In Early Far West Paper, No. 2, we have seen that Chichilticalli, whose ruins were once identified with the Casa Grande below Florence, Arizona, had been regarded by Bandelier, in his Final Report, Part II, as having been situated at or near Fort Grant; by Squier, on his "Map of the Valleys of the Rio Grande and Rio Gila," as having been not far from present Safford; and by Hodge, in his "Coronado's March to Quivira," as having been in the neighborhood of Solomonsville.

In "The Gilded Man," Bandelier says that it was "within a quadrangle which is bounded on the east by New Mexico, on the west by the Rio San Pedro, on the south by Sonora, and on the north by the Gila River." He also alludes to the opinion, expressed in his "Final Report," that it was in the vicinity of the new Fort Grant; and he remarks, "If this site should not be found to answer, then the ruins at Eagle Creek, west of Clifton, might be considered." And finally, he indicates that neither the Fort Grant nor the Eagle Creek location is free from objection; that "the ruin does not stand upon any stream;" and concludes that "it is impossible to fix the exact place."
Castañeda's Narrative says that the negro, Stephen, "had gone so far ahead of the friars that when they reached Chichilticalli, which is the beginning of the wilderness, he was already at Cibola." Castañeda always represents that there was more than one friar in Friar Mark's expedition of 1539, in quest of Cibola; and so there were, at the start. (See Early Far West Paper No. 1.)

Chichilticalli and Its Inhabitants.

Chichilticalli was already a noted structure and place before Coronado reached it; for, in describing the latter's arrival there in 1540, Castañeda speaks of "the fame of Chichilticalli" and of the general's disappointment at not finding there more than one house, and that a roofless ruin. It had been passed about the last of April, 1539, by Estevan, the negro, enroute to Cibola as advance courier of Fray Marcos de Niza; and only a week or so later by Fray Marcos himself, who started from it May 9th, to cross the White Mountain Wilderness. The friar must have told of it in New Spain, on his return thither in the same year; for, Coronado cites him as having said that "the port of Chichilticalli..... was on the 36th degree."


In Early Far West Paper, No. 1, we have seen that in the fall of 1539 Melchior Diaz was sent north to test the accuracy of the report which the enthusiastic friar Fray Marcos had brought back from that quarter; that he started from Culiacan with fifteen horsemen on the 17th of November; that he went, according to Castañeda, as far as Chichilticalli, which he probably reached about the last of the year; that he obtained, at points upon his route, such information as he could concerning Cibola; and finally that he wrote to Mendoza a letter, or report, which the viceroy received on the 20th of March, 1540.

From Castañeda's statement that Diaz went as far as Chichilticalli,
and from the expression, "this village," in Diaz' letter to Mendoza, (which constitutes plain evidence that Diaz wrote from a village,) one might infer that Diaz wrote from the place of his journey's end, Chichilticalilly and therefore that the ruined Chichilticalilly was the village to which Diaz referred, and was a group of separate ruined houses, like the group whose remains were formerly conspicuous in the vicinity of present Solomonville; or, one might infer that by "this village" he referred to an inhabited Indian village near the old Chichilticalilly. But more careful consideration shows that such inferences would be wrong. In the first place, as we notice elsewhere, Castañeda says that Coronado found the remains of the original Chichilticalilly "shoved up"—not in a village, or assemblage of houses, but—"in one tumble-down house." In the second place, as we have seen in Early Far West Paper, No. 2, Castañeda tells us that the inhabitants of the Chichilticalilly district of 1540-42 were wild and scattered hunters who did not live in villages.

Thus appears that no village existed at Chichilticalilly in 1540.

Indeed, it has been shown that he wrote his report to the viceroy in a village on San Pedro River; but for the sake of making that fact doubly clear in this connection, we shall here briefly discuss the matter anew.

The letter of Diaz itself contains evidence that the inhabitants of the village from which he wrote were Indians many of whom had been to Cibola year after year, as those of the middle San Pedro River villages had told Fray Marcos that they had been; one of the number who had accompanied Estevan to Cibola, and from whom Estevan's narrative, that Estevan's escort was drawn from the same source as the friars, and that the latter's was drawn from the middle San Pedro River villages, Diaz' Indian informant—the one especially mentioned as having been with Estevan to Cibola—was evidently a San Pedro River Indian, and the village in which he and the rest of the alleged 300 of Estevan's escort assembled and from which they accompanied the negro to Cibola, was undoubtedly the same as that in which Fray Marcos later waited three days for his escort to get ready,—namely, the last or most
northerly San Pedro River village passed by the road to Cibola. All of these data are consistent with the position maintained in these Papers, that Diaz went as far as Chichilticalli, and that, in crossing the Pinaleño range, having suffered cold from which some of his Mexican Indians were "frozen" and two of his Spaniards were "in great danger,"*

"Mendoza, Letter to the King, April 17, 1540. (Winship, Translation, Bu. Eth. Ann. XIV, p. 548.)"

on the western border of the "desert" of Chichilticalli, and he returned to San Pedro River, and wrote his letter or report to the viceroy in the village there which I have elsewhere called the "Village of the Friar's Rest." One month earlier, Fray Marcos had nested there, while the Spaniards were making preparations to accompany him to Cibola.

While the records do not indicate the existence of any inhabited Indian village at Chichilticalli in 1539-42, nor the finding of ruins there of a group of several houses such as Diaz would have called a village, there had evidently been a large and strong one, and in form like a fortress.

Diaz' letter, so far as Mendoza quotes it, recites chiefly the information that he had obtained about Cibola; but in it he says, "it is impossible to cross the uninhabited region which stretches from here to Cibola, on account of the heavy snows and cold."*

"In the White-Mountain wilderness is Fort Apache; and of its winter climate we read in Hinton's Handbook of Arizona, p. 309. "The winters at Camp Apache are severe, snow-storms being frequent from December to April.""

A comparison of the report of Diaz with that of Fray Marcos, indicates that Diaz included in "the uninhabited region which stretches from here to Cibola" both the "desert of Chichilticalli" or "desert itself" called by Castaño "the desert of Cibola," and by Diaz "the great wilderness," or "Desierto grande."* In other words, "On arriving at the village whence his road to Cibola was to leave the San Pedro River, Fray Marcos relates, as reproduced in the Hakluyt version of his narrative (p. 222 of the reproduction of same in the Cabrera de Vaca volume of A.S. Barnes & Co.'s "The Trail Makers" Library) "The inhabitants requested me to stay here three or four days, because that from this place there were four days journey into the desert, and from the first entrance into the same desert unto the city of Cenula are 15 great days journey more; also that they would provide victuals for me and other necessaries for that voyage."
the village in which he wrote his letter to Mendoza, was 19 days' journey, or about 100 leagues, from Cibola."

"That is 20 plus 80; for everything shows that the "15 great days journey" of the "despoblado grande" that separated Chichilticalli from Cibola, was equivalent to the conventional 75, but not to 80 leagues.

Chichilticalli is described by the chroniclers of Coronado's expedition as being on the edge of a wilderness, or uninhabited region of mountains, that lay between it and Cibola: a wilderness where the character of the country and the direction of the mountains changed; where the spiky vegetation ceased, and the mountains were covered with forests of tall pines and great quantities of nut-pines. The wilderness to which these descriptions apply, is clearly that which lay between the Gila River and the upper Colorado Chiquito, and whose main portion was later known as the White Mountain region and the home of the White Mountain Apaches: the stronghold whence these so-called "Coyoteros," with theirkindred from the Sierra Chiricahua, and elsewhere, were destined to make their predatory descents upon the Spanish settlements of Northern Mexico, until large portions of that country, after having enjoyed a considerable period of mining and agricultural prosperity, should be almost depopulated.

Dias' letter, as far as Mendoza quotes it, recites chiefly the information that he had obtained about Cibola, but
It was about the end of the third week of June, 1540, that Coronado reached "the borders of the wilderness region"; and he was much affected, says Castañeda, "by seeing that the fame of Chichilticalli was summied up in one tumble-down house without any roof, although it appeared to have been a strong place at some former time when it was inhabited, and it was very plain that it had been built by a civilized and warlike race of strangers who had come from a distance. This building was made of red earth."


Again Castañeda says, "Chichilticalli is so called because the friars found a house which was formerly inhabited by people who separated from Cibola. It was made of earth. The house was large and appeared to have been a fortress. It must have been destroyed by the people of the region, who are the most barbarous people that have yet been seen. They live in camps and are without fixed habitation. They live by hunting."

[This notice of "the people of the district" of Chichilticalli is a description of the Apaches, whether the Indians living in that district in 1542 were indeed Apache or not, is not a question.]

Bueno, Early Far West Paper, No. 2.

Castañeda speaks elsewhere of agricultural Indians as extending "as far as the desert of Chichilticalli." But neither he nor any other chronicler of the expedition speaks of such Indians living so far east as the Chichilticalli district, which is the western part of the Pueblo Valley, where Chacopan, the principal Pueblo, is situated. It is probable the Apaches lived in the district, long before the Chichilticalli district, notwithstanding that the expedition detoured to the east of said quarter.

In Early Far West Paper, No. 2, we have written as having written in 1652, "Chichilticalli (which means red house Casa colorada), for one that was there, plastered over with red earth, which they call almacas)."

The term, almague, is the same that the Spaniards have applied to the
red earth and red rock of the Garden of the Gods and vicinity, at the foot of Pike's Peak, and from which, the old Spanish names of Pike's Peak and of Fountain Creek, "Sierra del Almagre" and "Río del Almagre" and the "Almagra Mountains" mentioned with "the Cordilleras de la Gila" by R.M. Robert, Major Engineers, Military Division of the Pacific, in 1870, as part of the proposed southern boundary of a White Mountain Indian Reservation.*

*His description of the boundary proposed in his letter of January 31, 1870, reads in part as follows: "up the Pinal Creek to the top of the Pinal Mountains; then following the crest of the Pinal range, the Cordilleras de la Gila, the 'Almagra Mountains', and other mountains bordering the north bank of the Gila River, to the New Mexican boundary near Steeple Rock." (Rep. Com'rr Ind. Aff. for 1878, p. 233.)

In "Notes," of 1846, the whole Gila

line on the north of Gila River, opposite or now appear, side of the ancient red House on the south of the river.

It is noteworthy that none of the descriptions of Chichilticalli by the old Spanish chroniclers, mentions more than one house; and the expressions used by them—"this building," "a house," "the house," "red house for one that was there," "summed up in one tumble-down house"—seem to point to Chichilticalli as a solitary house.

**This contravenes an identification of el Pueblo Viejo, or of village ruins near Solomonville and San José, with Chichilticalli, and, as far as it goes, it supports the view that the solitary house ruin found near Goodwin Creek and so

in 1876 by Lieutenant Emory and Captain Johnston, or at least military house ruin in that western part of the Pueblo

Valley," is identical with the ancient Chichilticalli.

*According to the topographical map of Lieutenant Wheeler's surveys of 1871-3, the Pueblo Viejo Valley extends down the Gila from just west of the Colomiello Range to the northern offing of Mount Turnbull; but the

narrow ship of the river, and San Carlos is the upper portion of the same valley. "Pueblo Valley" called in the subsurveys of these surveys