

settlements of San Pedro River for 5 days. No reason appears why ~~the~~
of the Sobchupi Indians
settlements 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

the fatnate, pse

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

*Winship's Transl., l. c., page 516.

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

*In 1762, the author of the *Rudo Ensayo* wrote that the "Sierra ~~the~~ of Chiguicgui" (Chiricahui or Chiricahua), ~~which~~, of which he said the name ~~the~~ 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 1897, Lieut. Bernal's military expedition found chief Coro's band of Sobalipuris, ~~at~~ their village of Quiburi, on ~~the~~ San Pedro River, engaged in a dance around ~~the~~ 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 ~~the~~ eastward.

Many have been the Indians who met some of whom Coronado ~~was~~ to have met in 1540 at the ^{Pass} ~~of~~ "Chichiltic Calli," and ~~had~~ ^{through the Aztec interpreters or Aztec reading} ~~had~~ ^{him "news" of the} "Chichiltic Calli" ^{as is probable from Marcos} ~~which~~ he was approaching. But if ⁱⁿ the River Valley ⁱⁿ '39 made ^{about} 6 days a day, ⁱⁿ the ^{same} days 10 journeys of 5 leagues a day.

the most northerly of the San ~~Antonio~~ River settlements reached by him in that year must have been in the neighborhood ~~of San Antonio~~ of Turkey and ~~Protest~~ Creek, Arizona; since he descended the San ~~Antonio~~ River only to some ~~30~~ leagues ~~from~~ (~~8½~~ miles) below where now is the Rancho Cananea. That it seems probable that Hissa, in 1539, left the San Pedro River some 8 or 9 miles above — that is, southeasterly of Tucson.

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 $34^{\circ} 40'$.

The discrepancy between these two original authorities, has been discussed ~~recently~~ ^{recently} studied by ~~Hodge~~ Hodge, who ~~arrived at the conclusion~~ ^{arrived at the conclusion} ~~that Coronado~~ ^{that Coronado} turn eastward from the San Pedro ^{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~~ 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, ~~Jaramillo~~ Jaramillo accounts for but 11.*

Jaramillo
*Castañeda erred, however, in making the time between Chichilticalli and Rio Bermejo 15 days, instead of 18; 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 $34^{\circ} 30'$, 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 ~~the~~ ancestors of the present Zuñi Indians of Western New Mexico, ~~is~~ 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 $32^{\circ} 30'$ instead of $34^{\circ} 30'$. 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 Dragoon 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~~ most prominent is the Dragoon Pass, which divides the range into two sections — the 'Galiuro' and the Dragoon Mountains.

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

It seems probable, therefore, that both Niza in 1680 and Gómez in 1750,
left the San Pedro in the region of Benson. But it ~~is~~ ^{is} also
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 5 days distance 1750, and Coronado 4 and 5 days, or 40 miles, at a right angle, 1540;~~ and
St. David is on a trail leading ~~to~~ to Dragoon 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
is nearly a right angle with the trail from St. David to Dragoon.

A.H.A.

As regards the evidence from Jaramillo's narrative, verus 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

*We have seen that Coronado's [] march [] from the native town of Corazones to Chichilticalli [] ^{alleged} ~~his way~~ $5\frac{1}{3}$ leagues a day. Along the Rio Sonora [] was 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 ^{Puerto Viejo Valley, or} Chichilticalli district, ~~in~~ ^{the rate must have been much above} $5\frac{1}{3}$, and probably reached 6, ^{being raised by about 2 leagues} ~~in~~ San Pedro River Valley. At ~~an~~ ^{an} average of 6 ^{leagues} a day, Coronado ^{would} 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	} 4 days	Time ^{CONFIRMED} by Niza's crossing it in 4 days in 1539.
head of San Pedro River,		
Down the San Pedro River,	} 2 "	Time not confirmed by any known data.
To western foot of mountains east of San Pedro River, (T. Ebinaka Spring)		

From western foot of those mountains to the "deep and reedy river" [Gila] 2 " and perhaps part of a third day. ~~late maps show, must have taken~~

Making altogether ~~not more than~~ ^{2 or} $10\frac{1}{2}$ days. Hence there is a

~~shortage of 3 days in Jaramillo's account of the time it took Coronado to march from Arispe to Chichilticalli; and this shortage seems to have~~ applied to that part of the march that led down the San Pedro River, ~~we conclude that here Jaramillo's recollection failed him and that Coronado marched down that river 5 days, instead of 2.~~ ^(as may be made of his narrative)

* Formerly the branch of Josiah Pool and a post office, near the mouth of Pool Canyon.
 * Still earlier the property of Mr. Benning W. Jackson, who owned a large tract in this region, with cattle at the ranch at Wink's Hot Springs.

latitudes given in the Relacion del Suceso for the turning thence more northeast and for ~~Wink's~~ Cibola, are both to be accepted as the best that were obtainable by the means of determination then used, and that the latitude $32^{\circ} 30'$, 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-Zuñi (Hawikuh-Granada), namely, a little more than 2 degrees. This would put the turning-point of the Coronado or 1540 expedition short of $32^{\circ} 30'$, ~~and a little south of Redington,~~
~~within a few minutes of~~
~~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 Hawikuh 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, ^{Malchior Diaz, and some of their former Indian companions were here} 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."

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

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, Pinaleño, 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 ^{other} 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 Colorada, 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 middle San Pedro

^{Footnote} "See next footnote; also Early Far West Paper, No. 3.

River to the north by way of the vicinity of present ^{and Cantal} 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 28, 1846; the mountain thus described being that named "Mt. Graham" on the map of General Kearney's route, and more commonly known ~~now as Graham Peak.~~ now as Graham Peak.* A road

^{* Journals of Kearney 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 magni- cent. *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 6,000 feet. Between the oak and pine belts the manzanita (*Arctostaphylos* ~~lomatostachys~~) 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 1875, p. 124.)}

Graham peak was

Footnote (cont.)

Tutor illustration
Seta Graham portrait
if possible.

by Lieutenant George
was named for Lieut. James Duncan Graham, Topographical Engineers,
U. S. A., who was engaged on surveying the western part of the territory of the
General Kearney's expedition to California. He was born in Prince William County, Virginia, April 4,
1799, and was a graduate of the Military Academy at West Point, of the
class of 1817. He was appointed 3rd Lieutenant
Corps Artillery, July 17, 1817; 2nd Lieut., Oct. 14, 1817; 1st Lieut., Sept. 8, 1819. Was
transferred to 4th Artillery June 1, 1821; to 3rd Artill. Aug. 16,
1821. Appointed Brevet Major Topographical Engineers Sept. 14, 1834;
Major Topographical Engineers, July 7, 1838; Lieutenant-Colonel,
Aug. 6, 1861. Transferred to Engineers
Mar. 3, 1863; Colonel, June 1, 1863. For valuable and highly dis-
tinguished services, he was made Lieutenant-Colonel
Jan. 1, 1849. He was connected with the earlier part of the work
of the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission (October, 1850,
to October, 1851), in the capacity of Chief Astronomer, and Head of
the Topographical Scientific Corps. ~~for the early survey, he had surveyed the~~
~~northeast boundary of the United States; and represented the United~~
~~States in the negotiations and~~
~~determining the boundary be-~~
~~tween the United States and the British provinces, etc. He died~~
~~in Boston, Mass., Dec. 28, 1865.~~ (Powell's List of Officers;
Bartlett's Personal Narrative; Harper's Encyclopedia of United States
History; and Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography.)

ross around the southeastern skirt of Graham Peak from that camp,
threads, as it approaches the vicinity of Fort Grant, a pass which in
recent decades has been known as Stockton Pass. But it is very prob-
able that the southeastern base of Mount Graham was regarded by Cap-
tain Johnston in 1846, as by Doctor Bell in 1867-8,* as being at the

*See New Tracks in North America, Vol. II, p. 55.

southeastern limit of the Pinaleño Range, and that an important branch—
perhaps the main one—of the Captain's "great stealing road of the
Apaches" went through Railroad Pass; for, of a reconnaissance in this
region in 1867, Doctor Bell wrote as follows:

"There could be no doubt of the presence of Indians all through these
mountains; for if we had not had so melancholy a proof of that fact at
Fort Bowie, we had passed no less than four well-worn Indian trails,
which crossed different parts of Railroad Pass, from one part of the
range to the other. This was, in fact, the highway leading from
the Sierra Blanca and other mountain fastnesses north of the Gila, to
the State of Sonora, where those sons of plunder were wont.....
to make constant raids upon the helpless Mexicans."

Footnote
"Volume cited, pp. 57-58.

"But while the "stealing road" through Railroad Pass and thence
northward to the Gila and northwestward down the Pueblo Valley,
was part of a one-time route from Sonora to the White Mountain Wilder-

While endeavoring to find a suitable
name for the pass, he consulted
Johnston's work of the late 1850's
from which he derived the name
"Railroad Pass."