for the sexual gratification of expedition members, an act that resulted in a widespread uprising of Opata towns, of the promulga-
tion of regulations by the expedition's leadership requiring payment to Indians for food and other goods received, and of the execution of a native guide in present-day Kansas for misleading the expedition. No other set of documents known to exist comes close to providing the wealth of detail about the variety of Indian responses to the coming of Europeans, or about the Europeans' attitudes toward the Native peoples they encountered.

Historian Herbert Bolton wrote, "[The 1544 investigation record] has added immensely to the data hitherto available regarding nearly every episode of the Coronado expedition. It is a priceless source of knowledge for many subjects formerly shadowy in the extreme or completely in the dark." Despite its continuing importance for study of the Coronado entrada, the complete investigation record has remained unpublished and unanalyzed until now. *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported: The 1544 Investigation of the Coronado Expedition* (2002) is an annotated dual-language edition of the complete surviving investigation record, together with analysis and interpretation of the documents and events they recorded. The following article is the concluding chapter of the book.

**Requerimiento and Response**

Evidence from the 1544 investigation of the expedition to Tierra Nueva confirms that the prevailing attitudes of the European members of the expedition differed little from those manifested by the majority of members of other Spanish expeditions of that era when it came to the indigenous peoples they encountered and intended to bring under royal dominion. Attitudes of unquestioned superiority of all European and Christian things, persons, and forms over their American counterparts were the root cause of pervasive hostility between the expedition and the native peoples it sojourned among, be they Opata or Zuni, Tiguex or Teya. The assumption of superiority by sixteenth-century Spaniards is epitomized by the formal summons to submission or *requerimiento* read repeatedly by lay and religious members of the Coronado expedition to newly encountered or "rebellious" Indians. "We ask and require . . . that you acknowledge the Church as the ruler and superior of the whole world, and the high priest called Pope, and in his name the king and queen . . . our lords, in his place, as superiors and lords and kings of these islands and this mainland. . . ." Drafted in 1513, the requerimiento remained the official statement of Spanish authority over the New World until 1573.
To be sure, all but the most skeptical of sixteenth-century Spaniards sincerely believed that the Catholic rite and Spanish culture they sought to impart to the natives of the New World were positive goods of universal value, necessary for ultimate salvation and commodious existence in this life. In exchange for such inestimable benefits it was beyond doubting that the peoples of the New World ought to be grateful and express that gratitude, in part, by paying tribute or tax to their generous benefactors. In the case of the expedition to Tierra Nueva that translated into an expectation that Opatas, Pueblos, Querechos, Teyas, and Quivirans would willingly support and supply the 2,000 members of the expedition with food, clothing, and shelter, when possible “paid” for with glass beads, articles of fancy clothing, and metal objects. Furthermore, it was assumed that the worth of this commerce in culture would be patently obvious to whatever peoples the expedition encountered and that they would readily abandon their own “benighted” customs in favor of “true and right” ways, begging to be taught and led by their clear “preceptors and masters.” Such expectations are apparent in an outraged letter written to the king in 1545 by Mexico City resident and contemporary of the expedition to Tierra Nueva Gerónimo López:

When we had conquered the land, there was no Indian, principal, or cacique who would dare raise his eyes to look at a Spaniard’s face while talking to him, let alone oppose or contradict him in anything he said. So much was this the case that if a Spaniard traveled on the roads, he could walk all over the land alone and would be served, feared, respected, and obeyed in the name of Your Majesty.

No less an advocate of Indian rights than Bartolomé de las Casas still envisioned American natives as necessarily under the tutelage of European priests so as “to be taught about the Catholic faith and to be admitted to the holy sacraments.” Such assured confidence with regard both to the universal value of their culture and religion and the willingness of Indians to accept their transfer was typical of the sixteenth-century agents of Spanish occupation of the Americas. In the actual event, though, Native Americans were generally far from certain of the worth of the Spanish offer and more often than not strongly resisted attempts to impose the touted arrangement on them. Such was generally the case with the native peoples met by the Coronado expedition to Tierra Nueva. Surely the Pueblo response to such demands paraphrased in Vázquez de Coronado’s interrogatorio (formal questionnaire)
of 1544 and 1545, if not literally authentic, must convey some of the natural astonishment and outrage with which native people routinely reacted: “that they were not familiar with his majesty nor did they want to be his subjects or serve him or any other Christian.”

The demands of the requerimiento and corollary pressures exerted by the expedition, both overt and tacit, were met by a variety of initial indigenous responses. At Corazones the Opatas welcomed the arrival of the advance party of the expedition, expecting benign effects such as those they had experienced when Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his tiny party had passed through their community nearly four years previously. And certainly they had heard of the harmless passage of fray Marcos de Niza through the region the year before. At any rate, as many witnesses during the 1544 investigation testified, they supplied provisions to the expedition and even permitted the establishment of a small settlement adjacent to or within their community. Accommodation of Spanish wishes did not last long, though. Hostility from the people of Corazones over demands for women and supplies prompted movement of the Spanish settlement of San Gerónimo to the next valley north. There again friction finally ignited conflict, and San Gerónimo was moved once more, to the extreme northern limit of Opatas territory. There a full-scale uprising early in 1542 killed many Spaniards and scattered the survivors, some retreating to Culiacán, others fleeing north to join the main body of the expedition.

At Cóbola, on the contrary, the reading of the requerimiento was met by immediate armed defense. Zuni anthropologist Edmund Ladd has suggested that the hostility of the Cóbolans owed in part to the timing of the arrival of the expedition, during the major summer ceremonial.\(^6\) It seems unlikely, however, that even at another time the Zuni people would have welcomed the expedition with pleasure, given their experience with Esteban de Dorantes, whom they had killed the previous year, and the repeated demands of the expedition for their submission to an unknown overlord. After brief heavy fighting the Cóbolans nominally submitted to Spanish rule, but never fully reinvaded their occupied town, as they were invited to do.

Knowing of the outcome of open resistance to the expedition’s demands at Cóbola, the people of Tiguex, three months later, seemed guardedly compliant with requests from the Spaniards, acquiescing to occupation of a pueblo by the expedition and furnishing food supplies in exchange for trade items. Within a month of the arrival of the first contingent of the expedition, though, the Tiguex were openly expressing discontent. At least one Indian
woman had been raped,9 food and clothing demands had become onerous, and Spanish livestock was consuming the fuel supply. The Pueblos withdrew to their towns and prepared defenses. The sequel was what has come to be called the Tiguex War, which resulted in the death and injury of many Tiguex people, forced servitude of many others, and the withdrawal of the remainder out of range of the expedition.

The nearest indigenous neighbors of the Tiguex, the people of Chia to the west, managed to tightrope walk between withdrawal and allying with the expedition. They supplied food and clothing to the newcomers even while the Tiguex War raged and agreed to store pieces of ordnance for the Spaniards, but never actually joined the expedition as combatants against the Tiguex.

To the east of the Tiguex area, though, the people of Cicuique (Pecos) initiated a diplomatic mission to the expedition soon after its occupation of Cibola. They offered friendship and facilitation of relations with the other Pueblos. In exchange they expected Spanish military aid against a pueblo with which they were in conflict. Relations soured quickly when leaders from Cicuique were taken prisoner and tortured by members of the expedition in order to learn the whereabouts of gold. Thereafter, the people of Cicuique maintained cool but nominally supportive relations with the expedition, giving excuses for their unwillingness to provide outright manpower support. Finally, even that cool facade dissolved into a skirmish at the pueblo itself.

The seminomadic peoples of the southern Great Plains, the Querechos and Teyas, adopted the strategy of putting as much distance as possible between themselves and the expedition, without ever resorting to belligerence. The first Querechos the expedition met, for instance, after a single night camped adjacent to the expedition, folded up their tents, loaded their dogs, and moved off in a direction contrary to that the expedition was pursuing. The Teyas, after suffering the theft of a large stock of bison hides by the expedition, offered to lead the strangers to good hunting grounds outside of their home territory and, thus, rid themselves of unwelcome guests that way.

The more settled agricultural Quivirans hid food and refused to supply it to Vázquez de Coronado and the small contingent of the expedition that reached their homeland with him. Armed conflict never developed, possibly because, for once, the expedition members were badly outnumbered and hundreds of miles from friendly support of any kind. Instead, the captain general decided to rejoin the bulk of his expeditionary force in the abandoned Tiguex pueblos along the Rio Grande.
Whether armed conflict ensued or not between the expedition and any particular indigenous group, its constant threat made for a climate of high tension and strain. At any moment an upward ratcheting of coercion, expansion of levies, or simple acts of overweening arrogance could set off a violent storm.

**Corollary Pressures**

Ultimately, issues of sovereignty and autonomy that even today loom large for Native Americans of all tribal affiliations underlay virtually all of the tension and conflict between the expedition to Tierra Nueva and the natives of the areas through which it passed. But each conflict also had a more proximate cause or trigger.

A sense of divinely conferred superiority, combined with the youth and dominantly male gender of the expedition to Tierra Nueva, together with its unmistakable numerical advantage over the native groups it met, set the stage for frequent sexual pressure and assault against native women. The Spanish documents agree that both at the communications base of San Gerónimo and among the Tiguex pueblos seizure of Indian women for sexual purposes was a major factor in bringing the expedition into conflict with indigenous communities. This was a situation endemic to enterprises of armed European expansion throughout the hemisphere. As Mary Karasch has remarked about eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Brazil, “As is true of most frontiers, one characteristic of the Goiano outpost was intense male competition for female labor and companionship . . . One of the principal causes of conflict between Luso-Brazilian, Afro-Brazilian, and Indian men was raids for women.”

Like members of many other expeditions of the period, those of the Coronado expedition to Tierra Nueva expected also to benefit from the employment of native women as servants. As Diego López testified in 1545 in Culiacán province, while the expedition was in Tiguex he saw many men asking the captain general to requisition servants from the neighboring pueblos, something that Vázquez de Coronado was reluctant to do, so as not to annoy the Pueblo people. The wishes of many members of the expedition were fulfilled, however, once warfare broke out, since prisoners could then be pressed into domestic service legally. And many were. Certainly there must have been expedition members who for this reason, if for no other, were pleased to have hostilities begin.
The expedition to Tierra Nueva was extremely ill-prepared to provide the necessities of life for its members in a land far removed from any customary source of supply. Although information on the severity of winters in the north, for instance, had been received from Melchor Díaz and Juan de Zaldivar while the expedition was still within Nueva Galicia, no provision for adequate clothing was made. When winter arrived the expedition was forced to try to "buy" warm clothing from the Tiguex of New Mexico. This put incredible strains on the native population which simply did not have a surplus sufficient to clothe the huge group of Mexican Indian, European, and African adults that made up the expedition. The clothing shortage became a decisive factor in relations between the indigenous people and the new arrivals. Forced purchases were made and when that failed to supply the necessary quantity of clothing, mantas and other articles of native apparel were taken by force.

With regard to food supply, the expedition was somewhat better prepared, though still not by any means provisioned so as to be self-sufficient. Thousands of meat animals (cattle, sheep, and hogs) accompanied the expedition, apparently adequate for more than a year and a half. Fortunately, before that supply was exhausted, the expedition encountered the immense bison herds of the southern Great Plains. That allowed the expedition to replenish its meat supply, spending two solid weeks hunting bison and preparing bison meat for transportation and storage. Fruits, vegetables, and grains were another matter altogether. There is no evidence in any of the surviving documents related to the expedition that it carried either seeds or implements for cultivating crops. In this regard it was typical of Spanish New World expeditions of the sixteenth century. A study of twenty-six such expeditions showed that very few agricultural implements were carried by any of them, by the expedition to Tierra Nueva none at all that can be positively assigned to agricultural purposes. Nor are seeds mentioned in the contemporary documents as being carried by the expedition. It is clear that, even in its organization, it was assumed that cultivated foods would and could be obtained from the native peoples. As I have previously written, "This situation calls into question the sustainability of the expedition even from its conception." As with the issue of servants, the onset of warfare between the expedition and the Tiguex made acquisition of foodstuffs much easier than it was in times of peace. According to Lorenzo Alvarez in his 1545 testimony, "Nothing, neither corn nor anything else, was taken from peaceful Indians, only those at war."

To provide shelter from intense sunshine and inclement weather, the European members of the expedition carried pavilion tents and tools for erecting
more substantial makeshift structures. The rest of the expedition was left to fend for itself. And while on the march most members of the expedition often camped without shelter. For instance, as the body of the expedition made its way from Cíbola to Tiguex in December 1540 most people slept outside unprotected, despite daily snowfall. Once arrived at native settlements, though, the expedition appropriated space there in existing buildings. At Cíbola both accommodations and food were secured by outright attack, while in Tiguex both threat and open display of force were necessary to persuade the people of the pueblo of Coofor to surrender it for the use of the expedition. Eventually, the expedition occupied at least one other Tiguex pueblo, probably Pueblo de la Alameda, most likely after it was abandoned in the wake of armed assault on another nearby pueblo, Pueblo del Arenal. As in the case of food supplies, the leadership and most other members of the expedition to Tierra Nueva assumed that shelter would be provided by the native people of the region.

Another consequence of absolute certainty of members of the expedition in their superiority was disregard and disparagement of indigenous practice by the expedition as a whole and its persistent employment of Spanish conventions to the detriment of newly submitted “vassals.” The use of cornfield stubble among the Tiguex pueblos is a case in point. One night during the winter of 1540–1541 Tiguex people attacked the horse herd of the expedition to Tierra Nueva, driving off some sixty or more horses, which they later killed. According to Juan Troyano in his testimony before Tejada, the Tiguex rose up because the “horses were eating their planted fields.” The Spaniards were outraged, feeling that the Tiguex had acted completely without reason or provocation. After all, the Spaniards were simply following the time-honored custom of grazing their livestock in harvested fields. In Spain of the later Middle Ages and Renaissance such land was, by law, available for the grazing of livestock by anyone once the crops were out of the fields.

In contrast, the Tiguex, lacking domesticated grazing animals throughout prehistory and at the time of the expedition to Tierra Nueva, had another altogether different use for cornfield “waste.” As examination of thousands of prehistoric middens or trash dumps across the Southwest has revealed, corncobs and cornstalks were for centuries an important and renewable source of fuel to the sedentary indigenous peoples of the region and remained so for the Tiguex in the mid-sixteenth century. Thus, cornstalks standing in their harvested fields in the winter of 1540–1541, were an abundant and much-relied-upon source of fuel for the Tiguex, certainly to be defended against
marauding Spanish livestock. Though neither Tiguex nor Spaniards seemed aware of the other group's expectations and assumptions for "proper use" of field stubble, the collision of such culturally based assumptions put the two groups almost inevitably in conflict, probably to everyone's bewilderment and consternation.

A Sunday School Picnic?

The immediate and most obvious result of the arrival of the expedition to Tierra Nueva among the sedentary native peoples of the far north was war. Assessment of the numerical impact of casualties on both sides must be imprecise at best. Pedro de Castañeda, the most thorough contemporary chronicler of the expedition, reported more than 401 Indians killed by the expedition and 21 European members of the expedition killed in turn by Indians at Cibola and the Tiguex pueblos (Pueblo del Arenal and Pueblo del Cerco). Indian casualties were probably significantly higher than the figure reported by Castañeda, all but perhaps two dozen of whom died during the fighting in the Tiguex area. Even using Castañeda's very conservative figures, this means that the Tiguex suffered fatalities during the warfare of 1540-1541 in excess of 10 percent of their total population, with losses heavily weighted in the adult and young adult male segments of their population. The numbers of European and Indian casualties reported by Castañeda do not include the large number killed at San Gerónimo. Nor do other contemporary documents provide estimates. In addition, an unknown number of the expedition's approximately 1,300 Nahua and other Mexican Indian allies were killed, including between 2 and 5 on the night horses were stolen and killed in Tiguex. In the course of his testimony during Viceroy Mendoza's residencia (or administrative review), Vázquez de Coronado estimated that fewer than 30 Indian allies had died while on the expedition. Many more individuals on both sides were wounded. For instance, Francisco Martín, in his 1544 testimony, swore that 70 or 80 Spaniards were wounded during the fighting at Pueblo del Arenal alone. Others, including the captain general, were wounded at Cibola and the Tiguex pueblos. And expedition members are reported as rounding up wounded Tiguex after their attempt to flee from Pueblo del Cerco. How many Indians later died from their wounds or complications therefrom out of sight and knowledge of the expedition is information now wholly inaccessible.

The effects of war death and incapacity among the Tiguex were surely devastating. Defense and ceremonial capacities were seriously diminished,
as was the agricultural labor force. As Carroll Riley has put it, “Not only had numbers of people been killed or wounded, but the Indians had lost their pueblos, their stores of food and clothing, and use of their land.”

While not as catastrophic for the expedition to Tierra Nueva, deaths and debilitating injuries were certainly disheartening and figured in the ultimate decision to abandon the enterprise altogether.

Despite the heavy toll taken among the Tiguex and Opata during warfare with the expedition to Tierra Nueva, historians, led by Herbert Bolton, have generally contrasted a supposed relative nonviolence of the expedition with the malevolence of other contemporary entradas, especially the expedition through La Florida led by Hernando de Soto and the conquest of Nueva Galicia by Nuño Belrán de Guzmán. In Bolton’s words, “compared with de Soto’s swashbuckling raid, in the matter of human relations Coronado’s expedition to Quivira was a Sunday school picnic.”

The record of Lorenzo de Tejada’s investigation, together with other contemporary documentary evidence, however, reveals Bolton’s appraisal as a gross misstatement. Detailed comparison of the longest and most detailed narrative accounts of each of the two expeditions has shown that the number of native deaths resulting from the two expeditions was very similar. Additionally, both expeditions equally frequently resorted to torture of native prisoners and other acts of terror and were similarly reluctant to punish their own members for abuse of indigenous people.

Tellingly, neither expedition enjoyed a reputation for benevolence among the natives it encountered; in fact, quite the opposite. For example, as far away from the Tiguex territory as the Pacific coast Indians told members of a seagoing party led by Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo in 1542 that “in the interior men like us [of the expedition to Tierra Nueva] were traveling about ... killing many native Indians, and that for this reason they were afraid.” Nevertheless, the Soto expedition was more often engaged in hostilities with indigenous peoples than was the expedition to Tierra Nueva. That greater frequency of violent clashes was due to two principal factors: (1) the very much greater and denser native population of the interior of what is now the southeastern United States compared to the Greater Southwest and (2) Soto’s decision to rely on native load bearers for transport of equipment and provisions, which brought the expedition and indigenous groups into almost daily conflict.

It is worthy of note also that although it has been written that there was no overlap in personnel between the Guzmán entrada and the expedition to Tierra Nueva, in fact, at least a dozen individuals participated in both. More significant still, five of the captains of the expedition to Tierra Nueva had
been with Guzmán (Melchor Díaz, Diego de Alcaraz, Juan de Zaldívar, Pedro de Tovar, and Diego López) and the original maestre de campo of the expedition, Lope de Samaniego (appointed directly by the viceroy), had served as a captain under Guzmán. These individuals had participated in what are usually considered some of the darkest chapters in the history of European occupation of the New World, the wholesale slaughter and enslavement of indigenous peoples of northwestern Mexico in the early 1530s. In all likelihood the killing of Samaniego by Indians near Chiametla early in the expedition to Tierra Nueva was retaliation for his earlier activities in the same area and not solely a refusal to supply food to the expedition, though that is what Pedro de Castañeda later reported. With such individuals in command under Vázquez de Coronado, it is little wonder that the captain general was often kept in the dark about what was really transpiring between the expedition and the native peoples. Still, the inclusion of veterans of the Guzmán entrada in positions of leadership of the expedition to Tierra Nueva indicates an acceptance or tolerance by Viceroy Mendoza of some of Guzmán’s brutal methods and tactics.

In an effort to frighten Indians into submission and quiescence, the Spaniards of the expedition to Tierra Nueva from time to time perpetrated acts of terror, subjecting individuals to torture to extract information, hanging Indians at Chiametla, and cutting off hands and noses of Pueblo captives then releasing them as objects of horror. The setting of dogs on the leaders from Cicuique, Bigotes and the cacique, by members of the expedition in an effort to learn about the existence of precious metals is very reminiscent of torture applied for the same purpose to the Cazonci (leader) of Michoacán in 1530 by the expedition led by Guzmán and extortion of information from captives by burning their comrades alive, which was done by the Soto expedition.

Furthermore, whether intended to inspire terror or not, the systematic dismantling of Tiguex towns following their abandonment by the Tiguex themselves (as confirmed by many witnesses during the 1544 investigation) had a cruel impact. The psychological effect of torture and calculated disfigurement, combined with grief over death of relatives and loss of homes, was excruciating. In the Pueblo world the winter weather, which in 1540–1541 and again the following year was extraordinarily severe, added further stress. It can only be suggested that these strains and pressures weakened many Tiguex to the point of death. Certainly the expedition, even without generally suffering loss of family members or destruction and despoliation of homes, was hard pressed to cope with the situation in Tiguex, especially during the second
winter. "Many Spaniards were ill and dying at Tiguex," testified Lorenzo Alvarez in 1544.

Despite the fact that there may have been potentially extenuating circumstances (including two abnormally cold winters and failure to be resupplied from the ships of Hernando de Alarcón), the demands made by the expedition to Tierra Nueva on local native peoples for food and clothing, the seizure of women, and the use of torture and terror tactics were unequivocally consistent with sixteenth-century Spanish expeditionary/settlement behavior throughout the New World. There is almost no evidence of especially benevolent behavior on the part of the expedition to Tierra Nueva, with the single possible exception that the expedition, abiding by specific instructions from the king and viceroy, did not make chattel slaves of any of the Indians from the north. The expedition did, however, press native women and children into extended involuntary servitude (that is, for the duration of its sojourn in Tierra Nueva). Undoubtedly, the technical distinction between chattel slavery and open-ended servitude would not have been appreciated by the women who, against their will, were cooking, cleaning, and providing sexual release for members of the expedition.

A New Social Configuration in the Middle Rio Grande Valley

In the Pueblo area of what is now central New Mexico, the expedition employed a favorite strategy that dated back at least to the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula from Muslims who had crossed from North Africa: to exploit regional rivalries and pit neighbors against neighbors. In this case, the tactic enjoyed only the most minimal success. To be sure, territorial rivalries existed among the indigenous peoples of the Rio Grande and adjacent valleys. For centuries Towa, Tano, and Keres groups had been crowding in closer to the homeland of the Tiguex, the oldest Pueblo group of the region. The equable climate and abundant water and arable land drove slow encroachment. As Pedro de Castañeda characterized the Tiguex area, it was the center or heart of the land of pueblos. According to Vázquez de Coronado's 1544 testimony before Lorenzo de Tejada, the people of Cicuique agreed to send fighting men to battle the Tiguex on the side of the Spanish expedition, if they were given a pueblo in that area to ease the population pressure and land shortage at Cicuique. Nevertheless, neither Cicuique nor the Keres pueblo of Chia ever supplied fighters against the Tiguex. And, in fact, the people of Cicuique, at least, eventually became hostile to the expedition.
With the outbreak of hostilities, the Tiguex first sought to defend themselves against the insistent demands of the expedition by congregating in two easily defensible pueblos. When this expedient failed, they abandoned their home territory completely except for carrying out occasional ambushes of stray expedition members. It is likely they were granted asylum with neighboring Tanos, Tewas, Piros, Tompiros, or even Keres, in turn burdening their supplies of stored food. Between April and July 1541 some Tiguex reoccupied and repaired several of their pueblos. But when the expedition returned unexpectedly to take up residence again, they fled once more.

A crucial result of the nearly two-year abandonment of Tiguex territory, for both the Tiguex and the expedition, was that the Middle Rio Grande Valley went unplanted. Cristóbal de Escobar, testifying before Lorenzo de Tejada in 1544, stated that the Spaniards “would have died of cold and hunger if it had not been for the supplies and wood that they got from the pueblos [the Indians] had repaired and rebuilt.”

The Tiguex, though they reoccupied most of their home territory after retreat of the expedition to Mexico in spring 1542, never did reoccupy all of it. In fact, the people of Chia and other Keres pueblos, the passive allies of the expedition during its conflict with the Tiguex, opportunistically established new pueblos in the northern fringe of what, prior to 1540, had been Tiguex and Tano territory. When the next Spanish expedition, led by fray Agustín Rodríguez, arrived in New Mexico in 1581, it encountered in the vicinity of the confluence of the Rio Grande and Jemez River five permanently inhabited Keres pueblos, where in 1540 there had been only one, Chia. In 1581, besides Chia, there were Castilleja (probably ancestral San Felipe), Guatitlán (Santa Ana), and La Guarda and La Rinconada (between Zia and Santa Ana). It may be that in the wake of the horrific wintertime fighting early in 1541 at Pueblo del Cerco in this area and the resultant loss of life, the Tiguex did not contest the use right over the territory around the Jemez River-Rio Grande junction with the encroaching Keres. Furthermore, in the Galisteo Basin to the northeast of the Tiguex area Pedro de Castañeda of the expedition to Tierra Nueva reported three pueblos in the early 1540s, only one of which was fully inhabited. Forty years later the Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition visited four inhabited pueblos in the same area. The additional pueblo in the Galisteo Basin in the 1580s was the one called Malpartida by the Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition, usually identified as San Marcos Pueblo near the aboriginally exploited turquoise and lead mines. San Marcos is considered by ethnohistorians and archaeologists to have been a Keres
pueblo and, indeed, its ruins today are associated with the Keres pueblo of Cochiti.\footnote{47} Once again this suggests an intrusion of Keres people following the disruptions caused by the expedition to Tierra Nueva.\footnote{48}

Although lacking in temporal precision, oral traditions among the Keres people of modern Cochiti and San Felipe include an account of the ancestors of San Felipe leaving their cultural brethren at a pueblo known as Kuapa and migrating southward into the Tiguex area. There they were received with hostility by the people of Sandia Pueblo and moved on eastward where they took up residence among the Tanos. Later they left the Tanos and established a pueblo on the west bank of the Rio Grande not far from modern San Felipe.\footnote{49}

Transmission of Pathogens, Transplantation of People, and Acquisition of Knowledge

The question, often posed about early European contact in other areas of the Western Hemisphere, as to whether deadly Old World disease pathogens were introduced into the Greater Southwest by the expedition to Tierra Nueva must be considered. Certainly none of the known contemporary documents arising from the expedition to Tierra Nueva refers to illnesses among any of the native groups it contacted. But since some sickness was present among at least the European contingent of the expedition during the winter of 1541-1542,\footnote{50} the possibility exists that it was influenza or one of the other Old World maladies that proved extraordinarily lethal to Indians in the New World. Between the expedition to Tierra Nueva and the Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition forty years later, however, there seems to have been very little change in total Pueblo population as estimated by Spanish observers. The total number of Pueblo communities remained all but constant not only between 1540 and 1581, but until establishment of a permanent Spanish colony in 1598.\footnote{51} Nevertheless, the source data are so scanty and dissimilar as to provide no unambiguous answer as to whether the Pueblos were significantly impacted by Old World diseases as a result of the expedition to Tierra Nueva.\footnote{52} More conclusively, Daniel Reff, in studying episodes of European disease in the sixteenth-century Opata territory of central and northern Sonora, where the shifting base of San Gerónimo was located, has found that “there is little or no evidence that De Niza’s or Coronado’s expeditions were responsible for the introduction of acute and chronic infectious diseases.”\footnote{53} Part of the explanation for lack of transmission of serious disease by the expedition to Tierra Nueva is the minimal amount of communication and direct contact between
it and individuals from the established Spanish settlements in Nueva España and Nueva Galicia during its two-year sojourn in the north.

While the expedition may not have served as a conduit of disease, it did transplant people from central and western Mexico into the Upper Southwest. Of the thousand-plus Nahuatl-, Tarascan-, and Caxcán-speaking Indians who participated in the expedition to Tierra Nueva, an unknown number remained behind in the Greater Southwest when the expedition returned south. For instance, during the first few days of the expedition’s return trek people from Cibola followed along behind salvaging discarded equipment and welcoming Nahuas and other Indian allies who decided to stay behind.54 In the Cibola/Zuni area forty years later, the expedition led by Antonio de Espejo found “Mexican Indians, and also a number from Guadalajara, some of those that Coronado had brought.”55 Carroll Riley has suggested that the most significant impact of the Nahuas and other Mexican Indians who remained in the north was “to reinforce the Mesoamerican element in Southwestern culture, and to introduce certain Spanish traits and ideas.”56 While the cultural effect of the Mexican Indians who stayed to live among the Pueblos may not have been great, they certainly were a valuable source of knowledge about European expectations and behavior, which conditioned Pueblo responses to subsequent Spanish entradas.

In a material way, the Mexican Indian members of the expedition had a major effect on the European contingent. More than 90 percent of the European men-at-war carried solely or primarily arms and armament characteristic of indigenous central Mexico, rather than or in addition to European gear.57 In food and food preparation, too, the European members of the expedition relied heavily on the central Mexican staple, corn, and on indigenous culinary methods and utensils. For their part, the Mexican Indians continued to learn and employ Spanish techniques and customs regarding organization, warfare, livestock tending, diplomacy, engineering, and a raft of other facets of expeditionary and colonial life.

In the end it may be that the acquisition of knowledge and opinion by each group about the others was the most lasting result of the expedition for all parties. Specifics are difficult to find and extract from the documentary record, but many things are easily inferred. Indians throughout the Greater Southwest became familiar with the formalism and legal punctiliousness of the Europeans and their penchant for making written records. European reverence for the cross and its efficacy as a shield for beleaguered indigenous peoples was clear, despite abrogation of a cross-warranted promise at Pueblo
del Arenal. European reliance on livestock and the limitations and liabilities that imposed were open for all to remark. Reports of the brutality of many European actions were repeatedly confirmed, reports that had been received for years prior to the coming of the expedition through the network of trade that linked all parts of the Greater Southwest and tied it to Mesoamerica and other areas.

For Europeans, on the other hand, ideas of Old-World-style kingdoms governed by monarchs and a class of elites had to be abandoned when considering the far north. The failure of the expedition to Tierra Nueva to locate large hierarchical states with accumulations of precious metals and jewels hastened a shift in Spanish attitudes about natives of the Americas in general. That shift, all but complete by mid-century, was from expectations of Indians as potential wealthy payers of “money” tribute to Indians as a labor force for Spanish economic enterprises, often the extraction of precious metals. While human similarities between Europeans and Native Americans were obvious, so was the existence of gulfs and chasms that circumscribed possibilities for effortless interaction. In many ways each group confirmed preconceived stereotypes of the others, especially since behavior in times of stress and conflict (as was often the case for all parties in the course of the expedition to Tierra Nueva) tends toward the routinized and habitual, resulting in self-generated caricatures. This explains in part why attitudes toward the indigenous peoples of Tierra Nueva expressed by the witnesses in Tejada’s investigation tended to be so negative and so self-justificatory toward the actions of the expedition.

Although, as Janet Lecompte has observed, following its return from Tierra Nueva the “expedition was all but forgotten,“ its effects lingered, becoming part of the general lore and common knowledge that each group held about the others and passed to succeeding generations.

Herbert Bolton was quick to point toward increased geographical knowledge for Spaniards stemming from the expedition to Tierra Nueva. As Robert Weddle has recently written, information gained during the Pacific coast voyages associated with the Coronado expedition figured in the opening of trade between Nueva España and the Far East. Nevertheless, as Bolton himself pointed out, much of the geographical knowledge stemming from the expedition was forgotten or misinterpreted. Not forgotten, however, was the absence of wealthy European-style cities in the north and the financial hardship chasing that chimera had caused.

Most European expedition members for whom records survive complained, sometimes bitterly, that the trek to Tierra Nueva had seriously impoverished
them. While such complaints were part of the standard application for reward and preferment by the Spanish king, there is considerable evidence that because the expected wealth was not found in the north many individuals lost their entire investments and were a long time in recovering from that blow. It was probably to stave off the eventuality of ruined investments that some sixty members of the expedition agitated obstinately to be allowed to remain in Tierra Nueva after the departure of the majority of the expedition. After all, if they returned to Nueva España, they would be destitute and competing for resources with thousands of other ambitious Europeans. Whereas, by remaining in the north there was still the hope of wresting a living from the native peoples there and always the possibility that the original reports of wealth would be substantiated. Even among the principal investors, the financial losses resulting from the expedition to Tierra Nueva were debilitating. After 1542 Antonio de Mendoza, for instance, never again undertook sponsorship of a major expedition, turning his energies and resources instead increasingly to more prosaic economic development within Nueva España.

The return of the expedition to Tierra Nueva from the north in 1542 provided an influx of Spanish population into the Culiacán area, attracted by indications of ores of precious metals that had been located during Vázquez de Coronado’s abortive entrada to Topira in the Sierra Madre Occidental and during the expedition to Tierra Nueva itself. According to seventeenth-century historian fray Antonio Tello, Vázquez de Coronado returned to Compostela with nearly the whole expedition dispersed because some men-at-arms had remained in Culiacán and others had gone on to Mexico City. This did much to reverse the trend that Vázquez de Coronado had lamented as governor, when he found in 1538 that Culiacán was being abandoned.

Departure of the expedition in 1540, though, had temporarily but dangerously reduced the population of Nueva Galicia, a fact not lost on the native peoples of that ten-year-old province. Within ten months a widespread uprising against Spanish presence and domination in Nueva Galicia was underway. Certainly the most serious threat to Spanish claims of sovereignty in the New World during the sixteenth century, the uprising, often referred to as the Mixtón War, was not put down until early 1542. Even then it was brought to an end only after a massive armed force was raised in central Mexico and led by the viceroy himself against the many fortified Indian towns of Nueva Galicia. The launching of the expedition to Tierra Nueva, thus, opened the door to a nearly successful challenge to Spanish rule in the whole of the viceroyalty of Nueva España.
Conclusion

The *pesquisa* (or investigation) into the treatment of indigenous peoples by the expedition to Tierra Nueva was initiated as an expression of the sincere convictions of a powerful group agitating for Indian rights during the middle third of the sixteenth century in Spain. It was triggered by denunciations made to the king either directly or indirectly by unidentified persons who participated in the expedition. Because of the political ramifications of culpability for brutality for Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy’s rival Hernán Cortés lobbied that such an investigation be conducted. But, precisely because of the political danger to the viceroy, individuals within the upper echelons of the colonial administration of Nueva España worked together to satisfy the outrage of the Indian rights faction in Spain while lodging blame for manifest brutality as far from the viceroy as possible. In this the colonial administration was successful. Responsibility for outrages committed among the Opatas and Pueblos was fixed on the former maestre de campo of the expedition, García López de Cárdenas. Vázquez de Coronado and, by extension, Viceroy Mendoza were exonerated. Even López de Cárdenas was largely shielded from punishment.

The resulting investigation record is one of testimony heavily weighted in favor of the former captain general of the expedition. Despite this orchestration of the testimony, though, the witnesses revealed much about the complex motives and forces that determined the course of contact between the expedition to Tierra Nueva and the indigenous peoples of the Greater Southwest. Together with archaeological and ethnographic evidence, their testimony has allowed detailed delineation of many effects of this “failed” expedition, both on its own members and on natives of the Greater Southwest.

It cannot be stressed strongly enough that all the groups and individuals who encountered and interacted with each other during the expedition to Tierra Nueva were governed by intricate constellations of principles, drives, and desires sometimes internally in conflict. The expedition was a diverse multitude ranging from Black slaves to powerful members of the Spanish colonial elite, from sons and daughters of the Mexica to visionary Catholic friars, from individuals fresh off the boat from the Old World to long-time veterans of frontier life in the New. This assemblage of people intruded into the homelands of scores of equally heterogeneous indigenous peoples, from the sedentary people of Chiametla already ravaged for years by colonial slaving to fully nomadic Querechos without previous experience of Spaniards.
and their allies, from town-dwelling Cibolans to Teyas whose encampments might vanish overnight, from long-distance traders in precious exotic commodities to grinders of cornmeal and curers of hides. Only a sample of the complexity of contact between such divergent and dissimilar peoples has been offered here.

For Europeans and Mexican Indian allies the results of the expedition to Tierra Nueva were very different from those anticipated during the heady days of recruitment in the fall of 1539. And the unintended repercussions of the entrada on both its own members and the indigenous peoples it came into contact and had commerce with were largely unforeseen. Those repercussions were, nevertheless, decisive in the lives of thousands of individuals and helped determine the course of future interaction between native peoples of the Greater Southwest and European-led interlopers from the south. Hundreds died, hundreds more were injured, thousands were impoverished and deprived of their homes and livelihoods. Significant population shifts occurred. Spaniards from central Mexico were relocated to the far northern fringes of colonial settlement, assuring the slow but relentless expansion of Spanish dominance. In New Mexico, Keres groups took another step in a centuries-old encroachment on their neighbors the Tiguex. All across the Greater Southwest and throughout the New World Spanish empire (to which the members of the expedition dispersed) conclusions about foreign groups were drawn and solidified. Wariness and suspicion increased among all the groups concerned.

Notes

1. Arrogance and unquestioned confidence in the superiority of invaders were not unique to Spaniards nor to the sixteenth century. In fact, they characterized the majority of colonial expansion around the world and projects in political, economic, and religious hegemony. Sadly, they are currently apparent in modern attempts to blanket the globe with "free-market" economies and Western values. Richard Slatta has recently characterized dominant Spanish colonial attitudes as a "Eurocentric ideology" that "demanded total victory of Spanish 'civilization' over Indian 'barbarism.'" In the Spanish world at the time of the expedition to Tierra Nueva, belief in divine election of Spain had already been widespread for generations. As Peggy Liss has recently written regarding the Spain of Fernando and Isabel, a generation before the expedition, "Monarchs and nobles shared the belief of Spain having been chosen and directed by God." The notion that all Catholic Spaniards were unquestionably superior to non-Catholics and non-Spaniards was fostered, if not engendered, by the sporadic eight-century-long military victory of Castilian forces over the
Islamic states of the Iberian Peninsula. And it is significant that Vázquez de Coronado and other members of the expedition to Tierra Nueva saw it as an extension of the reconquest of Iberia. The captain general, himself, explicitly drew the parallel by renaming the subdued pueblo of Cibola after Granada in Spain, the site of the final capitulation of Islamic sovereignty on the peninsula only slightly over forty years earlier. Richard W. Slatta, “Spanish Colonial Military Strategy and Ideology,” in Contested Ground: Comparative Frontiers on the Northern and Southern Edges of the Spanish Empire, ed. Donna J. Guy and Thomas E. Sheridan (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1998), 96; Peggy K. Liss, Isabel the Queen: Life and Times (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 358; “Letter of Coronado to Mendoza, August 3, 1540,” in George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540–1542 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), 170.


4. Almost without exception, similar expectations were manifested by all Spanish expeditions and settlements throughout the Americas. As Elizabeth Reitz and Bonnie McEwan have written recently about sixteenth-century Spanish activities in the circum-Caribbean area, “Both in Spanish Florida and at Puerto Real, demands were made upon local peoples for food, and these requests were so burdensome to the natives that they frequently rebelled.” Elizabeth J. Reitz and Bonnie G. McEwan, “Animals, Environment, and the Spanish Diet at Puerto Real,” in Puerto Real: The Archaeology of a Sixteenth-Century Spanish Town in Hispaniola, ed. Kathleen Deagan (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), 332.


7. No implication of comprehension by Indians of the demands of the requerimiento is made here. In fact, given the highly abstract nature of the concepts employed in the requerimiento and the near impossibility of translating them adequately into the native spoken tongues or, as was often the case, sign language, thorough lack of literal comprehension must be assumed. Nevertheless, the Spaniards’ intent to dominate and control was clear from their actions.

Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint (Niwot, Colo.: University Press of Colorado, 1997), 225–33.

9. Almost certainly there were more than one. Francisca de Hozes, in her statement before Tejada, referred to “wives and daughters” having been taken by force at Tiguex and Cicuque.

10. The threat to Indian women was clear to the indigenous people of Cibola for, as Vázquez de Coronado wrote to the viceroy in August 1540, “I am unable to give your lordship any certain information about the dress of the women, because the Indians keep them guarded so carefully that I have not seen any, except two old ones.” In his cursory assessment of the effects of the expedition to Tierra Nueva, Ramón Gutiérrez rightly brings attention to sexual pressure on Pueblo women as a cause of the Tiguex war, but he also oversimplifies a very complex situation by asserting that this was the sole or at least principal cause. Furthermore, he gratuitously and wholly without foundation implies that there would have been no hostility if only the expedition members had adequately compensated the Pueblo women or their male relatives for their sexual activities. Hammond and Rey, Narratives, 177; Ramón A. Gutiérrez, When Jesus Came, the Com Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846 (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1991), 45.


13. The ships of Hernando de Alarcón carried personal belongings which members of the expedition could not carry themselves, with the plan of rendezvousing with the overland group en route. Precisely what items Alarcón carried is unknown. Even assuming that the ships transported sufficient warm clothing for the nearly 2,000 members of the expedition, when the anticipated rendezvous failed to happen, the expedition went on with apparent unconcern over inevitable cold weather.

14. Less than fifty years after Columbus's landfall in the New World, corn or maize was considered a necessity of life, in the absence of wheat, for all members of the expedition to Tierra Nueva, European, Native American, and African, as well as for their livestock.


16. There is, nevertheless, the possibility that seeds were carried by the expedition, as Bernardo de Vargas Machuca recommended at the end of the sixteenth century in his manual for expedition leaders. Further, it is possible that melons seen in the Sonora Valley by Baltasar de Obregón in the 1560s descended from seeds left by the expedition to Tierra Nueva. Bernardo de Vargas Machuca, Milicia y Descripción de las Indias, vol. 1 (Madrid: Librería de Victoriano Suárez, 1892), 157; Baltasar de Obregón, Historia de los Descubrimientos Antiguos y Modernos de la Nueva España,
Escríta por el Conquistador en el Año de 1584 (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1988), 146.

17. Such expectations were typical of New World expeditions of the sixteenth century. As but one example, here is Pedro de Cieza de León’s formulation of the native assessment of the attitudes and behavior of the 1532 Pizarro expedition Peru: “Those bearded idlers did not plant, but went from place to place eating and stealing whatever they found.” Pedro de Cieza de León, The Discovery and Conquest of Peru, ed. and trans. Alexandra Parma Cook and Noble David Cook (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1998), 187.


20. Pedro de Castañeda remarked that the Indians of Tiguex were required to vacate a pueblo for the expedition’s use. García López de Cárdenas, who was in charge of establishing winter quarters among the Tiguex, put it less harshly, testifying that he “begged” the residents of Coofor to hand over their pueblo. New York Public Library, Rich Collection, no. 63, Primera Parte, Capítulo 12; AGI, Justicia, 1021, N. 2, Pieza 1.


22. During the late Middle Ages the Spanish mesta or livestock growers’ guild had secured royal recognition of extensive grazing rights, including prohibition of the fencing of fields and blanket permission to graze flocks on fallow land. Marcelin Defourneaux, Daily Life in Spain in the Golden Age, trans. Newton Branch (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1979), 101.

23. About the twelfth-century Bis sa’ani community of the San Juan Basin, for instance, Marcia Donaldson and Mollie Toll have written, “That cobs divested of their kernels were often used as fuel explains the presence of burned cobs and cob fragments (cupules) in hearths and ash dumps.” Similarly, in discussing the excavation of LA 54147, a sixteenth-century Spanish campsite in the Middle Rio Grande Valley, Toll contrasted the habitual protohistoric Pueblo practice of utilizing cornfield residue, saying, “Cobs stripped of their kernels were recycled as fuel, and cob fragments are ordinarily ubiquitous in Pueblo hearths.” Marcia L. Donaldson and Mollie S. Toll, “Prehistoric Subsistence in the Bis sa’ani Area: Evidence from Flotation, Macrobotanical Remains, and Wood Identification,” in Bis sa’ani: A Late Bonito Phase Community on Escavada Wash, Northwest New Mexico, Navajo Nation Papers in Anthropology Number 14, ed. Cory Dale Breternitz, David E. Doyel, and Michael P. Marshall (Window Rock, Ariz.: Navajo Nation Cultural Resource Management Program, 1982), 3:110; Mollie S. Toll, “Paleofloral Materials,” in Bradley J. Vierra, A Sixteenth-Century Spanish Campsite in the Tiguex Province, Laboratory of Anthropology Notes 475 (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico, 1989), 160.

24. There may also have been a directly human assault on the Tiguex fuel supply earlier when, upon establishing a camp near Coofor, García López de Cárdenas directed that thatched huts (ranchos de paja) be erected. Although “paja” is usually translated as “straw,” its use in the Americas in the sixteenth century also included reference to cornstalks and cornhusks. The harvesting of cornstalks by expedition
members for use as building material may well have provided additional reason for the residents of Coofor to consent to vacating their pueblo so that it could be used for accommodating the expedition. AGI, Justicia, 1021, N. 2, Pieza 6. For a clear reference to paja de maiz, see Archivo General de la Nación/Buenos Aires, Census records of Rio de la Plata, 13–17–5–1, review of Sisicaya [Peru], Lima, 1588.


27. This is according to the testimony of Vázquez de Coronado and Pedro de Ledesma before licenciado Tejada in 1544.


29. While on guard duty during the siege of Pueblo del Cerco, blacksmith Francisco de Santillana was struck by an arrow in the right shoulder. As a result, he was never again able to pursue his trade. AGI, Patronato, 79, N. 3, R. 2.


33. For a lengthy discussion of this comparison, see Flint, "The Coronado and de Soto Expeditions." The most thorough treatment of the impact of the Soto expedition on the indigenous peoples of the Southeast is Charles Hudson, Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando de Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997).


36. For example, Bartolomé de las Casas, The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account, trans. Herma Briffault (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 74–79; Bolton, Coronado, 20–21; Thomas Calvo, Eustaquio Celestino, Magdalena


39. Eugene R. Craine and Reginald C. Reindorp, eds. and trans., The Chronicles of Michoacán (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 96. J. Benedict Warren suggests that Guzmán’s reasons for having the Cazonci tortured may have been more complex. Among those reasons may have been the Cazonci’s “interference” in tribute collection by encomenderos. Warren admits, however, that “Guzmán was a very greedy man, willing to do almost anything to the natives to enrich himself.” J. Benedict Warren, The Conquest of Michoacán: The Spanish Domination of the Tarascan Kingdom in Western Mexico, 1521–1530 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 221, 241.


41. Most recently, Mathew Restall has detailed the nearly seamless continuity from prehistory into the Spanish colonial period of competition and aggression among the Maya of Yucatán and adjacent areas. In the documents Restall presents, we witness developments from Maya perspectives in which the Spanish conquistadores served to strengthen the position of some Maya groups against centuries-old rivals. See especially Mathew Restall, Maya Conquistador (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998), 40, 48–49.


45. See the entry dealing with Pueblo del Cerco in Appendix 3 of Great Cruelties Have Been Reported for a discussion of its location.


48. Important new archaeological investigation of San Marcos has recently begun under the direction of Ann F. Ramenofsky, which may clarify the occupational history of that pueblo. Geographer Elinore Barrett has written conservatively that the differing reports of Castañeda and Hernán Gallégos (of the Rodriguez-Chamuscado expedition) indicate "that the pueblos of Coronado’s time had been rebuilt and enlarged." Barrett, The Geography of Rio Grande Pueblos, 17.


62. Very similar motives spurred the Pizarro expedition to persist in the face of disappointment and hardship. As Pedro de Cieza de León wrote, Francisco Pizarro exhorted his companions by saying "because they had already begun and were in debt, it would not be expedient to give up." Cieza de León, *Discovery and Conquest of Peru*, 69.


The expedition members known to have taken up residence in or near Culiacán include Pedro de Nájera, Alonso Rodríguez, Pedro de Tovar, Diego López, Luis de Figueredo, Lorenzo Álvarez, Hernando Gómez de la Peña, Rodrigo Tamarán, Graviel López, Juan Paniagua, Juan Pastor, Hernando Arias de Saavedra, and Francisco Martín. AGI, Guadalajara, 46, N. 8, report by the cabildo of Culiacán, Culiacán, November 12, 1566; AGI, Patronato, 74, N. 2, R. 2; AGI, Patronato, 216, R. 2; Francisco A. de Icaza, *Conquistadores y Pobladores de Nueva España: Diccionario Autobiográfico Sacado de los Textos Originales*, 2 vols. (Madrid: n.p., 1923), no. 1103, no. 1320, no. 1378; Hammond and Rey, *Narratives*, 98 n. 60, 105 n. 84; 1544 testimony of Alonso Sánchez.

64. AGI, Guadalajara, 5, R. 1, N. 5.