

Culiacan and Cibola; for if it be not precise, it is at least some four dozen leagues nearer the truth than are the statements, "300 leagues," made by Coronado and others; and moreover, its author is ~~quite possibly~~ ^{quite possibly} Don Garcia Lopez de Cárdenas, ~~who~~, ^{as} army master, ~~he~~ ^{is likely to have} had to keep, from day to day, ~~of~~ ^{and to} the distances travelled, ^{which may have been done} on the way to Cibola in 1540, ^{as we know done} ~~as we know done~~ ^{eastward march} ^{definitely was on the} ~~in~~ of 1541, ^{from Tiquex eastward} ^{by} detailing a footman ~~to~~ to count steps for that purpose + a stop for such purpose.

* The report
contains the
outline of
"our mystery."

Our most reliable sources for dates in Coronado's journey from Culiacan to Cibola are, of course, the contemporary documents. One of these is Coronado's own letter of August 3, 1540, to Mendoza. Another is the news-letter, or report, known in transcript as the *Traslado de las Nuevas*. The latter, though anonymous, is explicit as to certain essential dates, and bears internal evidence that it was written from the first-reached of the "Seven Cities of Cibola," or, in other words, from "Granada," Coronado's headquarters in the province of Cibola, — by one whose official position, or whose social relation to the ~~King~~ and the general, was such that he felt called upon to report to the former concerning the latter and ~~his~~ ^{original} ~~his~~ advance force, and the history of the *entrada* thus far; as he remarks, "For it is right that I should be the authority for you and his lordship, to assure you that all is going well with the general, my lord." His report was probably ~~transmitted~~ ^{synchonized} with Coronado's letter of August 3, 1540, ^{to the Viceroy; and, so far as the City of Mexico got it by the same messenger.} As a contemporary document, it has greater weight than narratives like those of Castañeda and Jaramillo, which were written many years after the events of which they treated. Its author was ~~probably~~ one who was able to form an independent (and apparently the most accurate) estimate of the distance which the company had covered between Culiacan and Cibola, ^{as we have conceived,} and he was very likely no less a personage than Don Garcia Lopez de Cárdenas, the army master, whose services on the way to Cibola, ~~and~~ as well as in rescuing his wounded and fallen general from a position of grave danger during the assault on the first village of Cibola, were conspicuous.*

*Of his own heroic action in protecting the general and probably saving his life, the author of *Las Nuevas* remains modestly silent, though he mentions the imminent peril into which Coronado had been brought by his glittering armor,— a target for stones and other missiles which the natives hurled down from their stronghold. Cárdenas was evidently a man of action, but one who said little of his own achievements. His account of Coronado's narrow escape, gives all the credit to the strength of the latter's helmet and to the ~~MMMM~~ Lord, and is as follows: "As he was distinguished among them all by his gilt arms and a plume on his headpiece, all the Indians aimed at him, because he was noticeable among all, and they knocked him down to the ground twice by chance stones thrown from the flat roofs, and stunned him in spite of his headpiece, and if this had not been so good, I doubt if he would have come out alive from that enterprise, and besides all this— praised be Our Lord that he came out on his own feet— they hit him many times with stones on his head and shoulders and legs, and he received two small wounds on his face and an arrow wound in the right foot; but despite all this his grace is as sound and well as the day he left the city." But Coronado himself, in his letter to Mendoza, says, "I think that if Don Garcia Lopez de Cárdenas had not come to my help, like a good cavalier, the second time that they knocked me to the ground, by placing his own body above mine, I should have been in much greater danger than I was;" and the *Relacion del Suceso*, speaking of the general and the battle-field, says, "Francisco Vasquez came out of it badly hurt by some stones, and I am certain, indeed that he would have been there yet if it had not been for the army-master, D. Garcia Lopez de Cárdenas, who rescued him."

The letter of Coronado to Mendoza and the *Traslado de las Nuevas* both inform us that Coronado left Culiacan on the 22nd of April; and the latter document explicitly states that he reached the province of Cibola "on Wednesday, the 7th of July," and farther that "his grace spent seventy-seven days on the road before reaching here.....this city of Granada." From April 22nd to July 7th, inclusive, is 77 days, and we may regard these dates as authoritative and this period as substantially correct, — $76\frac{1}{2}$ days being, as we shall see, a little more exact, — for Coronado's march from Culiacan to Cibola, including both travel and stops.

In his letter to Mendoza, Coronado states that he stayed at the Valley of Hearts "four days;" and "rested for two days at Chichilticale," but Jaramillo says "about two days were spent in this village of the Hearts," and the "seventythree days", in which the Relacion del Suceso tells us Coronado and his men (including the author of that Relacion) reached Cibola from Culiacan, is apparently based on a deduction of 4 days' stopping, — 2 at Valley of Hearts and 2 at Chichilticalli, — from the "seventy-seven days on the road," which are reckoned in the Traslado de las Nuevas as the entire time from start to finish of the journey. ~~On a preceding page we have seen~~ ^{one} way in which it ~~is~~ is possible to reconcile this discrepancy ~~between the statement of the~~ ^{between} ~~the~~ ^{the} reckoning of the first named authorities and the later statement of Jaramillo, who was also of the ~~now~~ party, without ~~committing~~ ^{committing} substantial error, and we ~~see~~ ^{see} that there is another. This ~~method~~ ^{method} is to assume that the 27th and 28th of May were the only full days ^{of the whole advance force} of stay at Valley of Hearts, and that the 26th and 29th, — one comprising a forenoon's advance to Valley of Hearts and an afternoon's rest there, ~~the~~ the other comprising a forenoon's final tarry there and an afternoon's on-going toward Chichilticalli, — were reckoned by Jaramillo as days of travel, but by Coronado and this ~~method~~ ^{the} ~~method~~ as days of stopping at Valley of Hearts.

According to ~~this~~ interpretation, — ~~which~~ ~~have~~ ~~been~~ ~~published~~ ~~and~~
~~which~~ ~~be~~ ~~now~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~statement~~ ~~given~~, and ^{noting} in connection
with it ~~saying~~ that, by Castañeda's Narrative*, Coronado and his

*Deficit, page 483.

company, on the day of their arrival at "Granada," had at dawn but "2 leagues", or a short half day's march, to go to reach that village, we find that $76\frac{1}{2}$ days intervened. The "seventy-seven" of the Traslado de las Nuevas, between the departure of Coronado from Culiacan and his arrival opposite the first village of Cibola. If from this we deduct 3 days, 2 full days and 2 half days, for the stop at Valley of

Hearts and 2 for that at ~~Chichilticalli~~, we have $71\frac{1}{2}$ days. The

note "seventy-three" of the author of del Suceso, who deducts only the 4 stops full days from the las Nuevas "seventy-seven" as the time of actual marching over the 350 leagues from Culiacan to "Granada." Coronado's average marching rate of ~~actual marching~~ ^{weakly} for the whole distance was therefore $4\frac{1}{2}$ leagues (~~13.2~~ miles) per day. We shall see that he marched more slowly than this in some stages of the journey, and more rapidly in others.

Let us now consider the time taken for different portions of the march.

↑ and the traveling rates

After leaving the larger and more cumbersome part of his army and equipment at Culiacan, Coronado made more rapid progress than he had done hitherto; yet by his letter to Mendoza we find that, to traverse the 150 leagues between that town and the ^{or Town} Valley of Hearts, it took him from April 22nd till May 26th, or $33\frac{1}{2}$ days. Since there is reason,

Fortitude at we have seen, for believing that he reached Valley of Hearts at the end of about half a day's travel on the 26th, which is at the average rate of only $4\frac{1}{2}$ leagues (~~about 12 miles~~) per day. This slow rate was due in part to the great ruggedness of the mountain roads, some of which had to be worked, in places, before the company could safely pass over them; and partly to their being encumbered with a flock of sheep, which it was finally decided to leave at the Yaqui river, to be brought on at a yet much slower pace by a small party ^{for} which ~~which~~ included four horsemen.

The study already made has indicated that Coronado and his advance force probably left the Valley of Hearts about midday of May 29th. We shall see farther on that they must have reached Chichilticalli ~~on~~ on the evening of the ^{1st} of June. They therefore covered the ^{12.0} leagues between Valley of Hearts and Chichilticalli in $22\frac{1}{2}$ days, or at the rate of $5\frac{1}{3}$ leagues (~~12 miles~~) per day.

In his letter to Mendoza, Coronado tells us that they rested at Chichilticalli for two days, which must have been the 21st and 22nd of June, since he also says that they left there on the day known in the church calendars as Saint John's Eve, which is June 23rd. We have already seen that they reached the first village of Cibola, ~~according to the~~ ^{according to the} ~~Traslado de las Nuevas~~ ^{narratives} ~~Relaciones~~ on the 7th of July. But two other dates are obtained from the ~~statements~~ ^{State-} ~~statements~~ of Castañeda and Jaramillo by taking them in connection with Coronado's ^{Statement} that they "entered the borders of the wilderness region," —i.e., left Chichilticalli, —"on Saint John's eve;" for Castañeda makes them 17 days in marching from Chichilticalli to the first village of Cibola, while Jaramillo takes them over the same ground in 13 days: which would make the date of arrival there July 9th according

to the former, and July 5th according to the latter authority. But as regards exact periods and dates, the narratives of Castañeda and Jaramillo, written ~~and~~ from memory and compilation a score of years after the events of which they treat, are of little weight, as against ~~the~~ ^{and contemporary report} definite ^{and} ~~and~~ rendered ~~almost contemporaneously~~ by such a man as Cárdenas, the army-master (for the author of the *las Nuevas* report, if not Cárdenas, was certainly one who, like him, ranked high in his relation to the ^{king, the} viceroy, the general, and the expedition); and Jaramillo frankly confesses the uncertainty of some of the essential links in his ^{time} reckoning; while Castañeda was ^{not} ~~not~~ member of Coronado's advance force, but of the rear army, under Arellano, and in seeking his information necessarily at second hand, may easily have confused the time (15 days) ^{mainly} ~~by Coronado~~ taken to reach the first village of the province of Cibola with that taken to reach the border ~~middle~~ of the province, to wit, the "rio bermejo", ~~where~~ where they saw the first natives of the province, 8 leagues below the said village; and with such weight as they have, so far from tending to change the ^{los Nuevas} date of arrival, they tend rather to confirm it, since one tends to advance the date two days, and the other to set it back the same, the average of the dates derived from them being exactly the date given in the *Traslado de las Nuevas*. Accepting, then, the last-named document as our best authority on the date of the arrival of Coronado at the village of "Granada," and having no reason to doubt the statement of Castañeda, that on the night ~~of~~ preceding their arrival at the village they were already within 2 leagues of the latter, the arrival there was evidently about ~~midnight~~ midday of July 7th. The march of 80 leagues from Chichilticalli to Cibola therefore occupied $14\frac{1}{2}$ days, and was at the rate of 5.52 leagues ~~(10 miles)~~ ^(nearly 15) per day. That,

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*For a study of Fray Marcos' journey to Cibola,
and for a reference to other studies of the same,
see my "For What Purpose?"

In the first despoblado, (deserted or uninhabited region,) that Coronado met with, and which, according to Jaramillo, he entered from Arispe and crossed in 4 days, he had with him, as one of his guides, the Franciscan friar, Marcos de Niza, who had journeyed to ~~the border of Cibola~~ in 1539, and had likewise crossed in 4 days this ~~same~~ despoblado, ^{same} ~~as~~ ^{Niza's} ~~personal narrative informs us~~. It is ~~more~~ probable that, between Señora and Chichilticalli, Fray Marcos was now piloting Coronado over the same trail that the friar himself had followed the year before.

From Arispe northward, Coronado had the choice of two routes to the Mexpa, or San Pedro River: a shorter, left-hand one, up Rio de Bacanuchi, reaching the divide by a northwesterly to northerly course; and a right-hand one, that reaches it by following up the somewhat detoured course of Sonora River, northeasterly to Bacuachi and thence northwesterly, past Ojo de Agua del Valle, the Sonora's source.

Of these, he seems to have taken the left-hand and more direct; for the right-hand would have taken him through a considerable line of small settlements, in the midst of which was the Valley of Suya. Of the Valley of Suya, Castañeda wrote, "There are many villages in the neighborhood of this valley"; and this was once true of the apparently identical valley of Mututicachi, as is shown by the aboriginal remains found from Los Fresnos to Tijisorichi* by Bandelier.* There are a

^{Footnote} ~~The~~ ^{of Tijisorichi} ~~ruins~~ between Arispe and Chinapa.

^{See his Southwestern Contributions, p. 136.}
^{Final Report, Pt. II, p. 489; and The Gila and Mimbres, 1882.}

number of Spanish and Opata-Spanish settlements along this same right-hand road today; to wit, Chinapa, Bacuachi, Rancho, Mututicachi,

^{Footnote} ~~Old~~ Mututicachi, according to the Rudo Ensayo, was abandoned in 1730, from fear of the Apaches; but on or near its site, ~~is~~ ^{recently} ~~now~~ ^{subsequently}, ~~now~~ a small hamlet of the same name has sprung up, which in the year 1900, according to the Handbook of American Indians, had 27 inhabitants.

Cerro Colorado, Molino Parson, Rancho, Janoverachi, and Los Fresnos; while only Piedra de Lumbre, Depachi, and Bacanuchi, and these within 7 or 8 leagues of Arispe, are indicated along the left-hand road on late maps of Sonora. On the right-hand road, several, and on the ~~left~~ ^{right}-hand road, Bacanuchi, are known to date back two centuries or more.

That the left-hand route northward was in 1540 the main one for "through" travel, is also indicated by the following consideration:

When located at Señora, the Spaniards of the town of San Hieronimo were exactly on the direct road; but after they were transferred to Suya (Mututicachi), Castañeda says only that "they were still almost

(Continued on page 43a.)

~~the~~ ^{the} Translation, pp. 8th and XIV, 533. After the founding of the town of Suya, the Spanish expresses of course went and came by way of Suya, even though it was not quite the shortest road.

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 *Winship's Translation, Bu. Eth. Ann., XIV, 533. After the founding of the town of Suya, the Spanish expresses of course went and came by way of Suya, even though it was not quite the shortest road.

We have seen that Coronado's average rate of travel between Valley of Hearts and Chichilticalli was $5\frac{1}{3}$ leagues per day. At this rate, 4 days' journey by the left-hand road north from Arispe, would have brought him to the vicinity of ~~Min~~ the recent Rancho Cananea, at the head of the Rio San Pedro. From this northern end of the first ^{as noticed in Early Tex. West Papar, No. 1,} ~~despoblado,~~ ^{Fray. Marcos,} in 1589, went northward through the native settle-

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