

ness, and doubtless connected, at present Fort Apache, with a route thence to Zuni-land, it was not the most direct route from the upper and middle San Pedro River to the Zuni; and it was doubtless developed as a strategically-connected great trunk steaming road only in and subsequent to the latter part of the seventeenth century, when the settlement of Sonora by the Spaniards had made the steaming of live-stock thence a possible source of wealth to the Apaches.

Whatever its northern and southern branches, the only known, and apparently the only feasible and much-travelled, highway ~~was~~ of former times between San Pedro River and Zufi-Cibola, passed by the place where now is Fort Apache; and that locality, therefore, it seems certain that Coronado's route must have passed. That a detour so far eastward and a way so needlessly long as the steaming road described by Captain Johnston, or as the line of march by Railroad Pass, Solomon'sville, and the Gila Bonito, advocated by Mr. Hodge, formed part of the main thoroughfare by which the *Sobaispiris* were accustomed to journey from the upper and middle San Pedro River to Cibola in the sixteenth century, and by which they led Fray Marcos in 1539, and by which the latter, in turn, guided Coronado in 1540, seems improbable to the present writer on general grounds, and is apparently unsupported by evidence.

On the contrary, there is evidence that seems to distinctly contro-
vene the supposition that Railroad Pass was the gap through which
Coronado went to reach the "deep and ready river" files; and that
evidence favors a more northerly pass than that advocated by Mr.
Hodge as the Pass of Michilticuili. *In his Cronaca Misionera, libro II, Yollo in 1652, and copying from him,*
Mota Padilla, in his

Historia de la conquista de la provincia de la Nueva-Galicia, escrita en 1742,¹⁹) making use of documents now unknown —possibly the papers of Pedro de Tovar— described the Pass of Chichilticalli as follows:

"They went through a ~~country~~ ^{gap or pass in hills} "portezuela" which was named"....
"Chichilticali (which means red house [casa colorada], for one that
was there" ["en el"] ~~country~~ ^{or "in it"} "plastered over with red earth"
[tierra colorada], "which they call almagre); here were found pines
with large cones of very good piñon nuts; and farther along, ^[at the Creek] on the
summit of some high rocks [peñas], were found heads of sheep with
great horns, and some said they had seen ^{three} or four sheep of that sort.

and that they were ^{very} ~~met~~ (some of these animals have been seen in Cathay, which is Tartary.)" ~~for the use of a copy of 1880's work (as well as that of 1881's and others, I am indebted to Dr. Merrill P. Freeman of Tucson, whose paper~~

~~described was the Spanish quoted by Winship on page 487 of the 11th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, except the first 800 words, which are taken from the 1880 of The Gilded Age.~~

~~If for portugués we read "gap" instead "narrow defile,"~~
~~this description of the pass of Chichilticalli, is quite well applicable to Eagle Pass; but it does not at all comport with Railroad Pass, which is merely an open or gradually drooping interval, several miles in width, between two mountain ranges. Of Railroad Pass, Doctor Bell wrote, "its width averages from eight to ten miles. It looks more like a plain which has been slightly uplifted than a pass through a range of mountains, covered as it is with magnificent grass, and devoid of trees."~~

Footnote

*Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 55.

The trail that leads up Prospect Creek ~~has two~~ ^{Intermediate} ~~branches~~ ^{Lead Canyon and Bear Canyon. San Supplement} ~~branches~~. One of these leads to Fort Grant and Stockton

Pass; the other goes to Eagle Pass, by way of Eureka Springs.* And

"There are trails to Eagle Pass also from more southerly points of the San Pedro River. One of these comes through Nugent's Pass, from Tres Alamos; another, through Dragoon Pass (el Paso del Dragon,) comes either from Saint David or from Benson. But these are less direct than the route by Prospect Creek, as they both have to go considerably east of the meridian of Eagle Pass, in order to swing around the eastern base of Point of Mountain, a southeastern spur of the Sierra Salitrera (or "Calliuro").

from Eagle Pass there is an old thoroughfare to Zuni, by way of Fort Apache; the portion north to the latter post being approximately identical with the military wagon-road and telegraph line of recent decades.

The old road through Eagle Pass, leads north to Goodwin Creek, which it crosses near the site of old Camp Goodwin. It was apparently near Goodwin Creek, and a little beyond the site of old Camp Goodwin, that Coronado and his men first reached the Gila, or, as Jarillo puts it, "came to a deep and ready river," and "found water and forage for the horses."

It is on the western ^{extension} ~~part~~, therefore, of the Pueblo Viejo Valley, rather than ~~the~~ the Solomonsville neighborhood, ~~on~~ Pueblo Viejo Road, that we should look for the site of the Red House ruin.

The mountain chain whose foot was reached in two days' journey from

(Contin'd on A 46 ff)

Rio Nexpa, and which was crossed to reach the district of Chichilticalli, is referred to by Jaramillo in the first paragraph of his narrative, in the following language: "we crossed a mountain chain, where they knew about New Spain, more than 300 leagues distant." Of this quotation, my interpretation is as follows: "we crossed a mountain chain [the Pinaleño-Santa Teresa,] where they" [the Indians of the Chichilticalli district whom Coronado and his captains found when they had crossed that chain and reached the border of the Gila Valley proper] "knew about New Spain, more than 300 leagues distant."

~~More or less connected with~~ the problem as to the builders of the Casa Colorado and kindred structures in the Gila Valley, ~~is~~ is the question, Who were the people that in 1540 were found occupying that valley, in scattered fashion, in the neighborhood of Chichilticalli—the ~~folk~~ whom Castañeda called "the people of the district," whom he supposed had been the destroyers of the Red House, and whom Coronado designated as "The Indians of Chichilticale?"

It seems probable that they were either ^{Apaches or} Sobaipuris, ~~or~~, although neither of these names appear in literature until the seventeenth century.

The argument in favor of Sobaipuris, or against Apaches, includes the following points:

These Indians had knowledge of New Spain, and this, if they were Sobaipuris, may have reached them through a succession of Piman peoples—to which the Sobaipuris belong—over the route through present Sinaloa and Sonora by which Coronado came.

In the sixteenth century the Indians of Chichilticalli, it seems, were accustomed, on occasion at least, to "go a fishing" on the coast of the Gulf of California; for, in his Letter to Mendoza, Coronado wrote, "The Indians of Chichilticalli say that when they go to the sea for fish, or for anything else that they need, they go across the country, and that it takes them ten days."* If they went after fish they presumably ate them, and excursions to the gulf and the eating of fish have been customs of the Papagos, with whom the Sobaipuris were tribally related and are now merged. It is well known (see footnote postea) that the Apaches do not eat fish.

Some of the Sobaipuris are known to have dwelt so far northeast as Arivaipa Creek—not far from Chichilticalli—in 1697. The Relacion del Suceso statement, "The population is all of the same sort of people" from Culiacaan "up to about 50 leagues before reaching Cibola," would indicate that Indians of the Piman family dwelt even farther

(Continue on A46ff)

north than Chichilticalli.

Castañeda makes the somewhat similar statement, "The people are the same as those in Señora and have the same dress and language, habits, and customs, like all the rest as far as the desert of Chichilticalli;"*

Footnote

*Ibid., p. 516.

but his statement adds no certain weight to this argument, for "the desert of Chichilticalli" does not necessarily include Chichilticalli itself, and, in the light of Fray Marcos' narrative as translated by Hakluyt (from the Rumiñio version?), ^{Castañeda's} concluding words seem to mean, as far as to the 4-days' uninhabited ~~deserted~~ ^{deserted} tract that (from San Pedro River) has to be crossed to reach Chichilticalli.

The following is the argument that may be adduced in favor of identifying the Indians ~~of~~ of the Chichilticalli district of Gila Valley in 1540 with the Apaches:

The Sobaypuras of the San Pedro River ^{were sedentary,} lived in small villages, and ~~practiced~~ ^{practiced} agriculture by irrigation,* raising

Footnote

*Fray Marcos' narrative of 1539, as translated by Hakluyt and reproduced in the A. S. Barnes & Company library, "The Trail Makers," says (p. 218) that "the...valley.....so abundeth with victuals, that it sufficieth to feede above three thousand horsemen: it is all well watered and like a garden."

corn, beans, and squashes,* while the Indians of the Chichilticalli district ^{are evidently nomads, because, according to Cota, they live in camps without permanent villages} were ^{the most barbarous people that have yet been seen,} and lived "by hunting," — habits of life in which they corresponded with Apaches.

The knowledge of New Spain possessed by these "most barbarous hunting" Indians — evidently gained are Fray Marcos or his advance-courier, Estevan, had passed through Chichilticalli, as it would otherwise hardly have been made the subject of remark by a member of an expedition which again, a year later, included the friar — may have come through contact had by Apaches of the Jemes-Tobosos region, or by others of the wild or semi-nomadic nations (mostly of Māhuatlán affinities) that were known under the comprehensive name "Chichimecas," with Christians on the northern frontiers of New Spain and Panuco; communication with or concerning the latter being had by way of Chihuahua, where lay the route "through

*The Relación del Suebo — referring evidently to the settled population, and ignoring the hunting Indians, who were nomads — says of the people between Corazones and Cibola, "They all have corn, although not much, and in some places very little. They have melons and beans." (Winship Translation, Bu. Eth. Ann. XIV, 572.)

Footnote

(Continued on A46fff)

the country between the two seas", which was described by Tejo in 1529 or '30 as the way from New Spain and Oxitipar* to the Seven

Footnote "Oxitipar, as we have seen in Early West Paper, No. 1, was between New Spain and Panuco, which latter is in the river Pánuco, and some what inland from present Tampico. Cities of Cibola. For, ~~except~~ through any ~~subsequent~~ advises which those wild tribes ^{may have} ~~had~~ of those border Christians, the Apaches of the Chichilticalli district ~~might easily~~ have learned (as Coronado says they told the people of Cibola) that "the Christians never kill women."*

* While it has also a more restricted meaning, the term "Chichimecas" has been often employed to denote any of the "barbarous and wandering tribes," or all of them collectively; and in this sense, synonymous with the expression "Indios bravos," it ~~usually~~ included, besides other tribes of more or less purely Nahuatl affinity, ~~the~~ the wild and far-wandering Apaches, and certain seminomadic tribes, like the Sumas of the Casas Grandes district of Chihuahua, who were intermediate in location and of uncertain linguistic affinity. In his Geografía de las Lenguas y Carta Etnográfica de México, as cited by Thomas and Swanton in Bulletin 44 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Orozco y Berra "refers to a statement that at Pachuca in 1579 were spoken Otomi, Mexican, and Chichimeca, the last a language not understood by the others." Some of the Chichimecas, however, undoubtedly spoke Otomi, Pame, and related dialects. According to the authors of the said Bulletin, the name Chichimeca does not seem to have extended northward into the regions assigned by Orozco y Berra to the Toboso and the Joncho. That that name, however, extended so far north as to tribes living in Texas, is indicated on the map of LaSalle's discoveries of 1679-82, published in Tome III of Margry's Mémoires et Documents, which ~~legends~~ the "Terliquiamech"

both north and south of a river which is evidently the detached lower course of the Rio Grande del Norte (although that river connects the upper part of the "Rio de Norte" having "S. Fé" and "Socorro" thereon and "Acoma" to the west—with the Pacific!), in latitude 29° to about 30° 30' N., and across a region west and west-southwest from the Taensas of Louisiana. In his Mémoire entitled "Projet d'une Nouvelle Entreprise," (Margry, Tome II), LaSalle uses the spelling "Terlinguiquimequi," and calls the said river ~~the~~ (lower Rio Grande del Norte) the "fleuve Seignelay." He says, "New Biscay is the most northerly province of Mexico, situated between the 25th and the 27th degree 30 minutes latitude north. It is limited on the north by the vast forests inhabited by the people called Terlinguiquimequi, whom the Spaniards know only under the name of 'Indios Bravos et di Guerra'." It seems possible that the particular Chichimecas there referred to, are the ~~messing~~ aborigines who have ~~been~~ bequeathed their name to Las Terlinguas Creek, ~~which~~ south of Alpine, Texas, and to the Terlingua district that has become famous in recent years for its commercial production of quicksilver; but the ~~messing~~ forests were of course, for the most part, farther east.

In the sixteenth century the Indians of Chichilticalli, ~~the~~ were accustomed, on occasion at least, to visit the Gulf of California, ~~in~~ In his letter to Mendoza, Coronado wrote, "The Indians of Chichilticalli say, that when they go to the sea for fish, or for anything else that they need, they go across the country, and that ~~they~~ ^{of these Indians} see them too long. ~~These~~ excursions to the sea were comparable

in length with the marauding expeditions southward into Mexico, which in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, after missions and Spanish settlements had come into Sonora, Chihuahua, and Durango, became so richly gainful to the Apaches, and so abundantly contributive of live stock and food supplies of all kinds as to ^{remove} ~~remove~~ any ~~necessity~~ of ~~expeditions~~ expeditions to the Gulf, through the dry and hostile lands of the Papagos. ~~From~~ From the fact that excursions ~~made~~ to the Gulf were sometimes made by them, partly at least for sea fish, ^{and} the fact that ~~the~~ the Apaches are not accustomed to eat fish,* one might ^{suppose} that the Indians of

²⁰
Footnote Hrdlicka, Bull. 31, Bu. ~~Commission~~ Am. Eth., pp. 17 and 28.

Chichilticalli could not have been Apaches; but it does not necessarily follow that those Apaches who were nearest the ~~the~~ Gulf, did not visit it for its bounty in seasons of ^{unusual} scarcity of food, in those early times when they could not (as in later years) supply all shortages by raids on Spanish settlements, and when their prejudice against fish ~~as food may not yet have arisen.~~

The Indians of the same nation as those who, in 1540, roamed the Pueblo ~~the~~ Valley and were found on its western or Chichilticalli border by Coronado, ^{may have} occupied also some of the valleys north of the Gila River, ^{although perhaps to a less extent northward than} the Coyotero Apaches since their habitat has been known to us, — is indicated by the Relacion del Suceso, which

4469

ways, "This whole distance [from Culiacan], up to about 50 leagues before reaching Cibola, is inhabited, although it is away from the road in some places." The statement tallies with the general fact concerning the habitat ~~of~~ of the Coyotero and Pinal Apaches in the nineteenth century, that their favorite dwelling-places, north of the Gila, have been chiefly those ~~few~~ parts of the White Mountain Wilderness that are removed from the main Coronadoan north-south highway; such places ~~now~~ as the valleys of Rio San Carlos, Aliso Creek, and Pinal Creek, for example. Cibicu Creek, now largely occupied by the Apaches, may or may not have been a favorite haunt of theirs then; but there is reason to believe that Carrizo Creek, or at least its northeastern source, was then still held by a pueblo people, the Cipias: and it is probable that the Cipias, housed in a stone pueblo within the extreme northern border of Salt River Basin, were the only house-and-town-building Indians then remaining in the White Mountain Wilderness, and that they were the Indians referred to in the Relacion del Suceso as dwelling so far north as within 50 leagues of Cibola, their probable home at Forestdale being, in fact within 35 leagues of Hawikuh. The statement in the Relacion del Suceso, that in that great distance "The population is all of the same sort of people," may be considered as ignoring the wild occupants of the district of Chichilticalli; for, in comparing the people as to settlements, it speaks of them "all"—to within about 50 leagues of Cibola—as raising corn, and having their "houses".... "all of palm ~~and~~ mats,"

The so-called petates were in the south made of palms; but in more northerly latitudes, where palms did not grow, they were necessarily woven with ~~and~~ other materials, ~~primarily~~ ~~soil~~.

which is of course an absurdity as applied to the "barbarous" people of the district of Chichilticalli, to whom Castañeda attributed the destruction of the Casa Colorado, and who, he said, lived "in camps, ^{"in transient villages, or} and not in settlements," and lived "by hunting," although it has a certain applicability to the Cipias (of whom Coronado's men seem to have had ^{at most, but} a slight hearsay knowledge), if, as seems likely from considerations presented elsewhere, these were descended ^{partly} from Piman stock, whose ancestry had once dwelt in houses made with petates.

*~~En~~ rancherías sin pobladas.¹³ (Eth. Ann. XIV, 450.)

(Continued on next page)