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Diary and Itinerary
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DIARY AND ITINERARY

ON THE 29TH DAY of July of the year 1776, under the patronage of the Virgin Mary, Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, and of the most holy patriarch Joseph her most happy spouse, we, Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez, present commissary visitor of this Custodia of the Conversion of San Pablo of New Mexico, and Fray Francisco Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, minister and teacher of the Christian doctrine at the Mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zuñi, accompanied voluntarily by Don Juan Pedro Cisneros, alcalde mayor of the said pueblo of Zuñi; Don Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, retired militia captain and citizen of the town of Santa Fé; Don Joaquín Laín, citizen of the same town; Lorenzo Olivares, citizen of the town of El Paso; Lucrecio Muñiz; Andrés Muñiz; Juan de Aguilar; and Simón Lucero; having implored the protection of our most holy patrons and received the Holy Eucharist, we the persons named set out from the town of Santa Fé capital of this Kingdom of New Mexico; and having traveled nine leagues we arrived at the pueblo of Santa Clara, where we spent the night.¹ — Today nine leagues.

July 30. We traveled nine leagues, more or less, and arrived at the pueblo of Santa Rosa de Abiquiú,² where because of various circumstances we remained on the 31st without traveling, and where by means of a Solemn Mass we again implored the aid of our most holy patrons.

August 1. After having celebrated the holy sacrifice of the Mass, we set forth from the pueblo of Santa Rosa de Abiquiú toward the west along the bed of the Chama River and traveled in it a little less than two leagues. We then turned northwest, and having gone about three and a half leagues over a bad road, for in it there are some small and very stony mesas, we halted for siesta on the north side of the valley of La Piedra Alumbre, near Arroyo Seco. They say that on some mesas to the east and northeast of this valley, alum rock and transparent gypsum are found. In the afternoon we set out from Arroyo Seco toward the north. After going a short distance we turned northeast along a

¹Santa Clara Pueblo, north of Santa Fé.

²Abiquiú still occupies the same site on the Chama River.

wooded canyon, and having traveled two leagues over a very bad road we camped on the banks of the same arroyo.³ Today a good shower fell upon us, and we traveled seven leagues.

August 2. We set forth up the same canyon toward the northeast. After going a little more than four leagues we turned north, and entered a wooded canyon in which for the distance of a quarter of a league there is a grove of small oaks so dense that while passing through it we lost track of four animals and had to stop to hunt for them, but they were soon found. Although we lost the trail in this grove because it was little used, we afterward saw that it ran on the east side of the arroyo which runs through the middle of the grove, the same stream which lower down they call Arroyo del Canjilón, or Arroyo Seco. Having passed through the grove, we came to a small plain of abundant pasturage which is very pleasing to the sight, because it produces some flowers whose color is between purple and white and which, if they are not carnations, are very much like carnations of that color. Here there are also groves of small limes, a red fruit the size of the blackthorn. In freshness and taste it is very similar to the lemon, so that in this country it is used as a substitute for lemons in making refreshing drinks. Besides these fruits there is the chokecherry, much smaller than the Mexican variety, and another berry which they call manzanita, whose tree resembles the lime though the leaf is more like that of celery and the size of the berry is that of ordinary chickpeas. Some are white and others black, the taste being bitter-sweet and piquant but agreeable. Where these flowers begin the canyon is divided into two by a high mesa which enters it. In each branch there is a road, one of which runs north and the other west. At the beginning of the latter and under the southern point of the mesa there is a little spring of good permanent water, but to enable the horses to drink even a little, it will be necessary to dig wells. When the animals had been found, we continued our march by the western canyon and road and traveled a league and a quarter to the north. Then, after going less than half a league to the west, we turned northwest, and having traveled a little more than three leagues over good terrain we arrived at a small stream called Río de la Cebolla, where, turning aside a short distance from the road, we took a

³South of Canjilón.

siesta. In the bed of the stream we found plenty of water in pools, although according to appearances it seldom flows. From here we went forward in the afternoon, turning north about a quarter of a league to get back to the road which we had left. We swung northwest, and having traveled a little more than three leagues over good terrain we halted in a small plain on the bank of another arroyo,⁴ which is called Río de las Nutrias, because, although it is of permanent and running water, apparently during all or most of the year it stands in pools where they say beavers breed. — Today eight leagues.

August 3. We went northwest from Arroyo de las Nutrias, entered a small grove of pines, and having traveled a little less than three leagues we descended to the Río de Chama. Then, along its pretty meadow we went up to the north about a mile, crossed it, and halted for a siesta on the opposite bank. The ford of the river is good, but on the banks near it there are large hidden sinks, with small stones on the surface, in one of which Don Juan Pedro Cisneros' horse was completely submerged. The meadow of the river is about a league long from north to south, and is of good land for crops with opportunities for irrigation. It produces much flax and good and abundant pasturage, and there are also the other advantages necessary for the founding and maintenance of a settlement. Here also there is a good grove of white cottonwoods.

In the afternoon we went forward, and after climbing the western bank of the river we entered a small valley which we called Santo Domingo. Three large mesas covered with pines, beginning with three small hills almost north of here, curve around it from north to south to form a semi-circle reaching to the river. They* told us that to the west of these mesas there are two lakes. The first and more southerly one is west of the pass which from this bank can be seen between the first and second mesas, and the second is to the west of the next opening, which likewise can be seen between the second and the third mesas. These lakes, as well as the valley, are very suitable for raising large and small stock. We continued through the valley toward the northwest and entered a small grove of pines where a loaded mule strayed

⁴Near Cebolla on Nutrias Creek.

*The companions who had been here previously.

away and did not reappear until sunset. For this reason we had to camp on rough ground near the three small hills already mentioned and which we named the Santísima Trinidad,⁵ having traveled from the river only two leagues to the northwest. In this place there was no permanent water, although we found a little in an arroyo near the broken ground to the east-southeast. At the place where we crossed the Río de Chama today it runs from north to south, and a little before reaching the Cerro del Pedernal, it runs from west to east until it passes the pueblo of Abiquiú. — Today five leagues.

August 4. Setting out toward the north from the camp of Santísima Trinidad, we traveled two leagues through the same forest, which consists of pines, some piñon trees, and dwarf oaks. It abounds also in pasturage and in very tall flax. Two large mesas surround it, each forming a semi-circle, the north end of one almost meeting the south end of the other, the two being separated by a narrow gateway or pass. We traveled about a quarter of a league to the northwest and went through the pass where begins another lake which we called Laguna de Olivares. It must be about a quarter of a league long and two hundred varas* wide, more or less. Although its water has not a very pleasant taste it is fit to drink. From the lake and little pass we continued north half a league, then turned northeast, leaving the road which goes to the Piedra Parada** (a place known to those of us who have traveled through here). The guides directed us through a chamise thicket without any trail or path whatsoever, saying that on the road we were now leaving there were three very bad hills, and that it was less direct than the route they were taking. We traveled a little more than a league and in the same chamise thicket again turned west-northwest, entered the forest (which continues), and after half a league swung northwest. We then traveled three and a half leagues through a valley with very luxuriant pasturage and came to a large meadow of the arroyo which on the Piedra Parada road they call Arroyo del Belduque.*** In the meadow we swung west and having traveled down the arroyo two leagues we camped in a canyon⁶ which, on account

⁵About five miles northwest of Park View.

⁶Near Dulce.

*A vara is 33 inches.

**Standing Rock, still so-called.

***This name obviously commemorates some event involving a large knife.

of a certain incident, we called Cañon del Engaño.* — Today nine and a quarter leagues. Here there is plentiful pasturage and water in pools.

August 5. We set out from camp in the Cañon del Engaño toward the southwest and having traveled half a league arrived at Río de Navajó, which rises in the Sierra de la Grulla and runs from northeast to southwest to this point, where it turns back toward the north for a little more than three leagues, and then joins another river which they call the San Juan. Here this Navajó River has less water than the Chama. Having crossed the river we continued with difficulty toward the south in the same canyon, and after going about a league we turned to the southwest for a quarter of a league, then three quarters of a league to the west through canyons, over hills, and through very difficult brush. The guides lost the trail and even seemed to have forgotten the very slight knowledge which they had appeared to have of this country. And so, in order not to go any farther south we turned northwest, traveled about three leagues without a trail, climbing a hill (*monte*),** high but with no very difficult grade, and saw the bed of the same river nearby. We descended to it down slopes which were somewhat rugged but nevertheless passable, and having traveled a little more than three leagues west-northwest, we crossed it at a good ford and camped on the north bank. Here it has already united with the San Juan River. The guides told us that a little higher up these two rivers joined, so we decided to observe the latitude of this campsite and for this purpose to stay here until the afternoon of the next day. The observation was made by the meridian of the sun, and we found the campsite, which we named Nuestra Señora de las Nieves,⁷ to be in latitude 37° 51'. Fray Silvestre went to examine the place where the two rivers, the Navajó and the San Juan, join and found it was three leagues as the crow flies almost due east of Las Nieves, and that on the banks of both rivers, right at the junction, there were good advantages for a fair-sized settlement. The San Juan River carries more water than the Navajó, and they say that farther north it has good and large meadows because it runs

⁷Camp was on the San Juan River near Carracas, just across the Colorado state line.

*Canyon of Deceit. Evidently someone had been deceived or misled here.

***Monte* generally means forest or brush, but here it clearly means hill.

through more open country. Now joined, the two streams form a river as large as the Río del Norte in the month of July. This stream is called Río Grande de Navajó because it separates the province of this name from the Yuta nation. Downstream from the meadow and campsite of Nuestra Señora de las Nieves there is good land, with facilities for irrigation and everything else necessary for three or four settlements, even though they might be large ones. This statement refers only to what we saw. On either bank of the river there are dense and shady groves of white cottonwood, dwarf oak, chokecherry, manzanita, lime, and garambullo. There is also some sarsaparilla, and a tree which looked to us like the walnut. — Today eight leagues.

August 6. In the afternoon we left the camp of Nuestra Señora de las Nieves, going downstream toward the west, and having traveled two and one-half leagues over bad terrain, we camped on the bank of the river.⁸ Don Bernardo Miera had been having stomach trouble, and this afternoon he became much worse, but God willed that before day-break next morning he should be improved, so that we might continue on our way. — Today two leagues and a half.

August 7. We continued a little more than a league to the west along the bank of the river and on the slopes of the adjacent mesas, climbed a somewhat difficult hill, swung northwest, and after going one more league arrived at another river which they call Río de la Piedra Parada, at a point very close to its junction with the Navajó. Here there is a large meadow which we called San Antonio. It has very good land for crops, with opportunities for irrigation and everything else necessary for a settlement—firewood, stone, timber, and pasturage, all close at hand. This river rises to the north of the San Juan in the same Sierra de la Grulla, runs from north to south, and is a little smaller than the Chama River where it passes through the pueblo of Abiquiú. Having crossed this river we traveled west two leagues and somewhat over two more leagues to the west-northwest, and arrived at the east bank of the river which they call Río de los Pinos, because some pines grow on its banks. It has very good water, is a little smaller than the Río del Norte, runs through here from north to south, enters the Navajó River, and rises in the

⁸About four miles east of Árboles. ·

Sierra de la Grulla near its western extremity, where they call it Sierra de la Plata. Here there is a large meadow with very abundant pasturage, especially of grama-grass, extensive and good lands for raising crops by irrigation, and everything else that might be desired for a good settlement. We camped in the meadow, naming it the Vega de San Cayetano.⁹ — Today a little more than six leagues.

August 8. We set out from the Río de los Pinos and the Vega de San Cayetano toward the west-northwest, and having traveled four leagues we arrived at the Río Florido, which is medium-sized and smaller than the Río de los Pinos. It rises in the same sierra but farther west. It flows in the same direction, from north to south, and where we crossed it there is a large meadow of good land for crops with facilities for irrigation. The pastures in the meadow were good, but not those in the immediate vicinity, although it evidently has them in wet years. Having crossed the Río Florido we traveled west two leagues and west-northwest somewhat over two leagues more. We then descended a stony but not very long slope and arrived at Río de las Ánimas near the western point of the Sierra de la Plata, in which it rises. Crossing it, we camped on the opposite bank.¹⁰ This river is as large as the Río del Norte, carries somewhat more water at this point, and is more rapid because here the current has a greater fall. It runs from north to south, and like the foregoing rivers it enters the Navajó. Along here it runs in a canyon, but farther down they say it has good meadows. — Today eight leagues or a little more. Here there is no good pasturage, but there is some a little farther on.

August 9. We left the Río de las Ánimas, climbed the west bank of the river which, although it is not very high, is quite difficult because it is very stony and in places very rugged. We went through the small forest at the top, which must extend a little more than a quarter of a league. Then we entered a valley with abundant pasturage, traveled through it a league to the west, turned west by northwest, and after going three leagues through a leafy forest and good pastures, we arrived at the Río de San Joaquín, otherwise called Río de la Plata, which is small, about

⁹On Los Pinos River just south of Ignacio.

¹⁰Five miles south of Durango on Ánimas River and near Moving Mountain.

like the river which runs through the pueblo of San Gerónimo de los Taos.* It rises in the same west end of the Sierra de la Plata and flows through the canyon in which they say there are veins and outcroppings of metal. But, although years ago several persons came from New Mexico to examine them by order of the Governor, who then was Don Tomás Vélez Cachupín, and carried away ore, it was not learned with certainty what metal it was. The opinion formed previously by some persons from the accounts of various Indians and of some citizens of this kingdom that they were silver mines, caused the mountain to be called Sierra de la Plata. From the bank of Río de las Ánimas to this Río de San Joaquín the land is very moist, for, because of the nearness of the sierra it rains very frequently. For this reason, in the forest, which consists of very tall straight pines, small oaks and several kinds of wild fruits, as well as in its valleys, there are the finest of pastures. The climate here is excessively cold even in the months of July and August. Among the fruits there is a little one, black in color, of agreeable taste and very much like the medlar, although not so sweet. We did not go forward today because, since the animals did not eat well last night they were somewhat weak when they arrived, and also because a heavy and prolonged shower forced us to halt.¹¹ — Today four and a quarter leagues, almost all to the west.

August 10. Father Fray Francisco Atanasio awoke troubled by a rheumatic fever which he had felt in his face and head since the day before, and it was desirable that we make camp here until he should be better, but the continuous rains, the inclemency of the weather, and the great dampness of the place forced us to leave it. Going north, and having traveled a little more than half a league, we turned to the northwest, went on a league and then swung west through valleys of very beautiful timber and abundant pasturage, roses, and various other flowers. After going two leagues we were again caught in a very heavy rain, Father Fray Francisco Atanasio became worse and the road impassable, and so, having traveled with great difficulty two more leagues to the west, we had to camp on the bank of the first of the two little rivers which form the San Lázaro, otherwise called

¹¹Near the site of Hesperus.

*In New Mexico.

Río de los Mancos.¹² The pasturage continues in great abundance. — Today four and a half leagues.

August 11. Notwithstanding the severe cold and the dampness from which we suffered, we were not able to move our camp because Father Fray Francisco Atanasio awoke very weak from the trouble mentioned and with some fever. For this reason we were not able to go to see the veins and metallic stones of the sierra, although they were nearby, as we were assured by a companion who had seen them on another occasion.

August 12. Father Fray Francisco Atanasio awoke somewhat improved, and in order to change terrain and climate rather than to make progress, we set out from the camp and Río de San Lázaro toward the northwest. We traveled a little more than a league, swung west by west-northwest, and went five leagues through leafy forests and good pastures. Then we turned west, traveled two and a half leagues through a chamise thicket with little pasturage, went a quarter of a league to the north, crossed Río de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and camped on its north bank.¹³ This river rises on the north slope of the Sierra de la Plata, and runs southwest to this place, where it makes a sharp turn. It is a little smaller than the Río del Norte in this season. — Today a little more than eight and a half leagues.

August 13. We remained in camp, partly so that the Father might improve a little and be able to go forward, and partly to observe the latitude of this site and meadow of the Río de los Dolores where we were. An observation was made by the sun and we found we were in 38° and $13\frac{1}{2}'$ north latitude. Here there is everything needed for the establishment and maintenance of a good settlement in the way of irrigable lands, pastures, timber and firewood. On an elevation on the south bank of the river in ancient times there was a small settlement of the same form as those of the Indians of New Mexico, as is shown by the ruins which we purposely examined. Father Fray Francisco Atanasio felt better, and we decided to continue our journey next day.

August 14. We set out from the meadow and river of Dolores toward the north, and having traveled a quarter of a league we turned northwest for a league, and northwest by west five

¹²Near the site of Mancos.

¹³They camped on the north bank of Dolores River after crossing that stream near its junction with Lost Canyon Creek.

leagues through a somewhat difficult chamise thicket. We then entered a deep and broken canyon, and having traveled in it two leagues to the north, we arrived a second time at the Río de los Dolores, which here runs northwest. We crossed it twice within a short distance and camped on the west bank, naming the place, which is a small meadow of good pasturage, La Asunción de Nuestra Señora.¹⁴ This afternoon we were overtaken by a coyote and a genízaro of Abiquiú,* the first named Felipe and the second Juan Domingo. In order to wander among the heathen, they had fled from that pueblo without the permission of their superiors, protesting that they wished to accompany us. We did not need them, but to prevent the mischief which either through ignorance or malice they might commit by traveling alone any longer among the Yutas if we tried to send them back, we accepted them as companions. — Today eight and a quarter leagues.

August 15. We left the camp of La Asunción (on the Río de los Dolores) through a somewhat rough and stony canyon, along which we traveled a fourth of a league to the west-northwest. We then turned northwest, and having traveled a little less than a league and a half, we swung north-northwest and went a little more than three leagues through a chamise thicket on good and almost level land. We then turned northwest a league, and having traveled two and a half more to the west, by the trail which is farthest from the river of the two trails into which the one we followed from La Asunción is divided, we halted for siesta at an arroyo which the guides thought had water, though we found it entirely dry. Since we did not know whether by this route there would be another adequate water hole at a suitable distance for reaching it today, we sent men to explore the ground we would have to cover this afternoon. A water hole was found, but with so little water that although it sufficed for the men, it would not provide for the animals. It is permanent water but not very palatable. It was covered with stones and logs, apparently on purpose. Perhaps this was done by the Yutas because of some misfortune they had suffered at this place, for, according to what was told us by some of the companions who have been among them, they are accustomed to do this in such cases. In the after-

¹⁴Camp was on the west bank of the Dolores, northeast of Cahone (Cajón).

*Coyote and genízaro as used here were designations of persons of certain racial mixtures.

noon we went on, and having traveled two leagues northwest and half a league north we arrived at this water hole, which we called the Agua Tapada [Covered Pool].¹⁵ — Today nine and three quarter leagues.

August 16. More than half of our animals were missing for, since they had not had any water, they strayed away looking for it, and found it near the road in the middle of yesterday's march. Finally they appeared, arriving when it was already late, and for this reason we did not leave Agua Tapada until half past ten in the morning. We took a little-used trail which we thought would take us once more to the Río de los Dolores, which we planned to follow. But, having traveled along it two leagues northwest and a league and a half west it played out, because the soil was very loose and the trail had been washed out by the rains. From here we proceeded northwest. After going a quarter of a league we entered a canyon which at first was wide and in which we found a much-used trail. We followed it, and having traveled another fourth of a league to the north, we found a water hole which to us appeared to be sufficient for both men and animals; and because it was on the east side of the trail and hidden in a dense grove of piñon and juniper, we called it Agua Escondida.¹⁶ More specific directions to this water hole are not given because the trail goes right to it. Two wells were made so the animals might drink, and all did so, although not with very great satisfaction. While we reconnoitered the terrain on both sides in order to continue this afternoon, Don Bernardo Miera went on alone through this canyon without our seeing him. Because of the impossibility of continuing the journey we stopped and sent another companion to tell him to return before he got lost. But he got so far ahead that they did not return until after midnight to the place where the rest of us were waiting, greatly worried on account of their tardiness. They said that going through the canyon they had reached the Río de los Dolores, and that on the way there was only one short stretch that was difficult to get through, and that it could be improved. Therefore we decided to continue through it next day. — Today four leagues.

August 17. We set out from Agua Escondida, and about half

¹⁵Near the site of Egnar.

¹⁶Camp was near the Utah state line at the head of a side canyon of Dolores River, possibly Summit Canyon.

past three in the afternoon came for a third time to the Río de los Dolores, having traveled all the way through the canyon and its many turns, and going seven leagues to the north, although, by a straight line it would be four or five at most. Because of the varied and agreeable appearance of the rocks on either side which, being so high and rugged at the turns, make it appear that the farther one goes the more difficult it is to get out, and because Don Bernardo Miera was the first one who traveled it, we called this canyon *Laberinto de Miera* [Miera's Labyrinth]. It is everywhere passable and not very difficult for the animals, excepting one place which can be easily improved. On reaching the river we saw very recent tracks of Yutas. For this reason we thought one of their rancherías must be nearby, and that if they had seen us and we did not seek them they might fear some harm from us and be alarmed. Moreover, since we hoped that some one of them might guide us or give us information, enabling us to continue our journey with less difficulty and labor than we were now suffering because none of the companions knew the water holes and the terrain ahead, we decided to seek them. As soon as we halted in a bend of the river which we called San Bernardo,¹⁷ Father Fray Francisco Atanasio set forth, accompanied by the interpreter Andrés Muñiz and Don Juan Pedro Cisneros. Following the tracks upstream about three leagues, they learned that the Indians were Yutas Tabehuaches, but they were not able to find them, although they went clear to the place where the little Río de las Paráliticas empties into the Dolores. They say this Río de las Paráliticas is so called because the first of our people who saw it found in a ranchería on its bank three Yuta women suffering from paralysis. It divides the Yutas Tabehuaches from the Muhuaches, the latter living to the south, and the others to the north. — Today seven leagues, which by a direct line would be four to the north.

August 18. Very early in the morning two companions went to find a way by which we could leave the bed of the river, which here has high and very stony mesas on both sides, and which would neither take us off our northerly course nor out of the way for lack of water and pasturage. But it was impossible to learn

¹⁷On Dolores River a short distance below its junction with Disappointment Creek.

where we might proceed except by the bed of the river in which, on account of the many stones and because it was necessary to cross it many times, we feared the animals would bruise their feet. Leaving the bend of San Bernardo we traveled downstream a league to the north and camped,¹⁸ in order that the companions might go to explore farther than they had gone this morning. About eight o'clock at night they returned saying that only by the bed of the river would we be able to emerge from this impassable network of mesas and that only with difficulty. Therefore we decided to continue by the bed of the river. — Today a league to the north.

August 19. We continued downstream and having traveled, with no little difficulty, a league to the northeast and another to the northwest, we halted at another bend of the river in order that, after letting the animals drink, we might be able to leave the stream and follow a trail which ran to the northeast, from here following the river toward the north if perchance the roughness of the terrain would permit us to do so. Meanwhile one of the companions went to find out if the trail were passable as far as the chain of high and stony mesas by which we hoped to cross, because the bed of the river was now impassable. He found that the trail did not run through passable terrain in the mentioned direction of northwest. Another trail or path was found going southwest but, although it was examined for a long distance, in the course of which it had no obstacles, we did not dare follow it because beyond the part of it examined we could see high mesas and deep canyons in which we might again be surrounded and find ourselves forced to turn back. Moreover, the great aridity of the surrounding district we had seen caused us to believe that the pools of rain-water and even the springs of running water which hereabouts might be encountered would be totally dry. We conferred with the companions who had traveled through this region as to what direction we might take to avoid these obstacles, and everyone had a different opinion. So, finding ourselves in this state of confusion, not knowing whether we should be able to follow the trail mentioned, or whether it would be better for us to go back a short distance and take the road that goes to the

¹⁸About two and one-half miles downstream from the previous camp, in the neighborhood of McIntyre Canyon.

Yutas Sabuaganas, we put our trust in God and our will in that of His Most Holy Majesty. And, having implored the intercession of our Most Holy Patrons in order that God might direct us in the way that would be most conducive to His Holy Service, we cast lots between the two roads and drew the one leading to the Sabuaganas, which we decided to follow until we reached them. In this place, which we called the Cajón del Yeso¹⁹ because there was gypsum in a mesa nearby, we observed the latitude by the sun and found it to be 39° 6'. — Today two leagues.

August 20. We left the Cajón del Yeso, going back a league to the southeast, and again crossed the river to the east-northeast of which, in some hills about a quarter of a league away, we saw mines of transparent and very good gypsum. Having crossed the river, we entered a wide valley and traveled three leagues to the east-northeast* by a very well beaten trail which runs along the foot of a high mesa. Then, at the urging of Don Bernardo Miera, who did not wish to follow this road, the interpreter, Andrés, led us up a very high and rugged hill having so many stones that we expected to be forced to go back when half-way up, because it was so hard on the animals that many of them left their tracks on the stones with the blood from their feet. We climbed it with tremendous difficulty, and at the end of several hours, had traveled north about a quarter of a league in the ascent. On the top we now traveled a mile to the northwest, and from here we saw that the road ran along the bottom of this mesa over good and entirely level terrain. In the descent, which is gradual and without stones, we traveled more than three-quarters of a league to the north, then continued a little more than a league northeast through a chamise thicket where there was much small cactus. In order to avoid the hardship which this caused the animals we entered the bed of an arroyo, and having traveled along it a league to the east we came unexpectedly to a large pond of good water. This pond is formed by rainwater and the flow of a small spring which we called Fuente de San Bernabé. Judging from the trails and the ruins of huts, this is a camping place of the Yutas, and the road which we left to climb the impassable hill mentioned leads right

¹⁹They camped again on Dolores River near the spot where Little Gypsum Creek enters it.

*The Seville copy reads east-northeast. Doc. Hist. Mex. reads east-northwest, obviously a mistake. American Journeys—www.americanjourneys.org

to it. Here we camped,²⁰ although the pasturage is not very abundant, having traveled six leagues today (not counting the distance we retraced).

August 21. We set out from the water-hole of San Bernabé along the canyon, in the southern end of which it is situated, and traveled four leagues to the north over not very good terrain which had some difficult stretches. In the middle of the canyon there are some good pools of water, and almost at the end of it for a fourth of a league there is as much water as would run from a fair-sized spring. Having left this canyon we went a league or a little less to the northwest through a level chamise thicket. We entered another canyon with as bad a road as the previous one, and having traveled on it a long league to the north we arrived at the Río de San Pedro and camped in a small meadow which is here,²¹ naming the campsite San Luís. — Today six leagues.

August 22. We left the camp of San Luís, crossed the river, ascended a very high and rugged but not very stony slope and reached a wide mesa which looks like a remnant of the Sierra de los Tabehuaches. We traveled along it to the northeast for two leagues, east-northeast more than half a league, east-southeast another half league, and then went down from the mesa by another rugged but short slope. It is the one which Don Juan Maria de Rivera in his diary describes as being very difficult. Then along the banks of the Río de San Pedro we traveled (upstream) a league toward the northeast. We halted for a siesta and went to reconnoiter the route which we must travel in the afternoon, planning to leave the river now if there were a water hole nearby, and if not, the next day. Those who went on this reconnaissance returned late, so we spent the night at this place, which we called San Felipe.²² — Today four leagues.

August 23. We left the camp of San Felipe (on the Río de San Pedro), ascended a hill and along the foot of the Sierra de los Tabehuaches (so-called because it is inhabited by the Yutas of this name) we traveled four leagues which, because of the many turns we made would equal two leagues to the east of San Felipe. We now left the Río de San Pedro which rises in a spur of the

²⁰At the place where two small arroyos unite to form a dry creek.

²¹Apparently northwest of Naturita, and about fifteen miles above the junction of the San Miguel River with the Dolores.

²²Near San Miguel American Journeys—www.americanjourneys.org of Nucla.

Sierra de las Grullas, which, beyond the one they call Sierra de la Plata, continues north. It then runs northwest and west until it joins the Río de los Dolores, near the small range which they call Sierra de la Sal because close to it there are salt beds where, according to what we were told, the Yutas who live hereabouts get their salt. The river is medium sized. We halted for a siesta near a permanent stream that comes down from the sierra to a plain covered with chamise, toward the southern end of which there is a valley of good pasturage. In front of it there is a sort of ledge upon which there are ruins of a small and ancient pueblo whose houses appear to have been of stone, with which the Yutas Tabehuaches have made a weak and crude fortification. By now we again had found good pasturage for the animals, which had been very scarce from the camp of La Asunción on the Río de los Dolores until today, because the country was so scorched and dry that it appeared not to have rained during this whole summer. In the afternoon it began to rain, but at the end of a little more than an hour and a half it ceased and we continued our journey, ascending the Sierra de los Tabehuaches by a high hill which was rugged in places. Having traveled a league to the northeast and another to the east we were overtaken by a Yuta Tabehuache, who is the first Indian we have seen in all the distance traveled to here since the first day's march from the pueblo of Abiquiú, when we met two others. In order to talk at leisure here, we camped near the source of the stream where we had taken our siesta, naming the campsite La Fuente de la Guía.²³ We gave the Indian something to eat and to smoke, and afterward through an interpreter we asked him various questions concerning the land ahead, the rivers, and their courses. We likewise asked him the whereabouts of the Tabehuaches, Muhuaches, and Sabuaganas. At first he appeared ignorant of everything, even of the country in which he lived, but after he had recovered somewhat from the fear and suspicion with which he talked to us, he said the Sabuaganas were all in their own country, and that we would soon encounter them; that the Tabehuaches were wandering dispersed through this sierra and its vicinity; that all the rivers from the San Pedro to the San Rafael inclusive, flow into the Dolores which, in turn, joins the Río de Navajó. We asked him if he would guide us to the ranchería of a Sabuagana chief said by our interpreter and others

²³On one of the cAmerican Journeys – www.americanjourneys.org.

to be very friendly toward the Spaniards and to know a great deal about the country. He consented on condition that we should wait for him until the afternoon of the next day. We agreed to this, partly so that he might guide us, and partly that he might not suspect us of anything which might disturb him and the rest. — Today six leagues.

August 24. Before twelve o'clock the Yuta reached the place where we were awaiting him, accompanied by his family, two other women and five children, two at the breast and three from eight to ten years old, all good looking and very agreeable. They thought we had come to trade, and therefore they had brought tanned deerskins and other articles for barter. Among other things, they brought dried berries of the black manzanita, about which we have already spoken at the beginning of this diary, and which are very savory and similar to those of the little grape. We informed them, although they were not fully convinced, that we did not come for the reason they thought, and that we did not bring goods to trade. In order that they might not regard us as explorers whose purpose was to conquer their land after seeing it, nor impede our progress, and, thinking that from the Cosninas a report of the journey of the Reverend Father Fray Francisco Garcés might have spread to the Yutas Payuchis and from these to the rest, we told them that a Padre, our brother, had come to Cosnina and Moqui and from the latter place had returned to Cosnina. Thereupon they were entirely quieted, sympathized with us in our trouble, and said they had not heard anything about the Padre. We gave food to all of them, and the wife of our guide presented us with a little dried venison and two plates of dried manzanita berries, which we paid for with flour. After midday we gave the Yuta what he requested for guiding us; that is to say, two hunting knives and sixteen strings of white glass beads. He gave these to his wife who with the others went to their ranchos when we left the Fuente de la Guía with him (whom we now began to call Atanasio). We traveled along the edge of the sierra for half a league to the east, another half league to the east-southeast and a quarter league southeast. Then we turned east, leaving a trail which runs southeast, which was the one we had been following, and having traveled three quarters of a league, one southeast, and two east, we

camped in a valley²⁴ whose descent and ascent though not difficult are very steep. For this reason we called it La Cañada Honda. In it there is a large spring of good water, much firewood, and abundant pasturage for the animals. — Today two leagues.

August 25. We set out from Cañada Honda toward the east and traveled half a league through dense thickets of dwarf oak, then turned southeast through more open country, and by the same trail went three and a half leagues. Then, having traveled another half league to the east, we started to cross the sierra toward the northeast, and went a league and a half over good open country without any difficult slopes. We arrived at the crest which is a hill with very good pasturage, and of agreeable appearance on account of the brakes and the beautiful groves of cottonwood which here grow close together. Here there are three trails, and we took the one which runs to the northeast, and having traveled in this direction a league and a half we camped,²⁵ still on the north slope of the sierra, at a large spring of good water which rises about six ordinary paces to the east of the trail and which we called Ojo de Láin. Before it was possible to prepare any food, of which we were in great need, a heavy shower fell. — Today seven and one-half leagues.

August 26. From Ojo de Láin we set out toward the northeast and traveled one league. Here the trail we were following divided, one branch going east-northeast and the other northeast. We took the latter and having traveled two and a half leagues to the northeast, we finished our descent from the sierra and reached the banks and meadows of the Río de San Francisco, by the Yutas called Ancapagari* (which according to the interpreter, means Laguna Colorado) because near its source there is a spring of red water, hot and bad tasting. In the meadow of this river, which is large and very level, there is a very wide and well-beaten trail. We traveled downstream a league and a half to the northwest and camped near a large marsh with very abundant pasturage which we called La Ciénega de San Francisco.²⁶ — Today five leagues.

²⁴Apparently on a branch of Horsefly Creek.

²⁵On the north slope of the southeastern end of Uncompahgre Plateau.

²⁶On Uncompahgre River a short distance south of Montrose.

*Now called Uncompahgre.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SIERRAS
THUS FAR SEEN

The Sierra de la Grulla or de la Plata begins near the campsite called El Cobre [The Copper] and also near the deserted pueblo. From its beginning this sierra runs almost northwest, and about seventy leagues from Santa Fé it forms a point toward the west-southwest, which is the one they call Sierra de la Plata. From here it runs north-northeast (turning toward the north just before the Sierra de los Tabehuaches) to another small range named Sierra del Venado Alazán, where it ends on the north. At the east end, according to reports, it joins Sierra del Almagre and Sierra Blanca. About thirty leagues to the west-southwest by west from the point of Sierra de la Plata another small range called Sierra del Dátil can be seen. This Sierra del Dátil is drained on the west side by all the rivers which we have crossed up to now and those from here forward to the San Rafael inclusive. The Sierra de los Tabehuaches, which we have just crossed, runs northwest. It must be about thirty leagues long, and in the place where we crossed it is eight or ten leagues wide. It abounds in good pasturage, is very moist, and has good lands for crops without irrigation. It produces in abundance piñon, spruce (pinabete), royal pine, dwarf oak, several kinds of wild fruits and, in some places, flax. In it there are stags, fallow-deer and other animals, and some fowls of a size and form similar to ordinary domestic hens, from which they differ in not having combs. Their flesh is very savory. About twenty leagues to the west of this range is the Sierra de la Sal, which likewise looks small, and to the west-southwest about four leagues is seen another range which they call Sierra de Abajo.

This Río de San Francisco is medium-sized and a little larger than the Dolores. It is composed of several small streams which flow down the western slope of the Sierra de las Grullas and runs to the northwest. In the place where we saw it there is a meadow about three leagues long, of good land for crops and with facilities for irrigation and everything else needed for the establishment of a good settlement. North of this meadow there is a chain of little hills and lead-colored knolls crowned with yellow earth.

August 27. We set out from the Sierra de San Francisco downstream toward the northwest, and after going a short dis-

tance we met a Yuta called El Surdo [The Deaf One] with his family. We stopped with him a long time, and in a lengthy conversation we learned nothing useful except to have suffered from the heat of the sun, which was very hot all the time the conversation lasted. We continued on our way along the meadow, and having traveled two leagues and a half to the northwest we crossed the river and traveled through the dense and shady grove of cottonwoods and other trees which grow on its banks. Then we ascended a small hill, entered a plain without pasturage but with some small stones, and having traveled downstream altogether three and a half leagues to the northwest we camped in another meadow of the same river which we called San Agustín el Grande,²⁷ and where on both sides of the river there are abundant pastures and many black cottonwoods. — Today six leagues.

Farther downstream and about four leagues to the north of this meadow of San Agustín, this river joins another and larger one which is called by our people Río de San Javier and by the Yutas, Río del Tomichi. In the year '61 Don Juan María de Rivera reached these two rivers below their junction, having crossed the same Sierra de Los Tabehuaches, on whose crest according to the description which he gives in his diary, is the place he called El Purgatorio. The meadow where he halted in order to ford the river, and in which he says he carved on a second growth cottonwood a cross, the characters which spell his name, and the year of his expedition, is also found at the same junction on the south bank, as we are assured by our interpreter Andrés Muñiz. The latter said that although at that time he had stopped three days' journey before reaching the river, he again came past here along its bank in 1775 with Pedro Mora and Gregorio Sandoval who had accompanied Don Juan María on that entire expedition. They said that they had gone clear to the river then and from it had begun their return. Those two were the only ones who crossed it, having been sent by the said Don Juan María to look for Yutas on the bank opposite the meadow where they were camped and from which they turned back. And so this was the river they then thought was the great Río del Tizón.*

August 28. We set out toward the north from the meadow of

²⁷Some three miles north of Olathe.

*The Colorado River.

San Agustín, leaving the Río de San Francisco and having traveled half a league we continued three and a half leagues to the north-northeast, over land which was not stony and arrived at the already mentioned Río de San Francisco Javier (commonly called San Javier), otherwise known as Río del Tomichi. It is formed by four small rivers that descend from the northernmost point of the Sierra de la Grulla. It carries as much water as the Río del Norte, runs west, and at the western point of the Sierra del Venado Alazán forms a junction, as we have already said, with the San Francisco. Its banks along here are very short of pasturage. In a bend of the river in which we found some pasturage for the animals, and which we named Santa Monica, we halted today²⁸ with the intention of taking a short siesta and continuing upstream until we should find some rancherías of Sabuaganas, for yesterday we learned they were near here and that in them were some of the Timpanagotzi or Laguna Indians, to whose country we now planned to go. But, considering the detour which we would have to make in going up the river in this direction; that the animals would be badly injured, for they were already lame; and that it would be necessary for us to consume many supplies in going to their habitations, we decided to send the interpreter with the guide Atanasio to summon them and to see if any of them or any of the Lagunas would guide us for pay as far as he knew the way. They set forth and the rest of us waited for them at Santa Monica. — Today four leagues. We observed the latitude of this campsite by the meridian of the sun and found it to be in 39° 13' 22".

August 29. About ten o'clock in the morning we saw five Yutas Sabuaganas on a hill on the other side shouting loudly. We thought they were those whom the guides had gone to seek, but as soon as they reached us we saw they were not the ones we had sent for. We gave them something to eat and to smoke, but after a long conversation, whose subject was the disputes which they had this summer with the Cumanches Yamparicas, we were unable to get out of them a single thing useful to us, because their aim was to frighten us by setting forth the danger of being killed by the Cumanches to which we would expose ourselves if we continued on our way. We refuted the force of the arguments with

²⁸Near Austin on Gunnison River.

which they tried to prevent us from going forward, by telling them that our God, who is the God of everybody, would defend us in case of encounters with these enemies.

August 30. In the morning the interpreter Andrés and the guide Atanasio arrived with five other Sabuaganas and one Laguna. After we had served them with plenty of food and tobacco we informed them of our purpose, which was to go to the pueblo or pueblos of the Lagunas (the Yutas had told us that the Lagunas lived in pueblos like those of New Mexico) telling them that since they were our friends they should give us a good guide to conduct us to those people, and that we would pay him to his satisfaction. They replied that to go to the place we desired to reach, there was no other road than the one that passes through the midst of the Cumanches, who would prevent us from passing or would even kill us, and finally that none of them knew the country between here and the Lagunas. They repeated this many times, insisting that we should turn back from here. We tried to convince them, first with arguments, then with flattery, in order not to displease them. Then we presented to the Laguna a woolen cloak, a hunting knife, and some white glass beads, telling him we were giving these things to him so he would accompany us and continue as our guide to his country. He agreed and we gave him the present. Seeing this, the Sabuaganas quit raising objections, and now some of them confessed that they knew the road. After all this, they insisted that we should go to their rancheria, saying that the Laguna Indian did not know the way. We knew very well that this was a new excuse to detain us and to enjoy for a longer time the favors we were conferring upon them, for to all who came, and today there were many, we gave food and tobacco. But in order not to give them any occasion to be displeased, and not to lose so good a guide as the one we had obtained, we consented to go.

This afternoon we set out from Santa Monica, crossed the Río de San Javier, in which the water reached above the shoulder blades of the horses, climbed a hill, and traveled over rough but loose soil without stones, upstream toward the east-northeast for two leagues. Then we went two more leagues to the northeast over land less broken but with some chamise, much small cactus and small volcanic stones [malpais], and camped on the bank of a

little river which we called Santa Rosa.²⁹ It rises in the Sierra del Venado Alazán, on whose southern slope we now were, and enters the Río de San Javier. Here there is a small meadow with good pasturage and a pleasing grove of white cottonwood and small oaks. — Today four leagues. The Sabuaganas and the Lagunas spent the night with us.

August 31. We set out from Río de Santa Rosa de Lima toward the northeast, traveled a league and a half through good country, and arrived at another medium-sized river which flows down from the same sierra as the previous one, and with it joins the Río de San Javier. We named this river Santa Monica, in whose meadows and bends there is everything necessary for the founding and subsistence of two settlements. We continued upstream through these meadows and through the groves of trees which are in it, going four leagues and a half to the northeast, and crossing the river once. Then we swung north, again crossed the river, and entered a stony juniper grove which lasted for about three miles. Then we continued climbing the Sierra del Venado Alazán along the slope of a very deep valley, breaking through dense thickets of dwarf oak; and having traveled four leagues also to the north, we camped at a permanent watering place which we called San Ramón Nonnato.³⁰ One of the Yutas Sabuaganas who came with us from Santa Monica today gorged himself so barbarously and with such brutish manners that we thought he would die of over-eating. Finding himself so sick, he said that the Spaniards had done him an injury. This foolish notion caused us great anxiety, because we knew that these barbarians, if by chance they become ill after eating what another person gives them, even though it may be one of their own people, think this person has done them harm, and try to avenge an injury they have never received. But God was pleased that he should be relieved by vomiting some of the great quantity he could not digest. — Today nine leagues.

September 1. We set out from San Ramón toward the north, and having traveled three leagues through small valleys with abundant pasturage and thick groves of dwarf oak, we met about eighty Yutas all on good horses, most of them being from the

²⁹On the North Fork of the Gunnison River in the vicinity of Hotchkiss.

³⁰They swung north from Bowie, entered Grand Mesa National Forest, and camped east of Overland Reservoir.

ranchería to which we were going. They told us they were going to hunt, but we concluded that they traveled together in this way partly to make a show of their large force and partly to find out whether any more Spanish people were following us, or if we came alone. Having known since the previous night that we were going to their ranchería, it was not natural that all of those men would leave it at the same time when they knew that we were coming, unless they were moved by the considerations we have just indicated.

We continued with only the Laguna and descended a very steep slope. We entered a very pretty valley in which there is a small river having all along its banks an extensive grove of very tall and straight royal pines, among them being some cottonwoods which seemed to emulate the straightness and height of the pines. Through this valley we traveled a league to the east and arrived at the ranchería, which was populous and must have consisted of about thirty tents. We camped a mile below it on the bank of the river mentioned, naming the campsite San Antonio Mártir.³¹ — Today four leagues (total 199 leagues).

As soon as we halted Father Fray Francisco Atanasio went to the ranchería with the interpreter, Andrés Muñiz, to see the chief and the rest of those who had remained. He entered the chief's tent, and having greeted him and embraced him and his sons, he begged him to assemble the people who were there. He did so, and when as many of either sex as could come had assembled, he told them of the Gospel through the interpreter. [All listened with pleasure, especially six Lagunas who also assembled],* amongst whom our guide and another Laguna were conspicuous. As soon as the Father began to instruct them, the new guide interrupted him, warning the Sabuaganas as well as his own compatriots "that they must believe whatever the Father told them because it was all true." The other Laguna indicated the pleasure and attention with which he heard the announcement of his eternal salvation in this way. Among the listeners there was a deaf person who, not understanding what was being talked about, asked what it was the Father was saying. Thereupon this Laguna told him, "the Father says that what he is showing us (it

³¹Camp was apparently on Muddy Creek.

*The Seville edition adds these words.

was an image of Christ crucified) is the one Lord of all, who lives in the highest part of the heavens, and that in order to please Him and go to see Him, it is necessary to be baptized and to beg His pardon." He illustrated these last words by touching his breast with his hand, an action admirable in him, because he had never before seen either the Father or the interpreter. Seeing the pleasure they manifested at hearing him, the Father proposed to the chief who at this time ruled the rancheria, that if on conferring with his people they should accept Christianity, we would come to instruct them and arrange for them a mode of living to prepare them for baptism. He replied that he would propose it to his people, but during the whole afternoon he did not return to give a report on which to base a well-founded hope of their acceptance of the proposal. The Father, being rejoiced by the expression of the Lagunas, asked what this last one was called (we had already named the guide Silvestre), and learning that they called him Oso Colorado [Red Bear] he instructed all of them, explaining the difference between men and beasts, the purpose for which each was created, and the evil they did by naming themselves after wild beasts, making themselves thereby equal and even inferior to them. Then he told the Laguna that hereafter he should be called Francisco. The others, hearing this, began to repeat this name, although with difficulty, the Laguna being pleased that they should call him by this name. It happened also that when the Father gave the name of Captain to the one who was ruling the rancheria, this person replied that he was not the chief, and that the real chief was a youth, a good looking fellow who was present. And when the Father asked if the chief was already married, he replied in the affirmative, saying he had two wives. This mortified the youth (to whom the other paid the compliment indicated because he was the brother of a very much venerated chief among the Sabuaganas whom they call Yamputzi) and he tried to convince them that he had only one wife, from which it is inferred that these barbarians have information or knowledge of the repugnance we feel for a multiplicity of wives at one time. Thereupon the Father took occasion to instruct them on this point, and to exhort them not to have more than one. After all this, he bought from them a little dried buffalo meat, giving them glass beads for it, and when he asked them if they wished to trade some horses

for some lame ones which we had, they answered that they would exchange them in the afternoon. This done, the Father returned to the camp.

A little before sunset the chief, some old men, and many of the others, came to where we were. They began to urge us to turn back from here, setting forth anew and with greater force the difficulties and dangers to which we would expose ourselves if we went forward. They declared that the Cumanches would not permit us to do so, and protested that they were not telling us this to prevent us from going where we desired, but because they esteemed us greatly. We reciprocated these good wishes and told them that the one God whom we adore would arrange everything and would defend us, not only against the Cumanches but also against all others who might wish to injure us, and that being certain that His Majesty was on our side, we had no fears on the score of what they told us. Seeing that their pretexts were of no avail, they said that since we did not pay any attention to the warnings they had given us, and insisted on going forward, we must write to the Great Captain of the Spaniards, (as they call the Señor Governor) telling him that we had passed through their territory, so that if we had any mishap, and did not return, the Spaniards would not think they had killed us. This was the idea of some of our companions who desired to go back or remain with them. We replied to them that we would write the letter and leave it with them, so that when any of them should go to New Mexico they might carry it. They replied that they could not take it, and that we must send it by some one of our men. We said that none of our men could go back nor remain with them. Finally, since they found no other way of keeping us from going forward without declaring themselves our enemies, they said that if we would not turn back from here they would not trade with us for our lame horses. To this we replied that even though they should not trade we must go forward, because under no circumstances could we turn back without knowing the whereabouts of our brother, the Father who had been among the Moquis and Cosninas and might be wandering about lost.* To this they replied, inspired by those of our men who understood their language and were secretly conspiring against us, that the Fathers could not

*He refers to Father Garcés.

get lost because they had painted on paper all the lands and roads. They again insisted, repeating all the foregoing arguments to get us to turn back from here. Seeing our unshakable determination, they repeated that they were urging us not to go forward because they loved us, but that if we persisted they would not prevent it, and that next morning they would exchange horses. After night-fall they took their leave, not without hope of overcoming our determination next day. According to what we noticed, they were given this hope by Felipe of Abiquiú, the interpreter Andrés, and his brother Lucrecio, they being the ones who, either through fear or because they did not wish to go on, had secretly connived with the Sabuaganas ever since they learned they were opposed to our plan.

By this we were caused much grief, and even more by the following: before we left the town of Santa Fé we had warned the companions that no one who wanted to come with us on this journey could carry any kind of merchandise, and that those who would not agree to this must stay at home. All promised not to carry anything whatever, nor to have any purpose other than the one we had, which was glory to God and the salvation of souls. For this reason they were given whatever they requested for their equipment and to leave for their families. But some of them failed to keep their promise, secretly carrying some goods which we did not discover until we were near the Sabuaganas. Here we charged and entreated everybody not to trade, in order that the heathen might understand that another and higher motive than this had brought us through these lands. We had just told the Sabuaganas that we did not need arms or soldiers, because we depended for our security and defense on the omnipotent arm of God, when Andrés Muñiz, our interpreter, and his brother Lucrecio, showed themselves to be so obedient, loyal and Christian that they traded what they had kept hidden, and with great eagerness solicited arms from the heathen, telling them they were very necessary to them because they were going to pass through the lands of the Cumanches. By this conduct, greatly to our sorrow, they manifested their little or entire lack of faith and their total unfitness for such enterprises.

September 2. Early in the morning the same Indians, even more of them than yesterday afternoon, assembled at the camp.

They again urged the arguments set forth above, adding another serious difficulty, for they dissuaded the Laguna completely from his intention of guiding us, and made him return to us what we had given him to persuade him to accompany us to his land. After having argued more than an hour and a half without inducing the guide to take back what we had given him and to keep his word, or the rest of them to stop opposing us, we told them, with the anger justified in such a situation, that the Laguna had consented voluntarily to accompany us as far as his land. Furthermore, since they had raised such objections, we knew perfectly well that they were taking away our guide and trying to prevent us from going forward. We told them, however, that we would not go back, do what they might, for even without a guide we would go on, but that if the Laguna refused to accompany us they would learn immediately that we no longer considered them our friends. Thereupon they yielded and the above-mentioned youth, brother of Chief Yamputzi, talked to the rest, saying that since they had consented to our going forward and the Laguna had promised to guide us, it was useless to impede us any longer, and therefore they should stop talking about the matter. Another, also said to be a chief, followed with the same exhortation. Then all of them told the Laguna that now he could not avoid accompanying us, but he, because of what they had previously told him, now did not wish to do so. But after much urging and coaxing he accepted his pay, although with some ill grace, and agreed to go with us. The ranchería now pulled up stakes and traveled toward the place where Chief Yamputzi had been when we left the disagreeable campsite of San Antonio Mártir. We did not know what direction we ought to take because the guide, regretting the arrangement, did not want to go on or to show us the way. He remained at the site of the ranchería with the horse we had given him pretending to look for a saddle, while we continued by the route taken by the Sabuaganas, although unwillingly because we wanted to get away from them. We told the interpreter to get the guide immediately and try to encourage him. He did so and all the Yutas having left, the guide now told the interpreter the road we must take and sent him to take us back to the ranchería where he was. Here we found him saying goodbye to his countrymen who were remaining with the Sabuaganas, who charged him to conduct us with care, telling him how he was to proportion the

days' marches. Besides the guide Silvestre, we found here another Laguna, still a youth, who wished to accompany us. Since we had not previously known of his desire we had not provided him with a horse, and so to avoid any further delay Don Joaquín Lain took him behind him on his horse.

Very gladly we left the trail the villagers were taking, and with the two Lagunas, Silvestre and the boy, whom we named Joaquín, we continued our journey. Having gone back a league to the west from San Antonio, we took another trail and traveled less than a league and three quarters to the northwest, then more than a quarter of a league to the west-northwest. We camped in a small valley with good pasturage near a little stream of good water which we named San Atanasio.³² We traveled today over good terrain and through groves of cottonwood and clumps of dwarf oak, traveling three leagues but advancing only two. Tonight it rained heavily.

September 3. It rained again early in the morning and we had to wait for it to stop. Then, about eleven o'clock, we set out from San Atanasio toward the north. Having traveled a quarter of a league we turned northwest and went two and a quarter leagues through a valley with many groves of cottonwood and royal pine and an abundance of water and pasturage. We turned north-northwest for a league then northwest somewhat more than a league and three quarters, over good terrain without stones but with some hills, passing groves of royal pine, cottonwood and clumps of somewhat troublesome dwarf oak. We swung north-northwest a quarter of a league through a low valley in which runs as much water as two good-sized furrows would hold, although it does not continue throughout the valley, for in places it completely disappears, yet in some places it runs and in others it can be seen in pools like stagnant rainwater. It appears to be permanent because throughout the valley there were huts or little houses which indicate that this is a residence of the Yutas. Following the bed of an arroyo where the water disappears and comes out again on the north bank, we traveled northwest a league and a half and camped in the bed of the arroyo almost at the foot of a hill which the Yutas call Nabuncari. We named the campsite San Silvestre.³³ — Today seven leagues.

³²They apparently camped on one of the headwaters of Buzzard Creek.

³³South of Battlement Mesa near the foot of North Mesa Peak.

September 4. We set out from San Silvestre toward the northwest, following the same arroyo. After going a short distance we swung west-northwest, and having traveled two leagues we turned again to the northwest, climbed a low hill, leaving the bed of the arroyo toward the south, and through hills bearing various species of broom we traveled more than half a league. We descended to another small stream which enters the arroyo mentioned, crossed it, climbed another hill with some stones and a grove of piñon, and having traveled a quarter of a league almost west-southwest we again passed close to the arroyo. Here the beaver have made with logs such ponds that at first they looked like a fairly good-sized river. Then on the south side we traveled through a plain of chamise about three-fourths of a league west, and turned to cross the stream again in order to continue on the other side and leave it at the south. Having crossed it we turned west-northwest through a small grove of piñon trees and entered a chamise thicket in which there were three Yuta women and a child, drying the berries which they had gathered for food along the arroyos and creeks which are here. We went to talk with them and immediately they offered us their fruits, which were chokecherry, garambullo, limes and some of this year's piñon. The garambullo which grows in these parts is very bitter while on the bushes, but when dried in the sun as these Yutas had done, it is bitter-sweet and very savory. We continued on our way, and having traveled a league and a half to the west-northwest from the little river mentioned (crossing another near the Yutas on whose farther bank there is a standing rock about five palms high shaped like a washbowl in which some of the animals slipped), we entered a valley or little glen with good pasturage. Another road comes in here, which, from Santa Monica and Río de San Javier, runs straight across the Sierra del Venado Alazán, which we have just descended today, and it is only half as long as the one we have been following. We turned northwest through the valley for a little more than half a league, swung west-northwest, and having traveled another half league, climbing and descending a somewhat long hill, steep but not stony, we crossed a small stream of very cold water and camped on its bank.³⁴ We named it and the little valley of good pastures here,

³⁴Apparently on Kimball Creek.

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Santa Rosalia. Last night and tonight we felt the cold very much. — Today six leagues (Total 201).

September 5. We set out from Santa Rosalia toward the northwest, and ascended a hill without troublesome stones but extremely steep and dangerous to climb because there are turns where the trail is less than a third of a vara wide. The footing is of very loose soft earth, so it is very easy for an animal to slip, and if he should lose his footing he would not be able to stop until he reached the plain below. The ascent must be somewhat more than a quarter of a league counting the distance which we have already covered. We descended it by a long valley which in some places produces nothing but dwarf oak and choke-cherry and in other places spruce and white cottonwoods. Having traveled a little more than four leagues to the northwest we entered a little grove of juniper, swung half a league to the north-northwest, and after crossing a small chamise patch we arrived at a river which our people call San Rafael and which the Yutas call Río Colorado. We crossed it and halted on its north bank in a meadow with good pasturage and a fair-sized grove of cottonwoods.³⁵ On this side there is a chain of high mesas, whose upper half is of white earth and the lower half evenly streaked with yellow, white, and not very dark colored red earth. This river carries more water than the Río del Norte. It rises, according to what they told us, in a great lake which is toward the northeast near the Sierra de la Grulla. Its course along here is to the west-southwest, and it enters the Río de los Dolores. At the ford it is split into two channels. The water reached above the shoulder blades of the animals, and some of them which crossed above the ford swam in places. From what we could see the river has many large stones, consequently if it should be necessary for any group of men to cross, it would be very desirable to ford it on good horses. — Today five leagues.

Tonight we observed the latitude and found ourselves in 41° and $4'$. Thinking we had not come so far above Santa Monica, and fearing some defect in the observation, we decided to take it by the sun next day, stopping at a suitable hour in order not to remain here where the Sabuaganas might bother us.

September 6. We set out toward the west from the river and

³⁵On the Colorado River in the vicinity of Una.

meadow of San Rafael (which lacks the facilities necessary for a settlement). We traveled downstream half a league, another half through some valleys toward the west-northwest, leaving the river to the south; northwest a quarter of a league and through ravines without stones for a league and a quarter west by west-northwest. To the west-northwest we went about a mile and then having gone nearly two more leagues west over broken ground with some stones and a great deal of small cactus, we descended to a small valley through which a little river of good water runs. On the bank, near its only cottonwood, we halted at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, sending some companions forward with the pack animals and the loose herd. We made an observation by the meridian and found ourselves in $41^{\circ} 6'$ and $53''$ of latitude, and found that in the observation of the previous night there had been no error. We overtook the others, who having traveled two leagues northwest had stopped. They were disgusted with the guide because, leaving a road which went west upstream and appeared according to reports more direct, he led us by another which, entering a canyon, goes directly north. He said that although that road went north by the canyon it soon turned back toward the west. The companions who knew the Yuta language tried to convince us that the guide Silvestre was leading us by that route either to delay us by winding around so that we could not go on, or to lead us into some ambush by the Sabuaganas who might be awaiting us. In order to make us more distrustful of the guide, they assured us that they had heard many Sabuaganas in the rancheria tell him that he must lead us by a road which did not go to the Lake, and that after he had delayed us for eight or ten days in useless wanderings, he must make us turn back. Although it was not entirely incredible that some of them might have said this, we did not believe that the guide could ever have agreed to it nor even that it had really happened, because up to now none of our companions had told us a thing about it; for at the rancheria they had not neglected to magnify greatly other difficulties, less fearsome and less likely, as well as the fact that in any catastrophe they would risk little less than we. We well knew that if we went to the north we would have to take a more circuitous route. But when Silvestre said he was leading us by that route because on the other there was a very bad hill, we wished to accept his opinion. But all the companions

except Don Joaquín Laín insisted on taking the other road, some because they feared the Cumanches too greatly and without foundation, and some because that route did not conform with their own opinions, which were considerably opposed to ours. Soon a Yuta Sabuagana, one of the most northern, arrived and said the road to the north went up very high. Therefore we had to continue to the west, and having traveled two leagues and crossed another and smaller river we camped on its bank, naming the campsite La Contraguía.³⁶ — Today seven leagues.

Here were three ranchos of Sabuaganas from which six men came to the camp. Among them there was one who had just come from the land of the Cumanches Yamparicas, whither with four others he had gone to steal horses. He said the Cumanches had withdrawn, and that judging from their trail they were going to the Río Napeste or to the east. With this report our companions were somewhat encouraged. These Sabuaganas were the last ones we saw.

September 7. We set out from La Contraguía through a wide valley, and having traveled in it a league to the west we came to a meadow with abundant pasturage. We turned to the northwest in the same valley, and having traveled three leagues we halted for a time so the animals might drink, because we did not know whether we should find water tonight. Afterward we continued in the same direction, and having gone a little more than a quarter of a league we swung to the north-northeast, climbing a grade that was so difficult that we were afraid we could not reach the top, because in addition to being very rugged in places there was not even a trail, and since the soil was very loose the animals could not put their feet down anywhere with safety. The ascent must be about half a league, and at the top there are some benches of very brittle shale where two pack mules lost their footing and rolled down more than twenty varas at the least. But God willed that none of those who were coming behind should be trampled upon and that the mules should not be injured. We climbed the mountain on foot, suffered much fatigue, and had some very great scares, for which reason we called it Cuesta del Susto. On the way up the guide gave us irrefutable proof of his sincerity and his innocence. Having reached the top of the hill we traveled

³⁶Camp was in the Roan Creek Valley to the west of Highmore.

to the north-northwest half a league, descending into a small valley, and camped by a very scanty spring of water,³⁷ where there was fair pasturage for the animals. We named the campsite La Natividad de Nuestra Señora. — Today a little more than five and a quarter leagues.

September 8. We set out from La Natividad de Nuestra Señora toward the north, traveled half a league, crossing a permanent arroyo of good water, then ascending a hill which was rugged but without ledges or stones, we struck a trail and better terrain than that of yesterday. Having traveled two and a half leagues northwest through gently sloping hills and some cottonwood groves, we arrived at a high ridge from which the guide Silvestre pointed out to us the sierra on whose northern slope the Cumanches Yamparicas dwell, who are therefore north of the Sabuaganas. And at the point of the same sierra, toward the west of the place from which he pointed it out to us, are his people. We descended from the summit by an extremely long slope, rugged in places but without stones, and with many groves of dwarf oak and chokecherry, which served to prevent the horses from slipping and rolling. We entered a wide canyon* with good terrain, and having traveled a league to the north-northwest, counting the descent from the summit, we descended by the same canyon to the north a league and a half, and halted in order that the animals might drink, because a goodly amount of water which flows down from here in the bed of the canyon either runs underground or dries up. In the afternoon we continued downstream through the canyon, and having traveled a league to the west-northwest we camped without water, because the arroyo has none, in a glade with good pasturage which we called Santa Delfina.³⁸ Today five leagues.

September 9. We set out from the campsite of Santa Delfina down the same canyon, went half a league northwest, then swung north-northwest. Having traveled in the canyon nine leagues in all in this direction, over a very well beaten trail with only one bad stretch which can be avoided by crossing the arroyo a little sooner, and traversing a grove of tall chamise and jara [rockrose] of the kind they call *latilla*, we emerged from the canyon. Half way

³⁷On Roan Plateau, perhaps near the head of Spring Creek.

³⁸In the upper [southern] end of Douglas Canyon.

*Douglas Canyon.

down this canyon toward the south there is a very high cliff on which we saw crudely painted three shields or *chimales* and the blade of a lance. Farther down on the north side we saw another painting which crudely represented two men fighting. For this reason we called this valley Cañon Pintado. It is the only way by which one can go from the summit mentioned* to the nearest river, because the rest of the intervening country is very broken and stony. On the same side of this canyon near the exit a vein of metal can be seen, but we did not know the kind or quality, although one companion took one of the stones which roll down from the vein, and when he showed it to us Don Bernardo Miera said it was one of those which the miners call *tepustete*, and that it was an indication of gold ore. On this matter we assert nothing, nor will we assert anything, because we are not experienced in mines, and because a more detailed examination than the one we were able to make on this occasion is always necessary. Having crossed the canyon we traveled half a league to the north-northwest, arrived at a river which we called San Clemente, crossed it and camped on its north bank³⁹ where there is a fair-sized meadow of good pasturage. This river is medium-sized, along here runs to the west, and the region adjacent to it does not have advantages for settlement. — Today ten leagues.

September 10. Because, according to the interpreter, the guide declared the next watering place was far distant, and that even if we started early we could not reach it today, we decided to split the journey.** And so, after noon we set out from Río de San Clemente toward the northwest, over hills without stones and small plains without pasturage or trees and of very loose earth, and having traveled a league we swung west-northwest for two leagues, over terrain almost level but with many dry arroyos and ravines. Because night was now coming on, and in the darkness the terrain was impassable and dangerous, we camped in the bed of an arroyo which we called El Barranco.⁴⁰ In it there was neither water nor pasturage and so it was necessary to watch the animals and keep them corraled all night. From the river to this

³⁹At the mouth of Douglas Creek where it joins the White River just east of Rangely.

⁴⁰Northwest of Rangely and about half way to the Utah state line.

*Roan Mountain.

**Travel in the afternoon, camp for the night, and finish the journey the next morning.

place we traveled in a straight line and without a trail, because although there are several, they are trails of the buffalo which come down to winter in this region. — Today three leagues.

September 11. As soon as it was daylight we set out from El Barranco toward the west-northwest, and having traveled a league and a half through arroyos and ravines, some of them deeper than those of yesterday, we found in one of them a small spring of water from which the animals were unable to drink. We continued west-northwest for a league, climbing to a ridge by a good and not very high ascent, and from it traveled three leagues over good country with fair pasturage. In the distance we saw a cottonwood grove and asked Silvestre if the watering place to which he was leading us was there. He said "No," that this was an arroyo, not a river, but that it might have water now. Thereupon we went toward it and found plenty of running water for ourselves and for the animals, which were now very much fatigued from thirst and hunger, and a pack mule was so worn out that it was necessary to remove the pack which it carried. To reach the arroyo we swung half a league to the north. — Today six leagues.

A short distance from the ravine we saw a recent buffalo trail. In the plain we saw it again where it was fresher, and observed that it ran in the same direction in which we were going. By now we were short of supplies because we had found it necessary to travel so far and because of what we had distributed among the Sabuaganas and the other Yutas. And so, a little before reaching the arroyo two companions turned aside to follow this trail. A little after midday one of them returned, telling us that he had found the buffalo. We despatched others on the swiftest horses and having chased it more than three leagues they killed it, and at half past seven at night returned with a large supply of meat, much more than comes from a large bull of the common variety. In order to prevent the heat from spoiling it for us, and at the same time to refresh the animals, we did not travel on the 12th, but camped at this place, which we named Arroyo del Cibolo.⁴¹ Tonight it rained for several hours.

September 13. About eleven o'clock in the morning we set out from Arroyo del Cibolo through the plain which lies at the foot

⁴¹On Cliff Creek just south of the white cliffs of Yampa Plateau.

of a small sierra which the Yutas and Lagunas call Sabuagari.* It extends from east to west and its white cliffs can be seen from the high hills which are reached before Cañon Pintado. Having traveled two leagues and three-quarters to the west, we arrived at the watering place known to the guide. It is a small spring at the foot of the sierra, almost at its western extremity. We continued in the same direction for a quarter of a league along a well beaten trail near which, toward the south, rise two large springs of fine water, a musket shot apart, which we named Las Fuentes de Santa Clara and whose moisture produces much good pasturage in the small plain to which they descend and in which they disappear. From here we traveled a league northwest over the same trail and crossed an arroyo which comes from the plain of Las Fuentes, and in which there were large pools of water. From here downstream there is much good pasturage in its bed, which is wide and level. We again crossed the arroyo, ascended some low hills which were stony in places, and after traveling two leagues to the northwest we arrived at a large river which we called San Buenaventura. — Today six leagues.

This Rio de San Buenaventura is the largest river we have crossed,** and is the same one which Fray Alonso de Posada, who in the [past] century was custodian of this Custodia of New Mexico, says in a report, divides the Yuta nation from the Cumanche, according to the data which he gives and according to the distance which he places it from Santa Fé. And in fact, on the northeast and the north it is the boundary between these two nations. Its course along here is west-southwest; farther up it runs west to this place. It is joined by San Clemente River, but we do not know whether this is true of the previous streams. Here it has meadows abounding in pasturage and good land for raising crops, with facilities for irrigation. It must be somewhat more than a league wide and its length may reach five leagues. The river enters this meadow between two high cliffs which, after forming a sort of corral, come so close together that one can scarcely see the opening through which the river comes. According to our guide, one can not cross from one side to the other except by the only ford which there is in this vicinity. This

*Cf. Sabuagana.

**They had not yet crossed it.



Photo Hal Runel

SPLIT MOUNTAIN AND THE GREEN RIVER

"The river enters this meadow between two high cliffs which, after forming a sort of corral, come so close together that one can scarcely see the opening through which the river comes." Diary, September 13, 1776

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is toward the west of the northern crest and very close to a chain of hills of loose earth, some of them lead colored and others yellow. The ford is stony and in it the water does not reach to the shoulder blades of the horses, whereas in every other place we saw they can not cross without swimming. We halted on its south bank about a mile from the ford, naming the camp La Vega de Santa Cruz.⁴² We observed the latitude by the north star and found ourselves in $41^{\circ} 19'$ latitude.

September 14. We did not travel today, remaining here in order that the animals, which were now somewhat worn out might regain their strength. Before noon the quadrant was set up to repeat the observation by the sun, and we found ourselves no higher than $40^{\circ} 59'$ and $24''$. We concluded that this discrepancy might come from the declination of the needle here, and to ascertain this we left the quadrant fixed until night for the north stands on the meridian of the needle. As soon as the north or polar star was discovered, the quadrant being in the meridian mentioned, we observed that the needle swung to the northeast. Then we again observed the latitude by the polar star and found ourselves in the same $41^{\circ} 19'$ as on the previous night. In this place there are six large black cottonwoods* which have grown in pairs attached to one another and they are the nearest to the river. Near them is another one standing alone, on whose trunk, on the side facing northwest, Don Joaquín Lain with an adz cleared a small space in the form of a rectangular window, and with a chisel carved on it the letters and numbers of this inscription—"The Year 1776"—and lower down in different letters—"LAIN"—with two crosses at the sides, the larger one above the inscription and the smaller one below it.

Here we succeeded in capturing another buffalo, smaller than the first, although we could use little of the meat because the animal had been overtaken late and very far from the camp. It happened also this morning that the Laguna, Joaquín, as a prank mounted a very fiery horse. While galloping across the meadow, the horse caught his forefeet in a hole and fell, throwing the rider a long distance. We were frightened, thinking that the Laguna

⁴²They camped on Green River a short distance above the mouth of Brush Creek, some miles above the bridge of Jensen, and about a mile south of Dinosaur Quarry.

*The six cottonwoods are still there, and are now huge trees.

had been badly hurt by the fall because when he had recovered from his fright, he wept copious tears. But God was pleased that the only damage was that done to the horse which completely broke its neck, leaving it useless.

September 15. We did not travel today either for the reasons indicated above.

September 16. We set out from the Vega de Santa Cruz on Río de San Buenaventura, ascended about a mile toward the north, arrived at the ford, and crossed the river. Then we turned west, and having traveled a league along the north bank and meadow of the river, we crossed another small stream which comes down from the northwest and entered it by the same meadow. We swung south-southwest for a league and crossed another small stream, a little larger than the first, which descends from the same northwesterly direction and enters the [main] river. From both of them canals can be made with which to irrigate the land on this bank, which also is very good for crops, although it will not be possible to bring the waters of the Río Grande to them. We continued to the southwest leaving the river which swings to the south through some hills and ravines which were stony in places. We descended to a dry arroyo by a high and very stony ridge, whose slope on the other side is not so bad. As soon as we reached the top we found a trail, one or two days old, of about a dozen horses and some people on foot, and on examining the vicinity, indications were found that on the highest part of the hill they had been lying in ambush or spying for some time without turning their horses loose. We suspected they might be some Sabuaganas who had followed us to steal the horseherd in this place, where it would be likely that we would attribute the deed to the Cumanches rather than to the Yutas, since we were now in the land of the former not the latter. Besides this, it gave us strong grounds for suspecting the guide Silvestre, because the preceding night he casually and without being noticed went off from the camp a short distance to sleep. During the whole journey he had not worn the cloak that we gave him, but today he left the campsite with it, not taking it off during the whole day, and we suspected that he, having come to an understanding with the Sabuaganas, put it on so that he could be recognized in case they attacked us. Our suspicions were increased when he stopped for a time before reaching the peak where we found the tracks,

as if thoughtful and confused, wishing first to go along the banks of the river and then to lead us through here. We gave him no indications of our suspicion, dissimulating it entirely, and in the course of our march he gave us emphatic proofs of his innocence. We continued here along the same trail, descended again to the Río de San Buenaventura and saw that the people who made the trail had stayed a long time in the leafy grove and meadow which is situated here. We continued on the trail through the meadow, crossed some low hills, and camped in another meadow⁴³ with good pasturage on the bank of the river, naming the campsite Las Llagas de Nuestro Padre San Francisco. We traveled through the hills, canyons, peaks, and meadows mentioned six leagues to the southwest, and in the whole day's march eight leagues. As soon as we halted two companions followed the trail southwest to explore the terrain hereabouts and concluded that the Indians had been Cumanches.

September 17. We set out from the meadow of Las Llagas de Nuestro Padre San Francisco toward the southwest, ascended some low hills, and having traveled a league, we left the trail we were following, along which the tracks of the people on foot and of the horses continued. Silvestre told us that they were Cumanches who were going in pursuit of the Yutas, whom they had perhaps learned about while hunting buffalo. We were convinced that this was the case, both because of the direction in which they were traveling and on account of other signs they left. We crossed a dry arroyo, ascended a hill, and having traveled a league and a half to the west over good terrain, dry and almost level, we came to a high ridge from which the guide pointed out to us the junction of the rivers San Clemente and San Buenaventura which, now joined, ran south from this place. We descended to the plain and a large meadow of another river, and having traveled another league and a half to the west we arrived at the junction of two medium-sized streams. These come down from the nearby sierra north of the Río de San Buenaventura and now being joined flow eastward across the plain until they unite with the Río de San Buenaventura. The more eastern of the two streams, before reaching the junction, runs southeast, and we called it Río de San Damián; the other runs to the east and we

⁴³On Green River beyond Horseshoe Bend.
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called it Río de San Cosme. We continued up the latter stream, and having traveled a league to the west we saw near its banks the ruins of a very old pueblo, where there were fragments of metates, jars, and jugs made of clay. The pueblo was circular in form, judging from the ruins, which are now almost completely leveled to the ground. We turned southwest through the plain which lies between the two rivers, ascended some hills of loose stone, very troublesome for the animals, which were now sore-footed. We descended to another meadow of Río de San Cosme, and having traveled southwest half a league and west a league and a half through this meadow, we camped in it, naming it Ribera de San Cosme.⁴⁴ — Today eight leagues.

A little after crossing we saw columns of smoke at the foot of the sierra, and asking the guide who he thought had sent them up, he said they might be Cumanches, or some Lagunas who were accustomed to range through here hunting.

September 18. We left Ribera de San Cosme and the guide, wishing to cross to the other side of the river and travel on it, led us into a grove or thicket of almost impenetrable rockrose and through marshy creeks which forced us to go back and cross the river three times, making many useless turns. Then through a plain near the meadows of the river, we traveled three leagues to the southwest, swung to the west-southwest for a league, crossed the river a fifth time and again turned west, in which direction, now through the meadow of the river, now along the adjacent plain, we traveled three leagues and a quarter. We ascended a not very high mesa which was level on top and very stony, traveled about three quarters of a league including the ascent and the descent, crossed another small river which near here enters the San Cosme, named it Santa Catarina de Sena, and camped on its bank.⁴⁵ — Today nine leagues.

From the ranchería of the Sabuaganas and the campsite of San Antonio Mártir to this place we counted eighty-eight leagues and from Santa Fé two hundred and eighty-seven.

Along these three rivers we have crossed today there is plenty of good land for crops to support three good settlements, with

⁴⁴On Duchesne River about five miles east of the site of Myton.

⁴⁵Near Duchesne River and three or four miles northeast of the town of Duchesne.

opportunities for irrigation, beautiful cottonwood groves, good pastures, with timber and firewood nearby.

From the country of the Cumanches a very long high sierra descends, running from northeast to southwest as far as the country of the Lagunas. This ridge we could see for more than seventy leagues. Toward the north of Río de San Buena-ventura at this season its highest hills and peaks are covered with snow, for which reason we named it Sierra Blanca de los Lagunas, and we shall begin to ascend and cross it tomorrow where it is least elevated.

September 19. We set out from Río de Santa Catarina de Sena toward the southwest without a trail, ascended a short gentle but very stony slope, and having traveled a quarter of a league swung to the west. We descended to the bank of the Río de San Cosme and traveled along it two and a quarter leagues, making several turns, through almost impassable terrain, now through many stones, now along rocky precipices, one of which lamed one of our horses and forced us to go back about a mile and go down to another meadow by the river. We crossed it, breaking through a thicket of rockrose and tall reeds, and after going half a league to the west we swung to the northwest, taking as a road the bed of an arroyo. Now climbing the sierra and leaving the San Cosme River, we continued along the arroyo which led us imperceptibly into a closed canyon, high on both sides, with no passable terrain other than the bed of the arroyo. Half way up the canyon there is another arroyo which runs from north to south. We followed the one which led us northwest, which with its many windings ran generally west-northwest, and having traveled four leagues we left the canyon which we called Cañon de las Golondrinas because there are many nests of swallows in it, formed with such symmetry that they look like little pueblos. Then we continued on good terrain through a chamise thicket and having traveled half a league west-northwest we swung to the west, ascending a long hill with some timber, and having descended it we entered a plain which is crossed from north to south by a well beaten trail. Having crossed the plain we descended by way of a high, stony and rough ridge to the watering place, which we named San Eustaquio,⁴⁶ having traveled two leagues and a half to the

⁴⁶Camp was somewhat east of Fruitland, probably on Red Creek.

west. This watering place is permanent and well-filled and around it there is abundant pasturage. We arrived very much fatigued, partly because of the difficulty of the day's journey and partly because a very cold wind blew unceasingly from the west. — Today ten leagues.

September 20. We set out from San Eustaquio, leaving for dead one of our strongest horses, the one which had broken his neck at Santa Cruz del Río de San Buenaventura. We climbed a long but gradual slope toward the southwest, then swung to the west a little less than three leagues and a quarter through a level but troublesome chamise growth with much small cactus. We entered a small valley, wide and gently sloping, and after going a quarter of a league to the south-southwest we again turned west, descended to a small river which runs east and is perhaps the one which we formerly called the San Cosme. We crossed the river to the west-southwest, ascended another hill, long but gentle and passable, and after going a mile we swung southwest for about two leagues through a very pleasant and pretty valley with very abundant pasturage. We camped at the end of the valley at a small marsh with plentiful pasturage in the middle of which there was a good spring of water which we called Ojo de Santa Lucía.⁴⁷ Tonight it was so cold that even the water which was near the fire all night was frozen in the morning. — Today five leagues.

September 21. We set out from Ojo de Santa Lucía to the southwest by the same valley which we had just ascended, through a grove of white cottonwoods, and having traveled a quarter of a league we swung west a league and three quarters, now through thickets of troublesome chamise, now through low valleys of very soft earth, the animals sinking and stumbling every instant in the many little holes which were hidden in the grass. Then we descended to a fair-sized river in which there is an abundance of good trout, two of which the Laguna, Joaquín, killed with an arrow and caught, and each one of which would weigh somewhat more than two pounds. This river runs to the southeast through a pretty valley with good pastures, many creeks and pretty groves of white cottonwoods, neither very tall nor large around.

In this valley, which we named Valle de la Purísima, there

⁴⁷In Strawberry Valley, apparently at Soldier Springs, a short distance east of Strawberry Reservoir.

are all the advantages necessary for a good settlement. The guide Silvestre told us that part of the Lagunas, who used the fish of the river as their customary food, lived in this valley at one time, and that they withdrew for fear of the Cumanches who were beginning their raids into this part of the sierra. Having crossed the river and ascended a hill, we entered the floor of the valley and, having traveled a league to the south-southwest, we swung to the west through a ravine with much chamise and bad terrain, and, having gone three-fourths of a league, we crossed a small stream of very cold water. We continued west another quarter of a league and entered a dense grove of white cottonwoods, dwarf oak, chokecherry, and royal pine. Through the same grove we took the south slope of a wooded ravine and, having traveled a league west by south, we crossed to the other side. The guide, anxious to arrive as quickly as possible, went so fast that at every step he disappeared in the thicket and we were unable to follow him, for besides the great density of the wood, there was no trail, and in many places his track could not be seen, so he was ordered to go slowly and to remain always in our sight. We continued through the grove which became more dense the farther we went, and having traveled half a league west, we emerged from it, arriving at a high ridge from which the guide pointed out to us the direction to the Lake, and, to the southeast of it, another part of the sierra in which he said there lived a great many people of the same language and character as the Lagunas. By this ridge we traveled southwest a quarter of a league and descended it to the west, breaking through almost impenetrable thickets of chokecherry and dwarf oak, and then through another grove of cottonwood so dense that we thought the packs would not get through without being unloaded. In this grove the guide again annoyed us by his speed, so that we were forced to keep him back and not let him go ahead alone. In this dense growth Father Fray Atanasio got a hard blow on one of his knees by hitting it against a cottonwood. Finally with great difficulty and labor we descended to a deep and narrow valley where we found sufficient pasturage, which abounds in all the sierra, and water for ourselves and for the animals. We camped here⁴⁸ after having traveled in the descent a league to the west, naming the place San Mateo.

⁴⁸On the western slope of the divide, perhaps on Fifth Water Creek.

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Today six and one-half leagues. Tonight it was much colder than on previous nights.

September 22. We set out from San Mateo to the southeast along the north slope of this valley in which there were many perilous defiles and slides with no other trail than the one which we were opening. The rough and uneven ground of the sierra here forced us at each step to change our direction and to make many turns. Suffice it to say that after going up and down hills and high elevations, some of them rough and stony, for about five leagues, we descended by a long passable slope with plentiful pasturage to a small plain between two creeks which join in it, after traveling along the slope a league to the southwest. When we arrived the animals were all worn out. There was plentiful pasturage and so we camped in this place, naming it San Lino.⁴⁰—Today we traveled six leagues which, on account of the many windings, would take us with respect to San Mateo, three leagues west-southwest.

From the top of the last ridge we saw in front of us and not very far away many large columns of smoke arising in the same sierra. The guide Silvestre said they must have been made by his people who were out hunting. We replied to them with other smoke signals so that if they had already seen us they would not take us to be enemies and thus flee or welcome us with arrows. They replied with larger smoke signals in the pass through which we must travel to the Lake, and this caused us to believe they had already seen us, because this is the most prompt and common signal used in any extraordinary occurrence by all the people of this part of America. Consequently, we warned Silvestre that tonight he must be on the *qui-vive* lest some of his people who knew of our arrival should approach the camp to see what people had come here. And about two o'clock in the morning, the hour when according to his opinion there might be one or more Indians close at hand, he made a long speech in his language, giving them to understand that we were peaceable people, friendly and good, but we do not know whether or not anyone heard him.

September 23. Knowing that we were now arriving at the Lake, in order that the two Indians, Silvestre and Joaquín, might enter their land or settlement feeling happier and more friendly

⁴⁰On Diamond Creek where Wanrhodes Canyon meets Diamond Canyon.
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toward us, we again gave each one a vara of woolen cloth and another vara of red ribbon with which they at once set about adorning themselves. The guide Silvestre donned the cloak previously given him, wearing it like a mantle or cape, and the cloth which we now gave him he wore like a wide band around his head, leaving two long ends hanging loose down his back. And so he paraded about on horseback, the living image of the captives whom the father redeemtors bring out in their processions on this feast day of Nuestra Señora de la Merced. This event seemed to be a happy omen of the friendly disposition of these captives, whose liberty we desired and besought of the Redeemer of the World, through the intercession of His Immaculate Mother, who, in order to encourage us in this, wished to give the name which the Church celebrates today.

We set out early from San Lino to the southwest, ascended a small hill on whose summit we found a large ant hill, composed of very fine alum rock, pure and crystalline. We descended to the little river of San Lino, and having traveled a league through its small meadows, which are very level, we swung to the west without leaving the river and continued downstream. Here the river is joined by a smaller one, and in both there are pretty meadows and everything else necessary for stock-raising. Having traveled west downstream three-fourths of a league, we saw and passed three large springs of hot water which we tasted and liked. It is of the same sulphurous character as the spring which is near the pueblo of San Diego de los Hemes in New Mexico. We continued west another three-quarters of a league, entered the narrowest part of the river canyon and swung a mile to the north. Here there are three other springs of water like the foregoing, all of which rise on this north bank at the foot of a very high hill close to the river into which they flow. For this reason we named the stream Río de Aguas Calientes. In these narrows of the canyon there are some places that are difficult but which can be made passable.

We continued northwest half a league, crossed to the other side of the river, climbed a small hill, and beheld the lake and the wide valley of Nuestra Señora de la Merced de los Timpanogotzis, as we shall call it henceforth. We also saw that all around us they were sending up smoke signals one after another,

thus spreading the news of our coming. We went down to the plain, and entering the valley, crossed the river again. After traveling through the wide meadows on its north bank somewhat more than a league, we crossed to the other side, and camped in one of its southern meadows,⁵⁰ which we named Vega del Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesús. — Today five and one-half leagues.

We found that the pasture of the meadows through which we were traveling had been recently burnt, and that others nearby were still burning. From this we inferred that these Indians had thought us to be Cumanches or some other hostile people, and since they had perhaps seen that we had horses, they had attempted to burn the pastures along our way, so that the lack of grass might force us to leave the plain more quickly. But since the plain is so large and extensive they could not do this in such a short time even though they had started fires in many places. As soon as we camped, therefore, while the rest of our small company remained here, Father Fray Francisco Atanasio set out for the first ranchos with the guide Silvestre, his companion Joaquín and the interpreter, Andrés Muñiz. In order to get there this afternoon, they pushed the horses as hard as they could, to the point of tiring them out, for six and one-half leagues to the north-northwest, and arrived at the ranchos.⁵¹

Some men came out to meet them with weapons in their hands to defend their homes and their families, but as soon as Silvestre talked to them, the guise of war was changed into the finest and simplest expression of peace and affection. They took them very joyfully to their poor little houses, and after the father [Father Atanasio] had embraced each one separately and made known to them that we came in peace and that we loved them as our best friends, he gave them time to talk at length with our guide Silvestre. The latter gave them an account of what he had observed and seen ever since he had joined us and of our purpose in coming, and it was so much in our favor that we could not have wished for a better report. He told them at great length how well we had treated him and of our love for him. Among other things, he told them with great surprise that although the Lagunas had

⁵⁰A short distance south and east of the present site of the town of Spanish Fork.

⁵¹The Indian villages which they visited were on Provo River to the east of Utah Lake and north of the city of Provo.

told us that the Cumanches would kill us or steal our horses, we had passed through the regions which they most frequent, and even found their very fresh tracks, but they had not attacked us nor had we even seen them, thus verifying what the fathers had said, namely, that God would deliver us from all our enemies and from these in particular, in such a way that although we might pass through their very territory, they would not detect us nor would we see them. He concluded by saying that only the fathers told the truth, that in their company one could travel through all the land without risk, and that only the Spaniards were good people. They were further confirmed in this belief on seeing that the boy Joaquín was on such good terms with us that he paid no attention to his own people. He even refused to leave the father except to care for the horses which they brought. He would scarcely talk to his people or even stay near them, but clung to the father, sleeping at his side during the brief space of time that was left in this night. Such an attitude found in an Indian boy so far from civilization that he had never before seen fathers or Spaniards was an occasion for surprise not only to his own people but to us as well. When they had talked a long time concerning this matter, and many persons had assembled from the nearby ranchos, the father gave all of them something to smoke, and explained to them through the interpreter and Silvestre, who already had some understanding, our reasons for coming. Of these the principal one was to seek the salvation of their souls and to make known to them the only means whereby they could obtain it, the primary, first and most necessary being to believe in the true and only God, to love Him and obey Him completely, doing what is provided in His holy and immaculate law. Furthermore, if they wished to be Christians he would teach them all this more clearly and at greater length and would sprinkle upon them the water of holy baptism, and that fathers would come to instruct them and Spaniards to live with them, in which case they would be taught likewise to plant crops and raise cattle, and then they would have food and clothing like the Spaniards. For this purpose, if they consented to live as God commands and as the fathers would teach them, everything necessary would be sent by our Captain, who is very grand and rich and whom we call King. For if he saw that they wished to become Christians, he would regard them as his children, and he would

care for them just as if they already were his people. Afterwards he [the father] told them that, since we must continue on our way in order to get news of the other padre, our brother [Father Garcés], we needed another of their people to guide us to some other tribe known to them who might furnish us still another guide. In all this we were aided by the good offices of Silvestre. They listened gladly and replied that they were ready to do all this, thereby exhibiting from then on their great docility. Although two chiefs were present, the one who ruled these people as head-chief was absent, and so the father requested that they send for him. They replied that he was at his house, which was distant and that he would come the next day. Thereupon they withdrew to their homes, some remaining and conversing all night with our Silvestre.

September 24. We sent word by Joaquín and another Laguna to the other companions that they should come from El Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesús to the rancho where we were and where the Indians of this and other rancherías were gradually assembling, and they arrived here a little before noon. Early in the morning the head-chief came with the two other chiefs, several old men and many other persons. We explained to them at greater length the things already mentioned, and all of them unanimously replied that if the fathers should come, that they [the Indians] would live with the Tatas (as the Yutas call the friars), who would rule and teach them. They offered the Spaniards all their land so they might build their houses wherever they pleased, adding that they would scout through the country and be always on the watch for the inroads of the Cumanches, so that if they tried to enter the valley or the vicinity of the sierra, the Spaniards would be promptly warned and they all could go out together to punish them. Seeing such admirable docility, and having achieved our purpose, we told them that after finishing our journey we would return with more fathers and Spaniards to baptize them and live with them, but that from now forward they must be careful what they said so that later on they might not have to repent. They replied that they were sincere in what they were promising, adding with earnest supplication that we must not delay our return for long. We told them that although our people would believe what we might say about

them, they must give us a token showing that they wished to be Christians, et cetera, so we could show it to our Great Captain, and to the rest of the Spaniards, so that by means of it they would be more convinced of their good intentions and be encouraged to come more quickly. We did this the better to sound out their intentions, and they replied that they would very gladly give us the token the next morning.

We then presented the chief, who was a man of good presence, with a hunting knife and strings of beads, and Don Bernardo Miera gave him a hatchet. We gave some white glass beads to the others for which they were happy and grateful, though we could give only a few to each one because the Indians were numerous. Afterward we reminded them of their promise regarding a guide, and we told them that if they were agreed we would take Joaquín who wanted to go on with us. They replied that they had already discussed the matter and had decided that not only Joaquín, but also a new guide should go with us, perhaps as far as our land, and that they should return with us when we came back. They added that none of them knew much about the country in the direction which they knew we had to take, but that with the two, Joaquín and the guide, we should make inquiries of the tribes along our route. This most sincere expression of their sentiments, so clear and satisfactory, filled us with an inexpressible joy and assured us completely that without the least duplicity and with spontaneous and free will, moved by the Divine Grace, they accepted and desired Christianity. We put in front of them the same present which we had given to Silvestre, so that on seeing it the one who was to go with us as guide might make himself known. Immediately one of those present accepted it and became, thereupon, our guide and companion, who from that time we called José María. This being arranged, we decided to continue our journey to the establishments and port of Monterey next day.

They informed us that there was a sick child, in order that we might go to see him and baptize him. We went and, finding that he was rather large and that he was now almost recovered from a long illness, and in no immediate danger, we did not think it desirable to sprinkle upon him the water of baptism. Afterward his mother brought him to where we were, begging us to

ze him, and we consoled her by saying that we should soon
n, when everyone, large and small, would be baptized.

Finally, we told them that we now had only a few provisions
would be grateful if they would sell us a little dried fish. They
ght it and we purchased a considerable quantity of it. All
and a part of the night they kept coming and conversing
us, and we found them all very simple, docile, peaceful, and
tionate. Our Silvestre was now looked upon with respect,
acquired authority among them for having brought us and
y so much noticed by us.

September 25. In the morning they again assembled and
ght us the requested token, explaining what it contained. As
as we had asked for it the day before, we warned the inter-
r that neither he nor the rest should say anything to the
ns about the matter, in order to see what they of their own
rd would produce. When the token was brought, a com-
on, who did not know of the order that had been given, saw
pictures on it and showing them the cross of the rosary, he
lined to them that they should paint it on one of the figures,
mmediately they took it back and painted a little cross above
one. They left the rest of it as it was and gave it to us, say-
nat the figure which on both sides had the most red ochre or,
ey called it, the most blood, represented the head-chief, be-
e in the battles with the Cumanches he had received the most
ads. The two other figures which were not so bloody, repre-
d the two chiefs subordinate to the first, and the one which
no blood represented one who was not a war chief but a
of authority among them. These four figures of men were
y painted with earth and red ochre on a small piece of buck-

We accepted it, saying that the Great Captain of the
iards would be very much pleased to see it, and that when
eturned we would bring it with us so that they might see how
we esteemed their things and in order that the token itself
t be a guarantee of their promises and of everything we had
ssed. We told them that if, while awaiting us, they should
any difficulty in the way of sickness or enemies they must
upon God, saying, "Oh true God, aid us! Favor us!" But
g that they were unable to pronounce these words clearly,
old them that they should say only "Jesús María! Jesús

Maria!" They began to repeat this with ease, our Silvestre very fervently leading them, and all the time we were preparing to leave they kept on repeating these holy names. The time for our departure arrived and all of them bade us goodbye with great tenderness. Silvestre especially embraced us vigorously, almost weeping. They again charged us to come back soon, saying they would expect us within a year.

DESCRIPTION OF THE VALLEY AND LAKE OF
NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA MERCED DE LOS TIM-
PANOGOTZIS OR TIMPANOCUTZIS OR COME
PESCADOS, ALL OF WHICH NAMES ARE GIVEN
TO THEM.

To the north of the Río de San Buenaventura, as we have said above, there is a sierra which in the parts we saw runs from northeast to southwest more than seventy leagues, and its width or breadth must be at most forty leagues, and where we crossed it, thirty. In the western part of this sierra in latitude 40° 49' and about northwest by north of the town of Santa Fé, is the valley of Nuestra Señora de la Merced de los Timpanocutzis, surrounded by the peaks of the sierra, from which flow four fair-sized rivers which water it, running through the valley to the middle of it where they enter the lake. The plain of the valley must be from southeast to northwest, sixteen Spanish leagues long (which are the leagues we use in this diary), and from northeast to southwest, ten or twelve leagues. It is all clear and, with the exception of the marshes on the shores of the lake, the land is of good quality, and suitable for all kinds of crops.

Of the four rivers which water the valley, the first on the south is that of Aguas Calientes, in whose wide meadows there is sufficient irrigable land for two good settlements. The second, which follows three leagues to the north of the first and has more water, could sustain one large settlement or two medium-sized ones with an abundance of good land, all of which can be irrigated. This river, which we named Río de San Nicolás, before entering the lake divides into two branches, and on its banks besides the cottonwoods there are large sycamores. Three and one-half leagues northwest of this river is the third, the country

between them being of level meadows with good land for crops. It carries more water than the two foregoing streams, and has a larger cottonwood grove and meadows of good land, with opportunities for irrigation sufficient for two or even three good settlements. We were close to it on the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth, and we named it Río de San Antonio de Padua. We did not reach the fourth river although we could see its grove of trees. It is northwest of the Río de San Antonio and has in this direction a great deal of level land which is good, judging from what has been seen. They told us that it has as much water as the others, and so some ranchos or pueblos could be established on it. We named it Río de Santa Ana. Besides these rivers, there are many pools of good water in the plain and several springs running down from the sierra.

What we have said regarding settlements is to be understood as giving to each one more lands than are absolutely necessary, for if each pueblo should take only one league of agricultural land, the valley would provide for as many pueblos of Indians as there are in New Mexico. Because, although in the directions indicated above we give the size mentioned, it is an understatement, and on the south and in other directions there are very spacious areas of good land. In all of it there are good and very abundant pastures, and in some places it produces flax and hemp in such quantities that it looks as though they had planted it on purpose. The climate here is good, for after having suffered greatly from the cold since we left the Río de San Buenaventura, in all this valley we felt great heat both night and day.

Besides these most splendid advantages, in the nearby sierras which surround the valley there are plentiful firewood and timber, sheltered places, water and pasturage for raising cattle and horses. This applies to the north, northeast, east and southeast. Toward the south and southwest close by there are two other extensive valleys, also having abundant pasturage and sufficient water. The lake, which must be six leagues wide and fifteen leagues long, extends as far as one of these valleys. It runs northwest through a narrow passage, and according to what they told us, it communicates with others much larger.

This lake of Timpanogotzis abounds in several kinds of good fish, geese, beaver, and other amphibious animals which we

did not have an opportunity to see. Round about it are these Indians, who live on the abundant fish of the lake, for which reason the Yutas Sabuaganas call them Come Pescados [Fish-Eaters]. Besides this, they gather in the plain grass seeds from which they make atole, which they supplement by hunting hares, rabbits and fowl of which there is great abundance here. There are also buffalo not very far to the north-northwest, but fear of the Cumanches prevents them [the Come Pescados] from hunting them. Their habitations are chozas or little huts of willow, of which they also make nice baskets and other necessary utensils. In the matter of dress they are very poor. The most decent clothing they wear is a buckskin jacket and long leggings made of the same material. For cold weather they have blankets made of the skins of hares and rabbits. They speak the Yuta language but with notable differences in the accent and in some of the words. They have good features and most of them have heavy beards. In all parts of this sierra to the southeast, southwest and west live a large number of people of the same tribe, language, and docility as these Lagunas, with whom a very populous and extensive province could be formed.

The personal names of the chiefs contained in the token described above, in their own language are as follows: of the head chief, Turuñianchi; of the second, Cuitzapununchi; of the third, who is our Silvestre, Panchucumquibirán (which means "Talker"); of the fourth, who is not a chief but is brother of the head chief, Picuchi.

The other lake with which this one communicates, according to what they told us, covers many leagues, and its waters are noxious and extremely salty, for the Timpanois assure us that a person who moistens any part of his body with the water of the lake immediately feels much itching in the part that is wet. Round about it, they told us, live a numerous and peaceful nation called Puaguampe, which in our ordinary speech means "Witch Doctors" and who speak the Cumanche language. Their food consists of herbs. They drink from several fountains or springs of good water which are around the lake, and they have houses of grass and earth (the earth being used for the roofs). They are not enemies of the Lagunas, according to what they intimated, but since a certain occasion when [the Puaguampes] approached

and killed one of their men they do not consider them as neutral as formerly. On this occasion they entered by the last pass of the Sierra Blanca de los Timpanosis (which is the same one in which they live), to the north by northwest, and they say that right here the Cumanches make their entries, which did not appear to be very frequent.

The Timpanogotzis were so-called from the lake on which they live, which they call Timpanogó, and this is the special name of this lake, for the name or word with which they designate any lake in general is "pagariri." This one must be six leagues wide and fifteen leagues long to the narrows and the junction with the large one.

September 25. About one o'clock in the afternoon we set out from these first ranchos and the river of San Antonio where we had been, and having traveled a little more than three and one-half leagues, we camped for the night on the bank of Río de San Nicolás.⁵²

September 26. With the two Lagunas, José María and Joaquín, we set forth from the Río de San Nicolás, arrived at the Río de Aguas Calientes, crossed it, and having traveled beyond it two leagues to the south, we halted, still in the plain, near a creek of good water which we called Arroyo de San Andrés.⁵³ It appears to flow continuously and therefore is rather a small river or creek than an arroyo. On its banks there is a species of medium-sized trees on whose foliage live a vast number of little insects as strange to us as are the trees. — Today two leagues.

September 27. We set out toward the south from the Arroyo de San Andrés and having traveled a league still in the plain, we crossed another small stream with as much water as is contained in a fair-sized irrigation ditch. It runs along the surface of the land through which it passes, which is very good for crops. We continued south through the same plain for a league and a half, left it through the southern pass, which we named Puerto de San Pedro, and entered another large valley. Because the salt flats from which the Timpanois get their salt are very close to this valley toward the east, we called it the Valle de las Salinas, which is one of the nearby valleys mentioned above. It must be

⁵²On Hobbie Creek northwest of present-day Springville.

⁵³Near the site of Payson.

about fourteen leagues long from north to south and five wide from east to west. It is all of level land with abundant water and pasturage, although only one small river flows through it. In it there are large numbers of fowl of the kind which we have already mentioned in this diary. We traveled four more leagues south along the plain of the valley and camped at a large spring of good water which we called Ojo de San Pablo.⁵⁴

As soon as we halted, José María and Joaquín brought five Indians from the nearby ranchos. We gave them something to eat and to smoke, and told them the same things that we had told the others at the lake in-so-far as was appropriate to the circumstances. We found them as docile and affable as the others. Manifesting great joy on hearing that more fathers and Spaniards were coming to live with them, they remained with us until nearly midnight. — Today six and one-half leagues to the south.

September 28. We set out from the Ojo de San Pablo toward the south, and having traveled four leagues we arrived at a small river which comes down from the same eastern part of the sierra in which the salt flats are, according to what they told us. We stopped here a short time in the shade of the cottonwoods on the bank to get some relief from the great heat, and we had scarcely sat down when, from among some thick clumps of willows, eight Indians very fearfully approached us, most of them naked except for a piece of buckskin around their loins. We spoke to them and they spoke to us, but without either of us understanding the other, because the two Lagunas and the interpreter had gone ahead. By signs we gave them to understand that we were peaceful and friendly people. We continued toward the south, and having traveled three leagues we swung southeast half a league and another half to the south and camped,⁵⁵ while still in the valley, near a spring which we named San Bernardino. — Today eight leagues almost all to the south.

September 29. We left San Bernardino, going south-southwest, and immediately met six Indians. We talked with them a long while and preached to them through the interpreter and the Lagunas, and they listened with great docility. Having traveled two and one-half leagues, we swung to the southwest, now leav-

⁵⁴In the vicinity of the town of Starr, just east of Mona Reservoir.

⁵⁵Near the town of Levan.

ing [Valle de] Las Salinas which continues on to the south. Here we met an old Indian of venerable appearance. He was alone in a little hut, and his beard was so thick and long that he looked like one of the hermits of Europe. He told us about a river nearby and about some of the country which we still had to traverse. We traveled southwest half a league, swung west-northwest through some little valleys and dry hills, and having traveled a league and a half we arrived at the river not discovering it until we were on its very bank. We camped in a meadow with good pasturage,⁵⁶ which we named Santa Ysabel. Here we observed the latitude by the north star and found ourselves in $39^{\circ} 4'$ of latitude. — Today four leagues.

A short time after we halted, four Indians arrived at the other bank. We had them cross over to where we were, treated them with courtesy, and they remained with us all the afternoon, telling us about the country which they knew and of the watering-place to which we must go the next day.

This river, according to the name which these Indians give it, appears to be the San Buenaventura, but we doubt whether this is the case, because here it carries much less water than where we crossed it in $41^{\circ} 19'$, although after it unites with the San Clemente it is joined by the San Cosme, the San Damián, and several other small streams. Moreover, it seems likely that when we crossed it in that latitude Silvestre would have told us that this river ran near his country, as he told us other things about the sierra and of other rivers and lakes, which we found to correspond with his account, and in which I include this river which passes through Santa Monica.

September 30. Very early twenty Indians arrived at the camp together with those who were here yesterday afternoon, wrapped in blankets made of the skins of rabbits and hares. They remained conversing with us, very happily, until nine in the morning, as docile and affable as the preceding ones. These people here have much heavier beards than the Lagunas. They have holes through the cartilage of their noses and they wear as an ornament a little polished bone of deer, fowl or some other animal thrust through the hole. In features they look more like Spaniards than like the other Indians hitherto known in America, from

⁵⁶On Sevier River near the site of Mills.

whom they are different in the foregoing respects. They speak the same language as the Timpanogotzis. At this river and place of Santa Ysabel this tribe of bearded Indians begins. It is they, perhaps, who gave rise to the report of the Spaniards that they live on the other side of the Río del Tizón which according to several coinciding reports is the Río Grande, formed from the Río de los Dolores and others and which joins the Navajó.

At nine o'clock we set out from Santa Ysabel, crossed the river, and traveled three and one-half leagues to the south through a plain covered with chamise, troublesome for the animals. We entered a little canyon of good land, and a little farther on came to a plain with abundant pasturage but without water. Having traveled through it a league and a half to the south, we found behind some small hills a spring of water which we named Ojo de Cisneros,⁵⁷ by which there are two small trees which mark the place. — Today five leagues to the south.

October 1. We set out from Ojo de Cisneros, going back nearly half a league to the north, then again swung south, traveled a quarter of a league through a ravine that was stony in places, and through it we went a mile up the sierra (which from the valley of Las Salinas continued southward). Swinging southwest now for a quarter of a league, we came upon a vast plain surrounded by sierras in which they told us the Río de Santa Ysabel entered another lake and then emerging from that lake it continued west. Descending the valley or pass, we swung west-northwest over low and very stony hills, and having traveled two long leagues we entered a chamise thicket. Then along the bank of a dry arroyo and without a trail we went three leagues west, then left the arroyo, and having traveled two leagues west by north, we descended to the plain. It appeared to us that nearby there was water in a marsh or lake. We quickened our pace and found that what we had thought to be water was in places salt, in others saltpeter, and in others *tequesquite*. We continued west by south along the plain and the salt flats, and having traveled more than six leagues we camped⁵⁸ without having found any water fit to drink or pasturage for the animals, for which reason they were unable to travel any farther. There was some

⁵⁷In the vicinity of the town of Scipio.

⁵⁸They camped on Salt Lake, which lies northeast of Clearlake and south of Deseret.

pasturage where we stopped, but it was bad and there was little of it. Hitherto in the whole plain, there had been no pasture, good or bad. — Today fourteen leagues.

Two companions had gone ahead seeking water and they reported that a league beyond this place they had seen some. On hearing this we decided that as soon as the moon came up they should take the animals a few at a time so they might drink, and they should also bring water for the men. They were not certain about the water they had seen and so, leaving two men with the horses, the other three went to look for it in the direction in which they had told us the Río de Santa Ysabel was.

October 2. Morning dawned without our hearing from the five men who had gone with the horses in search of water. One of the two who had remained with the herd came at six o'clock but was unable to tell us anything about the herd, his companion or any of the rest because these two had fallen asleep. Meanwhile the horse herd, driven by thirst, strayed away, and the men waking at various times, each took a different route to hunt for the animals. Immediately Don Juan Pedro Cisneros set out on the trail riding bareback and overtook the herd seven leagues back, that is, midway in the preceding day's march, returning with it only a little before noon. Shortly afterward the men who had gone seeking water arrived, accompanied by some Indians whose ranchos they accidentally reached on the bank of the Río de Santa Ysabel. These were some of the people with long beards and pierced noses who, in their language, are called Tirangapui. The five who first came with their chief had such long beards that they looked like Capuchín or Bethlehemite fathers. The chief was an attractive man of mature years but not aged.

They remained very happily talking with us and in a short time they became very fond of us. The chief learned that one of our companions was still missing, and immediately he ordered his four Indians to go as quickly as possible to look for him in the plain and bring him to where we were, each one going in a different direction. This was an action worthy of the greatest gratitude and admiration in people so wild that they had never before seen persons like us. While the chief was giving these orders, he saw that the absentee was already coming and very gladly he told us the news. We preached the Gospel to them as



Photo Frank Beckwith

PAHVANT BUTTE

Prominent landmark on the Sevier Desert. Escalante passed to the west of this butte. Miera marked it on his "Bearded Indian" map.

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well as the interpreter could explain it, telling them of the Unity of God, the punishment which He has in store for the bad and the reward ready for the good, the necessity of holy baptism, and of the knowledge and observance of the divine law. While this was going on, three of their men were seen coming toward us, and then the chief told us that these also were his people, and that we must suspend the conversation until they arrived in order that they also might hear everything that we were saying for their benefit. When they arrived he told them that we were padres and that we were instructing them in what they ought to do in order to go to Heaven and so they must pay attention. He said this so forcefully that although we understood only a word of Yuta now and then, we gathered what he was telling them before the interpreter had translated it for us, solely by the gestures with which he was expressing himself. We told them that if they wished to obtain the proposed benefit we would return with more fathers so that all might be instructed, like the Lagunas, who already were awaiting religious teachers, but that then they must live together in a pueblo and not scattered as they do now.

They all replied very joyfully that we must return with other fathers, that they would do whatever we might teach and command them, the chief adding that if then we wished and thought it better, they would go to live with the Lagunas (which we had already proposed to him). We said goodbye to them and all, especially the chief, took our hands with great fondness and affection. But the time when they most emphatically expressed themselves was when we were leaving this place. They scarcely saw us depart when all of them, imitating their chief, who set the example, broke out weeping copious tears, so that even after we were a long distance away we still heard the tender laments of these miserable little lambs of Christ who had strayed only for lack of The Light. They so moved us that some of our companions could not restrain their tears. In this place, which we named Llano Salado, where, because of some delicate white shells which we found, it appears there has been a lake much larger than the present one, we observed the latitude and found it in 39° 34' 36". This observation was made by the sun almost in the middle of the plain, which from north to south must be little less than thirty leagues, and from east to west fourteen leagues. In most places it is very short of pasturage and although two rivers

enter it, the Santa Ysabel from the north, and a medium-sized one whose waters are very salty, from the east, we saw no place whatever suitable for settlement.

In the afternoon we continued on our way toward the south-southeast because the marshes and lakes would not permit us to go south, which was the direct route to the pass through which we were to leave the plain. Having traveled three leagues we camped near a small hill which is in the plain, giving the name of El Cerrillo to the campsite,⁵⁹ where there were marshes with much pasturage but salty water. — Today three leagues south-southeast.

October 3. Leaving El Cerrillo we made many turns, because we were surrounded by marshes, so we decided to cut through from the east, crossing the river which abounds in fish and apparently disappears in the marshes and in the other lakes of the plain. The ford was miry, and in it the horse which the interpreter Andrés was riding fell and threw him into the water, giving him a hard blow on the cheek. Having crossed with some difficulty and traveled six leagues south by west over good level land, we arrived at an arroyo which appeared to have much water, but we found only some pools in which it was difficult for the animals to drink. Nevertheless, because there was good pasturage, we camped here.⁶⁰ All along the arroyo there was a sort of white, dry and narrow bank which from a distance looked like stretched canvas, for which reason we named it Arroyo del Tejedor. — Today six leagues south by west.

October 4. We set out from El Tejedor upstream and toward the south, and after traveling one fourth of a league, we swung a little to the south-southwest, then having traveled less than five leagues, we arrived at the south pass. After we had left the salty plain we found in this arroyo more and better water than that of yesterday, and beautiful meadows, very abundantly supplied with good pasturage for the animals, which were now badly fatigued because the salty water had done them much harm, and so we camped here, naming the campsite Las Vegas del Puerto.⁶¹ — Today five leagues.

⁵⁹Southeast of the town of Clearlake, probably just south of Pahvant Butte.

⁶⁰Apparently in the vicinity of Borden on the Union Pacific Railroad.

⁶¹On Beaver River in the pass east of Cricket Mountains, some ten miles northeast of Black Rock.

October 5. We left Las Vegas del Puerto, traveled south on the banks of the same arroyo, and having gone two leagues we swung southwest three leagues and camped in another meadow of the arroyo, naming it San Atenógenes.⁶² — Today five leagues.

This morning before we set out from Las Vegas del Puerto, the Laguna, José María, left us and went back without saying goodbye. We saw him leave the camp but we did not wish to say anything to him nor to have anyone follow him and bring him back, preferring to leave him in complete liberty. We did not know what moved him to make this decision but, according to what the interpreter told us afterward, he was now somewhat disconsolate on seeing that we were going so far from his country. But doubtless the decision was hastened by an unexpected event of the preceding night. This was that when Don Juan Pedro Cisneros sent for his servant, Simón Lucero, in order that with him and the rest they might say the rosary of the Virgin, Lucero objected to coming. Don Juan reprimanded him for his laziness and lack of devotion, whereupon the servant attacked him, and they struggled with each other. From where we were saying the matins of the following day we heard the hullabaloo, and we went over at once, but not in time to prevent José María's getting a great scare. We tried to convince him that these persons were not angry, saying that although a father might chide his son, as just now had been done, he never would wish to kill him, as he thought, and that therefore he must not be afraid. Nevertheless, he turned back from here, leaving us without anybody who knew the country ahead even from hearsay. We felt very sorry about this incident because we desired to hasten his salvation which now he would not be able to obtain so quickly.

As soon as we halted two men went to see if the western part of the sierra and a valley which was in it were passable, and if they gave any hope of finding in them water and pasturage for the animals. After nightfall they returned saying they had found no pass whatever by which to cross the sierra, that it was very rough and high in this direction, and that in front of it there was a wide plain without any pasturage or water whatsoever. Therefore we were unable to take this direction, which was the

⁶²Apparently in the Beaver River valley southwest of the town of Black Rock.

best for reaching Monterey, which was our objective, and we decided to continue south until we emerged from this sierra through a very wide valley beginning at this campsite of San Atenógenes, which we named Valle de Nuestra Señora de la Luz. Through it continues the Arroyo del Tejedor, with sufficient wells and pools of good water, and very spacious meadows abundant with pasturage, both of which in the valley are very scarce.

On the preceding days a very cold wind from the south had blown fiercely and without ceasing, followed by a snowfall so heavy that not only the peaks of the sierra but likewise all the plains were covered with snow tonight.

October 6. In the morning it was snowing and it continued all day without ceasing, so we were unable to travel. Night came and, seeing that it still did not stop, we implored the intercession of Our Mother and Patroness, saying in chorus the three parts of her Rosary and of all the saints, and singing the litanies, and God willed that at nine o'clock at night it should cease to snow, hail, and rain.

October 7. Although we were greatly inconvenienced by the lack of firewood and the excessive cold, we were unable to leave San Atenógenes today either, because, with so much snow and water, the land, which here is very soft, was impassable.

October 8. We set out from San Atenógenes through the plain toward the south but traveled only three and one-half leagues with great difficulty because it was so soft and miry everywhere that many pack animals and saddle horses, and even the loose ones, either fell down or mired in the mud. We camped about a mile west of the arroyo, naming the campsite Santa Brígida,⁶³ where, having observed by the north star, we found ourselves in $38^{\circ} 3' 30''$ of latitude. — Today three and one-half leagues to the south.

Today we suffered greatly from cold because all day a very sharp north wind never stopped blowing. Hitherto we had intended to go to the presidio and new establishments of Monterey, but thinking them still distant because, although we had to descend only $1^{\circ} 23\frac{1}{2}'$ to this place of Santa Brígida, we had not advanced toward the west, according to the daily directions, more than $136\frac{1}{2}$ leagues. According to the opinion which we had

⁶³They camped farther up the Beaver River valley.

formed, partly on account of not having heard among all these last people any report of the Spaniards and fathers of Monterey, partly because of the great difference in longitude between this port and the town of Santa Fé as shown on the maps, there were still many more leagues to the west. Winter had already begun with great severity, for all the sierras which we were able to see in all directions were covered with snow. The weather was very unsettled and we feared that long before we arrived the passes would be closed and we would be delayed for two or three months in some sierra, where there might be no people nor any means of obtaining necessary sustenance, for our provisions were already very low, and so we would expose ourselves to death from hunger if not from cold. Moreover, we reflected that even granting that we might arrive at Monterey this winter, we would not be able to reach the Villa de Santa Fé before the month of June next year. This delay, together with that which would arise in the regular and necessary pursuit of such an interesting undertaking as the one now in hand, might be very harmful to the souls who, according to what has been said before, desired their eternal salvation through holy baptism. Seeing such delay in what we had promised them, they would consider their hopes frustrated or would conclude that we had intentionally deceived them, whereby their conversion and the extension of the dominions of His Majesty in this direction would be made much more difficult in the future. To this it might be added that the Laguna, Joaquín, terrified and weary of so many hardships and needs, might stray away from us and return to his country, or to other people of whom he might have heard, as was done by the other [Laguna]. Added to these considerations was the possibility that by continuing south from Santa Brígida we might discover a shorter and better road than the one by way of the Sabuaganas by which to go from Santa Fé to the Laguna de Timpanois and to these other Indians, the Long Beards, and perhaps to some other nation hitherto unknown who may always have lived on the north bank of the Río Grande. Therefore, we decided to continue to the south, if the terrain would permit it, as far as the Río Colorado, and from there proceed toward Cosnina, Moqui, and Zuñi.

NEW ITINERARY AND THE BEGINNING OF OUR
RETURN FROM 38° 3 MINUTES AND 30 SECONDS
OF LATITUDE

October 9. We left Santa Brígida, going south, and having traveled six leagues with less difficulty than yesterday, because the ground now was not so soft nor so wet, we camped near a bend⁶⁴ formed by the valley and the great plain of Nuestra Señora de la Luz, where it becomes wider, and from which place it continues for many leagues to the southwest. We named the campsite San Rústico, where we found everything convenient, it being unnecessary for us to go to the arroyo for water or to its meadows for pasturage. The water was rainwater and not permanent. — Today six leagues south.

October 10. We set out from San Rústico toward the south, traveled a league, and then went three more south-southwest, to a small and very low hill in the middle of the plain to ascertain by the view the extent of this valley and plain of La Luz. Ascending the hill we saw that from here it extended southwest more than thirty-five or forty leagues, for we could scarcely see the sierras where it ends in this direction, although they are very high as we afterward discovered.

We saw also three springs of hot sulphurous water which are on top of and on the eastern slope of these hills, near and below which there are small patches of ground covered with saltpeter. We continued across the plain, and having traveled two leagues south we camped,⁶⁵ fearing that farther on we might not find water for the night. Here there was a great deal collected from the melted snow in a kind of lake, and there was also good pasturage. We named the campsite San Eleuterio. — Today six leagues.

The Long Bearded Yutas (Yutas Barbones) extend this far south, and here apparently their territory ends.

October 11. We set out from San Eleuterio south by east, letting the companions go ahead so that we two might discuss between ourselves the means we ought to adopt to relieve the companions, especially Don Bernardo Miera, Don Joaquín Laír

⁶⁴Below the town of Milford, at the southern end of the valley where it divides and swings off toward the southwest.

⁶⁵Apparently some twelve miles southwest of the site of Minersville.

and the interpreter Andrés Muñiz, of the great dissatisfaction with which they were leaving the route to Monterey and taking this one. The latter we thought was now desirable and according to the most holy Will of God, in accord with which alone we desired to travel, and to obey which we were disposed to suffer and if necessary to die. We had already told them at Santa Brígida the reasons for our new decision, but instead of listening to the force of our arguments, they opposed our views and so from then on they were very insubordinate. Everything was now very onerous to them and everything insufferably difficult. They talked of nothing but how useless so long a journey would now be. For to them it was of no value to have already discovered so great an extent of country, and people so willing to attach themselves readily to the Vineyard of the Lord and the dominions of His Majesty (God spare him); nor to have become acquainted with such extensive provinces hitherto unknown; nor finally, to bring one soul, now almost assured to the fold of the Church, an achievement more than great, and worth an even longer journey of greater difficulties and fatigues. Moreover, we had already made much progress toward reaching Monterey later. But to all this they paid no attention, for the first of the persons here mentioned [Don Bernardo Miera], without any cause whatsoever, at least on our part, had conceived great hopes of honor and profit by merely reaching Monterey, and had communicated these hopes to the others, building great castles in the air. And now he assured them that we were robbing them of these blessings which they imagined would be so great, with the result that even the servants greatly tried our patience. Shortly before this decision was made, Don Bernardo had said that we had advanced but little toward the west, and that it was still a long distance to Monterey, but now even the servants frequently maintained that we would have arrived within a week. Many times, before leaving the Villa de Santa Fé, we had told each and every one of our companions that in this journey we had no other destination than the one which God might give us, and that we were not inspired by any temporal aim whatsoever; and that any one of them who might attempt to trade with the heathen, or to follow out his personal desires instead of devoting himself to the one purpose of this enterprise, which had been and is the greater honor of God and the spread of the Faith, had better not go with us.

On the way we repeatedly admonished them to purify any intentions they might have, because otherwise we would suffer trouble and misfortunes, and would fail to achieve all our aims, a thing which in part they now saw happen under circumstances which, unless they close their eyes to the Light, they will never be able to attribute to accident. With all this we were more mortified each day, and we were disconsolate to see that instead of the interests of Heaven, those of Earth were first and principally sought. And so, in order that the cause of God might be better served, and to make them see more clearly that not through fear nor by our own will had we changed our plan, we decided to abandon entirely the heavy responsibility of the foregoing reflections. Having implored the divine clemency and the intercession of our patron saints we decided to inquire anew the will of God by means of casting lots, putting in one the word "Monterey" and in the other "Cosnina," and following the route which might come out.

We now overtook the companions, and had them dismount. When all were assembled, Father Fray Francisco Atanasio set forth to them the inconveniences and difficulties which now prevented our continuing to Monterey; what we would be able to achieve by returning by way of Cosnina; and finally, the mistakes and set-backs which we would have suffered hitherto if God had not interfered with some of their projects. He pointed out to them all the evil which might result from continuing now to Monterey, especially from the straying or the return of the Laguna, Joaquín. He warned them that if the lot fell to Monterey, there would be no other director than Don Bernardo Miera, for he thought it so near at hand, and all this dissatisfaction was a result of his ideas. Then Father Atanasio gave them a brief exhortation to the end that, putting aside every sort of passion, they should subject themselves entirely to God, and beg Him, with firm hope and lively faith, to make known His Will. They all submitted in a Christian spirit and with fervent devotion they said the third part of the Rosary and other petitions, while we said the penitential Psalms, and the litanies and other prayers which follow them. This concluded, we cast the lot, and it was decided in favor of Cosnina. Now, thank God, we all agreeably and gladly accepted this result.

We now continued on our way, quickening our pace as much as possible and having traveled ten leagues from San Eleuterio, two south by east, three south-southeast (now leaving the plain of Nuestra Señora de la Luz), a fourth of a league southeast, one and a quarter south-southeast, three and one-half southeast over good terrain, and going through a wood of piñon and juniper, crossing a long valley with much pasturage, and afterwards some grass-covered hills, we descended to a beautiful valley and camped after nightfall near a small river in one of its meadows, which have a very great abundance of pasturage. We named them the Valley of Señor San José.⁶⁶ — Today ten leagues.

We observed by the polar star and found ourselves in 37° and 33' of latitude.

THE ITINERARY AND DIARY CONTINUES FROM 37°
33 MINUTES OF LATITUDE, AND FROM THE
SMALL RIVER OF SEÑOR SAN JOSÉ, IT IS
DIRECTED TOWARD THE RÍO
COLORADO AND COSNINA.

October 12. We set out from the small river of Señor San José, where there were some miry places, crossed a large marsh with much water and pasturage and through the middle of which runs another stream of water like an irrigation ditch. We crossed this stream by going northwest, then turned straight south on the west side of the meadows of the plain. Having traveled over good terrain four and one-half leagues, we saw that the companions who were some distance ahead of us left the road hurriedly. We quickened our pace to learn the cause, and when we overtook them they were already talking with some Indian women whom they had forcibly* detained because they had begun to run away with other Indian women, of whom there were about twenty in number gathering grass seeds in the plain, as soon as they saw them [the companions]. We were sorry to see them so frightened for they could not even speak, and through the interpreter and the Laguna, Joaquín, we tried to relieve them of their fear and timidity. When they had somewhat recovered their composure,

⁶⁶On Coal Creek some ten miles north of Cedar City.

*Evidently should read "for" for "from".
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they told us that in this vicinity there were many of their people; that they had heard it said that toward the south there were people who wore blue clothes and that the Río Grande was not very far from here. We were not able to learn from them with certainty from what nation they obtained these blue garments or rags, nor to form concerning this matter any opinion from what they said. But we knew that the Payuchis traded only for red clothes, and immediately it occurred to us that the Cosninas buy their blue woolen cloth in Moqui, so we concluded that it was of these they were talking, from which we inferred that this place was near the Río Colorado and the Río Cosnina. These Indian women were so poorly dressed that they wore only some pieces of buckskin hanging from their waists, which hardly covered what can not be looked at without peril. We bade them goodbye, telling them they must notify their people that we were coming in peace, that we harmed nobody and loved everybody, and therefore the men who were able to do so should come without fear to the place where we were going to camp. We continued along the plain and valley of Señor San José, and having traveled three more leagues to the south, we saw other Indians who were running away. We despatched the interpreter with the Laguna, Joaquín, and another companion, to try to bring an Indian to the campsite, which was now nearby, in order to inquire whether the Río Grande was as near as the Indian women had said, and to see if one of them would accompany us as a guide as far as Cosnina. They ran so fast that our men were barely able to stop one of them. Don Joaquín Lán brought that one behind him on his horse to the place where, having traveled another half-league to the south, we had already camped near a small stream which we called Río de Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Zaragoza,⁸⁷ where, as in all the valley, there was much good pasturage. — Today eight leagues south.

This Indian whom the companions brought to the camp, as we have just said, was very excited and so terror-stricken that he seemed to be insane. He looked in every direction, watched everybody, and was excessively frightened by every action or movement on our part and to escape what his extreme cowardliness led him to fear, he gave such close attention when

⁸⁷In the vicinity American Journeys — www.americanjourneys.org of Ash Creek.

we talked to him and responded so quickly that he appeared rather to guess at our questions than to understand them. He quieted down a little, and we gave him something to eat and a ribbon, putting it on him ourselves. He carried a large net very well made of hemp, which he said he used to catch hares and rabbits. When we asked him where he got these nets, he replied that it was from other Indians who live down the Río Grande, from whence, we also learned later, they obtained colored shells, and according to the distance and the direction in which he placed them, they appear to be the Cocomaricopas. With respect to the distance to the Río Grande and the blue clothing, he said the same as the Indian women, adding that some colored woolen threads which he possessed he had purchased this summer from two of those who wear the blue clothing and who had crossed the river. We questioned him in different ways about the Cosninas, but he gave us no information about them, either because these people knew them by another name, or perhaps because he feared that if he admitted he knew them, we would take him by force so that he might conduct us to them, or, finally, because he did not know them. We asked him if he had heard it said that toward the west or west-northwest (pointing in these directions) there were fathers and Spaniards, and he answered, "No," for although many people lived there, they were of the same language and tribe as himself. They showed him a kernel of maize, and he said that he had seen how it was grown, adding that at a rancho to which we would come next day there was a little of this grain, which they had brought from the place where it is raised. We made great efforts to get him to tell us the name of these people who were now planting maize, and to clarify other things of which he was giving a confused account, but we were able to learn only that they lived on this side of the Río Grande on another small river. He remained with us voluntarily all night and promised to lead us to the rancho mentioned.

October 13. We set out southward from the small river and campsite of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, accompanied by this Indian, to whom we had promised a hunting knife if he would guide us to where we might find other Indians. We traveled two and a half leagues south and arrived at the rancho mentioned, which belonged to him. In it there were an old Indian, a young man, several children and three women, all of them very good looking.

They had very good piñon nuts, dates, and some little sacks of maize. We remained in conversation with the old man for a long time, but he told us only what the others had. We gave the promised hunting knife to the one who had conducted us to this place, and told them that if any of the three would accompany us to those who they said planted maize, we would pay him well. From the response we saw that they were still very suspicious and much afraid of us, but at the suggestion of the companions we put before them a hunting knife and some glass beads. The old man seized them, and impelled by his great fear, he offered to guide us, in order to get us away from there, as later became evident to us, and to give his family time to reach a place of safety by withdrawing to the nearby sierra.

We continued on our way accompanied by this old man and the Indian who had passed the preceding night with us. We traveled a league and a half to the south, descended to the little Río del Pilar, which here has a leafy cottonwood grove, crossed it, now leaving the valley of Señor San José, and entered a stony cut in the form of a pass between two high sierras. In the roughest part of this cut the two guides disappeared and we never saw them again. We admired their cleverness in having brought us through a place well suited to the sure and free execution of their plan, which we had already suspected not only because of their cowardliness, but also from the manner in which they had consented to guide us. We continued without a guide, and having traveled with great difficulty over the many stones for a league to the south, we descended a second time to the Río del Pilar and halted on its bank in a pretty cottonwood grove, naming the place San Daniel.⁶⁸ — Today five leagues south.

The Valley of Señor San José through which we have just passed, in its most northern part is in 37° 33' of latitude. From north to south it is about twelve leagues long, and from east to west in some places it is more than three, in others two, and in still others, less. It has very abundant pasturage, large meadows, fair-sized marshes, and plenty of very good land for a settlement with seasonal crops, although there is not [enough] water

⁶⁸On Ash Creek just across the ridge from the valley and some five miles north of the town of Pintura.

in the two small rivers of Señor San José and Pilar to irrigate more than a few small areas. However, the great moisture of the land may supply this lack so that the irrigation will not be missed, because the moisture in all the valley is so great that not only the meadows and the flats, but even the high places at this season had green and fresh pasturage, like the most fertile meadows of rivers in the months of June and July. Round about the valley and very near at hand there is plentiful timber, firewood of spruce and piñon, and good sites for raising large and small stock. The Indians who live in the valley and in its vicinity to the west, north, and east are called in their language Hauscari. They dress very poorly, and eat grass seeds, hares, piñon nuts in season, and dates. They do not plant maize, and judging from what we saw, they obtain very little of it. They are extremely cowardly and different from the Lagunas and Barbones. On the northwest and north they border on the latter and speak the same language, although with some differences. The Sierra de los Lagunas ends in this place of San Daniel, having run directly south from the Valley of Las Salinas to here. From here to the Río Grande all the land is poor, although it appears rich in minerals.

October 14. We set out from San Daniel going south by west along the west side of the river, swung a short distance away from it, and having traveled two leagues over hills of very brilliant white sand, very stony in places, we passed two large springs of good water which flow into the river. We swung south now over stony malpais (which is like slag although heavier and less porous) but not very difficult, now among small sandy stretches, now over sand banks, and having traveled two more leagues we descended a third time to the river and halted on its banks where there was a very good pasture. We named the campsite San Hugolino.⁶⁹ Here the climate is very mild for although we felt great heat yesterday, last night and today the cottonwoods of the river were so green and leafy, the roses and flowers which grow here so flaming and undamaged that they showed that through here they had not yet been frozen nor frosted. We also saw mesquite trees, which do not grow in very cold lands. — Today four leagues south.

⁶⁹On Ash Creek about midway between the towns of Toquerville and Pintura.

October 15. We set out from San Hugolino on the west bank of the river and along the slopes of some nearby hills, and having traveled two and one-half leagues to the south-southeast, we returned to the bank and to the grove* along the river. Here we found a well made mat with a large supply of ears and husks of green corn which had been placed on it. Near it, in the small plain and on the bank of the river, there were three small corn patches with their very well made irrigation ditches. The stalks of maize which they had already harvested this year were still untouched. For this reason we felt especially pleased, partly because it gave us hope that we should be able to provide ourselves farther on with assured supplies, and principally, because it was evidence of the application of these people to the cultivation of the soil, and because of finding this preparation for reducing them to civilized life and to the Faith when the Most High may so will, for it is already known what it costs to get other Indians to do this, and how much their conversion is impeded by their aversion to this labor which is so necessary for living a civilized life especially in pueblos. From here downstream and on the mesas on either side for a long distance, according to what we learned, live Indians who sustain themselves by planting maize and calabashes, and who in their language are called the Parussi.

We continued downstream toward the south, and having traveled half a league, we swung southwest, leaving the river, but a high cliff without any way to get down forced us to go back more than a quarter of a league and return to the river which here runs southwest. Two other small rivers join it here, one which comes from the north-northeast, and the other from the east. The latter consists in great part of hot and sulphurous water, and for this reason we named it Río Sulfúreo. Here there is a beautiful grove of large black cottonwoods, some willows, and wild grape vines. In the stretch where we retraced our steps there are ash heaps, veins and other signs of minerals, and many stones of reddish mica. We crossed the Río del Pilar and the Sulfúreo near the place where they join, then going south we ascended a low mesa between crags of shiny black rock. Having reached the top, we came to good open country, crossed a small plain which toward the east has a chain of very high mesas and to the west, hills

*Seville edition reads "alameda" which is evidently the correct wording.
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of chamiso (the plant which in Spain is called *brezo*) and red sand. In the plain we might have gone to the edge of the mesas and finished our day's march over good level country, but the men who went ahead changed the direction in order to follow some fresh tracks of Indians and led us over these hills and sand flats where our animals now became very much fatigued.

After having traveled by the mesa and plain two leagues to the south we went three leagues southwest through the above-mentioned hills. We now turned south a little more than two leagues and descried a small valley surrounded by mesas, from one of which we found ourselves unable to descend to the valley. On it there was neither water nor pasturage for the animals, which now were unable to go forward, so we were forced to descend from a high, rugged and very stony ridge. Having traveled three-fourths of a league to the south, we stopped after sunset at an arroyo where we found large pools of good water with sufficient pasturage for the animals. We named the place San Dónulo,⁷⁰ or Arroyo del Taray, because here there were some tamarisk trees or *palo taray*. — Today ten leagues, which in a direct line would be seven leagues south by west. We observed by the north star and found ourselves $36^{\circ} 52' 30''$ of latitude.

In this plain or little valley besides the tamarisk there is much *hediondilla*, which is a bush with very medicinal qualities, according to what has been learned in New Mexico. Tonight our supplies were completely exhausted, leaving us only two little cakes of chocolate for tomorrow.

October 16. We set out from San Dónulo with the intention of continuing south as far as the Río Colorado, but after traveling a short distance we heard some people shouting behind us; turning around to see where the noise came from, we saw eight Indians on the hills near the campsite which we had just left, and which are in the middle of the plain, extend almost entirely across it, and abound in transparent gypsum and mica. We returned to them, giving orders that the interpreter, who had gone ahead, should come also. We arrived at the foot of the little hill and told the Indians to descend without fear because we had come in peace and were friends. Thereupon they took courage and

⁷⁰Camp was apparently near the site of Old Fort Pierce, southwest of the town of Hurricane on Fort Pierce Creek, just north of the Arizona state line.

descended, showing us for barter some sartas or strings of *chalchihuite* [stones of an emerald color], each string having a colored shell. This gave us something to think about, for from below, the strings of *chalchihuite* looked to us like rosaries and the shells like medals of saints. We remained here with them a short time, but they spoke the Yuta tongue so differently from all the rest that neither the interpreter nor Joaquín, the Laguna, could make them understand clearly nor understand much of what they said. Nevertheless, partly by signs, partly because about some matters they spoke the Yuta tongue more like the Lagunas, we understood them to say that all were Parusis (except one who spoke more of an Arabic tongue than Yuta, and which we thought was Jamajab) and that they are the ones who plant the crops on the banks of the Río del Pilar and live downstream for a long distance. We took them to be Cosninas but afterward we learned that this was not the case. They offered their *chalchihuites* for trade, and when we told them we did not have a thing there, but if they would come with us until we overtook the rest of the companions, we would give them what they asked for and would talk with them at length, all came very cheerfully though with great fear and suspicion on the part of those who appeared the most intelligent. We stopped and talked with them more than two and a half or three hours. They told us that in two days we would reach the Río Grande, but would not be able to go the way we wanted to, because there was no watering place, nor would we be able to cross the river in this region because it ran through a great canyon and was very deep and had on both sides extremely high cliffs and rocks, and finally, that from here to the river the terrain was very bad. We gave them a present of two hunting knives and to each one a string of glass beads, and then told them that if one of them would guide us to the river we would pay him. They replied that they would go and put us on the trail through a canyon which was in the mesa east of the plain, and that from there we could go alone, because they were barefoot and could not travel very well. In spite of this explanation we did not wish to give up going south as far as the river, for we suspected that the Moquinos might have become unfriendly toward the Cosninas because they had escorted Father Garcés and that, fearful that they might lead other fathers and Spaniards to Moqui, they had tried to keep them back with

threats; and that these people having heard the news, now intended to lead us astray in order that we might not reach the Cosninas or their neighbors, the Jamajabas. But at the urging of the companions, to whom it was not desirable at present to make known our suspicions, we consented to go by the canyon. We offered these Indians soles of satchel leather for sandals if they would guide us. They said that two of them would go with us until they had put us on a good straight road. With them we entered the canyon mentioned, traveled through it a league and a half with extreme difficulty, the animals being hindered by the many pebbles and flint stones and the frequent difficult and dangerous stretches in it. We arrived at a narrow pass so bad that in more than half an hour we were able to make only three saddle animals enter it. This was followed by a rocky cliff so rough that even on foot it would have been difficult to ascend it. The Indians, seeing that we would not be able to follow them, fled, impelled doubtless by their excessive cowardice. Thereupon it was necessary for us to go back and turn once more to the south. Before doing so we stopped a short time in order that the animals might eat a little and drink some of the water which was here, but it was so bad that many of the animals would not touch it. In the afternoon we retraced the full length of the canyon, and having traveled half a league along the plain toward the south, we camped near the southern entrance of the valley,⁷¹ without water for ourselves or for the animals. This night we were in great need, having no kind of food, so we decided to take the life of a horse in order not to lose our own, but because there was no water we deferred the execution until we should have some. Today, in so difficult a journey, we advanced only a league and one-half south.

October 17. We continued on our way toward the south, threaded the aforesaid pass from the little valley along the bed of an arroyo in which we found a pool of good water where all the animals drank. We traveled south two leagues and swinging southeast two more, we found in another arroyo a large supply of good water, not only in one place but in many, and although it is rain-water which accumulates during the floods, it appears not to dry up in the course of the whole year. Here we found

⁷¹Camp may have been at the southern end of Black Rock Canyon.

some of the herbs which they call *quelites*. We thought it possible by means of them to supply our most urgent need, but were able to gather only a few and these were very small. We continued southeast, and having traveled four and a half leagues over good level country, although it was somewhat spongy, we stopped partly to see if there was water in the washes from the mesa and partly to give Don Bernardo Miera some of these ripe herbs as food, for since yesterday morning we had not had a thing to eat and he was now so weak that he was scarcely able to talk. We ordered the bags and other containers in which we had brought the supplies ransacked, to see if there were any left-overs, but found only some pieces of calabash which the servants had obtained yesterday from the Parusis Indians, and which they had hidden to avoid having to share them with the rest. With this and a little sugar, which we also found, we made a stew for everybody and took a little nourishment. We did not find water so we could spend the night here and therefore decided to continue the journey toward the south. The companions, without telling us, went to examine the eastern mesa and the country beyond. Those who went to make the reconnaissance returned saying that the ascent of the mesa was very good and that afterward the land was level, with many arroyos in which there could not fail to be water, and that it appeared to them that the river was at the end of the plain which lay beyond the mesa. Thereupon everybody favored changing our direction, but we knew very well how they had been deceived on other occasions and that in so short a time they could not have seen so much; and we were of the opposite opinion because toward the south we had much good level land in sight, and had found so much water today, contrary to the story told by the Indians, and had traveled all day over good land. All of these facts increased our suspicion. But since now we were without food, and water might be far away, and so that the adoption of our plan should not make the thirst and hunger which (for our sake) they might endure on either route more intolerable for them, we told them to take the one they thought best calculated to take us southeast toward the mesa. We ascended it by a rough and very stony wash or arroyo in which there is very good gypsum rock of the kind which is used for white-washing. We had just finished climbing the mesa by a very rough black stone slope when night fell, and we camped there on the mesa in a small plain of

good pasturage but without water, naming it San Ángel.⁷² — Today nine leagues.

We were very sorry to have changed our route because, according to the latitude in which we now found ourselves, by continuing to the south we would very soon have arrived at the river. As soon as we halted, those who had previously been on the mesa told us that at a short distance from here they thought they had seen water. Two of them went to bring some for the men, but they did not return all night, and the next day dawned without our having heard from them. Since we concluded that they had continued seeking Indian ranchos where they could relieve their hunger as soon as possible, for this reason, and since there was no water here, we decided to go forward without waiting for them.

October 18. We set out from San Ángel to the east-southeast and having traveled half a league, we swung to the east by south for two leagues over hills and extensive valleys with plentiful but very stony pasturage. Then, not finding water, we swung east by north for two more leagues, ascending and descending stony hills which were very troublesome for the animals. There were five Indians spying upon us from a small but high mesa, and as we two passed the foot of it, for we were following behind our companions, these Indians spoke to us. When we turned toward where they were, four of them hid, only one remaining in sight. We saw how terrified he was, but we could not persuade him to come down, and the two of us ascended on foot with very great difficulty. At each step we took toward him he wanted to run away. We gave him to understand that he must not be afraid, that we loved him like a son, and wished to talk with him. Thereupon he waited for us, making a thousand gestures which showed that he was greatly afraid of us. As soon as we had ascended to where he was we embraced him and, seating ourselves beside him, we had the interpreter and the Laguna come up. Having now recovered his composure, he told us that the other four were hiding near by and that if we desired it, he would call them in order that we might see them. When we answered in the affirmative, he laid his bow and arrows on the ground, took the interpreter

⁷²On the top of Hurricane Cliff, a short distance northeast of Diamond Butte.

by the hand, and went with him to bring them. They came and we remained about an hour in conversation, and they told us that we now had water near at hand. We begged them to go and show it to us, promising them a piece of woolen cloth and after much urging three of them consented to go with us. We continued with them a league to the southeast, much fatigued by thirst and hunger, and having traveled another league to the south over a bad and very stony road, we arrived at a little grove of cedar and at an arroyo where deep holes held two large pools of good water. We took enough for ourselves and brought the horses which, since they were now very thirsty, drained both pools. Here we decided to spend the night, naming the campsite San Samuel.⁷³ — Today six leagues.

The three Indians mentioned came with us so fearfully that they did not wish to go ahead nor to have us come near them until they questioned Joaquín, the Laguna, but with what he told them about us they quieted down. Greatly surprised at his valor, they asked him, among other things, how he had dared to come with us? He, wanting to rid them of their fears in order to relieve the privation which, greatly to our sorrow, he was suffering, answered them as best he could; and thus he greatly lessened the fear and suspicion they had felt. Doubtless it was because of this that they did not leave us before arriving at the watering place. As soon as we camped we gave them the promised woolen cloth with which they were greatly pleased. Learning that we came without provisions, they told us to send one of our men with one of theirs to their huts which were somewhat distant, and they would bring some food, the rest meanwhile remaining with us. We sent one of the *genízaros* with Joaquín, the Laguna, giving them the wherewithal to purchase provisions and pack animals on which to bring them. They left with the other Indian, and after midnight they returned, bringing a small supply of wild sheep, dried tuna* made into cakes, and grass seeds. They also brought news of one of the two men who the preceding night had gone for water, saying he had been at this rancho. The other had arrived at camp about ten o'clock tonight.

October 19. Twenty of these Indians came to camp with some cakes or loaves of tuna and several bags of the seeds of various

⁷³Apparently at Cooper's Pockets, some twenty miles north of Mt. Trumbull.

*Prickly pear.

herbs to sell to us. We paid them for what they brought and told them that if they had meat, piñon nuts or more tunas, they should bring them and we would buy them all, especially the meat. They said they would do so but that we must wait for them until mid-day. We agreed and they went away. One of them promised to accompany us as far as the river if we would wait until afternoon, and we agreed to this also. After mid-day many more Indians came to camp than those who previously had been with us, among them being one who was said to be a Mescalero Apache, and to have come with two others from his country to this one, crossing the river a few days previously. His features were not very pleasing, and he was distinguished from the rest of the Indians by the disgust which he showed at seeing us here and by the greater display of animosity which we noticed he was purposely making. They told us that these Apaches were their friends. They did not bring meat but many bags of the seeds mentioned and some fresh tunas, partly exposed to the sun, and dried ones made into cakes. We purchased from them about a fanega of seeds and all of the tunas. We talked a long while concerning the distance to the river, the road to it, their numbers and mode of living, the neighboring peoples, and the guide for whom we were asking. They showed us the direction we must take to the river, giving confused reports of the ford, and saying that in two or three days we would arrive there. They told us they were called Yubuincariris and that they did not plant maize; that their foods were seeds, tunas, piñon nuts, of which they gathered very few, judging from the small quantity they gave us, and what hares, rabbits and wild sheep they hunted, adding that on this side of the river only the Parusis planted maize and calabashes; that on the other side just across the river were the Ancamuchis (who, we understood, were the Cosninas) and that they planted much maize. Besides these, they gave us the names of other people, their neighbors to the south-southwest, on this west bank of the river, saying these were the Payatammumis. They also told us of the Huascaris, whom we had already seen in the Valley of Señor San José. Concerning the Spaniards of Monterey they did not give us even the least indication that they had ever heard them mentioned. One of the Indians who had spent the preceding night with us gave us to understand that he had already heard of the journey of the Reverend Father Garcés, which, together with the denial by all these that they

knew the Cosninas (unless they know them by the above name of Ancamuchi), seems to verify what we have already said we suspected. Having finished the conversation, they began to leave, and we were unable to get any of them to consent to accompany us as far as the river. Today Don Bernardo Miera was sick at his stomach, so we were unable to leave here this afternoon. A little farther away we found other pools of water for tonight.

October 20. We set out from San Samuel toward the north-northeast, directing our way toward the ford of the Río Colorado, avoiding a low wooded sierra with many stones on this side of it. Having traveled a little more than two leagues, we swung north-east, entering a level country without rocks, and traveled four leagues, when we found in an arroyo several pools of good water. Then traveling a league to the east-northeast, we camped on the bank of the arroyo between two little hills in the plain nearby,⁷⁴ where there was a large supply of water and good pasturage. We named this place Santa Gertrudis, whose latitude we observed by the north star, finding it is in 36° 30'. — Today seven leagues.

October 21. We set out from Santa Gertrudis toward the east, and after traveling half a league we swung to the northeast. Several times we crossed the Arroyo de Santa Gertrudis, which in most places had large pools of water, and wound our way along the twists and turns over very poor terrain for five and a half leagues to the northeast. Then we went a little more than four leagues to the east-northeast through some not very troublesome chamise thickets and good land, and camped after nightfall near a little valley⁷⁵ with good pasturage but without water even for the men. Lorenzo Olivares, driven by his thirst because he had eaten too many of the seeds, piñon nuts, and tuna which we had bought, went looking for water in the nearby arroyos as soon as we camped and did not appear all night, causing us much worry. We named the campsite Santa Bárbara. — Today ten leagues.

October 22. We set out from Santa Bárbara toward the north-northeast looking for Olivares, and after going about two leagues we found him near a pool with a small amount of water,

⁷⁴In Antelope Valley on one of the western headwaters of Kanab Creek.

⁷⁵In Kimball Valley near Johnson Creek and some eight miles southeast of Fredonia.

there being only enough for the men to drink and to fill a little barrel which we carried in case we should not find water tonight. We continued through the plain, and having traveled four leagues northeast, we saw a trail which ran to the south, and when the interpreter said the Yubuincariris had told him this was the one we ought to take to go to the river, we took it. But having traveled along it a league to the south we found that the interpreter was uncertain about the signs because, after going a little distance, the trail turned back. And so, going east, we ascended the low sierra which we were intending to avoid. It runs from north to south the whole length of the eastern side of this plain. We crossed it with great labor and fatigue for the animals because, besides having many canyons, it is very stony and full of pebbles. Night overtook us as we were going down the other side of a very high ridge from which we saw below us several fires on the far side of a small plain. We thought the interpreter, Andrés, and the Laguna, Joaquín, who had gone ahead seeking water for the night, had made them in order that we might know where they were. But having finished the descent, and having traveled five leagues to the east-northeast from the place where we left the trail mentioned, making several turns in the mountain valleys, we arrived at the fires where there were three little Indian huts and where we found our interpreter and Joaquín. We decided to spend the night here because nearby on both the east and the west there were water and pasturage for the animals which were now almost completely worn out. We named the campsite San Juan Capistrano.⁷⁶ — Today twelve leagues.

Since it was night when we arrived at these huts, and the Indians were unable to distinguish the number of men who were coming, they were so afraid that in spite of the coaxing by the interpreter and the Laguna, Joaquín, most of them fled on our arrival, there remaining only three men and two women, who, greatly disturbed, said to our Laguna, "Little brother, you are of the same race as ourselves. Do not permit these people with whom you come to kill us." We embraced them and tried by every possible means which occurred to us to remove the suspicion and fear which they felt toward us. They quieted down somewhat,

⁷⁶Near the state line in Utah, on one of the western branches of Paria River approximately in longitude 112°.

and trying to please us, they gave us two roasted hares and some piñon nuts. Besides this two of them went, although with great fear, to show the servants the watering place in order that the animals might drink. This campsite is east of the northern point of the small sierra mentioned, near a number of small hills of red earth, to the south of which, very close by, on some rocky hills having some piñon and juniper trees, are two good pools of rain water. Nearer to them in a small arroyo there are also some pools of water, but these are small and not very good. To the west-south-west of the same little hills, at the foot of the sierra, there is also a small permanent spring.

After we had retired, some of the companions, among them Don Bernardo Miera, went to one of the huts to chat with the Indians. They told him that Don Bernardo was ill, and an old Indian, one of those present, either because our men ordered it or because he wanted to, set about doctoring him with songs and ceremonies which, if not openly idolatrous (for such they might be) were at least entirely superstitious. All of our people permitted them willingly, and among them the sick man, and they applauded them as harmless compliments, when they ought to have stopped them as contrary to the evangelical and divine law which they profess, or at least they ought to have withdrawn. We listened to the songs of the Indian but did not know what their purpose was. Early in the morning they told us what had taken place. We were deeply grieved by such harmful carelessness, and we reprimanded them, telling them that at another time they must not sanction such errors by their voluntary presence nor in any other way. This is one of the reasons why the heathen who deal most with the Spaniards and Christians of these regions, more stubbornly resist the evangelical truth, making their conversion more difficult each day. When we were preaching to the first Sabuaganas we saw regarding the necessity of holy baptism, the interpreter either in order not to displease them nor to lose the ancient friendship which they maintain with them through the vile commerce in skins (even in violation of just prohibitions by the governors of this kingdom, by whom it has been ordered repeatedly that no Indian, genízaro, or citizen shall enter the lands of the heathen without having obtained a license for it from the governor of his province), translated for them in these very words:

"The Father says that the Apaches, Navajós and Cumanches who do not become baptized cannot enter Heaven, but go to Hell, where God punishes them, and where they will burn forever like wood in the fire." The Sabuaganas were greatly pleased at hearing themselves thus exempted from and their enemies included in the inescapable necessity either of being baptized or of being lost and suffering eternally. The interpreter was reprimanded, and seeing that his foolish infidelity had been discovered, he reformed. We might give other examples from the lips of these same persons who have been among the Yutas and who perhaps had applauded and even cooperated in many idolatrous actions, but the two referred to above, of which we are obviously certain, will suffice. For if, in our company, after having many times heard these idolatries and superstitions refuted and condemned, they witness them, encourage them, and applaud them, what will they not do when they wander two, three or four months among the heathen Yutas and Navajós with nobody to correct and restrain them? Besides this, some of them have given us sufficient cause in this journey to suspect that while some go to the Yutas and remain so long among them because of their greed for peltry, others go and remain with them for that of the flesh, obtaining there its brutal satisfaction. And so in every way they blaspheme the name of Christ and prevent, or rather oppose, the extension of His faith. Oh, with what severity ought such evils be met! May God in His infinite goodness inspire the best and most suitable means!

October 23. We did not travel today, in order to give time for the people here to quiet down and to enable those of the vicinity to assemble. The grass seeds and other things which we had purchased and eaten made us very sick, weakening instead of nourishing us. We were not able to induce these people to sell us any ordinary meat, so we had a horse killed and the flesh prepared so that it could be carried. Today Father Fray Francisco Atanasio was very ill from a pain in the rectum so severe that he was not able even to move.

All day the Indians kept coming from the nearby ranchos, all of whom we embraced and entertained to the best of our ability. These people now gave us a clearer account of the Cosninas and Moquinos, calling them by these very names. They also told

us where we had to go to reach the river, (which is twelve leagues from here at most) giving us a description of the ford. We bought from them about a fanega of piñon nuts and gave them as a present more than half a fanega of grass seeds.

Very early the next day twenty-six Indians assembled, among them being some who were with us yesterday afternoon, and others whom we had not seen. We told them of the Gospel, reprimanding and explaining to them the wickedness and idleness of their sins, especially in the superstitious doctoring of their sick. We admonished them to rely in their troubles upon the true and only God, because only He has at His command health and sickness, life and death, and is able to help everybody. And although our interpreter could not explain this to them clearly, one of them, who doubtless had dealt extensively with the Yutas Payuchis, understood it well and explained to the others what he had heard. Since we saw that they listened with pleasure, we told them that if they wished to be Christians, fathers and Spaniards would come to instruct and live with them. They replied that they would like this, and when we asked them where we would find them when we should come they said they would be in this little sierra and on the nearby mesas. Then to increase their affection for us, we distributed thirteen varas of red ribbon, giving to each one half a vara, with which they were very much pleased and grateful. One man had already agreed to go with us as far as the river to direct us to the ford, but after all the others had said goodbye, and he had traveled with us half a league, he became so frightened that we could not persuade him to continue. The companions, inconsiderately, wanted to use force to make him keep his word, but knowing his reluctance, we let him go freely.

October 24. About nine o'clock in the morning, or a little later, we set out from San Juan Capistrano toward the south-southeast, through a valley and having traveled four leagues we turned to the southeast in the same valley. Here at the foot of the eastern mesa in the valley there are three pools of good water, but there was not enough for the animals. From the campsite to here we traveled over good country. Having advanced two more leagues to the southeast, we swung to the east-southeast for about three leagues over sandy and difficult country, and although we did not find water for the animals, we did find pasturage, so we

camped because the horses were very tired and it was already nightfall. We named the campsite San Bartolomé.⁷⁷ Here there is an extensive valley but the land is poor, for the part which is not sandy is a kind of earth which on the surface has about four fingers [about three inches] of gravel and beneath it loose soil of different colors. There are many deposits of transparent gypsum, some of mica and apparently there are also some of metals. — Today nine leagues.

Through this region the Río Colorado flows from north-northeast to south-southwest and runs through a deep canyon so that although the land might be good, the river banks are of no use for planting. This afternoon we thought we saw the canyons and cliffs of the river bed which, seen from the west side, look like a long row of houses, but we concluded that it was the canyon of one of the many arroyos which are in the plain.

October 25. We set out from San Bartolomé to the east-southeast and traveled less than a league and a half to the east. We did not try to reach the canyon which [we afterward learned] was really the channel of the Río Grande, because we had crossed several arroyos which had canyons as large as that one. So we concluded that the river did not run there but in some other arroyo. Therefore, we turned toward the north-northeast portion of the valley for it appeared to us that it was possible to avoid the mesas which surround it. Seeking water for the animals which were now tired out from thirst, we followed the bed of an arroyo, and having traveled along it two leagues to the northeast we were unable to get out so we went on westward climbing a very difficult slope. We turned again to the north-northeast and having traveled two leagues we saw some cottonwoods at the foot of the mesa. We went toward them and found there a good spring of water. Around its edges there was a substance something like saltpeter and we thought the water would be salty, but when we tried it we found it had a good taste. We camped here, naming the place San Fructo.⁷⁸ — Today five leagues.

In the afternoon Don Juan Pedro Cisneros went to explore

⁷⁷They camped on the southwestern edge of the Paria Plateau near House Rock.

⁷⁸Camp was at the foot of a mesa on the southern edge of Paria Plateau probably at Jacob's Pools.

the northern corner of the valley to see if there was a pass and if he could find or get a glimpse of the river and its ford. He returned after midnight with the desired report that he had reached the river, but said that he did not know whether or not we would be able to cross some mesas and high crests which were on the other bank. Nevertheless, because he said the river appeared to him to be all right and to have a ford here we decided to go to it.

October 26. We set out from San Fructo toward the north, traveled three and a half leagues, and reached the place where previously we thought the northern exit from the valley was. It is a bend completely surrounded by very high cliffs and crests of red earth of various formations; and since the intervening plain below is of the same color, it has an agreeably confused appearance. We continued in the same direction with excessive difficulty because the animals, breaking through the surface gravel, sank to their knees in the ground, and having traveled a league and a half we arrived at the Río Grande de los Cosninas. Here it is joined by another small river which we named Santa Teresa. We crossed this latter stream and camped on the banks of the Río Grande near a high gray rock, naming the campsite San Benito Salsipuedes.⁷⁹ All the terrain from San Fructo to here is very difficult and in places where a little moisture has been left from snow or rain it is entirely impassable. — Today five leagues north.

We decided to reconnoiter this afternoon to learn whether, having crossed the river, we might continue from here to the southeast or east. On all sides we were surrounded by mesas and inaccessible heights. Therefore, two men who knew how to swim well entered the river naked, carrying their clothing on their heads. It was so deep and wide that the swimmers, in spite of their prowess, were scarcely able to reach the opposite shore, and they lost their clothing in the middle of the river, never seeing it again. Since they arrived very tired, naked, and barefoot they were unable to walk the distance necessary for the reconnaissance and returned after having eaten something.

October 27. Don Juan Pedro Cisneros went up the bed of the Río de Santa Teresa to see whether by way of it he could

⁷⁹On Colorado River close to the place where the Paria River joins it at Lees Ferry.

find a pass by which to cross the eastern mesa and return to the Rio Grande in more open country where, being wider, the river might be fordable or at least where it would be possible for the horses to cross without the danger, encountered here, of being drowned in its waters. He traveled all day and part of the night without finding a way out. He saw an acclivity very near here by which it would be possible to cross the mesa but it appeared to him to be very difficult. Others went to reconnoiter in different directions but found only insuperable obstacles in the way of reaching the ford without going back a long distance.

October 28. We returned to the same undertaking, but all in vain. In a short time a raft of logs was constructed and with it Father Fray Silvestre, accompanied by the servants, attempted to cross the river. But since the poles which served for propelling the raft, although they were five varas long, failed to touch the bottom a short distance from the shore, the waves caused by the contrary wind drove it back. So it returned three times to the shore it had left, but was unable to reach even the middle of the river. Aside from being so deep and so wide, the river here has on both banks such deep, miry places that in them we might lose all or the greater part of the animals. We had been assured by the Yubuincariri and Pagampachi Indians that the river everywhere else was very deep, but not at the ford, for when they crossed it the water reached only a little above their waists. For this reason and on account of other landmarks which they gave us, we conjectured that the ford must be higher up, so we dispatched Andrés Muñiz and his brother Lucrecio with orders to travel until they found a place where we might cross the mesa mentioned above, and that, when they arrived at the river, they should seek a good ford, or at least some place where we could cross on the raft and the animals could swim without danger.

October 29. Not knowing when we might leave this place, and having consumed all the flesh of the first horse, and the piñon nuts and other things we had purchased, we ordered another horse killed.

October 30 and 31. We remained here awaiting the men who went to look for a pass and a ford.

November 1. They returned at one o'clock in the afternoon, saying that they had found a pass, although a difficult one, and a

ford in the river. The pass over the mesa was the acclivity which Cisneros had seen, and since it was very high and rugged, we decided to approach it this afternoon. We set out from the bank of the Río Grande and the unfortunate campsite of San Benito de Salsipuedes, followed the Río de Santa Teresa, and having traveled a league northwest we camped on its bank at the foot of this acclivity.⁸⁰ — Today one league.

This night, from sunset until seven o'clock in the morning, we suffered greatly from the cold.

November 2. We set out from Río de Santa Teresa and climbed the acclivity, which we called Cuesta de las Ánimas and which must be half a league long. We spent more than three hours in climbing it because at the beginning it is very rugged and sandy and afterward has very difficult stretches and extremely perilous ledges of rock, and finally it becomes impassable. Having finished the ascent toward the east, we descended the other side through rocky gorges with extreme difficulty. Swinging north, and having gone a league, we turned northeast for half a league through a stretch of red sand which was very troublesome for the animals. We ascended a little elevation, and having traveled two and a half leagues also to the northeast, we descended to an arroyo which in places had running water which although saline was fit to drink. There was pasturage also, so we camped here, naming the place San Diego.⁸¹ — Today four and a half leagues.

Today we camped about three leagues in a direct line northeast from San Benito Salsipuedes near a multitude of narrow valleys, little mesas and peaks of red earth which at first sight look like the ruins of a fortress.

November 3. We set out from San Diego to the east-southeast, and having traveled two leagues we came a second time to the river, that is to say, at the edge of the canyon which here serves it as a bed, whose descent to the river is very long, high, rough and rocky, and has such bad ledges of rock that two pack animals which went down to the first one were unable to climb up it in return, even without the pack saddles. The men who had

⁸⁰On Paria River about three miles upstream from its junction with the Colorado River.

⁸¹Apparently on Wahweap Creek some distance above the point where it enters the Colorado River.

come here previously had not told us of this precipice, and we now learned that they had neither found the ford, nor in so many days even made the necessary reconnaissance of such a short stretch of country, because they spent the time seeking some of the Indians who live hereabouts, and accomplished nothing. The river was very deep here, although not so deep as at Salsipuedes, but for a long distance it was necessary for the animals to swim. The good thing about it was that they did not mire, either going in or getting out. The companions insisted that we should go down to the river, but on the other side there was no way to go forward after having crossed the river, except by a deep and narrow canyon of another little river which here joins it. And not having learned whether or not this could be traveled, we feared that (if we descended and crossed the river) we should find ourselves forced to go back, which on this cliff would be extremely difficult. In order not to expose ourselves to this predicament, we stopped above and sent the genízaro, Juan Domingo, to cross the river to see if that canyon had an outlet. But if this afternoon he should not find one, he was to return in order that we might continue upstream on this bank until we should find the ford and trail of the Indians. We sent Juan Domingo on foot. Thereupon Lucrecio Muñiz said that with our permission he would go also, on a horse, bareback, carrying equipment for making a fire, and if he found an exit he would send up smoke signals for us, in order that upon this advice we might try to descend so that the delay would be less. We told him to go, but informed him that whether or not he found the exit we would wait for him this afternoon. They did not return, so we spent the night here, not being able to water the animals although the river was so close by. We named the campsite El Vado de los Cosninas, or San Carlos.⁸² — Today two leagues east-southeast.

November 4. Day broke without our getting news of the two we sent yesterday to make the reconnaissance. We had used up the flesh of the second horse, and today we had not taken any nourishment whatsoever, so we broke our fast with toasted leaves of small cactus plants and a sauce made of a berry they brought from the banks of the river. This berry is by itself very pleasant to taste, but crushed and boiled in water as we ate it today it is

⁸²On the cliffs of Glen Canyon.

very insipid. Since it was already late, and the two emissaries had not appeared, we ordered that an attempt should be made to get the animals down to the river, and that on its banks another horse should be killed. With great difficulty they got the animals down, some of them being injured because, losing their footing on the rocks, they rolled down long distances. Shortly before nightfall the genizaro, Juan Domingo, returned, declaring that he had not found an exit, and that the other emissary, leaving his horse in the middle of the canyon, had followed some fresh Indian tracks. Thereupon we decided to continue upstream until we should find a good ford and passable terrain on both banks.⁸³

November 5. We set out from San Carlos although Lucrecio had not returned. His brother Andrés remained with orders to await him only until afternoon, and to attempt to overtake us before morning. We traveled on this west bank over many ridges and gullies for a league and a half to the north, then descended to a dry arroyo and a very deep canyon, in which there was a great deal of copperas. In it we found a little-used trail, followed it, and by it left the canyon, passing a small bench of white rock, difficult but capable of being made passable. We continued on our way and having traveled a league and a quarter to the north-northeast, we found sufficient pasturage and some water, although not much, and since it was almost night we camped near a high mesa, naming the campsite Santa Francisca Romana.⁸⁴ — Today three short leagues.

Tonight it rained heavily here and in some places it snowed. At day break it was raining and continued to do so for several hours. About six o'clock in the morning Andrés Muñiz arrived, saying his brother had not appeared. This report caused us great anxiety, because by now he had traveled three days without provisions and with no more shelter than a shirt for he had not even worn trousers. Although he crossed the river on horseback the horse swam for a long stretch and where it faltered the water reached almost to its shoulders. And so the genizaro decided to go to look for him, following the trail from the place where he had last seen him, and we sent him off, giving him meat from our sup-

⁸³They spent this night on the river bank in Glen Canyon, below the campsite of the previous night.

⁸⁴At the foot of a high mesa near Warm Creek Canyon, across the Utah state line.

ply and instructing him that if the horse could not get out of the canyon he should leave it and follow on foot; that if he found Lucrecio on the other bank, from that side they should look for signs of us and follow us, and if on this side, they should try to overtake us as quickly as possible.

November 6. The rain having ceased we set out from Santa Francisca toward the northeast, and having traveled three leagues we were stopped for a long time by a heavy storm and a torrent of rain and large hail, with horrible thunder and lightning. We chanted the Litany of the Virgin in order that She might ask some relief for us and God was pleased that the storm should cease. We continued half a league toward the east and camped near the river⁸⁵ because it continued to rain and our way was blocked by some boulders. We named the campsite San Vicente Ferrer. — Today three and a half leagues.

Don Juan Pedro Cisneros went to see if the ford was in this vicinity, and returned with the report that he had seen that here the river was very wide, and judging from the current it did not appear to him to be deep, but that we would be able to reach it only through a nearby canyon. We sent two other persons to examine the canyon and ford the river, and they returned saying that it was very difficult. But we did not give much credence to their report and decided to examine everything ourselves next day in company with Don Juan Pedro Cisneros. Before nightfall the genízaro arrived with Lucrecio.

November 7. We went very early to inspect the canyon and the ford, taking along the two genízaros Felipe and Juan Domingo, so that they might ford the river on foot since they were good swimmers. In order to lead the animals down the side of the canyon mentioned it was necessary to cut steps in a rock with axes for the distance of three varas or a little less. The rest of the way the animals were able to get down, although without pack or rider. We went down to the canyon and having traveled a mile we descended to the river and went along it downstream about two musket shots sometimes in the water, sometimes on the bank, until we reached the widest part of its current where the ford appeared to be. One of the men waded in and found it good,

⁸⁵On the cliffs above the Colorado River at the spot now known as the Crossing of the Fathers.

not having to swim at any place. We followed him on horseback a little lower down, and when half way across, two horses which went ahead lost their footing and swam a short distance. We waited, although in some peril, until the first wader returned from the other side to guide us and then we crossed with ease, the horses on which we crossed not having to swim at all. We notified the rest of our companions, who had remained at San Vicente, that with lassoes and ropes they should let the pack saddles and other effects, down a not very high cliff to the bend of the ford, and that they should bring the animals by the route over which we had come. They did so and about five o'clock in the afternoon they finished crossing the river, praising God our Lord and firing off a few muskets as a sign of the great joy which we all felt at having overcome so great a difficulty and which had cost us so much labor and delay, although the principal cause of our having suffered so much since we reached the Parusis was our lack of someone to guide us through such bad terrain. For through lack of an experienced guide we went by a very round-about route, spent many days in such a small area, and suffered hunger and thirst. And now, after having suffered all this, we learned the best and most direct route where there were water holes adjusted to an ordinary day's travel. Most of this we heard of as we traveled, especially after we left our southerly direction on the day we set out from San Dónulo or Arroyo del Taray. Because from that place we might have gone to the large water hole which we found in the next plain. From here we might conveniently have reached another water hole which is about three leagues to the northeast of San Ángel. From this latter place we might have reached Santa Gertrudis. From here we might have gone on three leagues and stopped in the same arroyo with good water and sufficient pasturage, going on in the afternoon as far as possible to the northeast, following the same direction, avoiding the sierra entirely, and arriving next day at the Río de Santa Teresa three or four leagues north of San Juan Capistrano. From this river we could have gone east-southeast to San Diego and from there to the ford without any special inconvenience and avoiding many windings, acclivities and bad stretches. But doubtless God disposed that we should not obtain a guide, perhaps as a benign punishment for our sins, or perhaps in order that we might acquire some knowledge of the people

who live in these parts. May His holy will be done in all things and His holy name glorified.

The ford of the river is very good and here it must be a mile wide, or a little more. Before reaching this place the Navajó and Dolores rivers have united, together with all those which we have mentioned in this diary as entering one or the other. And in no place which we have seen along here is it possible to establish on the banks any settlement whatsoever, or even to travel on either bank a good day's journey either downstream or upstream with the hope that its water might serve for men and animals, because, aside from the bad terrain, the river runs in a very deep gorge. All the region nearest to the ford has very high cliffs and peaks. Eight or ten leagues to the northeast of the ford there is a high, rounded peak which the Payuchis, whose country begins here, call Tucané, which means Black Peak, and it is the only one hereabouts which can be seen close at hand from the river crossing.

On this eastern bank, at the very ford which we called La Purísima Concepción de la Virgen Santísima, there is a fair-sized valley of good pasturage. In it we spent the night⁸⁶ and observed its latitude by the north star, and it is 36° and 55'.

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE PEOPLE WHOM WE
SAW, DEALT WITH, AND LEARNED OF BY RE-
PORT, FROM THE VALLEY OF SEÑOR SAN JOSÉ
TO THE FORD OF THE RÍO GRANDE DE COSNINA,
INCLUSIVE.

In this land, which, although we traveled in it one hundred long leagues counting the turns we made, must be sixty Spanish leagues from north to south, and forty from east to west, there live a large number of people, all of pleasing appearance, very friendly, and extremely timid. For this last reason, and because all whom we saw spoke the Yuta language in the same way as the western-most Payuchis, we call all these of whom we are speaking Yutas Cobardes. The particular names correspond to the country which they inhabit, and distinguish them as belonging

⁸⁶After fording the Colorado River they camped a little farther downstream on the opposite bank.

to various provinces or territories, not as different nations, since all the Yutas known hitherto compose a single nation, or they might be called a kingdom divided into five provinces, known by the common name of Yutas: the Yutas Muhuachis, the Yutas Payuchis, the Tabehuachis, the Sabuaganas, and the Yutas Cobardes. These last are divided into the Huascaris, who live in the Valley of Señor San José and its vicinity; the Parusis, who follow them on the south and southwest, inhabit the banks and vicinity of the little river of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, and are the only ones among all these we saw who apply themselves to the planting of maize; the Yubuincariris, who live almost south of the Parusis and through here are the nearest to the Río Grande; the Yutas Ytimpabichis, who live on the mesas and peaks which are near to and north of the campsite of Santa Bárbara; the Pagampachis, who likewise live in the bad country of mesas and barren gorges, because although they have a spacious valley through which the Río Grande runs, as we have already said, they are not able to utilize the waters of this river for irrigation. According to the account given by the Yubuincariris, to the south-southwest of them downstream there live other people whom they call Payatam-munis. To the west and west-northwest of the Huascaris, we learned also, there live other people of the same language as themselves. All the rest (and they are many) who live on this western or northern side, upstream, in all the sierra which runs down from the Lagunas, and the land which lies between it and the last northern rivers which we crossed before they joined, are, according to the reports which we obtained, of this same sort of Indians, and belong partly to the Yutas Barbones, partly to the Huascaris, and partly to the Lagunas, depending upon their proximity to each one of these groups, judging by the greater similarity with which those nearest speak the general language.

November 8. We set out from the ford and camp of La Concepción, and ascended from the bed of the river by a long ridge which was not very difficult, then turned south-southeast following a well-beaten trail, and traveled five leagues over sandy land with some rugged places. Swinging now to the east for a league, we halted near the last cliff of the range which runs from the river to this place, naming the campsite San Miguel,⁸⁷ in

⁸⁷On the mesa to the north of Navajo Creek.

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which there was good pasturage and plentiful rain water. — Today six leagues.

Today we found many tracks of Indians but saw none. Through here wild sheep live in such abundance that their tracks are like those of great flocks of domestic sheep. They are larger than the domestic breed, of the same form, but much swifter. Today we finished the horse meat we had brought, so we ordered another horse killed. Tonight we felt much colder than on the other bank.

November 9. We lost the trail and were unable to find a way by which to descend to a canyon which lay immediately to the southeast of us, or to cross more than a half league of rocks and ridges which prevented us from continuing along our route. For this reason we turned east-northeast, and having traveled two leagues over bad terrain, the same difficulty obliged us to halt on a mesa without being able to take a step forward.⁸⁸ Near this mesa we found some ranchos of Yutas Payuchis, neighbors and friends of the Cosninas. We made great efforts through the Laguna and other companions to induce them to come near to where we were, but either because they suspected that we were friends of the Moquinos, toward whom they are very hostile, or because they had never seen Spaniards and greatly feared us, we were unable to induce them to come.

November 10. Very early we two went with the interpreter and the Laguna to their ranchos, but we were unable even on foot to get to the place where they were. We sent the two persons mentioned away, we ourselves remaining on an elevation from which we saw them and were seen by them, in order that seeing us alone they might approach with greater willingness and less fear. After the interpreter had urged them for more than two hours, five of them came, but when they were about to reach us they turned and fled, and we were unable to stop them. The interpreter went back to see if they would sell us some provisions but they replied that they had none. They told him that the Cosninas lived very near here, but at present were wandering not far away in the woods, gathering piñon nuts, and that a short distance from here we would find two roads, one leading to the Cosninas and

⁸⁸Near an Indian village some five miles east of the previous campsite and still on the rim of the canyon of Navajo Creek.

the other to the Pueblo of Oraybi, in Moqui. They also gave him signs of the trail which we had lost, saying that we would have to go back as far as San Miguel and from there descend to the canyon mentioned. In this way we spent most of the day, and during the remainder we returned to the campsite of San Miguel, going half a league closer to the arroyo or canyon to which formerly we had been unable to descend. We camped at the beginning of the descent.⁸⁹ —Today half a league southeast.

November 11. Very early the descent was examined and the lost trail was found, and we continued on our way. We descended to the canyon with great difficulty because it has some dangerous places and is made up entirely of cliffs. The Indians have repaired it with loose rocks and logs and in the last bad place they have a stairway of the same materials, more than three varas long and two wide. Here two small streams come together, entering the Río Grande near the site of San Carlos. We ascended to the opposite side along a ridge of rocks and crags which is between the two small streams, making many turns and passing some perilous benches of rock which could be made passable only by the use of crowbars. We finished the ascent at nearly midday, having traveled in the descent and the ascent two leagues to the east-southeast. Here, to the northeast of the trail, there are two small peaks. From the smaller we swung southeast, and having traveled three leagues over good terrain, we camped,⁹⁰ although without water, because there was good pasturage for the animals and plentiful firewood to withstand the severity of the cold which we suffered, naming the campsite San Proto. — Today five leagues.

November 12. We set out from San Proto to the south-southeast. We traveled now over an open road and good terrain for three leagues, and right on the road we found a small spring of good water from which, after we had broken the ice, all the men and all the animals drank. Judging from the vestiges, it is a campsite of the Cosninas when they go to the Payuchis. We continued south along the same road, experiencing excessive cold, and having traveled four leagues over very good terrain we left the direct road for Moqui, according to the instructions of the Payuchis,

⁸⁹Having retraced their steps they again camped on the rim of Navajo Canyon near the campsite of November 8.

⁹⁰On the eastern bank of Kaihito Creek.

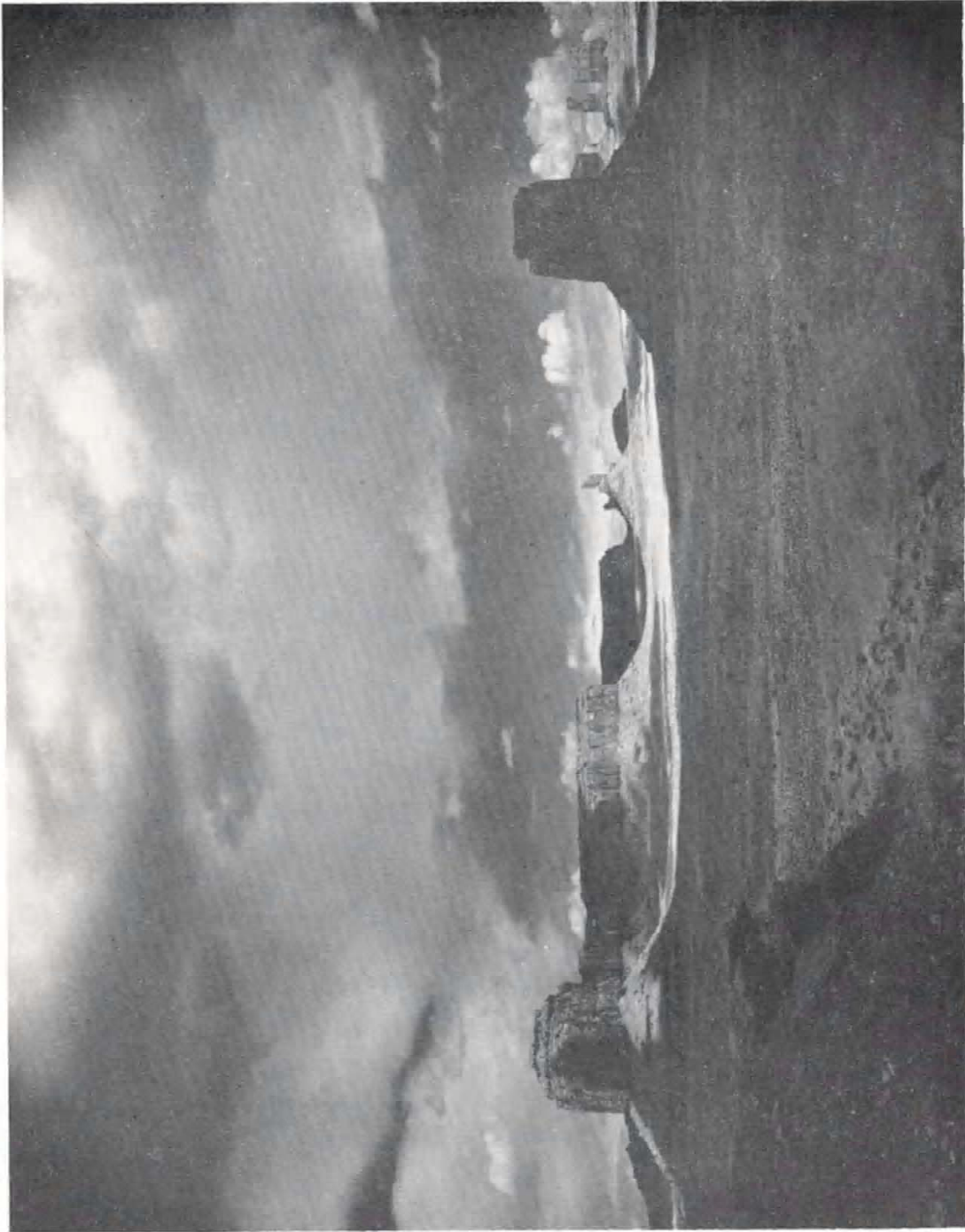


Photo Hal Rumel

MONUMENT VALLEY

Which borders Escalante's route on the east
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and followed the more used one of the Cosninas toward the south-southwest. Having traveled a league, we found several uninhabited little houses or ranchos, and indications that many cattle and horses had pastured here for some time. We continued over the same road, and after we had traveled a league and a half to the southwest, night fell and we camped without water, naming the campsite San Jacinto.⁹¹ — Today nine and one-half leagues.

Because of the great cold part of us stopped for a while, the rest of the companions going forward, to make a fire and massage Don Bernardo Miera, who was now about to freeze on our hands, for we feared he could not withstand such extreme cold. For this reason the rest of the companions arrived at the above-mentioned spring ahead of us, and before we overtook them they went on without putting water in the vessels which they carried for this purpose, for which inadvertence we suffered great thirst tonight.

November 13. We set out from San Jacinto toward the south-southwest along the same road, over good land with timber and abundant pasturage, and having gone two leagues we swung to the south one and one-half leagues, and found in some rocks plenty of water for the men and almost enough for all the animals. We continued across a sandy plain two leagues to the south, and half a league to the southeast, and camped⁹² about a league beyond another pool which contained bad water which we found on the same road. We named the campsite El Espino because we caught a porcupine here, and we tried its flesh, which is very appetizing. We were all greatly in need of food for since the night before we had not tasted anything except a piece of toasted hide, so the porcupine distributed among so many persons served only to stimulate the appetite. For this reason we ordered another horse killed, which we had not done sooner because we expected to find some food in some of the ranchos of the Cosninas, but we have not seen even recent vestiges of them. — Today six leagues.

November 14. We set out from El Espino toward the south-southeast, and having traveled a little less than a league we found on the road a large pool of good water, from which all the animals drank to their satisfaction. We continued southeast, and having

⁹¹On Kaibito Plateau, just north and west of Preston Mesa.

⁹²Midway between Whitmore Pools and Tuba City.

gone three-fourths of a league, we entered a canyon in which four springs of good water rise. We traveled along it half a league to the southeast and arrived at a small farm and some ranchos of the Cosninas, which were very beautiful and well arranged. This farm is irrigated by the four springs mentioned and two other large ones which rise near it. This year the Cosninas planted maize, beans, calabashes, water melons and cantaloupes on it. When we arrived they had already gathered their harvest, and judging from the refuse or remains which we saw of everything, it was abundant, especially the beans, for if we had stopped here we could have gathered half a fanega of them. The farm was surrounded by peach trees, and, besides several huts made of branches, there was a little house very well made of stone and mud. In it were the baskets,* jars, and other utensils of these Indians. Judging from the tracks, they had been absent for several days, perhaps to seek piñon nuts in the high sierra close by toward the south-southwest. From the rancho, roads led out in different directions, and we did not know which we ought to take to go to Moqui, because now we could not go farther afield to seek the Cosninas, both because of the lack of provisions as well as on account of our severe suffering from the winter weather.

We took a road which runs to the southeast and traveled two leagues over very level terrain, passing some springs of good water, and crossed a small river which flows from northeast to southwest and carries as much water as a fair-sized ditch. It has its small grove and medium-sized meadows but very bad pasturage where we crossed it. After leaving the river we climbed a mesa on which there was a small lake, and several pools of rain water which serve as drinking places and watering holes for the cattle of Moqui, which we now began to see in large herds. We traveled along the mesa two and one-half leagues to the east-southeast, ascended a high hill, and because night was coming on and there was good pasturage for the animals, we stopped, naming the campsite Cuesta de los Llanos,⁸⁸ because from this place wide plains and fields begin without mesas, trees, or sierras, but with very good pasturage, that extend to the southeast beyond Moqui. — Today six and one quarter leagues.

⁸⁸On Moenkopi Plateau some eight miles south of Moenkopi.

*Evidently cuevanos.

November 15. We left the Cuesta de los Llanos, going east-southeast, traveling along the plains nine leagues without finding water in the whole day's march, because we did not wish to turn aside to look for it. We found some in a valley in which there was chamise of the kind they call *chizo*, and we camped in the valley, naming it La Cañada de los Chizos.⁹⁴ — Today nine leagues to the east-southeast.

We [the fathers] had nothing for supper tonight because the horse meat which we had did not suffice for all. Here there were large herds of cattle, and all the companions wished to kill a cow or a calf, impatiently urging us to permit them in this way to relieve the hunger we all were suffering. Considering that we were now near the pueblo of Oraybi and that this might stir up some trouble for us with the Moquinos and defeat our purpose, which was to use again the means of the evangelical light and meekness to combat their willful blindness and inveterate obstinacy, we ordered another horse killed, and that no one should go near the cattle even though they might be strays or common stock, as the companions assured us they were.

November 16. We set out east-southeast from La Cañada de los Chizos, traveled three leagues, and near a high mesa swung east-northeast for a quarter of a league. Here we found a very much used road. Concluding that it would go to one of the pueblos of Moqui we followed it, and having traveled over good and entirely level country for three leagues to the northeast and a little less than two to the north, we arrived at the mesa of the Pueblo of Oraybi. Ordering the companions to halt at the foot of the mesa, and that no one except those who were accompanying us in the ascent should go to the pueblo until we should instruct them to do so, we ascended without incident and on entering the pueblo we were surrounded by a great number of Indians, large and small. In a language which they did not understand we asked them for the cacique and the chiefs, and when we wished to go to the house of the cacique, they restrained us, one of them saying in the Navajó tongue that we must not enter the pueblo. Don Juan Pedro Cisneros, in the same tongue spiritedly asked if they were not our friends. Thereupon they

⁹⁴Near Dennebito Springs on Dennebito Wash a little north and west of Padilla Mesa.

quieted down, and an old man led us to his house and made us welcome in it, assigning us a room in order that we might pass the night there,⁹⁵ and giving us the viands which they eat. — Today seven leagues.

Tonight the cacique and two old men came to visit us, and after having given us to understand that they were our friends, they offered to sell us the provisions we might need, as we had intimated that we would be grateful for them.

November 17. Very early in the morning they brought for us to the lodging some baskets or small trays of flour, beef tallow, guavas, and other kinds of food. We purchased promptly all we could because of the most necessary things they brought us the least. For lack of an interpreter we were unable to take up the matter of their conversion, as was desirable and as we wished to do, but we explained some things to them, especially to the cacique and to our host and benefactor. They listened attentively but said nothing except that they wanted to maintain friendship with the Spaniards. The cacique told us he had already sent word to the other pueblos in order that they might offer us hospitality and sell us the provisions we might need until we reached Zuñi. We gave them to understand that we were very grateful for this favor and the others we had received at their hands. In the afternoon we set out from Oraybi for the pueblo of Xongopabi, and having traveled about two and a quarter leagues to the southeast we arrived after sunset, and they welcomed us courteously, promptly giving us lodging.⁹⁶ — Today two and a quarter leagues to the southeast.

November 18. After the principal Indians of this pueblo and of the others nearby, Xipaolabi and Mossonganabi, had assembled, and we had told them of our gratitude for the favors and the warm welcome they had given us, we preached to them, partly by signs and partly in the Navajó tongue. They replied that they were unable to answer us because they did not understand the Castilian tongue or we the Moquino, and that we should go to Gualpi where there were persons versed in Castilian and where, talking as much as we might desire with the caciques and chiefs, we would learn what everybody wished to know. But when we

⁹⁵They spent the night at the Indian pueblo of Oraibi.

⁹⁶They stayed at the Hopi pueblo of Xongopabi, at the southern end of Second Mesa.

urged them that if they had understood us they themselves should reply, they added that the cacique and chief of Oraybi had sent to tell them they must lodge us, listen to us, and sell us provisions, cultivating our friendship without treating of or admitting any other subject, since they wished to be our friends but not Christians.

This over, we gave to the Indian who had lodged us and extended to us many courtesies a woolen cloak for his wife, thinking that in this way they would better understand our gratitude and become more attached to us. But it did not turn out the way we expected, for although the Indian woman gladly accepted the cloak, a brother of hers took it away and threw it toward us with a deep frown. We concluded that his hostility toward this innocent recompense arose from a suspicion of some evil purpose, contrary to our honor and profession, so we tried, with the seriousness and circumspection which the case demanded, to explain to them our true motive. Then the Indian, wishing to make amends for the affront he had shown us, although his guilt was not as grave as it appeared, put us in another predicament even worse than the first, many of us finding ourselves unable to understand a thing. After causing us to think seriously and when the crowd had dispersed he pointed out Father Fray Silvestre and Don Pedro Cisneros and said in Navajó that he had heard what took place in Oraybi when the fathers Fray Silvestre and Don Juan Pedro had been there in the summer of the previous year, and he had been present in Gualpi when the Cosnina talked to Father Fray Silvestre and told him about the road from Moqui to the Cosninas, and that now we had come by this same road; that he would not permit his brothers-in-law and brothers to accept the cloak, because if they did so their relatives and neighbors would be angry with them. He said this to satisfy us, but we were unable to understand clearly the other thing regarding which he wished to tell us, although it is not very difficult to infer it from the foregoing events.

This afternoon we left for Gualpi, and having traveled nine* leagues, more than four of them to the east, we arrived at night. Some of our small following remaining at the foot of the mesa, we ascended with the rest of them. We were welcomed very

*Evidently should read two and one-fourth leagues.

joyfully by the Tanos and Gualpis and they lodged us in the house of the cacique of the Tanos, where we spent the night.⁹⁷ — Today two and one fourth leagues to the east.

After we had rested for a short time, we were told by an apostate Indian named Pedro, from the pueblo of Galisteo in New Mexico, who was now old and had great authority in this pueblo of the Tanos at Moqui, that they were now at fierce war with the Navajó Apaches, who had killed and captured many of their people. For this reason, he added, they were hoping that some fathers or Spaniards would come to these pueblos in order through them to beg from the Señor Governor some aid or defense against these enemies. So they had been especially delighted when they learned that we were coming to visit them because they hoped we would aid and console them. This appeared to us to be one of the finest opportunities to induce them to submit to the Faith and to enter the dominions of His Majesty, God spare him. So we replied, giving them great hopes and telling them they must summon the chiefs of the three other pueblos to come to Gualpi, so that next day all might assemble in this pueblo of Tanos to discuss this matter at length and seriously. Then Pedro said that if we wished to take him with us he would like to go to the Villa of Santa Fé to arrange with the Señor Governor, in the name of the Moquinos and the Tanos, the alliance which they desired, and to request the aid they needed. We replied to him that we would take him gladly, and would use our good offices with the Señor Governor, in favor of all the Moquinos, but that for this it was necessary that each one of the six pueblos should send some person of authority into the presence of his lordship. They promised that next day they would assemble in the way suggested and that they would send for us when they were assembled in a kiva, to talk over and discuss everything and decide what was best.

November 19. The chiefs of Mossonganabi came, and when they were assembled with the caciques and chiefs of these pueblos of the mesa of Gualpi in a kiva of the Tanos, the apostate Pedro led us to it, giving us as an interpreter another apostate, an Indian of the pueblo of Santa Clara named Antonio el Cuati, because he speaks and understands the Castilian language well.

⁹⁷They spent the night at the pueblo of Gualpi, south of First Mesa.

He translated our words into the Tegua language, and Pedro into the Moquino, so that all of us in the assembly might understand. They related everything they had discussed before we arrived at the kiva, and said they had agreed that the apostate Pedro should go with us to the Villa of Santa Fé in order that in the name of all he might ask the Señor Governor for aid against the Navajó Apaches, and establish friendship with the Spaniards, and they begged us to do everything possible in their behalf. We replied to them that we would take their part in every way, because we loved them like children, and were very sorry for their troubles, but that since only God is all-powerful and rules all, so long as they remained in their infidelity and until they ceased to offend Him, they would not be able to free themselves from suffering these troubles. Then we explained to them the severity of the eternal punishments which, if they did not accept the Christian religion, they must inevitably suffer in Hell, taking advantage for greater clarity and force, of the afflictions of which they had just told us. We told them also that if they would submit, they would have constant and sure help from the Spanish arms against all the heathen who might attempt to attack them, as did the Christian pueblos of New Mexico. This caused them to see at the same time the uselessness and inconstancy of the friendships and alliances which they had celebrated many times before with the Yutas and Navajós. And after having told them everything we thought suitable and efficacious, we told them that they must make known their decisions, with the understanding that whether or not it accorded with our desires, we were firm in our promise to take their ambassadors to Santa Fé and aid them in every way possible. Three times we urged them, exhorting them to enter the fold of the Holy Church, impugning and proving false and insubstantial their arguments for not accepting the Faith. Regarding the first, they replied that they knew the governors were sending the fathers to persuade them to submit to their authority but that they had not and still did not wish to. Regarding the second, they gave us to understand that, since there were many more heathen nations than Christian, they wanted to follow the more numerous party, and that besides this, they lived in country which was very inconvenient for the service which, once converted, they would have to render the Spaniards.

When we had overcome the apparent force of each one of these arguments, finding now nothing to contradict, the men of the assembly talked a long time, each in turn, beginning with those of the greatest authority and continuing in the order of their importance. And although each one spoke individually, he expressed himself in the form of a dialogue, and concluded his discourse by asking various questions of the others, who replied by assenting or denying respectively according to the nature of the questions. In these discourses they related the traditions of their ancestors and exhorted that they be observed, concluding that it was better for them to suffer their present troubles and calamities than to violate these traditions. So they replied that they wished only our friendship but by no means to become Christians, because the old men had told them and counseled them never to subject themselves to the Spaniards. We tried to make them see the foolish impiety of such traditions and counsels but without any success whatsoever. Finally they decided that Pedro should not go to the Villa of Santa Fé, the reason for which decision he himself told us, saying, "Now they do not wish that I should go to see the Governor because, since I am a Christian, they say that he will not let me return to Moqui." He feared this much more than the others, and so we were unable to get him to carry out his first intention. The assembly having ended, we withdrew very sadly to our lodging, realizing that the obstinacy of these unhappy Indians was invincible. And so we decided to continue next day to Zuñi before the passes and roads should be closed, because it was now snowing constantly, for which reason we were unable to observe the latitude of these pueblos of Moqui.

November 20. In the afternoon we set out from the pueblos of Gualpi, and having traveled four leagues east by southeast, we camped for the night at the watering place called El Ojo del Cañutillo or Ojito de Moqui.⁹⁸ — Today four leagues.

November 21. We set out from El Ojo del Cañutillo to the northeast, and having traveled three leagues we swung to the east-southeast two, then going a little more than two additional leagues to the east, we camped more than half a league before

⁹⁸Camp may have been south of Keams Canyon at Jadito Springs on North Jadito Wash.

reaching a small watering place named the Estiladero or Ojito del Peñasco.⁹⁹ — Today seven leagues.

November 22. We left the companions with the rest of the animals, which were now worn out, in order that they might follow slowly to Zuñi, and we with three of the companions set forth in light order, and having traveled nine leagues east by southeast, we arrived at the place called Cumáa. Here we rested a while, and then continued two more leagues to the east. The animals were now exhausted and we had to halt.¹⁰⁰ — Today eleven leagues.

November 23. We continued our journey although it snowed all day with troublesome flurries, and having traveled on the gallop for twelve leagues, we camped at the place called Kianatuna or Ojo de San José.¹⁰¹ Tonight we suffered greatly from the cold. — Today twelve leagues almost all toward the east.

November 24. As soon as it was daylight we left the Ojo de Señor San José, going southeast, and having traveled two leagues we halted for a time to make a fire with which to warm ourselves, because it was so cold that we feared we should freeze in this valley. We continued southeast more than three leagues, traveled two more east-northeast, and halted to change horses at a watering place which the Zuñis called Okiappá. We continued on our way, and having traveled five leagues to the southeast, we arrived after nightfall and greatly fatigued at the pueblo and mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zuñi.¹⁰² — Today twelve leagues.

Not having sufficient strength to continue immediately to the Villa de Santa Fé, we reported to the Señor Governor our happy arrival at this mission, together with a brief account of the contents of this diary.

November 26. In the afternoon the rest of the companions arrived.

On account of various incidents we remained at this mission until the thirteenth of December, when we set out for the Villa de Santa Fé, and having traveled thirty leagues, we arrived at

⁹⁹Apparently at a spring on the upper branches of Pueblo Colorado Wash, possibly Senatoa Spring south of Salahkai Mesa.

¹⁰⁰Camp was probably a few miles south of the site of Cornfields.

¹⁰¹They may have camped on Black Creek in the vicinity of Allantown.

¹⁰²The next three weeks were spent at the pueblo of Zuñi.

the mission of San Estéban de Ácoma¹⁰³ on the sixteenth of December. Immediately there fell a heavy snow which prevented us from continuing as soon as we desired.

December 20. We set out from Ácoma for the mission of Señor San José de la Laguna, where we arrived after traveling four leagues.¹⁰⁴ — Today four leagues.

December 22. We set out from La Laguna, and having traveled six leagues east-northeast, we halted at the place called El Alamo.¹⁰⁵ — Today six leagues.

December 23. We set out from here, and having traveled five leagues east by east-southeast, we arrived at the mission of San Angustín de la Isleta.¹⁰⁶ — Today nine leagues.

December 28. We set out from the pueblo of La Isleta, and having traveled four leagues we arrived at the mission of San Francisco Javier de Albuquerque.¹⁰⁷ — Today four leagues.

December 30. We set out from here, and having traveled four more leagues, we arrived at the mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Sandía.¹⁰⁸ — Today four leagues.

December 31. We continued on our way, and having traveled seven leagues, arrived at the mission of Nuestro Padre Santo Domingo.¹⁰⁹ — Today seven leagues.

On January 2 of this year of '77 having set out from the mission just mentioned we arrived at the Villa de Santa Fé.

January 3. We presented this diary, the token of the Lagunas of which mention is made, and the Laguna Indian. And because everything stated in this diary is true and faithful to what happened and was observed in our journey, we signed it in this mission on the third of January of the year 1777.

Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez
Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante

¹⁰³They spent four days at the Sky City of Ácoma.

¹⁰⁴Near the present town of Laguna.

¹⁰⁵They camped about half way between the San José and Puerco rivers, due west of Albuquerque.

¹⁰⁶They spent the next five nights at the old Indian pueblo of Isleta, twelve miles south of Albuquerque.

¹⁰⁷Present day Old Albuquerque.

¹⁰⁸They stayed at the Sandía Mission, about twelve miles northeast of Albuquerque.

¹⁰⁹Northeast of Bernalillo on the Rio Grande.