The Cibola-Tiguex Route: Continuity and Change in the Southwest

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An interesting aspect of southwestern history is the continuity of institutions from pre-Spanish times into the historic period and to the present day. One important artifact of human culture for which generally good physical evidence exists is the roadway or trail. In the Southwest, a series of trade routes interlinked the area in late prehistoric times. Spaniards utilized these routes, and some became foundations for modern railroads and highways. In other cases modern roads break new ground: their roots are shallow and do not go back to aboriginal—or, in some cases, colonial—times.

One major prehistoric route extended from the important Cibolan cluster of pueblos (modern Zuni) of western New Mexico to the Tiguex (Tiwa) groups in the middle Rio Grande valley. Through this major trade artery, goods flowed back and forth from as far south and west as the Mesoamerican area, the Pacific Coast, and the Tusayan (Hopi) pueblos and as far north and east as the eastern pueblos and peoples of the Plains. The road, with parallel branches over part of its course, is used today, although now of secondary importance. The major east-west route in contemporary western New Mexico has shifted a number of miles to the north and runs primarily through an area that never saw a regular road before the nineteenth century.

In 1533, Spaniards entered the lower part of the Greater Southwest for the first time. In the fall of that year, Diego de Guzmán, a kinsman of conquistador Nuño de Guzmán, with a small slaving party penetrated to the lower Yaqui River in Sonora. Guzmán noted considerable trading activity in the area and followed well-known trails from central Sinaloa to Sonora.
Three years after Guzmán's exploration, a remnant group from the Pánfilo de Narváez expedition entered northern Mexico after crossing the southern part of what is now the United States. There, following well-marked trails, this group, led by Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, reached a settlement (called Corazones by the Spaniards) somewhere in the middle Sonora, or perhaps the middle Yaqui valley. In that area, Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions noted trade north and south along a major route and gained the first information about Pueblo Indians in the upper Southwest.³ Pushing on, Cabeza de Vaca met Spanish slavers south of Corazones, somewhere in southern Sonora, possibly as far north as the Yaqui valley.⁴ He and his companions reported their trip to the viceroy in Mexico City where stories of a great, metal-rich civilization to the north seem to have been circulating. Interest in the new area was so high that, within three years, the Coronado expedition to the upper Southwest was launched from the recently established Spanish base in western Mexico. Meanwhile, the Cabeza de Vaca stories, in addition to other information coming from Cuba, resulted in a large Spanish expedition to the eastern United States that Hernando de Soto commanded. Both expeditions commenced in 1539.

The expedition of Francisco Vásquez de Coronado began with two probing movements north from the Spanish advance base at San Miguel de Culiacán. The first, under the command of a Franciscan friar, Marcos de Niza, included a number of Indians from the lower Southwest and the black slave from the Cabeza de Vaca party, Esteban. Fray Marcos and Esteban followed a coastal route northward in the spring of 1539, eventually reaching a settlement called Vacapa in the Altar-Magdalena drainage of northwestern Sonora.⁵ From this spot, first Esteban, and then a few days later, Fray Marcos, travelled along a trade route that intersected the major north-south route at some point in the lower San Pedro or perhaps Santa Cruz valley.⁶ Following this route, Esteban, with native guides, reached Cibola (the present-day Zuni area) where he was killed under unclear circumstances.⁷ With other native guides, Fray Marcos followed Esteban and may also have reached Cibola—at least he claimed to have done so on returning to Mexico.

The friar's glowing reports of a "second Mexico-Tenochtitlán" at Cibola galvanized plans for the Cibola expedition. Even so, Viceroy
Antonio Mendoza and Coronado were careful enough to send a second probe northward. Melchior Díaz commanded this small party, which left Culiacán in the fall of 1539 and returned the following spring, after Coronado had committed his forces to the north. Díaz's scouting party reached northern Sonora and the ruin of Chichilticale in southern Arizona or New Mexico, but did not try to cross the mountains to Cibola.

In the spring of 1540 the major Coronado expedition marched northward in two land parties. Coronado commanded the initial fast-moving group that included a hundred or so soldiers, Indian allies, and servants. Several weeks later, the main army followed, containing most of the Spanish soldiers, the major part of the Indian contingent, and the stock animals. Both armies retraced Díaz's inland route, and both passed by Corazones, the nearby valley of Señora, and Chichilticale. Eventually, the two groups reached Cibola, Coronado in July 1540, and the main army in November. In addition, a sea party under Hernando de Alarcón was dispatched to the lower Colorado River.

From Cibola, Coronado sent exploring parties to the Rio Grande, the edge of the High Plains, and to the Hopi provinces. An expedition under García López de Cárdenas attempted to contact Alarcón, but instead found the Grand Canyon. Díaz led a second party that managed to get to the lower Colorado, probably via the Gila River, but this group found that Alarcón had already returned to Mexico. On the way back to Sonora, where he had been appointed commander of Coronado's important way station of Corazones, Díaz died. The Sonora–Lower Colorado route was not used again till the time of Father Eusebio Kino, a century and a half later.

Forty years after the Coronado party, two expeditions, those of Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado and Antonio de Espejo, penetrated the Southwest from a different direction. These parties began in the interior of New Spain and followed the Conchos River to the Rio Grande. Chamuscado reached Zuni from the Tiguex area of the Rio Grande, and Espejo journeyed as far west as central Arizona. In 1598 Juan de Oñate also entered New Mexico from the south with a party of settlers and in the same year explored the entire Pueblo area. During the next seven years, Oñate led ex-
ploring parties eastward into the Plains and westward to the lower Colorado. After Oñate, the upper Southwest never lacked a Spanish presence except for the short period of the Pueblo Indian Revolt (1680–92). Throughout the next century, Spaniards generally utilized the network of roads that already linked the Greater Southwest since environmental and terrain feasibility was the same for Spaniards as for Indians. These routes continued in use in the decades following the end of Spanish rule, and, after 1846, Americans adopted most of them.

An important aboriginal route was the great trunk road that linked Cibola-Zuni—and through it, all the Southwest—with Mesoamerica. A second great route tied Cibola to Tusayan and eventually to the Pacific Coast. The southern trunk road has long been called the Camino Real. This series of interlocking trails ran up the west coast of Mexico to the Southwest and linked western Mesoamerica to the Greater Southwest. Several sections of the route are uncertain; it has been argued, for example, that in Sonora major trails ran through the Sonora valley, the Yaqui valley or both.

No agreement exists as to the route of the Camino Real in the upper Southwest, although it undoubtedly terminated at Cibola. Plausible alternative routes for Coronado are shown in figure 1. Proposed route #2 was travelled in later times; for example, Manuel de Echeagaray in 1788 and José de Zúñiga in 1795 used it. One suspects that this may also have been the “much shorter route” over which the Opata general, Don Jeronimo, at Bacerac offered to guide Bishop Pedro Tamarón y Romeral in 1760.

Another well-travelled route ran from the Tusayan-Hopi towns to Cibola-Zuni, where trade goods from as far as coastal California were transhipped eastward to the Rio Grande pueblos and south to the Sonoran area. Along this route went cotton goods, pottery, shells that originated on the coast of California, shells and coral from the Gulf of Cortez, and mineral pigments from the Jerome area of Arizona. But in spite of its importance, a clear indication of much of this trail is not available. In fact, from the descriptions and distances, two major trails may have existed. As late as 1664, Hawikuh may have been regarded as the main Zuni point of departure for travel to Hopi. By the time Diego de Vargas became
governor of New Mexico in 1692, however, Halona had become the real center of Zuni country, and the Hopi road ran from there.

Clearly, the Hopi Pueblo portion of the trail from prehistoric times to the present day followed roughly the route of modern Arizona State Highway 264. From some point, perhaps as far east as Steamboat Canyon, the trail angled south and east toward Zuni, likely following (at least in part) the line of one or the other modern Navajo tribal roads. In later times Pine Springs, about fifteen miles west of the New Mexico–Arizona border and about nine miles north of Interstate 40, was an important point on the road. Until the itineraries of the various parties over the centuries are more carefully correlated with placename studies, and until more historical archaeology is done in the area, this early road cannot be defined exactly.

Perhaps the best-known route in the prehistoric period in the upper Southwest, and one that formed an axis for a series of radiating and connecting trails, was the trunk route from the Zuni towns to the Tiguex or Tiwa pueblos on the Rio Grande. Via this route it was possible to reach Acoma, and a trail or trails branched off to Zia and the Jemez River settlements. From the Rio Grande the trails ran north to the Rio Grande Keres, the Tewa, and the northern Tiwa, and south to the Piro and Tompiro region. To the east, roadways followed the drainages of the Galisteo and Santa Fe to the easternmost Tewa, the Tano, and Pecos. From Pecos, the trails stretched into the Buffalo Plains. Near Zuni a branching trail ran south and east from the El Morro area to reach the Rio Grande in Piro country. At the Zuni terminus, as noted, the Camino Real extended to the south, and the western trunk route ran to Hopi and beyond. The Zuni–Rio Grande route was a major link that helped to bind the upper Southwest (figure 2.)

The route continued in use throughout much of historic times. One loop, now followed by New Mexico State Highway 53 around the head of Bonita Canyon, eventually became the Camino del Obispo, the Bishop’s Road, named because José Antonio Zubiría, bishop of Durango, travelled over it to visit the outlying missions at Zuni. As late as 1853 this road was a contender for the east-west route of an American railroad. Only the exigencies of American-Navajo policy plus the lower grades of a route slightly to the
Figure 1. Early Spanish routes to Cibola.

PROPOSED ROUTE ESTEBAN-MARCOS, 1539

POSSIBLE ROUTES FOR CORONADO, 1540
PROPOSED ROUTE 1
PROPOSED ROUTE 2
north through Campbell's Pass and down the Puerco of the West led to the establishment, first of a wagon route, then the railroad, and, finally, major highways along the new route. A somewhat shorter but rougher alternative to the Bishop's Road segment crossed the continental divide north of the Bishop's Road and followed Zuni (Gallo) Canyon from the present-day Grants/San Rafael area to the rolling country west of the Zuni Mountains. The Zuni Canyon road diverged from modern New Mexico Highway 53 just north of San Rafael and rejoined the line of the present-day highway either in the Ramah area or east of El Morro, depending on the needs and desires of individual travellers.

That the road followed a well-known Indian trail on the trade route from the Rio Grande to Cibola is supported by an event that occurred during the Coronado expedition. A trading party from Pecos and Tiguex reached Cibola after Coronado's arrival in the summer of 1540 and guided Coronado's lieutenant, Hernando de Alvarado, and Father Juan de Padilla to Acoma and then on to the Rio Grande and the Buffalo Plains. Alvarado noted a branch in the road before the party reached Acoma, with one branch going north to Zia and the other continuing on to Acoma. It is impossible from such scanty information to be sure where this fork occurred. In later times a trail ran northward from Laguna, but in 1540 the trail junction was farther west. Not only did Alvarado seem to go to the Laguna area after he visited Acoma, but the wording of his account indicates a split in the trail much nearer Cibola. One major question concerns the departure point of Alvarado and Padilla. F. W. Hodge assumed that point was Hawikuh and stated that the route taken by Alvarado extended from Granada (Hawikuh) by way of the Ojo Caliente valley directly to Acoma, which led over a very rough region with abundant lava. No Zuni Indian of the present time is known to have taken this trail through to Acoma.

However, Hodge seems to have been in error. Dr. Ester G. Maring indicates that a very old road angled south and west from Acoma and skirted the malpais. Branches of this road went to Zuni and to Zuni Salt Lake respectively. Such a trail is easy footing
Figure 2. Trade routes in the Greater Southwest c. A.D. 1500.
but much longer than the route along New Mexico State Highway 53 and lacks water except at a few points. It is a difficult route for a large party, especially with horses, and likely Alvarado and Padilla did not use it. According to their account:

We set out from Granada toward Coco on Sunday, August 29, 1540. . . . After marching two leagues we reached an old building resembling a fortress; a league farther on we found another one, and a little farther on still another. Beyond them we came to an old city, quite large. . . . Half a league farther on, about a league from the latter, we found the ruins of another city. Its wall must have been very good, about an estado high, built of very large granite stones, and above this of very fine hewn blocks of stone.

Two roads branch out here, one to Chia, the other to Coco. We followed the latter, and reached the said place, which was one of the strongest ever seen, because the city is built on a very high rock. 26

This statement needs interpretation. If Alvarado left from Hawikuh (Granada), he reached the Chia or Zia road after four leagues plus "a little farther," a distance of about fifteen miles. If he went east from Hawikuh, perhaps working his way through the Plumasano wash area, he would have reached no farther than about the line of modern New Mexico State Highway 32. There are ruins in this area, especially along the ridge that runs south of Ojo Caliente, but nothing as impressive as those described. If Alvarado marched north and east, toward the main Cibolan settlements, fifteen miles would have brought him to the Halona area.

Most likely the Alvarado party was measuring not from Hawikuh but from the Cibolan towns around Dowa Yallane. In such a case, the four to five leagues would put Alvarado in the Ramah area where, at a later time, the trail forked, one route going to El Morro and onward to Agua Fria Spring and to Acoma, more or less following the line of New Mexico Highway 53. There are ruins in this general area, although Alvarado's descriptions seem exaggerated. The other route crossed the Zuni Mountains and Agua Fria Canyon and proceeded down Zuni Canyon to present-day Grants. The fork in the trail could have been as far west as Pescado or as far east as El Morro. Actually, these routes do not lead respectively to Zia
and to Acoma, for they rejoin a few miles east of Zuni Canyon where a break in the malpais occurs. Thus, it seems reasonable that Alvarado with his mounted Spaniards and perhaps a cart or two may have preferred the flatter and easier road past the mouths of Agua Fria and Bonita Canyons. The Indians, on the other hand, may normally have used the shorter trail down Zuni Canyon. Not knowing the area and never having visited any of the Rio Grande pueblos, Alvarado could simply have been confused about which trail led where.  

Another member of the Coronado expedition, Capt. Juan Jaramillo, also mentioned Acoma on the Cibola-Tiguex trail, calling it Tutahaco in an obvious slip of the pen. He added little to the other accounts except to state that Hawikuh was about a nine day journey from Tiguex, with Acoma half way between. Jaramillo also described the continental divide, "one or two days beyond [Cibola]."

The main Coronado party marched from Cibola to Tiguex in snowy weather. At least during part of the route, the army was in high country with "junipers and pines," and went by one or the other route across the Zuni Mountains to Acoma. The only person not to use this Cibola-Acoma-Tiguex highway was Coronado. Striking off with "experienced guides," presumably Cibolan, Coronado angled to the southeast to visit Tutahaco, a place that can hardly be anything but the Piro country. Not enough information exists in sixteenth-century documents to trace this route, but it may be the same as the "short cut" to El Paso that Gov. Diego de Vargas took in 1692. The Zuni advised Vargas to take this road because of Apaches on the main Zuni-Acoma trail, and the pueblo supplied guides. Vargas swung south and east from El Morro and eventually intersected the line of modern U.S. Highway 85 at Socorro. One likely route would have taken Vargas by Techado Mesa where there was water and then perhaps to the Pietown area. Another possibility would have had him detour further east and intercept U.S. Highway 60 somewhere nearer modern Datil.

The expeditions of Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado and of Antonio de Espejo provided better directions for the Zuni–Rio Grande route. Hernán Gallegos, a member of the Chamuscado party, wrote of a road "two days beyond their pueblo of Acoma, toward the
south” that led to Zuni,34 and Pedro de Bustamante, of the same party, also described Zuni as “located to the south [of Puaray in the Rio Grande valley], where the people spoke a different language.”35 A chronicler of the Espejo expedition, Diego Pérez de Luxán, gave a more specific account. From his report,36 it is reasonably clear that the group went by way of the marshy lake where Laguna was later settled, skirted the malpais, and eventually climbed into the forested high country. After a march of two days plus a portion of a third, the Spaniards arrived at El Estanque del Peñol,37 which, it seems clear, was El Morro. The following day they reached the Zuni River about two or three miles from the Zuni pueblo of Malaque, or Mazaque (Matsaki), north and west of Dowa Yallane. Espejo had little to add to this account except that from Acoma to Zuni it was twenty-six leagues (c. sixty-eight miles), a figure that Baltasar de Obregón, another chronicler of the Chamuscado expedition, also used.38 From these accounts it is not clear which route across the Zuni Mountains was followed, but the twenty-six leagues from Acoma to Zuni indicates the trail up Zuni Canyon is more likely than the route along the Bishop’s Road.

Sixteen years after Espejo, Juan de Oñate, the first successful European colonizer of the Southwest, made a trip from the Rio Grande to Zuni in October 1598. Hodge39 reconstructed the route and took Oñate through Zuni (Guadalupe) Pass and on to El Morro, which Oñate called Agua de la Peña. This identification is clear enough, for seven years later Oñate camped here again and became the first European known to have left an inscription.

Following Oñate’s explorations, the route from the Tiguex area to Zuni was used in the seventeenth century to bring missionaries to Zuni and to Hopi and to supply them. In 1629 a party of missionaries assigned to Acoma, Zuni, and Hopi set out with a supply train under the command of Gov. Francisco Manuel de Silva Nieto. The friars assigned to Acoma reached their destination, and the rest of the party continued on, travelling ten leagues through the malpais. They reached El Morro on 29 July 1629,40 but again it is not possible to say which of the routes was chosen.

Occasionally the Spanish used the trail for less peaceful purposes. When one of the missionaries at Zuni, Fray Francisco Letrado, was murdered in 1632, a punitive expedition intended to avenge
the friar's death passed by and left a carving at El Morro. Another military expedition reached El Morro on the way to Zuni (and perhaps Hopi) in 1636, but the missions, which had been closed for a time after Letrado's death, may not have been reestablished at Zuni until the 1640s. During the latter part of the seventeenth century, the Spaniards maintained two churches, one at Halona (modern Zuni) and the other at Hawikuh, with other villages having visita status (that is, not having a regular priest, but with missionaries visiting at more-or-less regular intervals). In 1680 the Zuni rose against the Spaniards as did the Hopi and most of the Rio Grande Pueblos. When Vargas returned in 1692 he made a tour of Zuni and Hopi, journeying from Acoma to the Ojo de Nacimiento (Gallo Springs) and then, in two marches of seven to eight leagues, to El Morro for which he used the modern name. His party spent the first night in the mountains at a place called Las Peñuelas. On this occasion Vargas likely travelled over the alternate route up Zuni Canyon; his return route to El Paso has already been described.

Following Vargas's successful reconquest of the province, a great many parties went over the Rio Grande–Zuni route in the eighteenth century. The eastern terminus as in later times was generally the Albuquerque area. Much of this activity was military or religious in nature. After 1700, the Spaniards lost control of the Hopi pueblos, and although they made several attempts to remissionize the Hopi, none had any lasting success. In 1716, for example, Gov. Félix Martínez attempted to regain Hopi. The expedition failed, but on the march the large military party noted several points along the route. The soldiers went by El Nacimiento (later McCartys) and then penetrated the sierra, almost certainly by the Zuni Canyon route. The distance from Nacimiento to El Morro, which the governor gave as twelve leagues, is about correct for the road via Zuni Canyon.

During the same century Franciscan friars began a series of attempts to missionize the Navajo and established an ecclesiastical province (which had no resident priests) called Navajoo, south of Jemez and north of the Acoma-Zuni road. Franciscans also undertook some missionary activity pushing westward from Jemez, but for the most part the order concentrated on the Acoma-Laguna-
Cebolleta area.\textsuperscript{44} During most of the eighteenth century Zuni had one or two resident priests, and so Spaniards used the Zuni road as the inscriptions at El Morro so graphically demonstrate. On 28 September 1737, for example, the bishop of Durango, Martín Elizacoechea, stayed at El Morro where he carved his name enroute to an inspection of Zuni.

Late in the eighteenth century, Zuni had another important ecclesiastical visitor. Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez, noted for his famous report on the missions of New Mexico, visited Zuni at the end of a long trip that he made with the regular missionary at Zuni, Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, to Utah and the Hopi country.\textsuperscript{45} On returning to the Rio Grande Domínguez seems to have gone by the Zuni Canyon route.\textsuperscript{46}

Four years after Domínguez’s journey, Gov. Juan Bautista de Anza led a military expedition to Hopi country in 1780. Travelling on what Anza called “the Camino Real to the pueblo of Zuni,” the group marched from Laguna to Nacimiento and to the Gallo Spring. Then Anza went up Zuni Canyon to the Tinaja (an aboriginal waterhole associated with a pueblo ruin a few miles north and east of El Morro), a distance of nine leagues, where he camped. The following day the group reached Ojita (the Ramah-Pescado area), a distance of six leagues. After camping overnight the party reached Zuni, but the governor had ridden the six leagues to Zuni the evening before.\textsuperscript{47}

Many other Spanish expeditions to Zuni took place in the eighteenth century, since there were generally Franciscans with their military support groups in residence in Zuni, and more or less continuous contact was necessary. In addition, Indians obviously used the trail, as various mentions of them in the accounts indicate. In the nineteenth century the Zuni Canyon route was referred to as the “Navajo trail.”\textsuperscript{48}

Similarly, numerous American exploring parties travelled along the old routes. For example, Col. John M. Washington set out in 1849 for Navajo country via the Zuni or Gallo Canyon route, striking eastward from the Ramah area to the Tinaja, across the continental divide and the valley of the Agua Fria to Zuni Canyon. Lt. James H. Simpson, who chronicled this expedition, detoured by way of El Morro where one of the guides told his men that the branch
traversing the high flat country east of El Morro was better for wagons. Simpson, however, angled north and east to the Tinaja and Zuni Canyon, following the trail of the main party. Interestingly, this was virtually identical to the route that Adolph Bandelier took some forty years later.

Four years after Washington and Simpson explored the area, Lt. A. W. Whipple directed a survey for a transcontinental railroad along the thirty-fifth parallel. Reaching "Hay Camp" near modern San Rafael, Whipple wrote:

This valley divides, one branch heading near the Camino del Obispo; and several miles above, another valley, the Cañon del Gallo, occurs, which begins in the Zuñi Pass. . . . A trail for pack-mules from Zuñi to the Ojo del Gallo, at the mouth of Cañon del Gallo, threads through this gorge.

The route by the Camino del Obispo is more difficult and will require an ascending grade of eighty feet per mile, and a tunnel at the summit of about three-quarters of a mile in length.

In this preliminary report, Whipple gave serious consideration to the Bishop's Road as the railroad right of way, despite the need for a tunnel. Indeed, the main survey party took this route. However, after additional consideration, a more northerly route won out:

The wagon route through the Obispo Pass and along the Zuñi river . . . is fertile, but unfavorable for a railroad, on account of the high altitude at which the Sierra Madre was crossed, and the necessity of a tunnel at that place. The grades through Campbell's Pass and along Rio Puerco of the west are highly favorable.

Whipple was not the first to take note of this "new route" by Campbell's Pass and Ojo del Oso. Col. A. W. Doniphan, in his abortive attempt to treat with the Navajo in the late fall of 1846, travelled this way. Also, an inscription on a Simpson-Kern map (1849) noted "a wagon route connecting Cañoncito Bonito with Ojo del Gallo, is said to exist, having a a [sic] general direction like this; but of its particular location and character Lt. S. knows nothing."
Colonel Washington had passed by Cañoncito Bonito en route to Zuni from Canyon de Chelly, but two years later in August 1851 Col. E. V. Sumner marched from Santo Domingo with six companies of men to found Fort Defiance at the Cañoncito Bonito. In October of that year, he sent additional wagonloads of supplies to this new fort. The demand for a road through Campbell’s Pass built up rapidly thereafter, especially when Whipple recommended the railroad be built along the new trail that ran up the valley of the San Jose and over the gentle summit to the Puerco of the West and the Little Colorado.

Although it was the railroad that changed the centuries-old pattern in this area, it was almost three decades after Whipple’s survey that the railroad arrived. Meanwhile, with the establishment of Fort Fauntleroy (later Fort Lyon) in 1860 at Ojo del Oso, and especially after Fort Wingate was relocated to the same area in 1868, a wagon road followed this route. With the coming of the railroad in 1882, the Wingate valley route became the major east-west thoroughfare in New Mexico.

During this period, the Bishop’s Road was not entirely neglected. Between 1857 and 1859, E. F. Beale (an ex-naval lieutenant) led several parties pioneering a wagon road along the thirty-fifth parallel from New Mexico to California. In addition, around 1860, the route served for a short time as a segment of the stage line from Santa Fe to Prescott. This line led up the Jemez valley, running from Santo Domingo to San Ysidro, then looped southward, intercepting the Zuni–Rio Grande road at San Mateo. From there it followed the Bishop’s Road with stops at Agua Fria and Ramah before reaching Zuni. But by 1870 this route had been shifted north to the Wingate valley.

By the 1880s the Campbell’s Pass route was clearly paramount to general transportation east and west through central New Mexico. The factors that had encouraged a routing through Zuni were no longer as important as in previous times; Zuni had ceased serving as terminus of the southwestern trade network and was no longer a necessary way station on the route to Hopi in a hostile Apachean world.

However, the most important reason that the Campbell’s Pass route—virtually unused before the mid-nineteenth century—be-
Figure 3. Zuni Mountain portion of the Cibola-Tiguex Route.
came the highroad through western New Mexico lies in the shifting relationships of New Mexico with the outside world. The Zuni route was important in prehistoric times in part because it linked the upper Southwest to the great Mesoamerican world and to the Pacific and in Spanish times because Zuni was the gateway to Hopi and the potentially mineral-rich area of central Arizona. For Americans during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Campbell's Pass and the Wingate valley were small links in a great transportation chain that tied the cities of America's industrial east and agricultural midwest to California and the Pacific. The railroad pioneered this route; next came the famous "Route 66" and, in its time, Interstate Highway 40.

The alternate routes to Zuni increasingly became roads that served local populations: Zuni pueblo, the Mormon settlement at Ramah, and scattered ranches and timber camps in the Agua Fria, El Morro, and Pescado areas and in the Zuni Mountains. In the twentieth century, El Morro has become a considerable focus for tourism. The building of a state highway and its subsequent paving have guaranteed continuity of the major aboriginal route from Cibola-Zuni to Acoma and to Tiguex, and its colonial descendant.

This route and the other pre-Columbian trails formed a network originally built to promote trade. They promoted far more, serving to link the Southwest in a web of social, political, and religious relationships. The Spaniards, interested in trade/tribute but especially in religious and political administration, built onto the existing network, and contributed to the unity of the Southwest. Only with the arrival of the Americans did the Southwest become a part of a very different culture world. The Americans pioneered new roads, often in virgin territory, but they also maintained many of the ancient routes to serve local or regional needs. The Campbell's Pass route is, perhaps, the best example of the new order, while the Bishop's Road represents the old.

NOTES

*The authors wish to thank Dr. Myra Ellen Jenkins of Santa Fe for details on Bishop Zubiría and on the Bishop's Road and Dr. Joseph A. Tainter of Albuquerque for information on the Zuni Mountain region.


12. Riley, *Frontier People*, pp. 3 (fig. 1), 47 (fig. 7).

13. Adapted from Riley, *Frontier People*, p. 10 (fig. 4).


18. Adapted from Riley, *Frontier People*, p. 3 (fig. 1).

19. Bishop José Antonio Laureano de Zubiría y Escalante visited the Southwest from his headquarters in Durango in 1837, 1845, and in 1850. Dr. Myra Ellen Jenkins indicates that according to the diary of Richard H. Kern (Huntington Library) the southern loop of the Acoma-Zuni road was smoothed out by Laguna and Acoma Indian parishioners to ease the bishop’s journey on his trip to Zuni in 1850 (information courtesy of Richard Hart). The first mentions of the term Camino del Obispo seem to have been in 1851 and 1852 (Wheat, *From the Mexican War to the Boundary Surveys* 1846–1854, vol. 3 of *Mapping the Transmississippi West* [San Francisco: Institute of Historical Cartography, 1959], p. 11, Parke-Kern map, p. 10, Sitgreaves map). This name seems to have gone out of use within a few years.

According to a U.S. Army inspection report dated 1 October 1850, Zubiría was provided an escort to Zuni and was still on the road at the time of the report. See George A. McCall and Robert W. Frazer, eds., *New Mexico in 1850: A Military View* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), p. 159.


25. Ester C. Maring, Department of Anthropology, Southern Illinois University, personal communication.


27. In any case, it seems likely that Coronado’s parties avoided the malpais, certainly any route that would take them through unbroken lava. In later centuries a trail that crossed a segment of lava seems to have run from the mouth of Bonita Canyon to around present-day McCartys. Whether that trail was used in the sixteenth century is unclear.


29. Hammond and Rey, *Coronado*, p. 299. Incidentally, little information exists
concerning this part of Coronado's return voyage in 1542 except the notation that Tiguex to Cibola took ten days (p. 271).

42. Hodge, *History*, p. 95, Pl. XXIV.
43. Ralph E. Twitchell, ed. and annot., "A Campaign against the Moqui Indians under the Leadership of Governor and Captain-General Don Phelix Martinez, Beginning August 16th, 1716 . . . .", NMHR 6 (April 1931): 188, n. 29.
46. See also the comments in Chavez and Warner, *Journal*, p. 116. Curiously, the Chavez-Warner map routes the Domínguez-Escalante party over the Bishop's Road (p. 121).
47. Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, 1777–1787* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), pp. 229–30. Note that Thomas, in an end map, traces the Anza voyage as if the governor had followed modern Interstate 40, at least to about Oso Springs, where the trail swings off to the northwest, somewhat resembling the wagon road that before 1850 ran to the Cañoncito Bonito. Anza, however, never took this route, for he says that the return from Hopi country to the Rio Grande was "through the same place and region" (p. 238).
Academy of American Franciscan History, 1957), p. 229 (M-45, Box 42, 1705–1776), which describes Apache activity in the El Morro area in 1752. At least in later times the Zuni had important shrines around Paxton Springs.


52. Whipple, *Itinerary*, p. 62. Judging from statements and from later maps of the Wheeler geological survey of the 1870s, the likeliest route of Bishop Zubiría was a road that branched off the Rio Grande–Zuni Canyon route at McCartys and took a generally west and south direction, crossing the edge of the malpais. It intersected the line of later New Mexico Highway 53 somewhere north of the mouth of Bonita Canyon (see figure 3). In fact, Myra Ellen Jenkins (personal communication) suggests that the section of road running from San Rafael around the east of Gallo Peak dates from the Bosque Redondo period and had to do with the first Fort Wingate’s role in Navajo relocation.


