

A relief map of the region through which Coronado and his forces ~~were~~ marched from the upper Prospect Creek region to Cibola-Zuñi, and ~~was~~ showing ~~the~~ the trails and the Pueblo Valley, is found in the Wheeler Survey Atlas sheets 83 and 76. It is an excellent map for the study of Coronado's route, but should of course be used in connection with other maps of that region. Of the numerous ruins in the Pueblo Valley, it shows only those ~~were~~ ancient ~~were~~ in the eastern vicinity of Solomonsville, and which on some maps are legended as "Pueblo Viejo."

The extent of the ruins near Solomonsville, and the relatively conspicuous and late survival of the more stony ruins of Buena Vista, above San José,* have drawn especial attention to these in recent years;

^{Footnote} *See in Bu. Eth. Ann. XXII, Fewkes' account of exploration of these by himself and Hough in 1897.

but these ruins do not include the famous Chichilticalli, or Red House, of the Niza and Coronado expeditions; for, although the Chichilticalli segment of the Gila Valley is but a western and attenuated part of the valley variously called Pueblo Viejo, Pueblo, and Florida, it does not appear that those expeditions visited the eastern part of the latter. In Early Far West Paper No. 3, we show that Chichilticalli overlooked the Gila, ~~west~~ west of Goodwin Creek and not very far from the meridian of Old Camp Goodwin. The direction to this place, from back at the River Mexpa, it seemed to Jaramillo, "was nearly northeast." ~~and from~~ It is in fact somewhat east of north from the Pool neighborhood (where, according to our finding, ^{Niza and again} Coronado left San Pedro River,) to Old Fort Goodwin and the not far distant but far older fortress of Chichilticalli-on-the-Gila. The route between the two points averaged at first somewhat nearly northeast, and then came nearer to the north.

From Gila River the ^{route} enters and crosses the White Mountain Wilderness, or "despoblado grande." That here, in 1539, Fray Marcos found the main branch of it a wide and beaten ~~highway~~ highway, we have already seen. But however large and much travelled ~~was~~ it may have been, it was, after all, only an Indian trail, with many steep grades and rough stretches. From the Gila River to the summit of the Sierra Blanca-Mogollon, it involved, besides many gratuitous ups and downs, a climb of more than five thousand feet, and was a hard road for a travel-worn army to follow, as ~~was~~ was attested by Coronado's ~~writing~~ writing to Mendoza, that on entering this wilderness, "for a change from our past labors, we found no grass during the first days, but a worse way through mountains and more dangerous ^{passages} than we had experienced previously. The horses were so tired that

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they were not equal to it, so that in this last desert we lost more horses than before." (In this toilsome and handicapped ascent,) * It were ~~small~~ wonder if ~~distance~~ on some days Coronado made less than the conventional 5 leagues. Any such shortage seems to have been more than made up after passing the summit of the Sierra Blanca-Mogollon.

It was over this White Mountain Wilderness Road and some offshoots from it, that Dr. J. T. Rothrock of the University of Pennsylvania, Acting Assistant Surgeon of the Wheeler Geographical Surveys West of the 100th Meridian, and enroute via Eagle Pass to Forts Grant, Bowie, and Crittenden, and returning by San Carlos, crossed and explored the White Mountain Wilderness in 1874, and soon afterward gave us a pen-picture of the latter that has not since been equaled.*

¹⁰See Appendix II of the Annual Report of that survey, in Report of the Chief of Engineers for 1875.

⁹Mr. Dorr's sketch was again republished in 1877, in ~~the~~ W. W. Beach's The Indian Miscellany.

not the Eagle Pass route, but that "great Apache stealing road" ~~which lay in~~ ^{part of the} Pueblo ~~—~~ and San Simon valleys, since they were bound, not to the San Pedro River, but to their homes and strongholds in the Chiricahua Mountains.

Taking up now our study of the ancient Wilderness Road, northward from the Chichilticalli ~~—~~ neighborhood, where the "deep and reedy river" Gila had been reached, ~~and from the Gila River~~ ^{that} "From here," says Jaramillo, "I believe ^{we} went in the same direction [northeast] for three days to a river which we called Saint John (San Juan), because we reached it on his day." The ^{north} road does not leave the Gila Valley from precisely the same neighborhood as that in which it reaches it; for, from Goodwin Creek, it turns northwesterly and runs for a few miles down ~~the~~ the lower or western part ~~of the~~ ^{the} Valley, to the military ford, or old

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a mile or so above the former Subagency, Subagency crossing, of Gila River, opposite Turnbull Peak. That the Subagency or Turnbull Peak ford, at which the Eagle Pass and Fort Apache road intersects Gila River, is an old ^{formerly} and ^{now} important crossing, is indicated by the fact that on Disturnell's Mapa de los Estados Unidos de Mejico, 1847, the only ford designated on the entire course of Gila River, is placed about 30 miles east of the mouth of San Pedro River, or within a few miles of the actual position of this well-known ^{Fray Marcos} and ^{in part perhaps also} ~~Coronado~~ ^{area} Crossing of the Gila.

After leaving the river, the old Wilderness Road swings around to the northeast, ^{climbing Green's Hill, and} crossing the Sierra de Gila ^{area} a little southeast of Gila Peak, and continuing the same general northeasterly course to Ash Creek, a ~~canyoned~~ source of the Rio San Carlos, which presents the appearance of a small river at times in the summer rainy season, beginning usually with July.

Footnote — Three or four years after the above was written, the flood waters of February, 1916, swept out this ancient ford, cutting into the river banks, and destroying the approaches to it. The same floods made away with the old Subagency site and much of that old town of Geronimo. It changed the channel of the river greatly in many places, cutting away portions of the river flood plain, and swallowing up much good farming land and portions of the Arizona Eastern Railroad's right of way, compelling a relocation of portions of that line, especially in the Chikiltili-^{alli} district and westward toward San Carlos. There is now a bridge across the river, some miles below the old ford; and over it passes one of the great national highways and a large automobile travel, ~~the~~ ^{the} highway traversing the whole length (see the short eastern or Buena Vista limb) of the Pueblo Valley, and leading westward, ~~via~~ ^{via} Geronimo, (to ^{forbess} north and south of which, near, are the ruins of the centuries famous Chikiltili-^{alli}, and of ^{the} our late Fort Goodwin and the small Goodwin Creek pueblos, by Wightman's Lake,) and via San Carlos, Globe, the Roosevelt Dam, and the picturesque "Apache Trail," to Phoenix.

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Ash Creek, I identify with the river which, Jaramillo says, "we called Saint John (San Juan), because we reached it on his day" (June 24th, Old Style, equivalent to July 4th, New Style, when the rainy season had probably begun); and with Castañeda's "river that is in some great depths of barrancas," and on whose border Coronado found a remarkably large horn of the mountain sheep.*

*See Spaniard p. 427.
See Bu. Eth. Ann. XIV, p. 427.

The ~~southward~~ direction—northeast—that Jaramillo gives also for this part of Coronado's route, agrees with that of the recent Camp Goodwin-Camp Apache wagon-road between the latter's Gila and Ash Creek fords, which is the greater part of the way between the ~~district~~ Chickilticalli ~~district~~ and Ash Creek.

While Jaramillo gives "three days" as the time for this lap of the ~~journey~~ ^{from the fort where they reached the Rio and ready file to the San Juan,} and is confirmed in this by Castañeda,* one of Coronado's

[of Army No 2, under Arellano]

"Three days after we entered the wilderness we found a horn on the bank of a river that flows in the bottom of a very steep deep gully, which the general had noticed and left there for his army to see, for it was six feet long and as thick at the base as a man's thigh. It seemed to be more like the horn of a goat" [cabron, or he-goat] "than of any other animal." ~~the~~ The general himself correctly recognized the big-horned animals as sheep.] "It was something worth seeing." (Winship's Translation of Castañeda, Eth. Ann. XIV, 487; the bracketed matter here added.)

Footnote
statements, taken in connection with one of Jaramillo's, would at first thought seemingly reduce the three days to two; for we have seen that Coronado wrote, "I entered the borders of the wilderness region on Saint John's eve," which was June 23d, and Jaramillo stated that his Rio San Juan was reached on Saint John's Day, which was June 24th; making it seemingly, at most, from the morning of the 23d to the evening of the 24th, or two days. But the discrepancy is more apparent than real. Ash Creek was in fact about three days' march from Goodwin Creek by main road; and since it is clear that they traveled but two days from the Gila River, and in the mountain wilderness proper, to reach the Rio San Juan, and since, after issuing from Eagle Pass, or Pass of Chickilticalli, the main road north does not cross the Gila River immediately, but follows down ~~the~~ its valley for a few leagues and crosses it at the old military ^(Pasturado Map ford) ~~ford~~ and thence leads for about two days' march northeastwardly to Ash Creek, ^{we may fairly} conclude that Jaramillo's "three days" included not only the above-said two days in the mountain wilderness proper, but also one day's journey (June 22d) down Gila River.

From Chickilticalli northward, an advance guard of 15 men, under

Cardenas, was kept one day ahead. We can not assume that this vanguard started on the 22d, reaching and naming the Rio San Juan on the 24th, and that Coronado's start and arrival were each a day later (23d and 25th); for Jaramillo's "we went.....three days to a river which we called San Juan," shows that this captain was with the body of men that reached that stream on the 24th, and there is nothing to indicate that he was marching with Cardenas and the vanguard. There is scarcely room to doubt that Coronado's start from Chichilticalli was on the 22d, and his arrival at Ash Creek on the 24th.

There is an old Indian trail that runs northerly from Camp Goodwin Springs to the Gila, and thence still northerly near the east line of the Indian Reservation, crossing the Gila Range with some eastward swing, and rejoining the Fort Apache wagon-road at a point south of Ash Creek. For ~~my~~ knowledge of it ~~the~~, I am indebted to Mr. Charles E. Aiken, who ^{shoneed to follow the old Coronado Route from Tucson} followed ~~the~~ to old Camp Goodwin, as part of an ornithological journey ~~undertaken~~ to the Gila Valley, ~~undertaken~~ in 1876. ~~He~~ ~~the~~ ~~old~~ ~~Indian~~ ~~trail~~

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"This, in substance, was written in or prior to 1913. In 1916 the writer learned that this trail was for some years known as "the Hooker Trail," because it was utilized at times by Mr. H. C. Hooker in driving beesves to Fort Apache. It crossed the Gila Range summit through "Hooker's Gap." By a Mr. Owen who had a mine prospect near it, I was informed of interesting archeological occurrences in a canyon that leads off from it. The trail crosses the Gila River at Old Geronimo, between the Reservation Line and Chichilticalli, but the approach to the ford, ~~was~~ ^{was} washed away with most of Old Geronimo itself was washed away by the great flood of early 1918. Possibly the ford may have been still closer to Chichilticalli in ancient times.

It seems at first thought hardly possible that Coronado passed directly north from the Goodwin Springs neighborhood of Gila River, over this narrow trail or cut-off, to the main thoroughfare again farther north; not only because three days are said to have been involved in the march from Chichilticalli forage ground to Rio San Juan, while by the cut-off he might reach Ash Creek in two days from that ground; but also because—although the troops were "somewhat lightly equipped"—

"In his Letter of August 3, 1540, to Mendoza, Coronado says, "none of us carried any necessary effects weighing more than a pound" apparently meaning, nothing heavier than one-pound articles in the way of personal conveniences; but he adds, "our harquebuses... had to be carried up the mountains and hills," and again he speaks of "carrying.... our food on our backs" [elsewhere phrased "on our backs and on our horses"] "for 300 leagues, and traveling on foot many days, making our way over hills and rough mountains." (Winship's Translation, Bu. Eth. Ann. XIV, pp. 532 and 560.) ~~The 300 leagues of course included mountains,~~

because we found that the horses were getting fat and in the Great (White Mountain) Wilderness, we found no grain during the 5 days, but a worse way through mountains and more dangerous roads than we had experienced previously. The horses were so tired that they were not equal to it, so that in this last desert we lost more horses than left. " (1881, p. 655.)

the ascent of the Gila Range was steep and difficult enough for his travel-worn horses even around by the main road, and would have been

much more so by the cut-off. And farther, if we here reduce Jaramillo's three days to two, we reduce the number of days' march that he accounts for ~~between~~ between Chichilticalli and Cibola (13, which we have seen is already 2 days short of the actual number,) to 12. But ~~the cut-off is out~~ owing to its steepness and roughness, and the run-down condition of the horses, ~~it~~ ^{the cut-off may well} have required three days; and indeed, Coronado's description of the "worse way through mountains" in the "first days" of travel north of Chichilticalli, and his statement, ~~that~~ "in this last desert we lost more horses than before," perhaps implying as much, and that Coronado took a trail different from the "very broad" one by which, a year earlier, the Indians had led ^{Fray} Marcos ~~there~~ in the first day's travel beyond Chichilticalli. In his Discovery of Cibola, Fray Marcos tells us that here he "travelled the first day by a very broad and beaten way;*" and at night he came to a

^{Footnote} "Niza's Relation, as translated in the 1910 edition of "Hakluyt's Collection," and reproduced by Bandelier in the *Cabeza de Vaca* Volume (1905) of A. S. Barnes & Company's "The Trail Makers" series.

much-frequented camping place, where he found, besides lodges that the Indians had made for himself and his ~~one~~ advance-courier, Estevan, many old ones, "and many signes of fire which the people had made that travelled to Csuola by this way." And "in this sort"—significans omnium

⁶ Ibid., p. 223.

Jaramillo says, "Leaving here, we went to another river, through a somewhat rough country, more toward the north, to a river which we called the Rafts (de las Balsas), because we had to cross on these, as it was rising. It seems to me that we spent two days between one river and the other, and I say this because it is so long since we went there that I may be wrong in some days, though not in the rest."

Beyond Ash Creek, indeed, pursuing a much more nearly northerly course, the road crosses the Natanes Plateau—which is truly "a somewhat rough country"—to ^{Black, or} Salt River,^{*} which Mr. Hodge has well identified with Jaramillo's Rio de las Balsas.* This is the largest river in the White Mountain Wilderness, and the one most likely to have had to be crossed by means of rafts; ~~when~~ it was reached on June 27th, Old Style, corresponding to July 7th, New Style, or about the beginning of the rainy season, and its "rising" waters were liable to remain for some time at a high stage.

The old Indian road between Eagle Pass and Camp Apache, leaves the military wagon-road, at some 10 or 12 miles north of the Ash Creek crossing, (or the left-hand one does, if there were, ^{thence north to Camp Apache,} originally two,) and is deflected to a point about 6 miles west-southwest, meandering thence northerly to ~~Salt~~ River, which it reaches a trifle west of the 110th meridian.* The march between Ash Creek and ~~Salt~~ River, seems

"See Atlas Sheet No. 83 (based upon expeditions of 1871 and '73) of the Wheeler U. S. Geographical Survey West of the 100th Meridian.

The right-hand road was made for wagons by U.S. troops, and was a partly tortuous left-hand route, thus requiring the ~~two days~~ two days ascribed to it by Jaramillo. The latter part of the afternoon of June 27th was perhaps occupied in



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NORTH FORK CANYON, WHITE MOUNTAIN CREEK, ARIZONA

Jaramillo's Rio de la Barranca, on Coronado's route of 1540,
traversed by Fray Marcos de Niza in 1587, then an old Indian highway.