ON THE TRAIL OF A SPANISH PIONEER

THE

DIARY AND ITINERARY

OF

FRANCISCO GARCÉS

(Missionary Priest)

IN HIS TRAVELS THROUGH SONORA,
ARIZONA, AND CALIFORNIA

1775-1776

TRANSLATED FROM AN OFFICIAL CONTEMPORANEOUS COPY OF
THE ORIGINAL SPANISH MANUSCRIPT, AND EDITED,
WITH COPIOUS CRITICAL NOTES

BY

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Editor of Lewis and Clark, of Pike, of Henry and Thompson,
Fowler Journal, Larpenteur, etc., etc.

EIGHTEEN MAPS, VIEWS, AND FACSIMILES

IN TWO VOLUMES

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June 27. I traveled four leagues southeast and east, passing most of the way through a lowland (*un bajio*) toward the sierra of the Puerto de Bucaréli; and we halted near an aguage at a place where there is a cave (*en un sitio de una cueba*).[35]

June 28. I traveled three and a half leagues on courses south, southeast, and east, and I arrived at the Rio Jaquesíla, and I called it (*y le puse*) the Rio de San Pedro.[36] It was running water enough, but very

to where I suppose it to have been is the Red Horse spring already mentioned.

[35] If this cave could be found it would clear up the otherwise obscure itinerary to-day. I can make nothing of it as it stands. If Garcés continues S. E. and E., he is going toward the San Francisco mountains and thus away from his Sierra del Puerto de Bucaréli. This cannot be; for he continues the same course to-morrow to the Colorado Chiquito, and could never strike it in this direction. I believe that he went N. E. and E. He must make some northing to strike the Colorado Chiquito where he does, in the vicinity of Moencopie wash, in order to get into Moqui on anything like the course he gives us as his route beyond.

[36] Rio Jaquesila, otherwise Rio de San Pedro, is the Colorado Chiquito, the only large branch of the Colorado in northern Arizona. There is no doubt about this; and the text correctly runs it into the Colorado above the place where Garcés named the Puerto de Bucaréli: see also Font's map. But how he ever reached the river on any such courses and in any such distances as he gives, is another question. It is also uncertain at what point he struck it; though I give some reason (beyond) for supposing the place to have been in the vicinity of the mouth

dirty and red, that could not be drunk; but in the pools of the border of the river there was good water. This river runs to the westnorthwest, and unites with the Rio Colorado a little before this passes through the Puerto de Bucaréli. The bed of this river, as far as the confluence, is a trough of solid rock (*un foso en peña viva*), very profound and wide about a stone's throw, and on that account impassable even on foot; wherefore with much travail did I enter into said bed of the river, following down a trough not so profound,

of Moencopie wash, which joins the Colorado Chiquito from the N. E. The river is one of the discoveries of 1540, when Coronado or some of his men first called it Rio del Lino—a name which, either in the Spanish form or translated Flax river, it has borne on many maps almost to the present day. It was common down to the surveys of the 50's, though in my earliest Arizona days of 1865 it had been mostly supplanted by the term Colorado Chiquito. As I say elsewhere, the name Colorado or Red seems to have been first attached to this river in 1604, by Juan de Oñate, and been subsequently transferred to the main stream; but when the term Colorado Chiquito or Little Colorado was first applied I do not know. Some have supposed Coronado's name Rio Vermejo to belong here; it may have been sometimes so used, but its proper and original application was to Zuñi river, a branch of this one. Garcés' term San Pedro I do not think ever had any vogue for this stream; his other name, Jaquesila, occasionally appears in print, also in the forms Jaquevila, Jaquecila, etc. It is curious to note the similarity of Jaquesila to Hah-qua-si-il-la, given in Whipple's Report as a Yuman name of the Gila. See further regarding the Colorado Chiquito in Pike, ed. 1895, pp. 730, 731.

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in the direction eastnortheast.[37] In the afternoon, having crossed the river, and entering upon another similar cajon, I traveled eight leagues north and east, having gone somewhat out of the way through failing to find the Indians where we sought them. I arrived at a rancheria of Yabipais that should have as it were 30 souls; I was received with many civilities,

[37] This seems to be warrant enough for the statement in the last note that Garcés struck the Little Colorado in the vicinity of Moencopie wash, difficult if not impossible as it may be to fetch him here by his alleged courses and distances. The river is comparatively open and easy down to this point, where it becomes suddenly cañonated or boxed up, in such way as to be "intransitable" across its "trough of live rock." The west or left side which Garcés reaches is more precipitous than the other; but with much difficulty he found a "trough not so profound," *i. e.*, some side cañon, by which he gained access to the bed of the stream, and thus crossed it. These side cañons also have the general trend northeasterly, as he says. The further direction, north and then northeast, is quite right for following up Moencopie wash; on and near which, at distances fairly agreeable with the eight leagues he gives to his Yabipais rancheria, are inhabited places now known as Moencopie, Moa Ave, and Tuba, in the Painted desert, on and near the well-known Mormon road hence to Lee's ferry. This wash, therefore, would seem to be the "other similar cajon" upon which he entered, *i. e.*, resembling the one by which, on the other side of the river, he descended to the bed of the latter. Furthermore, if we take him up Moencopie wash we can account for his otherwise inexplicable meeting with his Jaquesila river again (see note [39]); and also, we can fetch him into Oraibi by a known trail, in the direction he indicates.

for here was the Indian who, as said above, had sung the hymn. The captain of this rancheria, who wore the beard very long, was brother of the Jabesúa Indian that accompanied me. There arrived later two Indians from Moqui, dressed in leather jackets almost as well as (*cueras y poco menos que*) Españoles,[38] and they came to trade with these Yabipais, and the word was sent to a neighboring rancheria. One of them kissed my hand, and having presented him with a little tobacco and some shells, he gave them back to me. I called to the other, who would neither draw nigh nor kiss the crucifix which the Yabipais handed him for that purpose (*para que lo hiziese*). These Moqui Indians went away early next day, and I did not depart until the 1st of July.

July 1. I went one league and half eastsoutheast, and found a river that seemed to me to be the Rio de San Pedro Jaquesíla,[39] and on a mesa contiguous

[38] Spanish soldiers of some classes wore a sort of leather jackets called *cueras*. The Spanish *coraza, coracero*, cuirass, cuirassier, Lat. *coratia*, a breastplate originally of leather, and several other similar words, are all from the Lat. *coriaceus*, leathern; *corium*, hide, skin, leather.

[39] The apparent difficulty of again striking the Colorado Chiquito on such a course, after six leagues' northing and easting, disappears on considering that Garcés simply comes to a part of Moencopie wash which was running, and fancied it might be his San Pedro Jaquesila, of which, of course, he knew nothing above the place where he crossed it. In strictness,

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entrada I met a young man, to whom I offered a little tobacco, and he would have none of it. One league further on there came two on good horses and well dressed; and I apprcaching them as if to take them by the hand, they drew away, making signs that I should betake myself back. Spake then on the subject and in my favor the Yabipais who accompanied me, but I knew that they were encountering opposition, since having returned to me they asked me what it was that I was of a mind to do (*que era lo que determinaba*). As well as I could I gave the Moquis to understand that if they received me not I would pass on to the Gualpes;[43] or if not that, to the Españoles;[44] for I was an Español. So leaving them all at the very word,[45] I proceeded alone, as already the Yabipais had told me that I was near the pueblo.

[43] These were the Moquis of the pueblo of Gualpi, Hualpi, or Walpi, one of the easternmost cluster of three towns, adjoining Sichomovi and Hano, the other two of this group. The distance of Gualpi from Oraibi is about 25 miles by the trail, E. by S. The three other Moqui pueblos of Shipaulovi, Mishongnovi, and Shumopovi, form an intermediate group, E. S. E. of Oraibi and W. S. W. of Walpi, nearer to the latter than to the former. An extended historical and ethnographic note on all of these pueblos will be found beyond, pp. 393-402.

[44] Namely, the Spaniards at Santa Fé.

[45] Y asi dexandolos á todos *con la palabra en la boca;* literally. "with the word in the mouth"—so saying, or forthwith. The expression is idiomatic.

CHAPTER IX.

AMONG THE MOQUIS, JULY, 2-4, 1776.

Those who had come with me, and they were eight, parted company with me (*se dividieron*) henceforth, and there only followed me an old man and a boy, with whom I made my entrada. In order to surmount the mesa whereon stands the pueblo there is quite a steep ascent and very narrow pathway. On the same ascent there was a sheepfold (*corral de ganado menor*), of which there were kept here about three *atajos*.[1] The ewes are larger than those of Sonora, and the black ones have a finer color. Having ascended the slope I commenced my journey over the mesa, and passed through some sandy places (*medanos*) until I reached a small spring of water which is in front of the pueblo. In the cañadas at this place there are many peachtrees; and though the soil is sterile, since no grass grows, nor any other tree than the peaches they have planted, it is well cultivated,

[1] An *atajo* is a mule-train, and Garcés uses the word as if such a train represented a particular number of animals; but no doubt he simply means flock.

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and on the very border of the spring of water I saw some gardens or inclosures containing onions, beans, and several other kinds of garden-truck which have evidently cost much labor to produce.[2] Descending and turning about I suddenly found myself in sight of the pueblo. There are two or three tumble-down (*caydas*) houses in front of the entrance thereof, and there is seen neither any door nor window. The street which is entered is quite wide, and runs straight from east to west, or from west to east, to the exit from the pueblo, and I believe it to be the only one there is. On one side and the other of this are other cross-streets of the same width, forming perfect squares. I saw also two small open places (*plazuelas*). The surface (*piso*) is not level, but firm. The pueblo is situated with the lower part toward the east, so that only the streets which run from north to south are level. The houses are of heights some greater, others lesser; according to what I found they have this arrangement: From the ground (*piso*) of the street there rises a wall as it were of a vara and a half, at which height is the courtyard (*patio*), which is mounted by means of a wooden ladder that may be taken away when they wish. The ladder has no more rungs than are necessary to ascend to the patio; but both the up-rights (side sticks—*palos de los lados*)

[2] Hortalizas que se conocia haver costado mucho componer.

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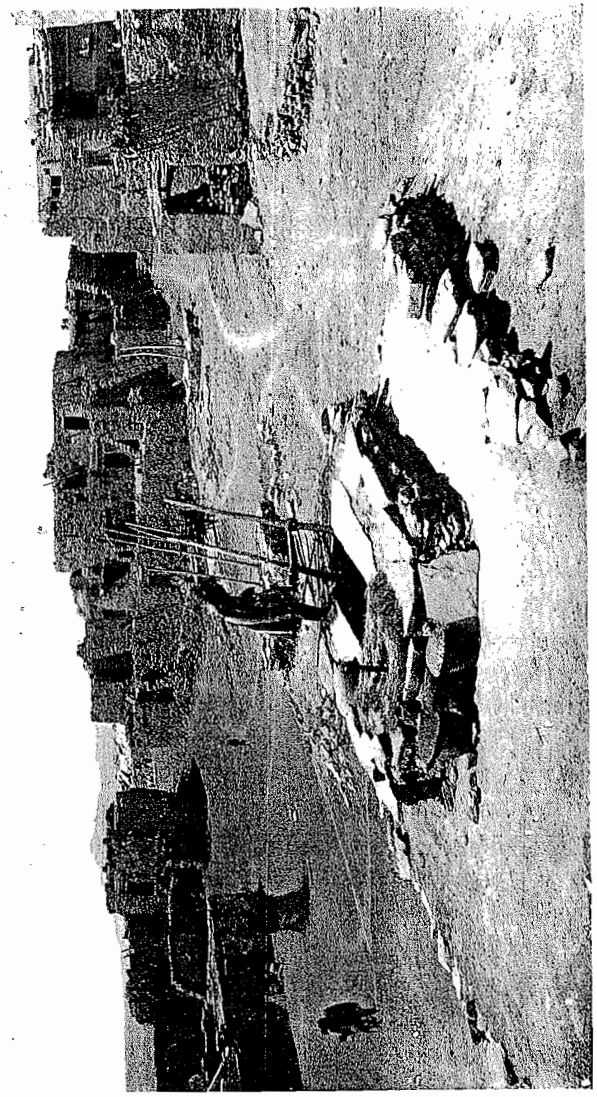

THE HOPI PUEBLO OF ORAIBI WHERE GARCÉS SPENT JULY 2–4, 1776
Photograph by A. C. Vroman

are very tall. On this patio there are two, or three, or four—all of which (numbers) I saw—dwelling-places (*quartos*), each with its own door, closed with bolts and keys of wood. Of the house where there is poultry, the coop stands in the patio. Against the wall on the right or left—for there are each of these—is placed a ladder for ascending to the upper stories (*á los altos*). These contain a large hall that there is in the middle, and a room at the sides. At the same collateral walls there is another ladder to ascend to the roof, which for all the houses is one with those adjoining in the same square; which latter is commonly not very large, owing to the number of streets which intersect. I found, to be more particular, that the houses all present their rear walls (*se dan todas la espalda*), in such manner that no one can see what his neighbor is doing without going up on the roof. The shape of the pueblo is neither perfectly square nor perfectly round.

As soon as I entered therein, and we alighted in sight of the very many women and children that there were on the house-tops, I approached with the intention of going up into a house known to the Yabipai who accompanied me, and who had already saluted from below the proprietor who stood on the roof. But before I could ascend she told the Yabipai to notify me there was no admittance for myself, and not

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(place to be) on the Rio de la Asumpcion or in such of its vicinity as may be within the Tejua nation. This presidio would very suitably consist of 50 cuirassiers (*soldados de cuera*), 80 dragoons, and 50 convicts—and if more, so much the better. In this way, and in this situation of good pasturage, can be furnished the guard necessary for the missions which may be founded on the Rio Gila. I regard this presidio as a formidable defense (*antemurál*) against the Apaches; for when they, harassed by our arms, may seek to retreat to our—I mean to their—lurking

carilla, Jickorie, Ticorilla, etc., from *xicara*, a cup-shaped basket, from the Aztec *xicara*, a cup; so called on account of the small baskets which they made. These were the northernmost division of the Apache, being regarded as the northern stem of the Faraones or Apaches Vaqueros. Their principal habitat was northeastern and northern New Mexico and southeastern Colorado, about the headwaters of the Arkansaw and Canadian and the upper Rio Grande. They are now on a reservation in northwestern New Mexico, where they number 853.—F. W. H.

"How to subdue the Apache" when we took possession of New Mexico and Arizona in 1846 was as serious a question as it had been in Garcés' time; and it was not settled till General Crook finally accomplished the task, after these Indians had devastated much of the country for nearly 30 years after we acquired it. It is interesting to note that one of the means to this end which Garcés recommended was the establishment of a presidio on Rio de la Asumpcion—precisely the measure which our government took when it planted Fort Verde on the river of that name. I was post surgeon there in 1881, and know how important a military establishment this one had been.

places,[15] they have to encounter it, and to sustain great injury at little cost to its garrison; it will also prevent them from going to their friends the Tejua who, intimidated by the strength of this presidio, will abstain from rendering them assistance. I stated before in the Diary what these Indians imparted to me when I saw them among the Yumas, and also who are their friends; from all of which I gather that the missions being founded on the Rio Gila and Colorado, they will be the only friends left of the Apaches who harass us; on which account, recognizing our superior forces, I do not doubt that they will be prevailed upon to seek rather our friendship. This presidio will be able to cut off communication with Oraibe,[16] and by this means we can ascertain whether the Moquinos and other Yabipais furnish aid to the Apaches, or receive a share of our horse-herds; supposing that the beasts I saw, as I noted in the Diary, were stolen. Also will this presidio serve to open the communication of these provinces with New Mexico, and do away with any occasions for alarm (*evitará algunos*

[15] Literally rendered after the original—"retirar á (nuestras madrigueras) digo (á sus madrigueras," etc. Copy does not close the last parenthesis.

[16] Este presidio podra cortar hasta Oraibe, etc. Here the expression *cortar hasta* seems to be used in the military sense of cutting off an enemy's communication in a certain quarter.

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sustos) that the missions of the Colorado can have, effecting by the respect (it inspires) the result that the treaties of peace these nations have celebrated may be permanent. Equally well can this presidio serve in time for the subjection of the Moquis, who at present without it show themselves so insolent. These are the masters (*dueños*) of the nations in the commerce they carry on, for the awls, dibbles, hoes, knives, leggings of red baize, and certain fabrics, which are found in the other nations, all issue from Moqui, whereto they come from New Mexico. Furthermore, according to what the Indian from Zuñi told me, there comes every year to Oraibe a blacksmith to make for them awls, knives, and other hardware. That is the reason why this pueblo holds itself very much aloof, refusing to adopt the (Catholic) faith, on the pretense that the friendship of the Españoles can be said to be feigned, or at least not disinterested, since they abhor the very ones with whom they trade.[17] On all which account I say that

[17] Causa por que este Pueblo se mantiene mui sobre si resistiendo el admitir la Fé, con el pretexto de los Españoles cuya amistad se puede decir que es fingida ó á lo menos interesable pues aborrezen á los mismos con quienes comercian. I am not sure of my translation, and suspect some misconstruction of the clause, *con el pretexto de los Españoles cuya*, etc. The pub. Doc. has nothing of the sort. The Beaumont MS. reads: ". . . y resiste el admitir la fe, con el pretexto de los Españoles, cuya amistad

this presidio can well serve the purpose of humiliating and subduing them, the gentiles being able (*i. e.*, allowed), if we deal with them as the king commands, to come for these and other necessary things to the presidio; in which they will procure their own advantage, and we the profits that now (accrue to) the Moquinos; and if thereupon it may appear expedient to prohibit to them the commerce with New Mexico, this will be the better reason for them to humble themselves and even seek the friendship of the Españoles, to which they are at present so repugnant. Not less can this presidio serve to defend the route that there is, so far as I have seen and gone over it, to pass to Monte Rey; for, according to the idea I have formed, this will be the most fitting (*mas proporcionado*): From Chiguagua[18] to Janos; from Janos to

bien se puede dezir, que es fingida, ô a lo menos interesable, quando comercian con ellos, y los aborrezen."

[18] From the city of Chihuahua there was and is a highway to the Presidio de Janos via Carmen. Thus far between the two points named the way is northward, not far from coincident with the railroad. At Carmen it turns northwestward, and passes through Galeana, Casas Grandes (not those of Arizona!), Barranca, and Corralita, to Janos. Continuing northwest from Janos, San Bernardino is reached, almost in the extreme S. E. corner of Arizona. The route is thence to the Santa Cruz of which Garcés speaks, a place not on the present Santa Cruz river, but on Rio San Pedro; following down which stream its confluence with the Gila is reached at present Dudleyville, about

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