

ments of San Pedro River for 5 days. No reason appears why ~~the~~ settlements <sup>of the Sobalpuris Indians</sup> may not have extended as far north in 1539 as the journals of the Bernal expedition show that they did in ~~1697~~ 1697; namely, to within a few miles of the San Pedro's junction with the Gila. But

~~Footnote~~ ~~see footnote, page~~

Castañeda's observation, that the Indians of the Chichilticalli district "are the most barbarous people that have yet been seen. They live in separate cabins and not in settlements. They live by hunting",\*

~~Footnote~~ \*Winship's Transl., l. c., page 516.

indicates that at the time of Coronado's expedition the Sobalpuris did not <sup>possess the country</sup> ~~occupy~~ so far ~~eastward~~ east as <sup>La Florida,</sup> the Pueblo ~~Valley~~ Valley, <sup>indicates</sup> and that <sup>We discuss this matter in a somewhat detailed manner farther on.</sup> that valley was <sup>then</sup> occupied by the Apaches. It is even possible that the Chiricahua Mountain range and the ~~long~~ long valley that flanks it <sup>on the east</sup> were <sup>also</sup> then, as later, frequented by these same roaming Apaches\*.

Footnote

\*In 1762, the author of the Rudo Ensayo wrote that the "Sierra ~~de~~ of Chiguicagui" (Chiricahui or Chiricahua) ~~mountain~~ of which he said the name ~~was~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Opata~~ ~~language~~ and signified Turkey Mountains, ~~was~~ the great "Bochela" (retreat) of the Apaches. (According to the Bureau of American Ethnology's recently published Handbook of American Indians, the name Chiricahua is Apache, and means "great mountain.") In <sup>as we have seen,</sup> 1697, Lieut. Bernal's military expedition found chief Coro's band of Sobalpuris, at their village of Quiburi, on ~~San Pedro River~~ San Pedro River, engaged in a dance around ~~thirteen~~ thirteen Apache scalps; which latter may ~~be~~ reasonably be supposed to have been obtained from the borderland between the upper San Pedro Valley and the Chiricahua Mountains ~~to~~ the ~~eastward~~ eastward.

Return to the range of the Chiricahua mountains

<sup>may have been the Indians who met</sup> some of whom Coronado ~~met~~ ~~in~~ 1540 at the <sup>Pack</sup> ~~place~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~San~~ ~~Pedro~~ ~~River~~ ~~Valley~~ ~~in~~ 1539 made <sup>about</sup> ~~about~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ ~~day~~, <sup>through the Aztec interpreters or Aztec speaking runners</sup> ~~gave~~ ~~him~~ ~~"news"~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~"Chichilticalli"~~ ~~which~~ ~~he~~ ~~was~~ ~~approaching~~, <sup>as is probable, from Mexico</sup> ~~But~~ ~~it~~ ~~is~~ ~~probable~~ ~~that~~ ~~he~~ ~~was~~ ~~in~~ ~~descending~~ ~~the~~ ~~San~~ ~~Pedro~~ ~~River~~ ~~Valley~~ ~~in~~ 1539 made <sup>about</sup> ~~about~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ ~~day~~, <sup>making the common day's journeys of 5 leagues a day,</sup> ~~the~~ ~~most~~ ~~northerly~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~San~~ ~~Pedro~~ ~~River~~ ~~settlements~~ ~~reached~~ ~~by~~ ~~him~~ ~~in~~ ~~that~~ ~~year~~ ~~must~~ ~~have~~ ~~been~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~neighborhood~~ ~~of~~ ~~Turkey~~ ~~and~~ ~~Prospect~~ ~~cracks,~~ ~~Arizona~~ ~~since~~ ~~he~~ ~~descended~~ ~~the~~ ~~San~~ ~~Pedro~~ ~~River~~ ~~only~~ ~~to~~ ~~some~~ ~~30~~ ~~leagues~~ ~~(81~~ ~~miles)~~ ~~below~~ ~~where~~ ~~now~~ ~~is~~ ~~the~~ ~~Rancho~~ ~~Cananea.~~ ~~That~~ ~~it~~ ~~seems~~ ~~probable~~ ~~that~~ ~~Niza~~ ~~in~~ ~~1530,~~ ~~left~~ ~~the~~ ~~San~~ ~~Pedro~~ ~~River~~ ~~some~~ ~~8~~ ~~or~~ ~~9~~ ~~miles~~ ~~above~~ ~~—~~ ~~that~~ ~~is,~~ ~~southeasterly~~ ~~of~~ ~~—~~ ~~—~~

These two spellings are used by Jaramillo, as I understand.

Jaramillo brings Coronado's men to their point of turning eastward from the Nexpa, in but 2 days' march down that river from the northern ~~part~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~San~~ ~~Pedro~~ ~~River~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~point~~ ~~of~~ ~~turning~~ ~~eastward~~ ~~from~~ ~~the~~ ~~Nexpa,~~ ~~in~~ ~~but~~ ~~2~~ ~~days'~~ ~~march~~ ~~down~~ ~~that~~ ~~river~~ ~~from~~ ~~the~~ ~~northern~~ ~~part~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~San~~ ~~Pedro~~ ~~River~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~point~~ ~~of~~ ~~turning~~ ~~eastward~~ ~~from~~ ~~the~~ ~~Nexpa,~~ ~~in~~ ~~but~~ ~~2~~ ~~days'~~ ~~march~~ ~~down~~ ~~that~~ ~~river~~ ~~from~~ ~~the~~ ~~northern~~ ~~part~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~San~~ ~~Pedro~~ ~~River~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~point~~ ~~of~~ ~~turning~~ ~~eastward~~ ~~from~~ ~~the~~ ~~Nexpa,~~ ~~in~~ ~~but~~ ~~2~~ ~~days'~~ ~~march~~ ~~down~~ ~~that~~ ~~river~~ ~~from~~ ~~the~~ ~~northern~~ ~~part~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~San~~ ~~Pedro~~ ~~River~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~point~~ ~~of~~ ~~turning~~ ~~eastward~~ ~~from~~ ~~the~~ ~~Nexpa,~~ ~~in~~ ~~but~~ 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limit of the first despoblado; which, at 7 leagues a day, (his probable approximate rate over this evenly descending part of the road,) would be in the vicinity of Charleston. Hodge even supposes that

"in two days .... they could have reached the latitude of Tombstone in Arizona, for traveling is comparatively easy up [down] San Pedro Valley, and the distance is less than forty-five miles in a straight line;" *which would be at a rate of about 8 leagues a day.*

On the other hand, the Relacion del Suceso makes the road to Cibola change from northward to northeastward much farther north; *than Tombstone* to wit, at latitude 34° 40'.

The discrepancy between these two original authorities, has been *discussed* ~~correctly stated~~ by ~~Hodge~~ Hodge, who ~~has~~ *makes* arrived at the conclusion ~~that~~ Coronado ~~turn~~ turn eastward from the San Pedro ~~River~~ *River* in the vicinity of Benson, as follows:

In connection with Jaramillo's statement that two days down Nexpa River brought them to this turning-point, ~~Hodge~~ *Hodge* observes that "we cannot rely on Jaramillo's estimates of the time occupied between the points named by him, since he does not have full confidence in them himself"; and, quoting that author's description of the route ~~down~~ down Nexpa River and to the river "de las Balsas," he emphasizes the following four expressions of doubt employed in it: "it seems to me"; "I believe"; "it seems to me"; "it is so long since we went there that I may be wrong in some days." He also notes that of the 15 days that Castañeda's Relacion says it took to reach Rio Bermejo from Chichilticalli, ~~cast~~ Jaramillo accounts for but 11.\*

*Jara to Cibola*

\*Castañeda erred, however, in making the time between Chichilticalli and Rio Vermejo 15 days, instead of 13; 15 was both the usual time and Coronado's, between Chichilticalli and the first village of Cibola.

The remainder of ~~Hodge~~ Hodge's discussion of this turning-point, is as follows:

"In view of Jaramillo's confession of doubt, therefore, the advance guard may have reached [left] the San Pedro in the latitude of Tombstone, or they may have turned to the right from that stream considerably farther north. Tombstone, at any rate, is evidently the most southerly point from which the turn toward the northeast can be reckoned. Now, by determining the most northerly point at which the course of the army may have been diverted, we may be able to obtain a mean locality on which a conclusion may be based.

"From the Relacion del Suceso (p. 573) it is learned that from the

Valley of Culiacan to Cibola "it is 240 leagues in two directions. It is north to about 34° 30', and from there to Cibola, which is nearly the 37°, toward the northeast." These general directions are, of course, only approximate. ~~Many~~ Early travelers frequently say 'north' for 'northerly', and in this sense must we regard the direction given by the Relacion referred to. A due north journey would have kept the army in the cordillera the entire distance; besides, Jaramillo states that the course from Culiacan was northwesterly, 'with some twisting.'

"Now to assume, in advance of the testimony, that Cibola was the site of seven villages occupied by the ancestors of the present Zuñi Indians of Western New Mexico, ~~an~~ an assumption that will be duly substantiated, we find that the Relacion del Suceso estimated the latitude about two degrees too far north, since ~~the~~ Zuñi is in only about 35°. This would approximately determine the northernmost point on the San Pedro or Nexpa at which Coronado could have turned northeastward, or 'toward the right,' at about 32° 30' instead of 34° 30'. But unfortunately, we cannot be sure that the error in reckoning the latitude of the two points given was the same in both instances, and 'about' and 'nearly' may mean a difference of thirty minutes, which, to an army grown accustomed to a march covering hundreds of leagues, would, after all, have been trivial.

"We have now determined the northernmost and the southernmost points at which the army could have turned eastward. The mean of these two places us in the neighborhood of Benson, on the Southern Pacific Railroad, east of which is Dragon Pass, through which that railroad winds its course. There are other passes through the range of mountains that here extends from northwest to southeast, but the ~~most prominent~~ most prominent is the Dragon Pass, which divides the range into two sections — the 'Galiuro' and the Dragon Mountains.

"From the middle San Pedro the Dragon Pass is the natural highway toward the northeast."\*

~~It seems probable, therefore, that both Niza in 1539 and Coronado in 1540 left the San Pedro Valley at a point not far from Benson. But it ~~seems~~ also seems probable that St. David, a few miles farther south, is more nearly the exact point where they began to diverge from the river; for ~~St. David is on a trail leading W to the Dragon Pass from the upper San Pedro more directly than one by way of Benson. At St. David, indeed, the river swings somewhat to the left, and its course thence to Benson nearly a right angle with the trail from St. David to Dragon~~~~

\* Brewer's Memoirs, II, pp. 38-40.

As regards the evidence from Jaramillo's narrative, versus that from the Relacion del Suceso, it seems to the present writer that Mr. Hodge's statement as to the unreliability of Jaramillo's estimates (confessed so repeatedly by Jaramillo himself) as to the number of days taken for different stretches of Coronado's march to Cibola, is of particular force in connection with so easy and monotonous a stage of that march as that down San Pedro River Valley, and in connection with such parts of Jaramillo's narrative as conflict with direct statements in other contemporaneous chronicles of that march. It would seem more logical, therefore, instead of averaging the data from Jaramillo and the Relacion del Suceso as to the place of leaving San Pedro River, to reject Jaramillo's in toto,\* and to assume that the two

Footnote

\*We have seen that Coronado's ~~march~~ <sup>averaged</sup> from the native town of Corazones to Chichilticalli ~~at~~ <sup>his way</sup> ~~an~~ <sup>of</sup>  $5\frac{1}{3}$  leagues a day. Along the Rio Sonora ~~the~~ <sup>was</sup> up-grade, and the incessantly winding path was impeded by many fords and sand-hills. In the river gorges it crossed rough and rocky ground and was crowded upon by rank growths of semi-tropical vegetation. The marching rate up the Sonora, therefore, probably fell considerably below ~~that average.~~

From the Sonora-San Pedro divide to the ~~the~~ <sup>Pueblo Viejo Valley, or</sup> Chichilticalli district, ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~rate~~ <sup>rate</sup> must have been much above  $5\frac{1}{3}$ , and probably reached 6, ~~being~~ <sup>being</sup> ~~aided~~ <sup>aided</sup> by about a 7-league ~~San Pedro River Valley~~. At ~~an~~ <sup>an</sup> average ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> 6 leagues a day, Coronado ~~would~~ <sup>would</sup> have covered the distance from Arispe to Chichilticalli (about 77 leagues) in 13 days.

But Coronado's march from Arispe to Chichilticalli, according to Jaramillo's narrative, was made up as follows:

- Across the First Despoblado to the head of San Pedro River, } 4 days { Time con-  
firmed by Niza's  
crossing it in 4  
days in 1539.
- Down the San Pedro River, } 2 " { Time not confirmed by  
any known data.
- To western foot of mountains east of San Pedro River, (To Ebneca Spring,) } 2 " { Time confirmed by po-  
sition of Pinaleno  
Mountain range.
- From western foot of those mountains to the "deep and reedy river" [Gila]; ~~late maps show, must have taken~~ } 2 " <sup>and perhaps part of a third day.</sup>

Making altogether ~~not more than~~ <sup>2, or</sup>  $18\frac{1}{2}$  days. Hence there is a

~~shortage of~~ <sup>2, or</sup> 3 days in Jaramillo's account of the time it took Coronado to march from Arispe to Chichilticalli; and <sup>at</sup> this shortage seems to have applied to that part of the march that led down the San Pedro River, ~~we~~ <sup>we</sup> conclude that here Jaramillo's recollection failed him and that Coronado marched down that river ~~5~~ <sup>5</sup> days, ~~instead of 2.~~ <sup>(as Fray Marcos' narrative states.)</sup>

Formerly the ranch of Josiah Pool and a post office, near the mouth of Pool Canyon; but now the property of Mr. Dering, Mt. Sigacker, who owns a large tract in this region, with control of some ranch at Hot Springs.

latitudes given in the Relacion del Suceso for the turning thence ~~west~~ northeast and for ~~the~~ Cibola, are both to be accepted as the best that were obtainable by the means of determination then used, and that the latitude 34° 30', for the former, should, as an approximation, be reduced to modern reading by the same correction as has been found necessary in the case of Cibola-Zufi (Hawiku-Granada), namely, a little more than 2 degrees. This would put the turning-point of the Coronado or 1540 expedition short of 32° 30', and a little south of Fredington, <sup>within a very few minutes of</sup> the Prospect Creek trail by which, as we have shown in Early Far West Paper, No. 1, Fray Marcos left San Pedro Valley in 1539; and (since the errors of observation for Hawiku and for the point of leaving San Pedro River were probably nearly but not precisely the same) is consistent with the otherwise reasonable assumption, that Fray Marcos <sup>Malchior Diaz, and some of their former Indian companions were here</sup> guiding the expedition of '40 over the same route and thoroughfare that they themselves had traveled the year before.\*

To the present writer, therefore, the evidence seems to support the conclusion that the Prospect Creek Pass (rather than either Nugent's or the Dragoon, though these are better known by reason of their use in recent decades for east-west travel by stage-coach and railway train) was that by which Coronado left the San Pedro Valley; and that a place near Pool\* is, much more nearly than one near Benson, the point where Coronado's road to Cibola turned northeastward, or "toward the right," and "left the stream."

Footnote

\*"The general and his force crossed the country without trouble, as they found everything peaceful, because the Indians know Fray Marcos and some of the others who had been with Malchior Diaz when he went with Juan de Saldibar to investigate." ~~Castaneda~~ (Castaneda, Winskip's Translation, Beech. Ann. XIV, 482.)

Leaving the river here and bearing to the right, the only "mountain chain" whose "foot" the advance army could have reached "in two days' journey," is that which, from north-northwest to south-southeast, is divided into the sierras Santa Teresa, Finaleño, and Chiricahua, — by Eagle Pass between the first and second of those ranges and by Railroad Pass between the second and the third. Through this chain there are several <sup>other</sup> passes; but only one of them will needs be mentioned in connection with our present study.

Railroad Pass, as we have elsewhere observed, Mr. Hodge identifies with "the Pass of 'Chichiltic Calli,' to which Jaramillo refers."

Footnote "Bu. Eth. Ann. XIV, 584.

because it was at the western base of the mountains that news of the 'Red House' was heard." This name, "Chichiltic Calli," Jaramillo tells us, was adopted by the Spaniards for this pass "because we learned that this was what it was called, from some Indians whom we left behind." By those from the southwest whose road led through it to the Casa Colorado, it would naturally have been called the Pass of Chichilticalli.

The "great stealing road of the Apaches," described in Captain A. E. Johnston's Journal, of 1846,\* and which led from the ~~river~~ San Pedro

Footnote \*See next footnote; also Early Far West Paper, No. 3.

River to the north by way of the vicinity of present <sup>and Central</sup> Safford, and which might at first be supposed to have led over the same course as that which Coronado followed from the middle San Pedro to Chichilticalli and Cibola, is said to have gone "around the southeast base" of "a high mountain," that had "the top covered with trees," and was "about five miles off" to the "south of southwest" of General Kearney's camp of October 29, 1846; the mountain thus described being that named "Mt. Graham" on the map of General Kearney's route, and more commonly known ~~as~~ now as Graham Peak.\* A road ~~was~~ that

Footnote (beginning of)

\*Journals of Emory and Johnston, Ex. Doc. No. 41, 30th Cong., 1st Sess.; especially p. 585 (Johnston) and map. Says Doctor Rothrock, "the timber on Graham Peak is simply magnificent. Pinus ponderosa (the yellow pine of the region) covers thousands of acres, and attains a height of 80 feet, constituting a most valuable lumber; Abies Douglasii, reaches 90 feet; A. concolor, 70 feet, and A. Engelmanni, 40 feet. The first two are of great importance as a source of lumber. Under the present demand for timber, it is not at all probable that the supply will be exhausted for many years. The oaks so common on the lower hills of the Sierra Blanca are not so abundant, and do not range higher on Graham Peak than 6,500 feet. Between the oak and pine belts the manzanita (Arctostaphylos tomentosa) grows rather abundantly. In some portions of the country the red berries of this shrub are utilized by the natives in making an acid drink. The northern or Gila slope of Graham Peak has a barren aspect, the timber apparently not reaching so low an altitude as on the southern." He adds that this condition "may be only apparent," and "due to the more rapid falling away of the land toward the river. Bunch-grass (Festuca and Poa) grows luxuriantly among the timber on the dry hills from 7,000 to 9,000 feet." (Wheeler Survey Report for 1878, p. 124.)

Graham peak was

