Evaluating Eyewitness Accounts of Native Peoples along the Coronado Trail from the International Border to Cíbola

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Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and his group traveled through Arizona in 1540, returning in 1542 after a journey through present-day Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas. He participated in one of the first sanctioned entradas to the north that brought Europeans into contact with Native American inhabitants. Routine encampments along the trail used by Coronado should be identifiable, but they have defied recognition between the international border and Zuni Pueblo (Cíbola) in what is now Arizona and western New Mexico, respectively. They have only been known elsewhere in circumstances where travelers stayed for an extended period of time (a few months at Alcanfor Pueblo near present-day Bernalillo, New Mexico, and in Kansas, for example) or where they were met by a severe thunderstorm, as may have occurred in Blanco Canyon now in Floyd County, Texas.[1] If archaeologists can find limited-use, Native (Athapaskan and non-Athapaskan) mobile group sites, surely the camping grounds of hordes of heavily laden Spanish trekkers and their Native auxiliaries should be noticeable in the archaeological record, as understated anomalies if

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nothing else. The Coronado Expedition consisted of a large group of people—over 1,600 in the lead group and up to 3,000 by some counts—of which approximately 350 were Spaniards with horses.[2]

Many authors have suggested possible permutations of the Coronado route through the years.[3] Specifically relevant to the current analysis is that modern interpretations vary with respect to the geographic placement of the explorers when they made the turn to the right or northeast after traveling two days along the Río Nexpa (San Pedro River). Coronado Expedition chronicler Juan Jaramillo noted: "Once we left the stream, we went to the right to the foot of the mountain range in two days of travel" or "From this last arroyo of Nexpa . . . we turned almost to the northeast."[4] Usually researchers scrutinize areas with which they are most familiar, so many of the

MAP 1
(Map drafted by Deni J. Seymour)

proposed interpretations as to Coronado's route depend on the investigator's research area. Through time researchers develop a vested interest in their preferred route, although rarely offering empirically based data or logical arguments to support their positions. Mogollon archaeologists, for example, have suggested routes that bring Coronado far to the north before turning east–northeast. Researchers focused on the heart of Arizona, however, have brought the expedition north to the Salt River.[5] Archaeologist Charles C. Di Peso, who focused his research on northern Chihuahua and southeastern Arizona, had a decidedly more southern point at which Coronado encountered a river valley and then turned east.[6] This route is much farther south than the southern one recently suggested by petroleum geologist Nugent Brasher, who claims to have found evidence of the elusive Chichilticali.[7]

I have also independently suggested a southern placement for the critical northeastern turn based upon existing knowledge of historical trails and archaeological data regarding the nature and geographic distributions of Native groups at the time of these first entradas.[8] These archaeological data can be related to eyewitness accounts of encounters with Native occupants of the region during this expedition, including Coronado's route in 1540 and that of fray Marcos de Niza, who had traversed a partially different route north to Cíbola in 1539 as an advance guard of the Coronado Expedition. Consideration of the positioning of Native groups on the landscape, as informed by geographic distributions of archaeological material-culture manifestations, has route-specific implications. Assumptions underlying the identity and territorial placement of these groups have been instrumental in conceptualizations about the Marcos and Coronado routes and the character of late prehistoric population reorganization. These archaeologically based perspectives provide support for the notion that a route traverses the Sulphur Springs Valley where major prehistoric and historic trails have been documented.

No definitive evidence of this portion of the route, the camps, or the famed Chichilticali has been found. In some instances historians, novelists, and self-trained historically oriented amateur archaeologists and history buffs have targeted the right areas in their broad search, selecting several possible candidate sites. Without sufficient or informed archaeological input, however, they have not been able to hone in on the most likely site and are therefore unable to justify the expenditure involved in grueling follow-through verification work.

This article is intended to add some potentially useful perspectives derived from recent archaeological research in southern Arizona and western New Mexico that may alter assumptions and interpretations of the route.[9] This recently obtained archaeological knowledge regarding the early occurrence and geographic distributions of the Sobaípuri-O'odhams and two resident mobile groups throughout southern Arizona has potentially important repercussions for Coronado Expedition investigations. These implications relate to the Marcos route, the Coronado route at the crucial eastward turn from the Río Nexpa, perceptions of the *despoblado* (unsettled area), the nature of groups encountered along trail segments, and their way of life in the earliest decades of European contact.

Methodological Issues and Presuppositions

Archaeological-based input regarding the question of Coronado's route has proven essential because of the many ways in which the documentary record can be interpreted. When confronted with thousands of square miles of terrain, standing in a valley bottom attempting to attach the meaning of a passage to a specific geographic location, it becomes clear that direct testimony is not unequivocally interpretable. "Proof" to one scholar will be unconvincing to another, depending upon which text passages are emphasized and interpreted in translation and how they rank in a larger interpretive scenario. The interpretation chosen by a historian or ethnohistorian is generally based upon that scholar's understanding of the context in which that passage was written and a host of other factors internal to the document, consistent with the time, and based upon current knowledge in the discipline. An influential historian may impart an interpretation on a passage that begins a line of reasoning or a train of thought. This historical thread will persist through time and take on a life all its own, strengthened as it is intertwined with other inferences and assumptions, becoming much like a first-order observation. In reality, however, it represents a reasonable inference, sometimes no more than speculation. We see this development with some of historian Herbert E. Bolton's interpretations of the Coronado record, as will be discussed below. These reasonable inferences, however, must be periodically subject to scrutiny because they can differ quite substantially from the textual record itself and the intent of the original passage. The addition of data from an archaeological perspective regarding these historical threads can change the entire framework by which one investigates and analyzes the issue.

Researchers have taken a long time to find Coronado encampments in Arizona and New Mexico down trail of Zuni, perhaps indicating their assumptions have been incorrect and portions of their logic faulty. At a minimum, it seems that procedures of discovery and interpretation have been in need of revision. Presumably the endeavor would benefit from fresh ways of combining the documentary record with archaeological and geographic evidence. Clearly, new archaeological data are needed that pertain specifically to this issue. These data have implications for the sequence and culture history of the region as well as for methodology.

Ethnohistorian Daniel T. Reff has used archaeological data in conjunction with entrada accounts to address the question of fray Marcos's route and those peoples the friar encountered through southern Arizona and Sonora.[10] Similar to Reff, I see these types of expeditionary chronicles as providing observations of indigenous societies at first European contact that can shed invaluable light on the terminal prehistoric period, while providing a baseline for considering the nature and extent of changes when compared to reports from the mission period (which in Arizona begins in the 1690s). As he notes, exploration chronicles are often ignored because of uncertainty about the explorers' travel routes. Thus, the identity of Native peoples and settlements described by the explorers are overlooked as well.[11]

Fundamental to Reff's argument is the notion that methodological and theoretical presuppositions have hindered exploration-era research. I also subscribe to this position, adding as well that past reconstructions have been constrained by incomplete archaeological data, certain implicit assumptions regarding the cultural sequence, and a lack of clear material and spatial correlates of social phenomena. Exposing and understanding the basis for underlying assumptions is a crucial first step in the process toward discovery and understanding. Along these lines, Reff notes the lack of correspondence between descriptions by the earliest documented explorers of adaptations at contact and those narratives recorded in later missionary accounts.[12] These differences have been viewed as irresolvable and, therefore, have often led to dismissal of these early accounts as apocryphal or, at a minimum, marked by hyperbole. Reff has suggested that the lack of correspondence between explorers' and missionaries' reports partially reflects disease-induced changes.[13] Similar to Reff, I see little archaeological similarity between these mid-sixteenth-century cultures and the ones encountered by Jesuits in the missionary period. I also attribute this circumstance to substantial culture change.[14]

A continuum of cultural traits and organization between the Classic period and the peoples encountered at first European contact does not necessarily exist either. Reff, borrowing from the archaeological knowledge of the time, implicitly assumed a historical and genetic relationship among the prehistoric Classic-period cultures of the area (Hohokams and Trincheras) and the O'odhams and thereby glosses over an extant question of continuity and leaves out consideration of a crucial transition. Indicative of this supposition, Reff concludes, "the friar's comments support the idea that a significant number of Pima [O'odhams] were still residing in permanent villages in 1539," with "still" being the operative word.[15] However, no such genetic connection between the Classic-period cultures and the terminal-prehistoric Sobaípuri-O'odhams needs to be implied here as this link is an entirely separate discourse (and needs to be treated as such) and has little relevance to the topic at hand. The friar's comments support the idea that a significant number of people were residing in permanent villages in 1539. Archaeological investigations uphold the notion that these people were O'odhams along the San Pedro River. These new archaeological data also suggest a cultural, material, and organizational disjunction between the Classic period and the terminal prehistoric/entrada period, as well as the aforementioned discontinuity between the entrada and missionary periods. Archaeological data note an end to the Classic period and a beginning of the terminal prehistoric by the 1400s with new housing types, pottery, tools, and site organization.[16]

Several additional incorrect assumptions derive from interpretations of an incomplete archaeological record for this period. For example the "single-unit structures of poles and mats or brush" attributed to the Sobaípuri-O'odhams differ markedly from the permanent villages implied when explorers used the terms "villa" or "pueblo."[17] Yet, this conceptualization is inappropriate for the Sobaípuri-O'odhams of the mid-sixteenth century. Instead of occupying flimsy, free-standing structures in small dispersed settlements, as archaeologists Randall H. McGuire and María Elisa Villalpando suggest, Sobaípuri-O'odham settlements during Marcos's time were well organized and relatively compact, conforming to constricted landforms (rather than spreading across the terrain) with paired adobe-and-mat-covered houses aligned in rows, public or ceremonial architecture of a scaled-down nature, and evidence of exchange.[18] This type of dwelling is contrary to the "ranchería" model advanced by anthropologist Edward H. Spicer, applied widely to the missionary period, and representative of archaeological views prevalent for the past half century.[19]

Notably, Reff has treated the expeditionary documentary record as narrative discourse, using contextual knowledge to assess varying degrees of reality in the account.[20] Other ethnohistorians bemoan that narrative accounts are not more in line with the Annales preference in sources and "wish for other non-narrative kinds of evidence to serve as correctives."[21] They forget, however, that the archaeological record is an independent means by which to assess narrative accounts and is an accommodating "corrective." Yet, only certain aspects of that narrative are accessible to archaeological analysis, and archaeological data are of value in affirming only parts of the narrative record. Moreover, use of inappropriate archaeological data can skew interpretations.

Archaeologists often use multiple accounts from the same expedition interchangeably, picking and choosing the elements that have behavioral relevance, which can therefore be broken down into tangible material and spatial attributes. Justification for this method is found in the archaeologist's view of the expedition event itself. All Coronado's chroniclers' accounts represent segments of a single version because, as historian Charles Hudson notes with respect to the Hernando de Soto expedition, "a body of lore and shared experiences [grew up among the soldiers] such that none of them could have written a truly independent account of the expedition."[22] Thus, even those accounts that were written independently are subject to the same "paradigmatic stories [that] underlay the culture of the writer," reinforced as the Spaniards sat around the campfire and passed many tedious hours in the saddle.[23] Those experiences most foreign to them may have been subjected to the greatest pressures of groupthink, which holds unquestioned belief in the inherent morality and purpose of the group and a homogeneity of its members' social background and ideology, especially in isolated circumstances under directive leadership and high stress from external threats.[24]

A priori, the inevitable fictional element in the creation of meaning by all narrative history provides a basis for selecting the few passages that are of value for archaeologists.[25] The descriptive aspects of the narrative must be separated from the evaluative and interpretive ones, and firsthand hearsay distinguished from secondhand, just as analogy, metaphor, metonymy, and simile must be recognized and contextualized. In this way, it is possible to avoid the purported circularity of relying on ethnographic concepts of the era by using descriptive data (or deconstructing other types of information) to build theory-driven inferences about adaptation and human behavior.[26] The actual meaning is often revealed only upon archaeological

(and geographic) discovery and verification, rather than through traditionally accepted types of historical criticism.

Examples from the narratives make this point. Chronicler Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera discusses the pueblos in the Galisteo Basin between the Rio Grande and Pecos Pueblo (Cicúye): "Farther on there was another great *pueblo*, totally destroyed and devastated. In its patios [there were] many stone balls as large as one-*arroba* jugs, which appeared to have been hurled by [some] war machine or catapult."[27] This location is widely thought to be San Lazaro Pueblo because of the unique and naturally occurring circular stone balls that dot the landscape. Thus, while the chronicler's conclusion for the occurrence of these balls and the mode of Pueblo warfare are clearly in error, even fanciful and ethnocentric, a sufficient descriptive element to this passage exists for modern researchers to cull the intent and arrive at a reasonable association between the historically referenced place and an on-the-ground location, with these "siege engine" balls providing a primary and important clue.[28]

More in line with the theme of the present article relating to the Arizona portion of the route, Jaramillo descriptively noted, "Just a few Indians came out to see the general with gift[s] of little value, some roasted maguey stalks and *pitahayas*."[29] The fact that cacti were given rather than agricultural produce has implications for isolating the adaptations of the various groups, as previous scholars, such as Bolton, have recognized. A logical archaeologically based reconstruction of this point is that Natives in small social groups who used wild plant foods may be equated to hunter-gatherers, rather than the Sobaípuri-O'odhams, as Bolton has suggested.[30] The judgmental aspect of this narrative ("gift[s] of little value") does not detract from the overall descriptive importance of the statement as it relates to adaptation, yet a second inferential step relates to group identity, which this passage cannot address by itself.

Not until additional information, although also heavily evaluative in nature, is considered can the issue of identity be addressed. When Castañeda mentioned that those groups at Chichilticali "were the most barbarous people thus far encountered," he clarifies that two distinct mobile hunter-gatherer groups were recognized, consistent with the archaeological record for the region and later documentary accounts. The descriptive embellishment of this value judgment enhances its credibility and usefulness and provides further information for understanding what, in their eyes, made these people even more "barbarous" than those before.[31] Jaramillo noted, "They live in

rancherías, without permanent habitations. They live by hunting."[32] Nothing in this descriptive segment allows researchers to distinguish between this group and the poor Indians with cacti previously encountered, but the narrator told his audience these two groups of people are different. Only when these distinctions are juxtaposed with archaeological data (that is demonstrably appropriate to the time period) is their relevance and veracity recognized. This issue is further elaborated below.

Once researchers understand the relevant adaptation-based aspects of landscape use for each of the two indigenous groups encountered by Coronado, it becomes possible to understand other elements of the narrative. For example their statement that the area beyond Chichiticali was a despoblado is interpretive. Fortunately, Spanish chroniclers explained why they came to this conclusion: they did not see people who they thought lived there and therefore considered it unsettled.[33] Here, the narrative reveals its descriptive element, the significance of which is only recognized when contextualized with ethnological and archaeological data. As will be discussed below, a very narrow definition of *unsettled* was employed and this apparent lack of settlement has far-reaching implications.

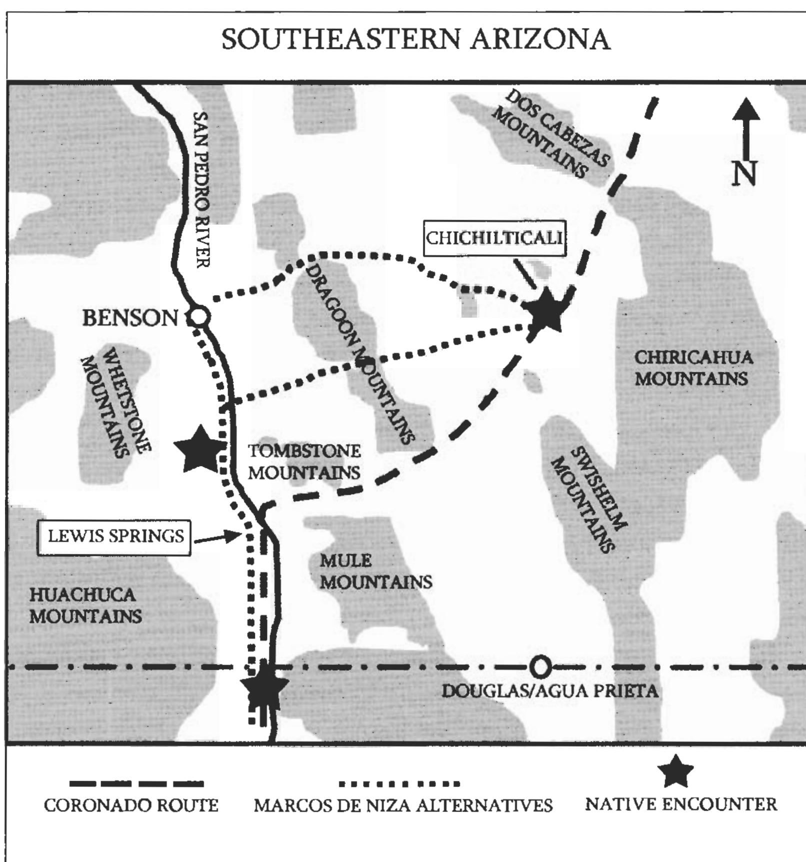
Even when simile is used, such as when fray Marcos described Sobaípuri-O'odham villages along the San Pedro River as "an evergreen garden," researchers must decide which aspects of an evergreen garden are being suggested, considering also how their current sense of evergreen garden intersects with that of a sixteenth-century Spaniard.[34] Fortunately, Marcos hinted at the specific attributes of the terrain and cultural elaborations that led to this characterization when he noted "it is all irrigated" and "so well supplied with food."[35] Other uses of such literary aids are not always as helpful in providing guidance to the essential elements that are referenced. Yet, while the narrative might be considered a metaphor because it replaces and symbolizes the thing, it does not negate the usefulness of meager historical observations to archaeological interpretation.

Analysis of some of the chroniclers' more specific descriptive comments regarding Native life, when juxtaposed with the archaeological record, does not suggest "a continuation into the historic period of the Hohokam and Trincheras cultures," as Reff has argued; rather, it provides insights into the nature of three contemporaneous groups that postdate the late prehistoric reorganizational events that characterized the Hohokam and Trincheras cultures.[36] This distinction is possible only now because of advances in archaeologists' understanding of the nature and chronology of archaeological

culture groups during this terminal prehistoric period, which the late prehistoric and early historic periods flanked.

Relevant Archaeological and Ethnohistoric Background

Recent archaeological field research suggests the presence of at least three distinct types of adaptation by discrete but contemporaneous groups during the protohistoric period (1400–1690) in southeastern Arizona that temporally overlap and occur in the corridor used by the Coronado Expedition.[37] The chroniclers also noted the presence of three distinct groups. The first group is not the Hohokams and Trincheras suggested by Reff, but rather an Upper Piman group known as the Sobaípuri-O'odhams.[38] Archaeological



MAP 2

(Map drafted by Deni J. Seymour)

data indicate that the Sobaípuri-O'odhams, often using irrigation canals, engaged in farming and practiced a relatively sedentary lifeway when residing along rivers, where they lived in adobe-and-mat-covered houses and grew cotton, corn, and other products. In southern Arizona they lived along two major river courses that included the San Pedro and Santa Cruz rivers and their tributaries. Contrary to the "civilization-savagery myth," these Sobaípuri-O'odhams maintained permanent villages, irrigation systems, abundant surplus, long-distance trade, and organized political relations—all characteristics that, according to Reff, have been inappropriately credited to late seventeenth-century missionaries.[39] Archaeological data provide evidence of these attributes among the Sobaípuri-O'odhams that Marcos independently reported in his *Relación* (1539). Thus, at once, parallel supportive

MAP 3
(Map drafted by Deni J. Seymour)

evidence for this aspect of Marcos's account exists, and archaeological sources provide flesh for the skeletal description he provided. Marcos's narrative is at odds with later missionary accounts because of the devastating effects of disease in this intervening period.[40] Together these documentary and archaeological sources suggest courses, as will be discussed below, for both the Marcos and Coronado routes.

Archaeological data, corroborating the Coronado texts, indicate that two groups of Native peoples with a mobile adaptation also lived nearby, hunting and gathering and sometimes raiding and trading (see map 3).[41] Each of these two mobile groups used tools and produced debitage that represent distinctive technological organizations, allowing archaeologists to differentiate between them. The Canutillo complex, for example, originates as a highly mobile adaptation initially related to large-game hunting and fishing. This technological organization focuses on riverine, cienega, and playa resources (hence, the inference that the first Natives Coronado encountered were non-Athapaskan); utilizes resources from the desert; and possesses similarities to a number of non-Apachean traditions and complexes in Texas and northern Chihuahua. This biface-oriented technology has its own set of projectile points and formal tools that are often found in association with small circular rock-structure rings and other distinctive features, such as hide-working stones. The second adaptation known as the Cerro Rojo complex has affinities to other known early-Athapaskan (proto-Apachean) assemblages and represents an expedient technology with use of retouched tools and relatively distinctive (side-notched and tri-notched) projectile points. Structures associated with the Canutillo complex (non-Athapaskan) assemblage and the Cerro Rojo complex (inferred to be early Athapaskan) show many similarities that differentiate them from those structures used by sedentary groups.

For a number of reasons outlined elsewhere, I have inferred that the Canutillo complex represents one or more of the historically referenced non-Athapaskan mobile groups—Mansos, Sumas, Janos, and Jocomes—found in the southern Southwest.[42] Canutillo-complex sites in southern Arizona in particular are most likely to represent Jocome and possibly Jano sites or some other group not historically referenced. According to Spanish historical documents and maps, Jocome territory was much farther west than other non-Athapaskan mobile groups, including the Janos, Sumas, and Mansos, in the southern Southwest during the early historic period. This group is said to have occupied the region east of the Sobaípuri-O'odhams

(those peoples along the San Pedro River) in southern Arizona including the Chiricahua Mountains and the area to the south. Spanish documents and maps, focusing on the Janos Presidio area and Casas Grandes, place the Janos east and southeast of the Jocomes.

Still, considerable overlap existed in the geographic areas used by all these contemporaneous groups (proto-Apaches, Canutillo-complex peoples, and Sobaípuri-O'odhams). Archaeological evidence shows an overlap between the mobile Canutillo-complex groups and the sedentary Sobaípuri-O'odhams, depending on which part of the landscape they used and the geographic territories they occupied. They were able to reside relatively close together during the precontact period because they had different adaptations using different niches in the same valleys. Both the Jocomes and Janos, along with other mobile groups, wandered in a relatively large area, raiding, trading, and interacting with one another and with more settled groups, such as the Sobaípuri-O'odhams. Owing to these groups' peripatetic nature, archaeologists do not expect the Janos and Jocomes to be archaeologically separable based upon isolated geographic distributions of material culture in the way researchers have observed in the past for more sedentary agricultural groups.

In later historical documents, the Jocomes and Janos often appear together, indicating that they roamed together, that observers could not distinguish between them, or that chroniclers were uncertain about which mobile group, indigenous to the area in question, was responsible for an act of interest. Spanish narratives portray the Jocomes and Janos, sometimes along with other mobile groups, as raiding throughout northern Chihuahua, Sonora, and present-day southern New Mexico and southern Arizona.[43] Some accounts also named them as participants in an attack on the Sobaípuri-O'odham village at Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea along the San Pedro River in 1698.[44] The documentary literature contains numerous references to Apaches, Jocomes, Mansos, Sumas, and other mobile groups living or trading with sedentary Native populations, however temporary. At least once, the Jocomes or Janos (accounts are unclear) attempted to settle in or near riverside Sobaípuri-O'odham settlements and cultivate crops, and apparently some subset of the Janos lived in missions in the El Paso, Texas, area.[45]

Athapaskan mobile groups in particular tended to favor high-elevation settings and later Apachean groups viewed themselves as mountain people.[46] During the pre-Hispanic period, ancestral Apaches lived in lower elevations during the winter and exploited resources in a variety of settings that

included river sides, foothill zones, and low-lying basin floors.[47] During warmer months, or especially in later times when large groups gathered, the remote mountain valleys, rugged canyons, and rocky peaks provided ideal sanctuaries for habitation with cool breezes and natural defenses.

Research indicates that Athapaskan and various non-Athapaskan mobile groups were present locally prior to the arrival of the Spaniards. A staged chronometric research plan has been undertaken that has focused on dating the Sobaípuri-O'odhams as well as each of the two key mobile group manifestations in the southern Southwest.[48] Samples have been carefully selected with special attention paid to highlighting the subtle indices of multicomponentcy and episodic reuse, especially with regard to late light reuse of prehistoric sedentary sites by later groups and several uses of one location by mobile groups. When possible, complementary chronometric techniques and multiple samples have been selected to bolster the strength of inferences regarding the period and length of use and the presence and nature of reuse. Dates in association with distinctive material culture suggest an occupation of the southern Southwest by Athapaskans (proto-Apaches or Cerro Rojo complex), various non-Athapaskan (Canutillo complex) mobile groups, and the Sobaípuri-O'odhams at least as early as the 1400s.[49]

An Implication about the Poor Indians

Certain implications follow from this adjusted archaeological perspective on the protohistoric and early historic periods provided by the distribution and temporal occurrence of these mobile groups and the Sobaípuri-O'odhams. Upon reaching the Río Nexpa, Jaramillo noted that the Coronado Expedition encountered "poor Indians" with "gift[s] of little value" or "poverty-stricken" Natives who brought roasted *maguey* stalks (agave hearts) and *pitahayas* (saguaro cactus fruit) for the Spaniards to eat.[50] As referenced above, Bolton inferred that these people were representatives of the Sobaípuri-O'odhams. This cultural-affiliation assumption relies on common knowledge that the Sobaípuri-O'odhams occupied the San Pedro River Valley, and that historically they were the main group living in this river valley. Bolton's inference is also based on the assumption that the Río Nexpa is the San Pedro River. Sobaípuri-O'odhams did occupy portions of the San Pedro River Valley during this time period, and the Río Nexpa is likely the San Pedro River. On the other hand, the description of Natives seems more consistent with the notion that these people were one of the indigenous

mobile groups or hunter-gatherers (perhaps Jocomes or Janos) who were present in the river valley as Coronado passed through (see map 3).[51]

Yet, Bolton and subsequent scholars have assumed these "poor Indians" were Sobaípuri-O'odhams.[52] These scholars came to this conclusion because these other mobile groups had not yet been identified archaeologically and are less prominent in the historical record; so these Native groups tend to be treated as if they are invisible or were hidden in the adjacent mountain ranges. In addition many of these non-O'odham mobile groups were assumed to be Athapaskan (ancestral Apaches) largely because of historian Jack Forbes's work, which argued this position.[53] Owing to the assumption of modern scholars—consistent with lines of reasoning during the 1980s and 1990s—that proto-Apaches/early Athapaskans were not present until the 1600s, Athapaskans are generally not considered likely candidates for any of the historically referenced groups encountered during these early *jornadas* (journeys).[54] Yet, evidence now indicates that early Athapaskans were present at the time of Coronado and that contemporaneous non-Athapaskan mobile groups (represented by the Canutillo complex) were also present and visible.[55] Moreover, excavations and chronometric data extraction on the Santa Cruz and San Pedro rivers show evidence of Sobaípuri-O'odham occupation in southern Arizona during the 1400s and 1500s.[56] This interpretation is contrary to some archaeologists' views that "by around 1450 the entire region was devoid of archaeologically visible settlement and remained so for nearly 200 years until the arrival of the Sobaipuri[-O'odams], the inhabitants of the region when the Spanish first settled in southern Arizona in the late 1600s."[57] Evidence of an early Sobaípuri-O'odham presence suggests they could have been those people encountered by Marcos a year or so before Coronado; thus becoming a crucial piece of evidence in efforts to reconstruct these historical journeys.[58]

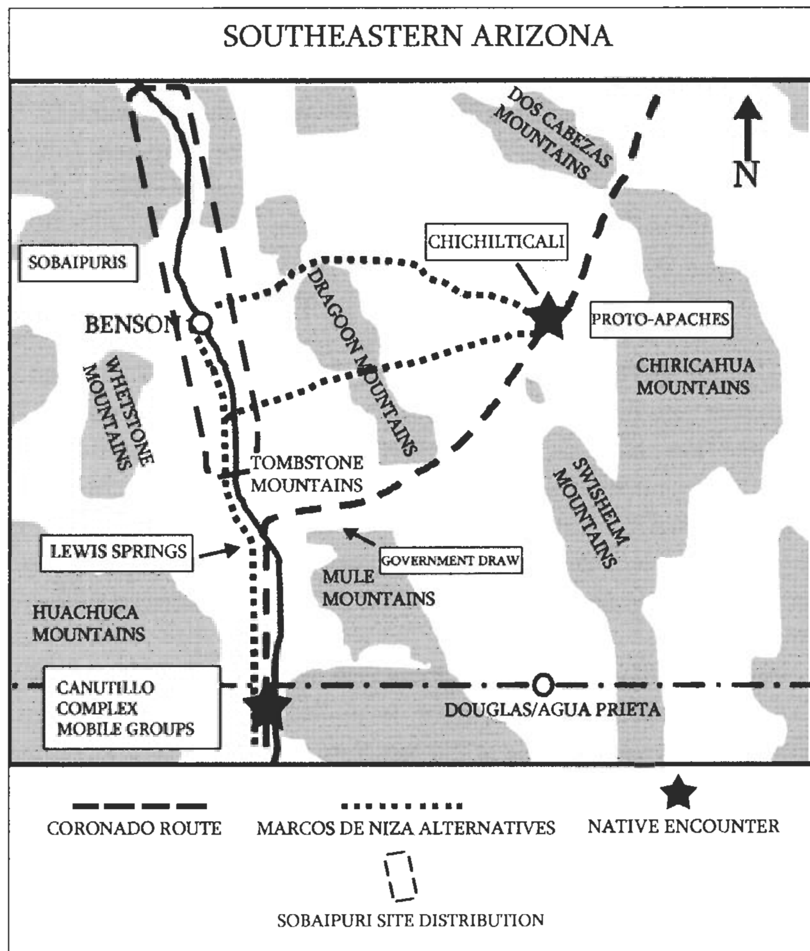
The ethnographic record mentions that the highly mobile Tohono-O'odhams used mescal (maguey or agave), therefore, scholars have incorrectly assumed that a subset of the Tohono-O'odhams' ancestral kindred, the Sobaípuri-O'odhams, must have relied heavily on this resource as well. Moreover, saguaro fruit was an important wild plant resource for the historic O'odhams, making it reasonable to infer that the groups offering the fruit to the Spaniards were O'odhams. Yet, the Sobaípuri-O'odhams along the San Pedro and Santa Cruz rivers seem to have been irrigation farmers.[59] They probably did not exploit mescal to the degree that the less sedentary Tohono-O'odhams did. Other more mobile groups who occupied this valley did rely

on wild resources as their mainstay and likely exploited saguaro fruit. These other mobile groups more closely fit the Coronado Expedition chroniclers' behavioral descriptions than do the pre- or post-contact period Sobaípuri-O'odhams. While Sobaípuri-O'odham villages and *rancherías* (settlements composed of widely spaced huts) abound along the river, small sites or rancherías related to these other groups have been found along river margins as well and have been radiocarbon and luminescence dated to this time period.[60] These archaeologically based findings provide an entirely different basis from which to consider the Coronado-route question, suggesting that this historical thread is in need of review.

Further Considerations

Had the Coronado Expedition met the Sobaípuri-O'odhams, chroniclers would likely have mentioned a continuation of the same adaptation that was noted farther south, complete with the mat-covered domed adobe houses, irrigation ditches, and abundant agricultural produce. Eusebio F. Kino and others noted this adaptation at first sustained contact with the Sobaípuri-O'odhams along the San Pedro and Santa Cruz rivers during the 1600s and 1700s, and Marcos mentioned it both north and south of a short despoblado.[61] Coronado's chroniclers, however, mention only one group along the Río Nexpa, which they reference as the equivalent of "poor Indians" who most closely approximate the mobile groups of the area.

The relevance of this meager, although distinct, description of "poor Indians" is apparent when juxtaposed with a comparison of those Native groups immediately to the south of the Río Nexpa. Importantly, Marcos made it sound like the Natives he encountered were practicing a continuation of the same adaptation as groups farther south in Sonora. This insinuation suggests that Marcos encountered the Sobaípuri-O'odhams, not mobile groups, both north and south of the modern international boundary. This meeting would have occurred either because he continued farther north along the San Pedro River where the Sobaípuri-O'odhams lived (they did not inhabit the far southern reaches of the San Pedro River at this time) or because he went down the Santa Cruz River where such groups seem to have resided farther south than those people dwelling along the San Pedro River. Archaeological data indicate that both the San Pedro and Santa Cruz river valleys hosted O'odham populations at this time and for probably at least a century before. On the Santa Cruz River, Sobaípuri-O'odham sites



MAP 4
(Map drafted by Deni J. Seymour)

begin much farther south than they do on the margins of the San Pedro River and would likely have been encountered by both Coronado and Marcos had they descended this river, suggesting that at least Coronado descended the San Pedro River. Marcos probably followed the San Pedro River route too because only it has Sobaípuri site densities that approximate the population levels portrayed by Marcos as "heavily settled by splendid people" and settlement distributions that match those patterns described as "clusters of houses . . . a half league and a quarter of a league apart."[62] Sites are more widely spaced and densities are lower on the Santa Cruz River than

those settlements on the San Pedro River, until much farther north where later reports cited four settlements four leagues apart.[63] While mobile groups were also present at this time along both the San Pedro and Santa Cruz rivers, Marcos likely did not encounter them on the San Pedro River simply because they may have been away from the river during his visit.

Given the archaeological data available for the Sobaípuri-O'odhams, it is clear that they lived along both the Santa Cruz and San Pedro rivers when Coronado came through the area, as chronometric data from both rivers show. Yet, the Coronado Expedition encountered only "poor" Natives whose description matches the adaptation of the mobile groups and is consistent with the depiction of the Sumas, another mobile group farther east who "live chiefly on mescal" as they were seen through the eyes of and described by another European during the Juan Domínguez de Mendoza expedition in December 1683.[64] These eastern Natives (Sumas), judging from both the documentary and archaeological records, seem to have had an adaptation similar to the Jocomes and Janos who resided in southern Arizona.

An explanation that addresses these new data presents itself when the daily travel expectations are logged. Jaramillo of Coronado's expedition mentions that once arriving at the Río Nexpa (the San Pedro River) the expedition descended the rivulet for two days.[65] Using the number of leagues fray Marcos traversed each day, as estimated by novelist and astronomer William K. Hartmann, it is fair to state that Coronado and his party would have been unlikely to reach any farther north than Lewis Springs in two days (see map 3).[66] This estimate assumes they could have traveled between fifteen and twenty-five miles per day for a total distance of thirty to fifty miles (north) downstream. The San Pedro River heads in Sonora about thirty miles south of the modern international border. Two days of travel would bring the explorers between just north of the international boundary and Lewis Springs. The latter was a well-known crossing, even in later historic times when it served as the road to Tombstone prior to 1891. From Lewis Springs, travelers could follow prominent peaks and pointy hills along their route to established and dependable watering holes (see map 3).

Leagues traveled and the existence of a historically important crossing suggest that Coronado did not reach as far north as the Sobaípuri-O'odham villages, which, according to survey data and later documentary records, begin just south of the Babocomari River's junction with the San Pedro (see map 4).[67] Together, these data points indicate that the Coronado party veered

east from the San Pedro River at about Lewis Springs and Government Draw. This route for the eastern turn is much farther south than researchers, except for Di Peso (who placed the turn even farther south), have previously postulated.[68] Most researchers conclude that the Coronado party turned at Benson, Arizona, or farther north. This turn in the Lewis Springs vicinity would have taken them through the opening between ranges on established trails and into the expansive Sulphur Springs Valley. Using this course, Coronado would have missed the Sobaípuri-O'odham villages that flanked the river just north of Lewis Springs, but would have encountered any of a number of scattered mobile hunter-gatherers who tended to reside near river margins.

This rate and distance of travel seems reasonable, particularly since Coronado does not mention meeting the richly clad Natives farther north on the San Pedro River as Marcos noted. Those well-off Natives had abundant quantities of bison hides and turquoise.[69] A reason to believe Marcos encountered Sobaípuri-O'odhams within their own territory is the fact that no other contemporaneous sedentary group is known to have occupied this zone. Moreover, in later accounts, Europeans described richly clad people of various river-dwelling branches of O'odhams as wearing feathers; tattoos; cotton mantas; and ear, neck, and wrist ornaments.[70] These depictions likely account for Bolton's embellishment when he suggests the O'odhams of Kino's time arrived with feathered headdresses, bright-colored blankets, strings of beads, gaudy bracelets, enormous ear pendants, and "bizarre" face paints.[71] Furthermore, such riches as described and implied by Marcos would unlikely be found among hunter-gatherers.[72] The Coronado Expedition encountered people who had gifts of wild cacti, as would be expected of mobile hunter-gatherers, whereas Spaniards who met the Sobaípuri-O'odhams in 1539 and in the 1690s were given gifts of agricultural produce.[73] Gift-giving to travelers tended to include some of the most valued resources and food staples the gifting group possessed, supporting the idea that wild cacti were the best gifts the poor Natives could provide. Although the Sobaípuri-O'odhams also likely used wild food sources and some O'odham groups living in harsher environments were poorer than others, the people Jaramillo described are more similar to mobile groups who inhabited the San Pedro River Valley and its adjacent areas.[74]

After two days of travel away from the San Pedro, Coronado's group arrived at Chichilticali situated at the beginning of the next despoblado. This travel time is compared to Marcos who took four days to reach the beginning of this

final despoblado. Assuming Marcos descended the same river, three days of travel would have brought him to the Sobaípuri-O'odham settlements and a day from the despoblado. These settlements, that Kino and others later referred to as Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea and Quiburi or their precursors, located north and south of present-day Fairbank, Arizona, and the Babocomari River, were inhabited by Sobaípuri-O'odhams (see map 4).[75] Here, fray Marcos erected crosses and likely established his camp near, but not in, one of these Native settlements, as Viceroy Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza directed.[76]

Thus, it seems that Coronado did not travel far enough north to encounter the Sobaípuri-O'odhams, but instead, after two days of travel (as opposed to three) veered east before reaching their settlements. The Sobaípuri-O'odhams were present on both the Santa Cruz and San Pedro rivers at the time of Coronado, and their settlements began a day's journey farther north from Lewis Springs on the San Pedro River. The relationship between fray Marcos and the Natives who possessed bison hides and turquoise became somewhat strained after the massacre of Marcos's extended party by the occupants at Cíbola following the insistence of the black slave and translator Esteban de Dorantes to approach the pueblo even after he was turned away.[77] This conflict could explain why Coronado would have taken a different route than Marcos, trending to the east before reaching, thus avoiding, these Sobaípuri-O'odham settlements occupied by people whose relatives had been killed when they accompanied Esteban to Cíbola. In this scenario, the "poor" Natives whom Coronado encountered were mobile groups rather than Sobaípuri-O'odhams.

Researchers would benefit from remembering that groups other than the Sobaípuri-O'odhams were present in this area during the 1400s and 1500s. In all, three groups can be distinguished archaeologically, and the chroniclers provided three behaviorally and geographically distinct descriptions. This travel transect depicted "poor Indians" and "more barbarous" Natives, matching the archaeological record and other historical descriptions of the two known mobile groups (those Natives associated with the Canutillo complex and proto-Apaches represented by the Cerro Rojo complex). The "barbarous" Natives, as anthropologist Carroll L. Riley notes, were "on a lower socio-economic level than the peoples immediately to the south," meaning the O'odhams to the west.[78] The better clad and richer Natives farther north described by Marcos were more fitting of the Sobaípuri-O'odhams, particularly since they practiced an adaptation similar to O'odham groups farther south along Marcos's route in Sonora.

Another Implication: The Despoblado

If Coronado encountered one of the non-Athapaskan mobile groups, either Jocomes or Janos, along the San Pedro River, then whom did he meet at Chichilticali? Hartmann speculates that the "barbarous" Natives encountered at Chichilticali were hostile Sobaípuri-O'odham villagers who dispersed when they learned about the arrival of the Coronado Expedition.[79] This speculation is based on the assumption that Marcos and Coronado followed the same route along this segment, and, as is conventionally accepted, the Sobaípuri-O'odhams were the main group present along the San Pedro River and in the general area away from it.

When hostiles or unknown travelers arrived via river valley routes, many sedentary villagers dispersed as a defensive mechanism or fled to the hills to avoid potential confrontation.[80] The operative concept, however, is that they fled not to the basins but to the hills, where they were protected by the rugged terrain. Coronado did not see Natives in the hills; he encountered people on the valley floors who seemed to be welcoming and not fearful of his presence. Some adjustments in Native flight strategies may have occurred through time as relations became strained between settled-lowland Native villagers and mountain-dwelling mobile groups; yet, even in the late 1700s missionized O'odham groups along the Santa Cruz River fled to the hills—occupied by Apaches hostile to the mission way of life—rather than the basins when attempting to avoid Europeans.

Although some of the Sobaípuri-O'odhams participated in a mobile lifestyle at various points throughout their history, the suggestion that they dispersed across the landscape from fright in smaller, vulnerable groupings for Coronado to encounter, as Hartmann has advocated, is unreasonable.[81] The Sobaípuri-O'odhams were feared warriors and were well known for their prowess in warfare.[82] If anything the Spaniards would have been guarded with respect to the Sobaípuri-O'odhams. Although Coronado ventured forth with a formidable force (and easily subdued Cíbola), Capt. Hernando de Alarcón and presumably all the Spaniards were under the Viceroy's directive to "lead them [the Natives] to desire your friendship and companionship . . . be more circumspect in communication and conversation with the Indians, because it seems that it was necessary to be more cautious with them than you were the last time," and "be very careful that the people who go in your company not inflict injury on or [exercise] force against the Indians."[83] Moreover, the San Pedro River held no riches or reason to chance a

confrontation. This circumstance provides a second viable explanation for why Coronado did not continue north down the San Pedro River, following Marcos's route through Sobaípuri-O'odham territory, but instead turned before he faced potential hostilities.

Castañeda's account leaves little doubt that a mobile group was present at Chichilticali, an adobe ruin without a roof (i.e., abandoned) in 1540.[84] He wrote, "It grieved everyone to see that the renown of Chichilticale was reduced to a ruined roofless house . . . This building was made of bright red earth." A number of scholars also think of Chichilticali as a region, pass, and mountain range.[85] Referencing the dilapidated nature of the red-earth roofless ruin at Chichilticali, Castañeda commented on the visiting mobile group:

> It must have been despoiled by the natives of the region, the most barbarous people thus far encountered. They live by hunting, and in rancherías, without permanent settlements. Most of the region is uninhabited.[86]

The location of this group and the idea that they were more "barbarous" than other groups encountered along the San Pedro River to the southwest suggests that those people at Chichilticali may have been ancestral Apaches.

In the final analysis, researchers can only guess whether these groups were Athapaskans or non-Athapaskans as chronometric evidence indicates both types of people were present in southern Arizona at the time of Coronado. One possible Chichilticali candidate, the Kuykendall Site, contains evidence of all three of these groups (Sobaípuri-O'odhams, proto-Apaches, and Canutillo-complex peoples). Later, when records are more detailed and numerous, the geographic distributions of these Athapaskan and non-Athapaskan groups overlap in southeastern Arizona, although the Canutillo-complex non-Athapaskan mobile groups tended to reside near rivers and playas while proto-Apaches focused on upland areas, visiting the lowlands for specific purposes or to move from one location to another. Coronado provided the only additional historical information about the indigenous inhabitants at Chichilticali when he commented, "The Indians of Chichilticale say that whenever they travel to the sea for fish and other things they bring back, they travel cross-country, and they take ten days' travel [to get] there."[87]

Analysis indicates that the most parsimonious inferences to be drawn from these newly available data include: (1) Marcos encountered the

Sobaípuri-O'odhams on the upper San Pedro River around Benson and Fairbank in present-day Arizona, (2) Coronado met a non-Athapaskan mobile group (Canutillo complex) on the upper San Pedro River, and (3) he came across a different mobile group (proto-Apaches) described as the "more barbarous" Natives at Chichilticali (see map 4). A good fit exists for the proto-Apaches at Chichilticali because by any measure Athapaskans would have seemed more "barbarous" to the Spaniards than any of the other groups. The Spaniards' response to the proto-Apaches would have occurred for no other reason than the Athapaskan language would have sounded more foreign to European language speakers and noticeably different from what are presumed to be the Uto-Aztecan-based languages or dialects of other Native mobile groups in the area.[88] Alternatively, Spaniards could have viewed the non-Athapaskan mobile groups as more barbarous because they were poorer, more mobile than the proto-Apaches, and traveled in even smaller groups. Yet, the Canutillo-complex sites tend to be found in other settings, such as along rivers and near playas. In addition to these locales, the Chiricahua Mountains that flank the eastern edge of the Sulphur Springs Valley were an early home base for the ancestral Chiricahua Apaches.

The Despoblado in Cultural and Historical Context

The presence of mobile Natives at Chichilticali has implications for the despoblado because the ruin is south and west of the presumed empty area. Yet, archaeological data suggest that just about any possible route used by the Coronado Expedition would have been through areas that recent archaeological finds, chronometric dates, and analysis indicate were inhabited by mobile groups, especially Athapaskan mobile groups. Sites left by Athapaskan and non-Athapaskan mobile groups, dating to the 1300s and 1400s, abound in the mountains and valleys of southeastern Arizona and southwestern and west-central New Mexico.[89]

The Spaniards' perception of an empty wilderness stems from chroniclers of the Coronado Expedition passing through the area and claiming that an extensive part of the terrain to the northeast was a despoblado or uninhabited zone. This view of a despoblado came from the apparent lack of an encounter between expedition members and Natives during a twelve- to fifteen-day period over 80 leagues (200–240 miles).[90] Local Natives either shared the opinion that the area was unsettled or they described people with a mobile way of life that the chroniclers considered unrepresentative of settlement.

In this context, *unsettled* and *uninhabited* (existing translations of the word despoblado) are relative, culturally laden terms whose meanings are not necessarily as clear as they may seem. Archaeological evidence can be useful in clarifying the meaning of this term. Evidence of this loaded meaning exists in documents from other areas of the American Southwest in relation to mobile groups where Europeans parsed the language. Describing the Sumas, Janos, and other mobile groups of New Mexico, Fray Alonso de Benavides noted that they had no houses and lived on what they hunted. In order to hunt, these groups moved from hill to hill.[91] Elsewhere in his memorial, however, Benavides makes a similar statement with reference to the Mansos: "This is also a people [who have] no houses, but only huts of branches."[92] Apparently, the Spaniards did not consider huts to be houses as many structural rings have been found that these and other mobile groups used. Likely, the reason for this distinction is that houses imply settlement and permanency, whereas huts evoke a sense of wandering hunters who throw together flimsy temporary shelters, making no place-specific claims to the land.

In the same way that *unsettled* and *uninhabited* must be placed in a cultural and historical context, it is equally important to consider the context in which Coronado and his men made their observations about this despoblado.[93] Castañeda's reference to the nature of the Natives present at Chichilticali, on the edge of the despoblado, as *mas barbara* (more barbarous) is not without political and economic implications. According to historian Anthony Pagden, legal discussions in Spanish society during the early 1500s began to focus on the issue of conquered peoples' property rights—the right of conquerors to claim land and minerals, as well as harness Native labor.[94] Issues relating to the Crown's, and by extension its representatives', sovereignty over Native peoples were not questioned, but lack of clarity among these other aspects of dominion existed. Questions regarding the disposition of property following conquest became the focus of considerable debate and gained urgency in the 1530s. Invoking Roman Law, arguments conceived that "primitive" men (as barbarous inhabitants) lived without the benefit of civil society, which, along with its constituent relationships, was based upon property. Members of a society could not make claim to property ownership if their society possessed no such property relationships, therefore rendering it uncivil. Pagden argues, "Their lands were not their lands but merely open spaces which they, quite fortuitously, happened to inhabit."[95] Thus, the "barbarous" or "savage" Natives might

wander throughout open lands, but they had not settled, exploited, or controlled them. This nomadic lifeway was de facto evidence that Natives had neglected the land and as such forfeited it by their own actions. Therefore, as the Spaniards rationalized, the land became available to the conqueror and Crown.[96] Members of the Coronado Expedition expressed their desire to lay claim to lands occupied by the mobile "barbarian" hunters.[97]

Given the context, researchers can understand that the despoblado and "barbarous" Natives held significance for the Spaniards not aligned with meanings in use today. Coupled with the specific European understanding of the mobile way of life, Coronado and his party unsurprisingly did not see evidence of settlement in this expansive wilderness that, by other measures, seems to have been inhabited long before his arrival. Thus, one important implication of this alternative perspective wrought by these new data is that no despoblado existed. The despoblado was a misperception and a product of views regarding land use and private property that allowed expedition members to claim uninhabited land as theirs.[98]

Given the mobile way of life, and specifically the Athapaskan adaptation to mountainous terrain, the mobile residents were probably elsewhere on their seasonal round when the Spaniards traversed the area. Likely, the Spaniards simply did not see these mobile residents because they tended toward rugged mountains and the Spaniards kept to the valleys and less rugged routes when moving through mountainous terrain.[99] Also probable is that some of the Native groups hid. Chiricahua Apaches' oral tradition notes that their ancestors successfully hid from the Spaniards years before being discovered, and later Spanish accounts from 1695 indicate that remaining invisible was a defensive strategy with time depth.[100] This ploy partially explains why later military campaigns were unsuccessful in finding signs of these mobile groups even when present-day archaeologists and historians know the Apaches were present.[101] Consequences of this strategy include: postulation of the Coronado route cannot be assessed on the basis of the absence of Athapaskan sites and, conversely, the arrival of proto-Apaches in the Southwest cannot be ascertained by using Coronado Expedition documents.

Closing Statement

Survey and excavation data collected over the last two decades show that Sobaípuri-O'odham groups were present in the river valleys of southern Arizona at and before this important historical expedition. There seems to

have been, however, a southern limit to Sobaípuri-O'odham distribution along the margins of the San Pedro River at this time that likely explains why Coronado encountered "poor" Natives instead of their richer counterparts described by Marcos a year earlier. Coronado veered to the east of the San Pedro River before reaching the southernmost riverside Sobaípuri-O'odham settlement. Prior to doing so, he encountered one of several resident mobile groups. Archaeological data show that these mobile groups, probably the ancestors of groups later referenced as Jocomes or Janos, unreservedly occupied this region, moving from place to place throughout a wide geographic expanse. Similarly, archaeological data from ancestral Chiricahua Apache sites show that Athapaskans were likely present at Chichilticali, as they were in the adjacent mountains since at least the 1400s or seemingly earlier. These proto-Apaches represented the most "barbarous" groups the Spaniards met, causing the travelers to differentiate, albeit vaguely, between people practicing two distinct mobile adaptations. Chronometric dates from a number of archaeological sites indicate that these ancestral Apaches also occupied the mountainous regions through which this expedition would have traveled, including in or near the uninhabited zone or despoblado. This new information regarding the geographic distribution and timing of mobile group presence in the southern Southwest provides alternative data useful for interpretations of routes traveled and offers guidance on where to look for archaeological data pertaining to Coronado Expedition encampments. It also demonstrates the value of combining data from a variety of disciplines to arrive at new interpretations of age-old problems. Such an approach ties together and integrates evidence from multiple, independent sources (documentary, archaeological, oral historic, ethnographic, geographic, linguistic, and social historical) to, as anthropologist Kathleen Deagan notes, "produce otherwise unobtainable results."[102]

Notes

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8. Deni J. Seymour, "Thirty-two Degrees North Latitude: The Protohistoric Period in the Southern Southwest" (in possession of author); and Deni J. Seymour, "An Archaeological Perspective on the Hohokam-Pima Continuum," *Old Pueblo Archaeology* 51 (December 2007): 1–7. This current paper was prepared, circulated, and submitted for publication in 2006 prior to gaining knowledge of Nugent Brasher's apparent discovery, attesting to the independent lines of thinking that led to the placement of the right or northeastern turn.
9. Deni J. Seymour, "Despoblado or Athapaskan Heartland: A Methodological Perspective on Ancestral Apache Landscape Use in the Safford Area," in *Crossroads of the Southwest: Culture, Ethnicity, and Migration in Arizona's Safford Basin*, ed. David E. Purcell (Newcastle, U.K.: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 121–62. This book chapter is a later permutation of an earlier manuscript: Deni J. Seymour, "Despoblado or Athapaskan Heartland: The Safford Area in the Athapaskan Settlement Scheme" (paper presented for the Arizona Archaeological Council, Safford, Ariz., 2005).
10. Reff, "The Location of Corazones and Señora"; and Reff, *Disease, Depopulation, and Culture Change in Northwestern New Spain*.
11. Reff, "Anthropological Analysis of Exploration Texts," 636.
12. Ibid., 637.
13. Daniel T. Reff, "The Introduction of Smallpox in the Greater Southwest," *American Anthropologist* 89 (September 1987): 704–8; Reff, "The Location of Corazones and Señora"; Reff, *Disease, Depopulation, and Culture Change in Northwestern New Spain*; and Reff, "Anthropological Analysis of Exploration Texts."
14. Seymour, "An Archaeological Perspective on the Hohokam-Pima Continuum"; Deni J. Seymour, "Delicate Diplomacy on a Restless Frontier: Seventeenth-Century Sobaípuri Social and Economic Relations in Northwestern New Spain, part 1," *New Mexico Historical Review* 82 (fall 2007): 469–99; and Deni J. Seymour, "Delicate Diplomacy on a Restless Frontier: Seventeenth-Century Sobaípuri Social and Economic Relations in Northwestern New Spain, part 2," *New Mexico Historical Review* 83 (spring 2008): 171–99.
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24. For a discussion on groupthink, see Irving L. Janis, *Victims of Groupthink: A Psychological Study of Foreign-Policy Decisions and Fiascoes* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1972).
25. Galloway, "*Conjoncture* and *Longue Durée*," 288.
26. Ibid., 290.
27. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 420.
28. Ibid., 685 n. 461. Reports of crossbow boltheads collected from the site by a private landowner and excavator would seem to corroborate this interpretation.
29. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 513.
30. Bolton, *Coronado*, 105.
31. "Barbarians," as referenced in early modern times, were consistently people considered deficient and inferior according to the terms established by the dominant culture. Outside invaders were commonly referred to as barbarians in early sixteenth-century Europe, combining the deficiency aspect with one of bellicosity and the idea of foreigner. See Henry Kamen, *Empire: How Spain became a World Power, 1492–1763* (New York: HarperCollins, 2003), 367. The foreign or unfamiliar

element extended to the New World where Europeans applied "barbarian" to non-Europeans, which Jesuit José de Acosta defined as differences in levels of communication. The lowest level, applied to most of the indigenous tribes of the Americas, pertained to those who had no civil society and no written method of communication. See Kamen, *Empire*, 375. Moreover, in contrast to the corruption of civil European society, early sixteenth-century humanists posed the idyllic notion of the barbarians' innocence as well as their fortitude and nobility of character. For a discussion of early sixteenth-century thought on this subject, see John H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492–1650* (1970; repr., Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 26. In Renaissance Europe, "barbarian" became synonymous with heathen, rough, and unpolished, following the teachings of Aristotle who had taught that the most barbarous of men were so savage and wild as to live solitary lives in the forest. See Elliot, *The Old World and the New*, 42. Judgment by Europeans, their rationality relating in part to physical attributes and a proclivity to passion, of "barbarians" included an assessment of what they ate and their receptivity to divine grace, all which of course implied inferiority. See Elliot, *The Old World and the New*, 42–43. It is difficult to discern which of these traits were attributed to the Chichilticali Natives, making them more barbarous than the others encountered, but clearly varying degrees of barbarity were perceived.

32. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 417.
33. They did encounter Natives as they approached the Cíbola side of the despoblado but assumed these people were Cíbolans. See Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 256–57, 393.
34. Ibid., 72.
35. Ibid.
36. Reff, "Anthropological Analysis of Exploration Texts," 637.
37. Deni J. Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment: After the El Paso Phase on Fort Bliss; An Archaeological Study of the Manso, Suma, and Early Apache* (Fort Bliss, Tex.: Lone Mountain Archaeological Services, 2002); Deni J. Seymour, "The Canutillo Complex: Evidence of Protohistoric Mobile Occupants in the Southern Southwest," *Kiva: The Journal of Southwestern Anthropology and History* 74, no. 4 (2009): 421–46; and Deni J. Seymour, "The Implications of Mobility, Reoccupation, and Low Visibility Phenomena for Chronometric Dating" (working paper, in possession of author).
38. Reff, "Anthropological Analysis of Exploration Texts," 645.
39. Reff, "Anthropological Analysis of Exploration Texts," 637. For a discussion on the civilization-savagery myth, see Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (1975; repr., New York: W. W. Norton, 1976).
40. Reff, "Anthropological Analysis of Exploration Texts," 644–45.
41. For a definition and discussion of these groups, see Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*, 245–340; Seymour, "Delicate Diplomacy, part 1," 491; Seymour, "Delicate Diplomacy, part 2," 179–89; Seymour, "Despoblado or Athapaskan Heartland," 152–59; and Seymour, "The Canutillo Complex."

42. Seymour, "Canutillo Complex"; Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*; Deni J. Seymour, "Before the Spanish Chronicles: Early Apache in the Southern Southwest," in *Ancient and Historic Lifeways in North America's Rocky Mountains: Proceedings of the 2003 Rocky Mountain Anthropological Conference, Estes Park, Colorado*, ed. Robert H. Brunswig and William B. Butler (Greeley: Department of Anthropology, University of Northern Colorado, 2004), 120–42; and Deni J. Seymour, "A Ranchería in the Gran Apachería: Evidence of Intercultural Interaction at the Cerro Rojo Site," *Plains Anthropologist* 49, no. 190 (2004): 153–92.
43. Thomas H. Naylor and Charles W. Polzer, S.J., *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain: A Documentary History*, 2 vols. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986–1997) 1:585.
44. Ernest J. Burrus, *Kino and Manje, Explorers of Sonora and Arizona: Their Vision of the Future, a Study of their Expeditions and Plans, with an Appendix of Thirty Documents*, Sources and Studies for the History of the Americas, vol. 10 (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute; St. Louis, Mo.: St. Louis University, 1971).
45. Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer* (1936; repr., New York: Russell and Russell, 1960), 242 n. 1, 247; Harry J. Karns, trans., *Unknown Arizona and Sonora, 1693–1721; From the Francisco Fernández del Castillo Version of Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, Juan Mateo Manje (Tucson: Arizona Silhouettes, 1954), 247; and Seymour, "Delicate Diplomacy, part 1," 487.
46. Eve Ball, *In the Days of Victorio: Recollections of a Warm Springs Apache* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970); and Jason Betzinez and Wilbur Sturtevant Nye, *I Fought with Geronimo* (1959; repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987).
47. Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*; Seymour, "Before the Spanish Chronicles"; and Seymour, "Despoblado or Athapaskan Heartland."
48. Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*; Deni J. Seymour, *Protohistoric and Early Historic Temporal Resolution*, Lone Mountain Report 560–003, Conservation Division, Directorate of Environment (Fort Bliss, Tex.: Lone Mountain Archaeological Services, 2003); Seymour, "Despoblado or Athapaskan Heartland"; and Deni J. Seymour, "The Implications of Mobility for Dating" (working paper, in possession of author).
49. Seymour, "The Canutillo Complex"; and Seymour, "The Implications of Mobility for Dating."
50. Bolton, *Coronado*, 105; Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 513; Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 297; and George Parker Winship, ed. and trans., *The Journey of Coronado*, Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera, et al. (New York: Dover Publications, 1990), 120.
51. Seymour, "Thirty-two Degrees North Latitude"; and Seymour, "An Archaeological Perspective on the Hohokam-Pima Continuum."
52. Although historians George P. Hammond, Agapito Rey, and George P. Winship promote the notion of "poor Indians," they draw this inference from the nature of food gifts presented to the Spaniards, who considered them of little value, rather than extracting their conclusion from a direct translation of the text. Hammond

and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 297; and Winship, *The Journey of Coronado*, 120. In fact the text reads "*Unos yndizuelos . . . y con presente de poco estima*" (Some poor Indians . . . and present of little value). Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 520. These poor Indians or *yndizuelos* exhibited resource-use patterns most typical of mobile groups known for the area.

53. For a discussion of these non-O'odham mobile groups presented as Athapaskans, see Jack D. Forbes, "The Janos, Jocomes, Mansos, and Sumas Indians," *New Mexico Historical Review* 32 (October 1957): 319–34; Jack D. Forbes, "Unknown Athapaskans: The Identification of the Jano, Jocome, Jumano, Manso, Suma, and Other Indian Tribes of the Southwest," *Ethnohistory* 6 (spring 1959): 97–159; and Jack D. Forbes, *Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard*, Civilization of the American Indian series, vol. 115 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960).
54. David R. Wilcox, "The Entry of Athapaskans into the American Southwest: The Problem Today," in Wilcox and Masse, *The Protohistoric Period in the North American Southwest*, 275–81; David A. Gregory, "Western Apache Archaeology: Problems and Approaches," in Wilcox and Masse, *The Protohistoric Period in the North American Southwest*, 257–74; and J. Jefferson Reid, "Wickiup 2 at the Grasshopper Spring Site and the Dating of Western Apache Occupation," in *Vanishing River: Landscape and Lives of the Lower Verde Valley; The Lower Verde Archaeological Project; Overview, Synthesis, and Conclusion*, ed. Stephanie M. Whittlesey, Richard Ciolek-Torrello, and Jeffrey H. Altschul (Tucson, Ariz.: SRI Press, 1998), 197–99.
55. Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*; Seymour, "Before the Spanish Chronicles"; Seymour, "Thirty-two Degrees North Latitude"; Seymour, "New Perspectives on the Protohistoric and Late Prehistoric Periods in the Southern Southwest" (paper presented at a workshop and conference for the Center for Desert Archaeology and the Arizona Archaeological Council, Tucson, Ariz., 21–23 October 2004); Seymour, "Despoblado or Athapaskan Heartland"; and Seymour, "The Implications of Mobility for Dating." Athapaskan-speaking groups present during this time period in the southern Southwest differ in many ways from the Athapaskan tribes Coronado encountered on the Plains. Those inhabitants in the Southwest occupied the mountains rather than the Plains; they utilized wickiups or brush structures rather than hide-covered tipis; and they lived in smaller settlements for much of the year, although they congregated for important ceremonies and other purposes. Along the Arizona leg of the journey, Coronado and his chroniclers provided little detail about the tribes encountered, noting just enough to highlight some of the distinctions between groups they saw as different. Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*; Seymour, "Before the Spanish Chronicles"; Seymour, "Thirty-two Degrees North Latitude"; Seymour, "New Perspectives on the Protohistoric and Late Prehistoric Periods in the Southern Southwest"; Seymour, "The Canutillo Complex"; and Seymour, "The Implications of Mobility for Dating."
56. I arrived at these dates through analysis of multiple samples that were run using numerous techniques and obtained from various carefully selected contexts. Seymour, "Thirty-two Degrees North Latitude"; Seymour, "Delicate Diplomacy, part 1"; Deni J. Seymour, "A Syndetic Approach to Identification of the Historic

Mission Site of San Cayetano del Tumacácori," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 11, no. 3 (2007): 269–96; Seymour, "Delicate Diplomacy, part 2"; and Deni J. Seymour, "Beyond Married, Buried, and Baptized: Exposing Historical Discontinuities in an Engendered Sobaípuri-O'odham Household," in *Engendering Households in the Prehistoric Southwest*, ed. Barbara Roth (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, forthcoming, 2009).

57. Jeffrey J. Clark, et al., "Migration, Coalescence, and Demographic Decline in the Lower San Pedro Valley and Safford Basin," in *Hohokam Trajectories in World Perspective*, ed. Paul R. Fish and Suzanne K. Fish (working manuscript), 26. Also see, Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 629–30 n. 128.
58. Seymour, "An Archaeological Perspective on the Hohokam-Pima Continuum."
59. Burrus, *Kino and Manje*, 95–96, 216–17, 510; Deni J. Seymour, "Finding History in the Archaeological Record: The Upper Piman Settlement of Guevavi," *Kiva: The Journal of Southwestern Anthropology and History* 62, no. 3 (1997): 249, 254–56; Deni J. Seymour, "Sobaipuri-Pima Occupation in the Upper San Pedro Valley: San Pablo de Quiburi," *New Mexico Historical Review* 78 (spring 2003): 156–57; Eusebio Francisco Kino, *Kino's Biography of Francisco Javier Saeta, S.J.*, trans. Charles W. Polzer, Sources and Studies for the History of the Americas, vol. 9 (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute; St. Louis, Mo.: St. Louis University, 1971), 312; and Karns, *Unknown Arizona and Sonora, 1693–1721*, 94.
60. Seymour, *The Canutillo Complex*.
61. Seymour, "Thirty-two Degrees North Latitude."
62. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 72.
63. Grace Lilian Crockett, "Mange's Luz de Tierra Incógnita: A Translation of the Original Manuscript, Together with an Historical Introduction" (master's thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1918); and Karns, *Unknown Arizona and Sonora, 1693–1721*, 125, 138.
64. Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542–1706*, Original Narratives of Early American History (1908; repr., New York: Barnes and Noble, 1952), 320–22; and Mariah de Fátima Wade, *The Native Americans of the Texas Edwards Plateau, 1582–1799*, Texas Archaeology and Ethnohistory Series (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 84.
65. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 513.
66. For the estimated distance fray Marcos traveled each day, see William K. Hartmann, "Pathfinder for Coronado: Reevaluating the Mysterious Journey of Marcos de Niza," in Flint and Flint, *The Coronado Expedition to Tierra Nueva*, 93.
67. Deni J. Seymour, "The Dynamics of Sobaipuri Settlement in the Eastern Pimeria Alta," *Journal of the Southwest* 31 (summer 1989): 205–22; Deni J. Seymour, *Sobaipuri-Pima Settlement along the Upper San Pedro River: A Thematic Survey between Fairbank and Aravaipa Canyon* (Bureau of Land Management, Sierra Vista, Ariz., 1990); and Seymour, "Sobaipuri-Pima Occupation in the Upper San Pedro Valley: San Pablo de Quiburi."
68. Di Peso, Rinaldo, and Fenner, *Architecture and Dating Methods*. Brasher also arrived at this turn, independently from my own work. Brasher, "The Chichilticale

Camp of Francisco de Coronado"; and Seymour, "An Archaeological Perspective on the Hohokam-Pima Continuum."

69. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 72.
70. Crockett, "Mange's Luz de Tierra Incógnita," 80–81, 86, 88; Karns, *Unknown Arizona and Sonora*, 77–78, 82, 83; Ignaz Pferfferkorn, *Sonora: A Description of Province*, ed. and trans. Theodore E. Treutlein (Alhuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1949), 190; Joseph Och, *Missionary in Sonora: The Travel Reports of Joseph Och, S.J., 1755–1767*, ed. and trans. Theodore E. Treutlein, Special Publication, no. 40 (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1965), 126, 158–59; and John L. Kessell, *Mission of Sorrow: Jesuit Guevavi and the Pimas, 1691–1767* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970), 48.
71. Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, 270.
72. Based on fray Marcos's account, these hunter-gatherers may have been the ultimate origin for bison products used by sedentary villagers as the hunter-gatherers were involved in a trade network and interacted at various levels with the Sobaípuri-O'odhams and likely Cíbola. For Marcos's account, see Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 71, 72. Seymour, "Delicate Diplomacy, part 1"; and Seymour, "Delicate Diplomacy, part 2."
73. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 513; and Burrus, *Kino and Manje*, 199.
74. Eusebio F. Kino, *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta: A Contemporary Account of the Beginnings of California, Sonora, and Arizona*, vol. 1, ed. and trans. Herbert Eugene Bolton, Spain in the West series (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948). One could also legitimately argue on the basis of foodstuffs presented as gifts that these people were Sobaípuri-O'odhams whose stores of agricultural produce were depleted or who practiced a more mobile adaptation. During the summer months when the vanguard of Coronado's group came through the area, the Sobaípuri-O'odhams may have been reliant on wild food until they harvested their crops in late summer and early fall (when the rest of Coronado's party arrived). In such a scenario, the Sobaípuri-O'odhams would have offered wild cacti in lieu of agricultural produce. Despite this possibility, cumulative evidence of other types argues against this point.
75. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 72.
76. Ibid., 73, 227. Stone crosses are unique features that could provide evidence of contact with Europeans or their travel routes. On some campaigns, Spaniards would erect crosses to demarcate where they stopped and sometimes at rancherías they visited. For more on the erection of crosses by Spaniards, see Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*; Naylor and Polzer, *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain*, 1:593; Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, "Coronado's Crosses: Route Markers Used by the Coronado Expedition," *Journal of the Southwest* 35, no. 2 (1993): 207–16; and Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 73, 226, 227. Many crosses may have been wood, set in the ground or in a rock cairn that today might be recorded as a survey corner or mining claim. Stone crosses laid out on the ground are known from at least

two sites. One is along Sonoita Creek in southern Arizona, on a route likely used by Father Kino and perhaps fray Marcos when traveling between river basins. This river drainage would have served as a route between the Santa Cruz and San Pedro river valleys, through the Sonoita Valley. Another cross is at a site in the vicinity of Hueco Tanks, east of El Paso, Texas. Both sites have material culture indicative of the protohistoric-historic period, which does not imply Coronado was in El Paso. It only suggests that these crosses may have been constructed by Spanish explorers and can be recognized as cultural features. While some crosses flush with the ground surface may be early aerial photography crosses (markers placed on the ground to calibrate the edge of aerial photography imagery), others are likely indicative of the crosses mentioned in the historic record. Flint and Flint, in "Coronado's Crosses," discuss in detail the historic record regarding these crosses.

77. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 73–76.
78. Riley, *The Frontier People*, 103.
79. William K. Hartmann, letter to the author, 2006.
80. Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*, 4, 336, 358, 375, 378, 380, 391; and Sidney B. Brinckerhoff and Odie B. Faulk, eds. and trans., *Lancers for the King: A Study of the Frontier Military System of Northern New Spain, With a Translation of the Royal Regulations of 1772* (Phoenix: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1965), 82.
81. For Sobaípuri-O'odhams' mobile lifestyle, see Seymour, "Delicate Diplomacy, part 1."
82. Frank Russell, *The Pima Indians*, rev. ed. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975), 165, 204; Ruth Murray Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians* (1939; repr., New York: AMS Press, 1969), 16–20; Charles C. Di Peso, *The Sobaipuri Indians of the Upper San Pedro River Valley, Southwestern Arizona*, Amerind Foundation Publication, no. 6 (Dragoon, Ariz.: Amerind Foundation Publication, 1953); Kessell, *Mission of Sorrow*, 12; Seymour, *Sobaipuri-Pima Settlement along the Upper San Pedro River*; Deni J. Seymour, "Sexually Based War Crimes or Structured Conflict Strategies: An Archaeological Example from the American Southwest," in *Texas and Points West: Papers in Honor of John A. Hedrick and Carrol P. Hedrick*, ed. Regge N. Wiseman, Thomas C. O'Laughlin, and Cordelia T. Snow, Archaeological Society of New Mexico, no. 33 (Albuquerque: Archaeological Society of New Mexico, 2007), 117–34; and Seymour, "Delicate Diplomacy, part 2," 172–74.
83. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 227.
84. Ibid., 393; and Winship, *The Journey of Coronado*, 16.
85. Di Peso, Rinaldo, and Fenner, *Architecture and Dating Methods*, 99; and William K. Hartmann, "Cities of Gold: The Novel as a Research Tool," *Archaeology Southwest* 19, no. 1 (2004): 14.
86. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 252. For other translations, see Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 417; and Winship, *The Journey of Coronado*, 16.
87. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 256. The original documents and historians who have translated and written about this place spell Chichilticali in different ways. The preferred spelling in this document is

"Chichilticali" but when included in a quotation the spelling of the referenced source is used.

88. Thomas H. Naylor, "The Extinct Suma of Northern Chihuahua: Their Origin, Cultural Identity, and Disappearance," *The Artifact* 7, no. 4 (1969): 1–14; Thomas H. Naylor, "Athapaskans They Weren't: The Suma Rebels Executed at Casas Grandes in 1685," in Wilcox and Masse, *The Protohistoric Period in the North American Southwest*, 275–81; Wick R. Miller, "A Note on Extinct Languages of Northwest Mexico of Supposed Uto-Aztecan Affiliation," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 49 (July 1983): 328–47; Carl O. Sauer, *The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern Mexico*, Ibero-americana, vol. 5 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1934), 65, 80; A. L. Kroeber, *Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico*, Ibero-americana, vol. 8 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1934), 81; and Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*, 337, 385, 388.
89. Seymour, "Despoblado or Athapaskan Heartland"; and Seymour, "Implications of Mobility for Dating."
90. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 198.
91. *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides*, 1630, trans. Mrs. Edward E. Ayer, annot. Frederick W. Hodge and Charles F. Lummis (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: Horn and Wallace, 1965), 12.
92. Ibid., 13.
93. In this context, it should be noted that this consideration of the differences in translation and meaning of the word *despoblado* does not result from retranslation of the documents. Instead, individual elements that have been translated by others are scrutinized because archaeological data contradict previous interpretations of a specific word, phrase, or passage, suggesting alternative explanations are needed. The necessity of retranslating illustrates how the addition of archaeological data can substantially alter the interpretation of a translation.
94. Anthony Pagden, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination: Studies in European and Spanish-American Social and Political Theory, 1513–1830* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990), 15.
95. Ibid., 15.
96. Ibid., 15–17.
97. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 381–82, 385.
98. Seymour, "Despoblado or Athapaskan Heartland."
99. John P. Harrington, *Southern Peripheral Athapaskawan Origins, Divisions, and Migrations*, Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America, vol. 100 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1940), 510; Edward B. Danson, *An Archaeological Survey of West Central New Mexico and East Central Arizona*, Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 44, no. 1 (Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, 1957), 116; Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*, 324–25; Seymour, "Thirty-two Degrees North Latitude," 110–12; Seymour, "A Ranchería in the Gran Apacheria," 158–60; and Seymour, "Despoblado or Athapaskan Heartland," 124–27, 131–38.
100. For a discussion of the Chiricahua Apaches' oral tradition during this time period, see D. C. Cole, *The Chiricahua Apache, 1846–1876: From War to Reservation* (Al-

buquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 2–3, 7. For Spanish records that discuss this defensive strategy, see Naylor and Polzer, *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain*, 1:645.

101. For an example, see Naylor and Polzer, *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain*, 1:651.
102. Kathleen A. Deagan, "Neither History nor Prehistory: The Questions that Count in Historical Archeology," *Historical Archaeology* 22, no. 1 (1988): 8.

At intervals along the trail, VÃ¡zquez de Coronado established camps and stationed garrisons of soldiers to keep the supply route open. For example, in September 1540, Melchior DÃaz, along with "seventy or eighty of the weakest and least reliable men" in VÃ¡zquez de Coronado's army, remained at the town of San Hieronimo, in the valley of Corazones, or Hearts.[8] Once the scouting and planning was done, VÃ¡zquez de Coronado led the first group of soldiers up the trail.Â VÃ¡zquez de Coronado traveled north on one side or the other of today's Arizonaâ€"New Mexico state line, and from the headwaters of the Little Colorado River, he continued on until he came to the Zuni River. He followed the Zuni until he found the region inhabited by the Zuni people. Evaluating eyewitness accounts of Native peoples along the Coronado Trail from the International Border to Cibola. New Mexico Historical Review 84: 399â€"435.Google Scholar. Seymour, D. J. (2010a).Â Paper prepared for the Coronado National Forest in partial fulfillment of a Challenge Cost-Share Grant entitled, Apache Site Survey (CCS3-94-05-11). Ms. on file with authors.Google Scholar. Seymour, D. J., and Henderson, R. N. (2010).