Hafen, Leroy, 1947

The Huntington Library Quarterly

VOLUME XI · 1947-1948

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to get a Ship now this change of Ministers has taken place.

As Ever Your Affectionate
Nelson

Josiah is to have the Thalia, and I want to know from him two good Lieutenants they must be of my approval I wish Lt Champion to be Second would he like Mr Yule to be first if I can induce him to quit the St George, he must return an answer by the Post directed to me Lothians Hotel.

[Addressed to: Lady Nelson, Brighton, Sussex]

Armijo's Journal

THE OPENING of commercial traffic between the frontier provinces of New Mexico and California was accomplished by a party of New Mexican traders led by Antonio Armijo. Late in 1829 they set out from New Mexico with a train of pack animals carrying blankets and other trade goods to barter for mules in California. This sixty-man caravan made the journey from the outpost of Abiquiu to San Gabriel Mission in eighty-six days.

The trade now opened was continued regularly thereafter for two decades and became a commercial enterprise of considerable importance to both of these far-flung Spanish provinces. Variations in the original route were made on subsequent journeys, and presently a well-marked path was established which in time came to be known as the Old Spanish Trail.

The famous Dominguez-Escalante expedition of 1776 had attempted to break a trail from Santa Fe to California, but had turned back after reaching the southern Utah country.[1] In the same year Father Garcés had journeyed up the Colorado River to the Mojave villages and had pioneered a trail to the San Bernardino region by way of the Mojave River. Then he returned to the Colorado and worked his way across northern Arizona to the Moqui, or Hopi, towns.[2] Here he reached the return trail of the Escalante party. Thus was made known to white men a possible connecting route between California and New Mexico. But it was long to remain undeveloped.

Fifty years after the Escalante journey Jedediah Smith, "the Knight in Buckskin," explored a route from the Great Salt Lake to southern California. Part of his course, especially along the Virgin River of southern Utah and Nevada, was the one Armijo followed

[1]Herbert S. Auerbach, "Father Escalante's Journal, 1776-77. Newly translated, with related Documents and Original Maps," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XI (1943).

[2]*On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*, ed. Elliott Coues (New York, 1900).

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three years later. Although Armijo, in his brief diary, makes no reference to the Smith journey, it is reasonable to assume that he had some knowledge of it. The relations between American fur traders of the central Rockies and the inhabitants of New Mexico were close; contacts were frequent, both at the summer rendezvous in the mountains and at the winter trade and recreation centers of Taos and Santa Fe. There was ample time and opportunity for the New Mexicans to have learned of Smith's journeys of 1826 and 1827 to California. Also, it is unreasonable to believe that Armijo would have set out with a train load of trade goods unless he had known a route to his destination. Nonetheless, the Armijo party is to be credited with exploring a through trail and starting commercial trade upon it. The official report of the expedition, published below, gives proper credit to, and emphasizes the significance of, the venture.

For some years the existence of a record of the Armijo journey has been known, but the information came by a circuitous route. The only published English translation of the diary appeared in A. B. Hulbert, *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail* (1933). This, however, was made from a French translation of the original Mexican publication of 1830.

Now, for the first time, we present an English translation direct from the Spanish record. This has eliminated several errors that occur in the previous English text and which crept in either in making the French translation from the Spanish or in translating the French into English. For example, the Hulbert text renders *jornada* as "stopping place," instead of "a day's journey," *milpas* as "badlands," instead of "cornfield," and says "down" the Mojave River instead of "up" that stream. Other variations may be noted by comparing the two translations.

Dr. Arthur Campa, Head of the Modern Languages Department of the University of Denver, and formerly with the University of New Mexico, kindly made the translation given here. The present editor found the original Spanish publication of the diary in the

[3]H. C. Dale, *The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829* (1941); and Maurice S. Sullivan, *The Travels of Jedediah Smith* (1934).

Registro Oficial del Gobierno de los Estados-Unidos Mexicanos of June 19, 1830. This volume is located in the Hemeroteca National in Mexico City. While seeking this official report I discovered an earlier, unofficial account published in the same *Registro Oficial* on June 5, 1830. Since this first report contains additional information, it is published also, preceding the official diary.

The diary is aggravatingly brief. It gives no distances and little more than a list of stopping places with dates. But even so, the route can be followed with fair accuracy. And strange to say, with all the many journeys made between Santa Fe and Los Angeles during the twenty years of rather heavy use of the Old Spanish Trail, this is the only diary found that covers a complete trip over a substantial part of the route of the Trail. This absence of a day-by-day record is in sharp contrast to the scores of diaries covering journeys over other trails leading to California.

The present writer acknowledges the assistance of a grant from the Huntington Library by which he has been enabled to carry on a study of the Old Spanish Trail. Of this project the Armijo expedition is but a small part.

LeRoy R. Hafen

Route discovered from the village of Abiquiú in the territory of New Mexico to Upper California.

On the 6th of November of the past year, there left from the village of Abiquiu[4] 31 men[5] including the commandant Citizen Antonio Armijo,[6] inhabitants of the territory of New Mexico, wishing to discover a route to Upper California and to sell therein some manufactures of their country, traveling towards the Northwest, and a month later reaching the Rio Grande, or Colorado, which

[4]Abiquiu, northwestern New Mexico outpost on the Chama River, stood on the site of an ancient Indian pueblo. Through many years it was occupied and reoccupied by the Indians during the middle of the 18th century. See R. E. Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico* (1914), I, 26. A picturesque village perched on a hill, it retains today much of its early appearance and flavor.

[5]The official record, below, says sixty men. Thirty-one may have been the number in the first party that returned from California.

[6]Little has been found in the New Mexico records to enlighten us upon the character or career of Antonio Armijo.

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[illegible] without difficulty, despite its being about 2,000 varas wide, and on the banks of the said river, which are of smooth stone, there are some inscriptions which they inferred to be made by the missionary fathers,[7] who had long ago attempted and failed to discover this route.

The gentiles of the *Payuche*[8] nation inhabit the vicinity of the above mentioned river; their living quarters are *jacales*,[9] and they live on grass seeds, hares and rabbits, using the skins of the latter to cover a small part of their body. There follow various other nations inhabiting these lands: The *Narices agujeradas* [Pierced Noses],[10] so-called because they pierce their noses with a bird's shank; the *Garroteras*, dextrous in handling a four-edged *garrote* [stick];[11] the *Ayatas*,[12] dressed in buckskin, they cultivate fields: the *Ayata* dressed like the preceding ones; the *Tulareños*[13] who have knowledge of horses and horsemanship and who are in the immediate vicinity of California.

None of the above mentioned nations attacked the travelers; they fled upon seeing them and some of them were frightened by the presence of horses which they didn't seem to know. On the way out it took them three months less six days to arrive at the first village in California which is Santa Barbara;[14] they were delayed so because the route was unknown and they had to make numerous detours on account of the impassable mountains and canyons which impeded a straight route.

[7]The Dominguez-Escalante expedition of 1776.

[8]These were the Pahutes, or Piutes, who inhabited the southern parts of Utah and Nevada.

[9]The ordinary Spanish *jacal* was made of posts set on end and close together in a trench to make the walls of the structure. The Pahutes used poles, sticks and brush to form a cone-shaped wickiup.

[10]These are not the Nez Percés of northern Idaho, but Pahutes then living on the Virgin River of southern Nevada, as reported in the diary.

[11]No reference to these Indians is made in the journal and their identity is unknown.

[12]These are probably the Mojaves, or else Indians then living on the Mojave River.

[13]Probably the inhabitants of the southern San Joaquin Valley, in the vicinity of Tulare Lake.

[14]Doubtless confused with San Bernardino.

The *empresarios*, although they are known to be courageous, rugged, and eager to discover new lands, are lacking in instruction and literature, by means of which they would have been able to note the various products that the territory of the Mexican Republic possesses in this region; and they are able only to say that there exist suitable locations for establishing new villages and that in the hills there appear variously colored rocks or veins resembling minerals, some of the said hills having the shape of elevated *bufas* without forest or grass land, streaked with veins or rock strata.

Upon arriving in California they were hospitably received by the inhabitants, who were very surprised to see them arrive from a direction which until then was unknown: they traded the products which the thirty travelers took with them for mules, horses, and stock, and on the 24th day of February[15] of the current year, a small number of them returned to this territory. Of the remainder some went to Sonora, and others remained behind in order to bring back the cattle.

The first group spent forty days[16] in returning to this capital for their route was straighter and better known, and they were not hindered by the terrain and the mountains; they did not lack water, firewood, or pasture; but they experienced a few robberies at the hands of the Navajos, a nation which at the present time is at peace in this territory. It is hoped that in other trips a shorter road may be discovered and that from this discovery great usefulness will accrue to this territory and to all the Mexican nation. Santa Fe, New Mexico, April 28 830 [sic].[17]—M. A. O.

First Secretaryship of State.—Department of Interior[18]

Most excellent sir.—On November 8th of the past year, there departed from this territory a group of citizens, about sixty men, towards the Californias with the object of trading for mules certain products of the country: they made their trip through deserts un-

[15]According to this statement one party started back ahead of Armijo, who did not begin his return until March 1, 1830.

[16]Armijo spent fifty-six days on his return journey.

[17]April 28, 1830.

[18]The report published June 19, 1830.

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which now, and succeeded in discovering this new route (short cut) having to go through many barbarian tribes who, upon seeing them, fled as though frightened, such cowardice contributing in no small part to the success of the undertaking. By means of the diary, copy of which I attach for your Excellency, it will be seen that the distance which separates the Californias from this territory is not great, taking into consideration that these discoverers often had to backtrack, make detours and, in short, that they had neither maps nor compass nor guide, other than the enterprising, daring and adventurous spirit of the sons of this territory.—I believe that it would be very useful to both territories for the Supreme Government to protect the commerce in these parts to which end I mention it to your Excellency.—God and liberty. Santa Fé, May 14, 1830.—José Antonio Chávez.[19]—Minister of Interior and Foreign Relations.

Diary made by citizen Antonio Armijo as commandant for the discovery of the route to the Californias, named by the political chief of this territory of New Mexico, Citizen Jose Antonio Chavez, and which appears as follows:

The 7th of November of 1829 I left the jurisdiction of Abiquisi [sic][20] advanced as far as the Puerco River,[21] stopping at said place on the 8th.

9. At *Arroyo de Agua* [Water Wash].[22]
10. At *Capulin* [Choke Cherry].[23]

[19]Jose Antonio Chaves, according to R. E. Twitchell, was the first alcalde of Albuquerque (*Leading Facts of New Mexican History* [1911-12], I, 470) and a Representative of New Mexico in the Mexican Congress (*ibid.*, II, 9). Chaves apparently wrote this introduction and sent the Armijo diary to the Mexican Minister of Interior and Foreign Relations.

[20]Abiquiu.

[21]This is undoubtedly the Rio Puerco which flows northwest and enters the Chama about fifteen miles above Abiquiu, and not the larger Rio Puerco which flows south some 150 miles through west central New Mexico and enters the Rio Grande at Lajoya.

[22]The place is not definitely identified. To avoid the Canyon of the Chama the party made its way to the south of the canyon and apparently took the general course of the modern road No. 96, leading westward.

[23]Capulin Peak is in the northwest corner of Township 23 North, Range 1 East of the New Mexico Principal Meridian, as shown on the "General Land Office Map of the State of New Mexico, 1927."

11. At *Agua de la Cañada larga* [Water of the Long Canyon].[24]
12. At the mouth of *Cañon largo* [Long Canyon].[25]
13. At *Cañon largo.*
14. At the lake of *Cañon largo*, at this point we found a settlement of Navajos.[26]
15. At the San Juan River.[27]
16. Stopping at said river.
17. At Las Animas River.[28]
18. At the springs on the bank of the Plata River.[29]
19. At *San Lázaro* River.[30]
20. Stopping at *San Lázaro.*

[24]This is a head spring of Largo Creek. During the day the party has crossed the high sage plain plateau which is the continental divide, and has left the drainage of the Rio Grande and entered that of the Colorado River.

[25]This is the upper end of Cañon Largo, which they will follow along its northwest course until it enters the San Juan River. Captain J. N. Macomb traversed this canyon on the return trip of his exploring expedition in September 1859. See his *Report of the Exploring Expedition from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Junction of the Grand and Green Rivers of the Great Colorado of the West* (1876), p. 6: "We were fortunate in passing through Cañon Largo just after heavy rains, as I learned afterwards that the command of Major Simonson, which passed through the cañon in July, had suffered much for the want of water." A fuller, geological report by Dr. J. S. Newberry is published in the same volume.

[26]Neither Captain Macomb nor Dr. Newberry mentions any Indian settlement in the canyon in 1859.

[27]They have now traveled eight days from Abiquiu—four days to Cañon Largo and four days down that long canyon. They have made about twelve miles a day in a straight line along their course and probably traveled from fifteen to twenty miles a day along the winding route of their trail.

[28]They doubtless crossed the San Juan and took a northwest course to reach the Las Animas in about fifteen miles, near the site of the present town of Aztec.

[29]Another day's journey in the same direction would take them to the La Plata River in the vicinity of the present village of La Plata.

[30]This is the Mancos River of today. Father Escalante in the journal of his famous 1776 expedition uses both names for the stream. See Auerbach, *op. cit.*, p. 33. Armijo has crossed a spur of the La Plata Mountains and reached the Mancos River south of Mesa Verde, where it turns from its southward course to run almost directly westward. The route of travel here indicated, to the north of the San Juan River, is the one later shown by Gunnison and Beckwith on the map of their railroad survey of 1853 and labeled "lower trail traveled during the rainy season." It is the only route that would have brought the party from the La Plata to the Mancos in a day's travel. If one followed along the San Juan from the mouth of the La Plata to the mouth of the Mancos he would have to travel some fifty miles.

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Navajos but nothing happened.

22. At the springs of the Navajo mountains.[32]
23. At the river which comes down on the other side of the Navajo Mountain,[33] at which juncture we found another settlement of Navajos, and we traded with them. We took with us an Indian paid by several individuals of the party with eleven mares for his trip, in order that he might guide us as far as he knew, and so that he would protect us from the depredations which members of his nation are wont to commit.
24. At *Escondido* [Hidden] Spring.[34]
25. At the little canyon of Chelli Creek.[35]
26. We stopped at this juncture.
27. At the rock *artenesales*.[36]
28. At the lake of the mountain pass of *Las Lemitas*.[37]
29. At the water hole of *El Cuervo*.[38]
30. At the water hole of the *Payuches*:[39] three Indians were found, no trouble ensued, and it was necessary to scale a canyon for which purpose we had to carry the baggage in our arms.

[31]They return to the San Juan, presumably at or near the mouth of the Mancos, in the area of the Four Corners (the only place in the United States where four states join).

[32]This was probably the Mission Spring at the north base of the Carrizo Mountains.

[33]Present Walker Creek, which flows west and northwest.

[34]This may be Hogansaani Spring, located near the center of Township 12 North, Range 9 West of the Navajo Meridian on the General Land Office Map of Arizona, 1933.

[35]The creek that rises in the Canyon de Chelly National Monument, runs north, and is now known as Chinle Creek.

[36]Not identified.

[37]Limita Spring and a lake nearby are on the exploration route of Captain Walker of 1859, as shown on the map accompanying the Captain Macomb Report, *op. cit.* These are about the right distances west of Chinle Creek to be reached in the two days of travel. The "lake" may be the "Pool" shown on the Conoco Road Map of Arizona and located a little east of present Kayenta.

[38]This may be Chief Spring of today.

[39]This was probably in Piute Canyon, or at the Upper Crossing Springs near the canyon.

December 1. At the lake of *Las Milpitas* [The little corn patches]. On this day we had to work our way down the canyon.[40]

2. At the *Picacho* [Peak] Springs: on this day I went out on reconnaissance with Salvador Maes.
3. At the craggy canyon with the downgrade and upgrade trail of the padres.[41] It was necessary to scale up one and down the other and to carry our baggage in our arms.
4. Stopping: on this day I returned from the reconnaissance with nothing to report.
5. At the edge of the mesa of the *Rio Grande*, known in the Californias as the *Colorado*; a day's journey without water.
6. At the Rio Grande Crossing of the Fathers:[42] on that day we reconnoitered the ford and it was found passable, and three individuals who forded it observed that there were three fresh tracks which they followed until dark without overtaking anyone.
7. Stopping. The above mentioned individuals joined us, relating what has already been recorded.
8. We stopped the train and repaired the upgrade of the canyon, the same one which had been worked by the padres.[43]
9. At *Blanco* [White] Canyon: permanent water.[44]
10. At the *artenejál* of *Ceja Colorada* [Red Ridge]: on this day there was found a settlement of *Payuches*, with no mishap; it is a gentle and cowardly nation.

[40]The route from here to the "Crossing of the Fathers" on the Colorado River cannot be determined with exactness. The Armijo party appears to be covering about the same territory, southeast of the crossing of the Colorado, where the Escalante party had such difficulty in finding a route through the rugged canyon country. See the Escalante journal for November 8-11, 1776, in Auerbach, pp. 103-5.

[41]Dominguez and Escalante.

[42]The Crossing of the Fathers was a passable ford where the Colorado was a mile wide. See Auerbach, p. 102. It is a short distance above the Utah-Arizona boundary.

[43]Escalante's descent from the north side to the river on November 7 is reported in his diary: "To lead the animals down by their bridles to the canyon it was necessary to hew steps with the ax in a rock for a distance of about three yards or a little less. The animals could go down the rest of the way but without a pack or a rider."

[44]This was probably Wahweap Canyon.

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... the Creek of Ceja [Ridge] Canyon.[45]

12. At the top of the tree-covered ridge: no water.
13. At Colorado Pueblo: no water, but we used snow instead.
14. At *Carnero* [Ram] Creek.[46]
15. At *Agua de la Vieja* [Water of the Old Woman].[47]
16. At the Coyote Plains without any water.
17. At *Caloso* [Limestone] Canyon: water from water holes.
18. Stopping: reconnaissance party went out and returned with nothing to report.
19. At Stinkingwater Canyon: permanent water.
20. At the *Severo* River.[48]

[45]Apparently this was Paria Creek. It is the right distance for an average three-day journey from the Crossing of the Fathers.

[46]This must be Kanab Creek, three days' journey from Paria. The crossing was probably in the vicinity of Fredonia, Arizona.

[47]This could be Pipe Springs or Moccasin. Four more days are to bring Armijo to the Virgin River, and the determining factor in the identification of his route is the point at which he strikes this river. To reach a conclusion requires consideration of several matters. Going ahead to the mouth of the Virgin and working back from that definite point, as well as by taking the distance and the number of days' travel from the Crossing of the Fathers, convinces me that Armijo reached the Virgin about half way between the present towns of Hurricane and Washington. I am the more certain because the day after reaching the Virgin he arrived at the Milpas River (identified as the Santa Clara). Also, an interception of the Virgin farther east is unlikely because of its involvement in deep canyons. The exact route from Kanab Creek to the Virgin cannot be traced, but it did not make the dip far to the south which Escalante made. Armijo probably traveled by Cane Beds and Short Creek, Arizona.

The old country road leading from Hurricane to Pipe Spring and Fredonia probably follows roughly the Armijo trace. The present editor drove over this route from St. George to Bright Angel Point, on the north rim of the Grand Canyon, in 1920.

[48]The first and apparent identification of the Rio Severo would be the Sevier River of central Utah, as assumed by some students. (See J. J. Hill, *The History of Warner's Ranch and its Environs* [1927], pp. 87-88.) A closer study, however, convinces one that this identification is incorrect. The Sevier River runs north, instead of south, and does not flow into the Colorado as does Armijo's Rio Severo. The Virgin River is the only stream that can be the Colorado affluent which the Spanish party follows; it meets all requirements.

Armijo's is not the only confusion of the Virgin and Sevier rivers. Thomas J. Farnham, in the Pictorial Edition of his *Life, Adventures, and Travels in California* (1849), pp. 318-20, tells of the adventures of an old trapper on the "Rio Sevére," which was most likely the Virgin River of today. In fact, the Virgin is a much more severe stream than the Sevier River.

The Virgin River had been given other names previous to Armijo's christening of it. Escalante had called it the Rio Sulfureo (Sulphur River) from the sulphur

21. Stopping: reconnaissance party went out.
22. At the *Milpas* [Cornfield] River:[49] at this point the reconnaissance party rendezvoused without mishap.
23. At *Calabacillas* [Little wild squash] Arroyo.[50]
24. Below [or beyond] the *Milpas* River.[51]
25. We hit the *Severo* River again,[52] from which point the reconnaissance party went out.
26. Down the same river.
27. *Ibid.* We found a settlement of Indians with rings in their noses. Nothing happened for these Indians are gentle and cowardly.
28. Down the same river.
29. At the slough of the same river.[53]

springs by Hurricane, Utah, which enter the river and affect its waters near where the Escalante party crossed the stream. Jedediah Smith journeyed along the river in 1826 and gave it the name of the President of the United States—Adams River. When —sometime during the 1830's—it took on its present name has not been determined.

Having been born and reared on this stream, I have a special interest if not affection for it, even though J. C. Frémont, who ascended it in 1844, characterized it as "the most dreary river I have ever seen" (his *Report of the Exploring Expedition* [1845], p. 268).

[49]This must be the Santa Clara, which Jedediah Smith called "Corn Creek." Along it Indians were raising corn when the first white men came to this country, and there they have continued to farm ever since.

On Jedediah Smith's journey down the Virgin in 1827 he turned up the Santa Clara to cross the Beaver Dam Mountains by the same route the modern highway (U.S. 91) takes. On his trip of 1826, Smith had descended the Virgin west from the site of St. George, Utah, and had found great difficulty in going through "The Narrows," cut through the mountain range by the stream. So on his second trip, in 1827, Smith found a more satisfactory route by ascending the Santa Clara some twelve miles and then turning west. In finding this trail he was doubtless assisted by the Indians. Very likely Armijo learned of the route and of Smith's traversal of it from the same Piutes.

[50]The little, striped, wild squashes, locally called gourds, still grow profusely along the Santa Clara River and at the arroyos that enter it. The wash named here was probably the one that enters the river just above the present Shivwit Indian village, where the road turns from the Santa Clara to effect a crossing of the mountain range to the west.

[51]The camp of the 24th was probably west of the dividing ridge.

[52]Descent of the long "Slope" would bring the party again to the Virgin River at the mouth of Beaver Dam Wash and near the present village of Littlefield, Arizona. They now follow the Virgin down to its junction with the Colorado.

[53]During low water the Virgin frequently loses itself in the sand and terminates in a wire-grass and tule slough.

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31. At the same river the reconnaissance party rendezvoused.

January 1. Again at the *Rio Grande* [Colorado]:[55] Citizen Rafael Rivera is missing from the reconnaissance party of the day before.

2. Down the Rio Grande: rugged trail.[56]

3. Ditto.

4. Stopping: on this day the reconnaissance party went in search of Rivera.

5. Stopping: reconnaissance party returned and did not find Rivera.

6. At *Yerba del Manso* [a curative herb] Arroyo,[57] at which point the reconnaissance party goes out in search of Rivera.

7. Stopping: waiting for the reconnaissance party. Citizen Rivera returned and announced that he had discovered the villages of

[54]The entrance of the Muddy affluent, below former St. Thomas (site now covered by Lake Mead), reinforces the Virgin.

[55]They have now reached the Colorado again, down which they will travel three days. In the meantime the guide, Rivera, had set out on December 31 to reconnoiter. He pushed ahead until he reached the Mojave Indian villages at the extreme southern point of Nevada's boundary. Upon his return to the main party, after having been gone seven days, he reported that he had found the ford of the Colorado which he had used the previous year in going to Sonora. This bit of information, revealed in the entry of January 7, indicates that Rivera was familiar with the route from the Mojave villages on the Colorado River to the Mojave River and thence to the San Bernardino region. He was probably the one who suggested leaving the river at its abrupt southward bend, a little above present Hoover Dam and taking a short cut across the desert to the Mojave River.

[56]They do not cross the Colorado at the mouth of the Virgin, as did Jedediah Smith, but instead make their way over the rough country to the north of the Colorado, probably along the general route later used by the Mormons in reaching their head-of-navigation warehouse at Callville.

[57]This was probably at the mouth of Las Vegas Wash, which enters the Colorado a little above Hoover Dam and near where the river turns abruptly southward. This is the logical place to leave the river to take the desert short cut and also to avoid the Black Canyon and other gorges of the Colorado. This point is only about twenty miles in an air line from the mouth of the Virgin. This would seem a short distance to have made in three days, but the distance traveled was much greater than the airline mileage, and besides, Rivera was out on his exploring tour and the main party would naturally travel slowly while they were seeking him or awaiting his return.

the *Cucha Payuches* and the *Hayatas*,[58] and had recognized the ford where he had crossed the Rio Grande the previous year in going to Sonora.

8. Stopping. Reconnaissance party looking for Rivera arrived with nothing to report and went out again.

9. At *Salado* [Salty] Arroyo, with nothing new.[59]

10. At a dry lake.

11. At the little spring of the turtle.[60]

[58]The Hayatas are probably the Mojaves, who still live in the valley of the Colorado, on the Fort Mojave Reservation.

The Cucha Payuches were a branch of the Pahutes. Some of these bands eked out an existence at various desert springs in southern Nevada. The tribe referred to could have been inhabiting Cottonwood Valley on the Colorado River, some thirty-five miles above the Mojaves. Lieutenant J. C. Ives, when exploring the Colorado in 1858, found Mojaves living in Cottonwood Valley, and in the country adjacent found "Bad Paiutes" prowling about. (*Report upon the Colorado River of the West* [1861], pp. 79-80).

[59]The party has now left the river and set out across the desert. It will take them six days to reach the River of the Payuches. The only river which answers the descriptions—is in about the right location and is long enough for the party to follow it for a day's journey—is the Amargosa. It is eighty-five airline miles from the setting-out point on the Colorado and therefore could be reached in the six days. They probably traveled an almost due west course, one shown on the "General Map Showing Approximate Location of Better Known Springs and Wells in the Mojave and Adjacent Deserts, Southeastern California and Southwestern Nevada," accompanying *Water Supply Paper No. 224*, U.S. Geological Survey. The trail shown on this map goes from Callville on the Colorado, westward by present Arden, and some eight miles south of Las Vegas. It is almost certain that Armijo did not go by the large, impressive spring at Las Vegas, for such an excellent water supply would have called forth a recognizable description.

[60]This was probably Cottonwood Spring, in the Spring Mountains, toward which the party would naturally direct its course in search of water. This spring, about seventeen miles from Las Vegas, later became a well-known stopping-place on the Old Spanish Trail and on the route from Salt Lake City to Los Angeles.

There are many diaries of subsequent trips over the route from here to San Bernardino, but there are wide discrepancies in the names and locations of springs and the distances between them. J. C. Frémont, in his *Report of the Exploring Expedition* gives valuable information of his eastward trip over this trail in 1844. However, his map and his journal do not correspond regarding the territory from the Amargosa to Las Vegas. The journal and map of G. H. Heap, *Central Route to the Pacific* (1854), better fit the geography. "The Diary of Dr. Thomas Flint, California to Maine and Return, 1851-1855," Hist. Soc. of So. Calif. *Annual Publication* 1923, pp. 116-20, gives information on this section of the route. See also, "By Ox Team from Salt Lake to Los Angeles, 1850; a Memoir by David W. Cheesman," *ibid.*, 1930, pp. 294-300; Howard Egan, *Pioneering the West, 1846 to 1878* (1917), pp. 173-75; Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City*

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12. At the pass without water.[61]
13. At the Little Salty Springs.[62]
14. At the River of the Payuches,[63] where a village was found: nothing happened for it was gentle.
15. Down the same river.
16. At the *Salitroso* [Alkali] River:[64] where the reconnaissance party rendezvoused without mishap.
17. A day's journey without water.
18. At the lake of *El Milagro* [Miracle].[65]
19. At the *Ojito del Malpais* [little spring of the lava beds, or badlands].[66]
20. A day's journey without any water.

(1861), II, 416-41; the manuscript report by Lieutenant Sylvester Mowry of his military expedition over the route in 1855 (in the National Archives, Washington, D.C.); and various manuscript diaries in the Mormon Church archives in Salt Lake City.

[61]There was a spring at the mountain pass west of Cottonwood Spring, but travelers frequently passed without noting it. See the David Cheesman memoir, p. 295.

[62]This was probably Stump Spring, so called by Mowry and by later travelers and listed by Heap, p. 104, as Aqua Escarbada. It may have been Resting Spring or what Frémont called Hernandez's Spring, from the tragedy enacted there just prior to Frémont's arrival.

[63]Identified as the Amargosa River, or Bitter Creek. This stream flows south, then west around the point of the Black Mountains, and then turns northwest toward Death Valley. The trail followed it for several miles.

[64]This stream bed, generally dry, was a branch of the Amargosa (see Frémont, p. 264). In it was the Salt Spring, near which were the Salt Spring Mines, worked in the early 1850's. See Heap, p. 106; Flint, p. 119; and the Mowry manuscript.

[65]This was probably the spring which Frémont called Agua del Tomaso, Heap labeled Agua del Tio Meso, and later travelers called Bitter Springs. One of the long, so-called *jornadas* of the route extended the fifty desert miles from the Amargosa to this place.

It is probable that the name given the water hole by Armijo refers to the discovery and happening which Heap (page 107) relates thus: "This spring is named after an old Mexican called Meso, who was styled *Tio*, or uncle, on account of his age. He discovered it when he and his party were nearly perishing with thirst. Their happy deliverance was celebrated by a great feast; he washed and dressed himself, and rambled about the place singing until he fell dead, killed by a stroke of apoplexy."

[66]Not identified.

21. At the arroyo of the Hayatas,[67] at the end of which comes in the trail from Moqui, traveled by the Moquis with the object of trading shells with the said Hayatas.[68]
22. Up the same arroyo.
23. Along this same arroyo; we ate a horse.
24. Ditto.
25. Ditto.
26. Ditto; we ate a male mule belonging to Miguel Valdés.
27. Along said arroyo we met the reconnaissance party with supplies and men from the ranch of San Bernardino.[69]
28. San Bernardino Canyon.[70]
29. *Paraje* [stopping place] of San Jose.
30. At the fountain.
31. At the San Gabriel Mission.

I returned on March the first by the same route with no more mishap than the loss of tired animals, until I entered the Navajo country, by which nation I was robbed of some of my animals, and I arrived in this jurisdiction of Xemey [Jemez] today the 25th of April, 1830—signed *Antonio Armijo*. This is a copy. Santa Fe, May 14, 1830,—*Chavez*.

[67]The bed of the Mojave River. In subsequent years the trail struck it at various points. In the lower reaches, water was found in pools or could be dug for in the sand.

[68]The traffic across the desert from the Mojave villages on the Colorado and from the Moquis beyond was already well established at the time of the first visit of white men to this region. See *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*, ed. E. Coues, I, 237. The river was discovered by Father Garcés on March 9, 1776, and by him named the Rio de las Martires (*ibid.*, p. 238). The Armijo party is to travel six days up this stream. They are now on ground undoubtedly familiar to Rivera, if not to other members of the company. So a party is sent ahead for supplies, which come to the relief of the main group on January 27.

[69]The mission station or ranch of San Bernardino was started in 1819. See G. W. Beattie, "San Bernardino Valley in the Spanish Period," Hist. Soc. of So. Calif. *Annual Publication 1923*, pp. 17-18. Jedediah Smith had secured supplies here in 1826 (*ibid.*, pp. 23-24).

[70]Beattie thinks that Armijo's San Bernardino Canyon is the canyon of Cajon Creek. It is probable that Armijo followed farther up the Mojave River than does the modern highway.

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